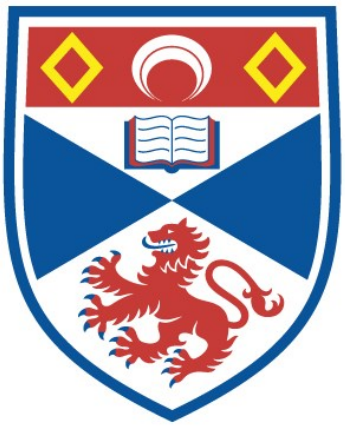
In the name of the tourist: landscape, heritage, and social change in Chinchero

Pablo Garcia

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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To Bettychay

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines social change in the Quechua-speaking town of Chinchero (Peru), located 30 km away from the city of Cuzco. It does so by studying the conditions created by touristic development in the Region. It is an ethnography that builds on, and dialogues with, previous ethnographies done in Chinchero before. It focuses on issues of landscape and cultural heritage, as these are some of the domains most affected by the changes brought about by tourism, among other forms of modernization. The thesis looks at processes of re-territorialization and social exclusion that have followed the reconversion of the Inca ruins into an Archaeological Park. It also studies the town´s reputed textile tradition in a context of growing commercialization. Over the last few years, coinciding with a surge in tourism in the region, the tourist demand for "authentic" indigenous crafts has fostered significant changes in the textile production of Chinchero. The multiplication of weaving centers where the ethnicity is performed for the tourist gaze, plus the social implications of this new mode of social organization, comes into scrutiny.

Another major focus of attention is the project of the New International Airport of Cuzco in Chinchero land. The airport is a direct consequence of tourist development in the Region. This thesis explores processes of social disruption and environmental conflict as the project is deeply dividing the community and raising expectations of progress that that are unlikely to be met. Additionally, the airport intersects with issues of indigeneity and the redefinition of the ethnic identity as the project engages with the supposed incompatibility between being indigenous, and thus "traditional", and being modern, a process that involves the commercialization of "ancestral" land and the heavy reworking of a landscape where the ancestors and other-than-human forces still dwell.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This doctoral dissertation would have not been possible if the people of Chinchero had not allowed me to live with them for a year and had not been willing to share with me part of their lives and their knowledge. It is to them, first, and particularly to my host family there, that I want to show my gratitude.

I also want to acknowledge the role of the Department of Social Anthopology at the University of St Andrews throughout these years in providing me with academic as well as with economic support in the form of a fee waiver. Additionally, The Russell Trust provided funds for my fieldwork year.

My thanks too to my supervisors, Sabine Hyland and Tristan Platt, for their professional guidance and help throughout this PhD.

And finally, my gratitude and affection to my colleagues in the Department of Social Anthropology, especially my friends in office 46, who made me feel “at home” in their company and provided a great environment for the successful completion of this degree.

CONTENTS

Preface

The beginning is always the end. I finished this thesis by revisiting this preface, which I started writing more than a year ago. In this way I complete my own cycle and add a further ring to the spiralling trajectory into which all the previous ethnographies of Chinchero are contained. Will the Chincherinos ever read these pages? To be sure, they have many other preoccupations, *and their lives are just too busy. My thesis intends to write the words of 'other histories', absent in more generalised accounts of this region. These "other histories" should recognise the everyday, grassroots events that provide the materials out of which their lives are made and that an official historiography has ignored. Here the people of Chinchero may find a reason to pause for a little while and read this text. What I have written is the result of our mutual entanglement, and it is "theirs" as much as it is "mine". I will make no further authoritative claims, other than to remind the readers that my words and their lives shape each other, and are inextricable. As their lives fade in the frailty of my memory, fixing them in paper will furnish the illusion of some durability. I do know that I have spent and shared a segment of my life with a group of people in their homeland at a precise point in their history that, at the time I write and you, reader, read, is not there anymore. In fact, the next visitor, ethnographer, tourist, or newcomer, is likely to find a very different landscape; I may be conferred then the dubious honour of having been the last ethnographer of a fully recognisable "pre-airport era" in town…*

Fig 1: A general map of Peru

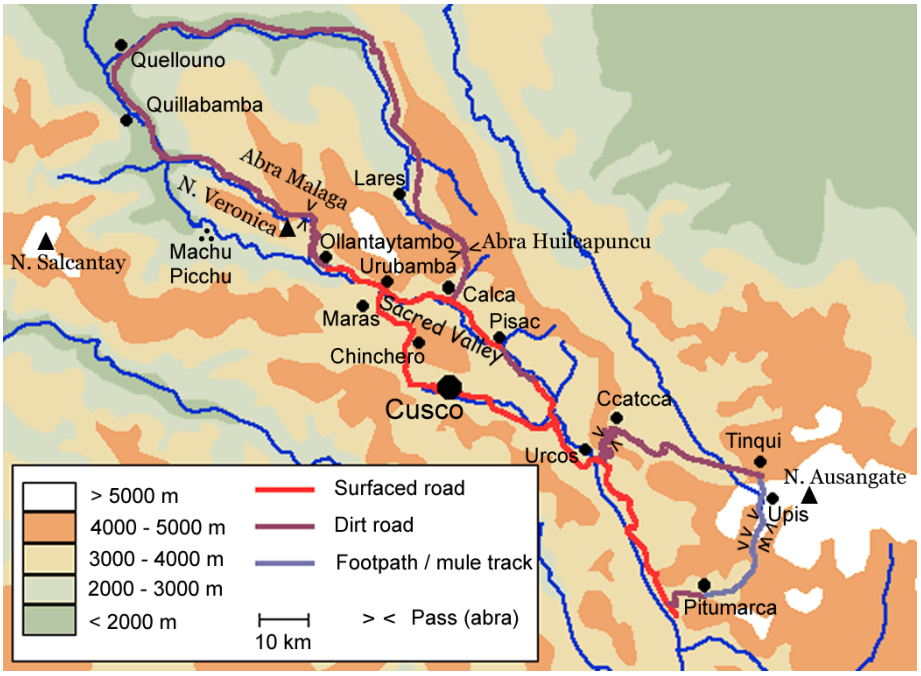


Fig. 2: Map of Cuzco region

Fig. 3: A panoramic view of Chinchero's *centro poblado* (urban center) with an Inca site in the foreground.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 **Brief history of a project**

The day I arrived in Chinchero to start my fieldwork year in Peru, I was not entering a completely unknown territory. I had spent time in Cuzco (the former capital of *Tawantinsuyu* or Inca Empire) before, and I had even lived there for a while. Through different visits, then, I made contacts and connections, and I became acquainted with the lovely town that sits by the road to the Sacred Valley of the Urubamba River (fig.1). Nor was I the first researcher or 'ethnographer to have lived there before. Peruvian anthropologist Oscar Núñez del Prado carried out early ethnographic work in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Later on, during the late 60s and early 70s, the Spanish Archaeological Mission conducted archaeological and anthropological work. 'As I would notice during my fieldwork, adults and elders in the area still had fresh memories of Edward and Christine Franquemont, who had lived in Chinchero during the 1970s and 80s, for over ten years studying its textile tradition and botany. Anthropology students from the UNSAAC[1] had written several monographs on Chinchero. Also, my friend and Art Historian of the Inca and Colonial periods, Stella Nair, had spent one entire year studying the outstanding Inca and Colonial architectural legacy of the village. It was precisely thanks to Stella that I was going to meet Jacinto, her research assistant on the ground and respected member of the community. Jacinto introduced me to Augusta, his wife, and, since then, Chinchero became a referential point not only for the lure of its Inca and colonial past and the striking beauty of the scenery, but also for this couple who granted me their hospitality and the opportunity during my visits of being just a little more than a conventional tourist or visitor merely passing by. Perhaps, thinking now in retrospect, my fieldwork already started in those early days.

However, this alone is not enough to explain why, years afterwards, I would choose Chinchero as the fieldwork site for my dissertation project. My background in Pre-Columbian Art History had led me to the study of the ancient Andean civilizations. This

[1] Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad in Cuzco

academic interest for the past was always coupled with a similar concern for contemporary indigenous issues. Later on during my fieldwork I would be able to make a more specific and grounded connection between those two "worlds" through different problems and situations encountered *in situ*. Chinchero offered me the possibility of engaging with contemporary Andeans in a scenario physically dominated by their material past. One of my oldest and most lingering interests regarding the indigenous peoples of the Andes had to do with the "impacts of modernity" on their ancient practices and ways of life. Through the literature I was aware of the risks of being drawn into the "anthropological romance" (cf. Abercrombie 2006), an ethnographic trend that had sought to highlight what was perceived as a clearly distinct native identity rigidly opposed to what was not "native", an identity endangered by the destructive forces of modernization and history. This anthropological romance had obviated the fact that Andean "native identities" had been constructed in the interface between the Andean and the Christian, and not on one side or the other of this border. In consequence, my initial approach was focused partially on how people cope with and deal with sources of change, but also in how these same people respond to and eventually appropriate these changes, and the ways in which their identities were being redefined or re-shaped as a result. On top of that, the prospect of the construction of the New Cuzco International airport in Chinchero, a huge and highly controversial tourism-related development project, added a significant layer to this preoccupation about the effects of development in ancestral land. Moreover, I wanted to understand change in itself, its material and historical substance anchored in the individual and collective stories of the people. But change does take place at different levels and through a multiplicity of agents. And so, when I was living in Cuzco it was impossible to remain indifferent to the overwhelming activity of the tourist industry in the city as well as in the region at large, a presence epitomised by the promotion of Machu Picchu and the Sacred Valley as major international destinations in the tourist arena.

Situated along the main touristic axis, Chinchero had witnessed a steady increase in the number of tourists since the 1960s, a process that had clearly accelerated by the 1990s and particularly during the first decade of the 21st Century. Focusing on tourist development as a venue to study social change made sense within a regional society that was heavily relying on this resource (along with mining) to achieve economic transformation and social progress. From an ethnographic point of view, the town was attractive because, on the one hand and in spite of its proximity to Cuzco (some 30 km to

the Northwest), it still retained much of its "traditional" and "indigenous" character; and, on the other hand, it was rapidly embracing "modernity" through a dense network of connections and exchanges with the city and urban life in general. Additionally, previous ethnographic work had documented change in the village for several decades and it offered me a backdrop against which I could locate and address the new winds of change with a certain sense of historical continuity. These new winds of change were now mainly – if by no means solely – exemplified by tourism and related activities. In Chinchero, many (if not most) families relied on tourism to make a living, apart from agriculture. If up to a recent past agriculture and farming were the primary subsistence activities, now the situation was one in which tourism appeared to be the main resource, complemented by a receding agriculture and herding. Family and social dynamics were being altered as tourism was introducing new demands and temporal schemes. Augusta herself was a typical example of C*hincherina* or villager who, instead of remaining at home most of the day weaving, catering for her family and looking after the animals as was customary, she daily wandered the streets of Cuzco selling her crafts to the visitors trying to make extra money for her family, while Jacinto had another job and their sons studied in the city. Indeed the forces of tourism were introducing changes. How these forces were affecting and transforming people's lives became the general topic of this project. As tourism impacts have many ramifications I had to further narrow it down to issues of land-scape and heritage. The situation regarding the Airport fitted well with this concern with the land as it promised to bring in change as well as conflict and unpredictable social and ecological consequences. But change was not new in the Andes. Indeed, the whole region had undergone dramatic transformations throughout history, both pre-contact and post-contact. Particularly, the colonial and republican eras had brought about significant disruption to Amerindian societies. Regarding this point, Alcida Ramos (1988: 227) has argued that contact with the whites has contributed to the renewal of Indian traditions. If this were true, a question to be asked was, not only what kind of change was tourism fostering within a comparative diachronic framework, but also if tourism could be understood in similar ethnogenetic[2] terms, in spite of the apparent differences in scale and type of contact.

[2] For a definition of *ethnogenesis* I follow here Corr and Vieira: (…) "processes through which indigenous peoples continually reproduce themselves as distinct, non-western cultures, processes that result in the constant creation and recreation of ethnic groups, and that have been simultaneously reproductive and transformative." (2012: 5)

1.2 Living in Chinchero with Jacinto and Augusta: The tourist-anthropologist and some fieldwork dilemmas

One afternoon, July 15th, 2012, I dropped off the bus covering the bumpy route Cuzco-Urubamba, which stopped along the way at the town of Chinchero. I picked up my backpack and started making my way through C*alle* Manco Capac towards the upper part of the C*entro Poblado* or urban centre[3], where the main Inca ruins and the colonial temple stood (fig.2). After having walked for some one hundred meters, I was halted at the checkpoint where tourists had to show their tickets (or alternatively buy an expensive one on the spot) in order to be granted access to the Inca town and visit its main monuments. The paid visit also included access to the weaving centres where women delivered exhibitions of the renowned textile tradition of Chinchero. At the checkpoint I was required my ticket. Obviously I did not have one because I was not arriving at the town as a tourist but as an anthropologist who was going to live there for a year with a local family studying the local traditions and customs. So I explained to the gatekeepers, who looked at me in disbelief and insisted that I should have a ticket with me if I wanted to walk beyond that point. After a long back and forth in which I had to give them details of the family I would live with and proof of my Peruvian residence permit to persuade them of the veracity of my argument, they let me pass. As the employees in charge of the two checkpoints in town were periodically rotated, the same incident repeated several times during the year, to my impatience, as it was difficult for them to accept that a *gringo*[4] like me, in fact the only one who lived in the town, could be something other than a tourist.

The anecdote is helpful to illustrate the ambiguous nature of my position in "the field" from that point onwards, as well as local perceptions and categorisations with regard to foreigners and outsiders. It also highlights the point that one thing is how we want to present ourselves, and a different one how people classify us no matter what we say. The relative relevance of this discussion, if any, lies in that our "success"" in the field depends greatly on how we fit into people's preconceived classifications, so that they can (or cannot) make some sense of us and, consequently, decide the kind of interactions they want to (or not want to) have with us. And so, during my year in Chinchero I strove to

[3] Unless otherwise specified, all the terms translated are from the Spanish language.
[4] Typically, a Euroamerican white foreigner.

explain my hosts that I was a student interested in their traditions and customs. I soon gave up my self-presentation as "anthropologist", which for many resulted obscure. I also avoided as much as I could the real topic of my research, which again sounded too complicated (not to mention my notorious inability to properly articulate it in an intelligible manner, not only for them but for myself as well). To the contrary, being a student of their *costumbres* (customs), apart from being true, made sense because most of them had their kids in the school or at the University. Moreover, other students before me had spent time in the town recording traditional life. And yet, in spite of these efforts, and to my frustration, I was never able to completely disentangle my student identity from that of the tourist, in this case a long-term tourist. This was all the more evident at the beginning of my fieldwork:

> One day, after just a few weeks from my arrival to Chinchero, out of curiosity and after having asked for permission, I attended the assembly of the Cúper Pueblo sector held at the small football pitch uptown. They were going to discuss topics related to communal organisation and the *faenas*[5] to be undertaken soon. It was customary that if the household's head (husband or wife) could not attend the meeting for whatever reason, one of their sons or daughters would be sent on their behalf. That day, Jacinto (my landlord) was running late and the assembly began without him. The sector's president started introducing the meeting's agenda when he was suddenly interrupted by Germán Sallo, a *comunero* or registered member of the community: "Well, eh… Excuse me Mr. President. I have to say that I do not find appropriate that here (referring to me), this… Mr. Tourist, is representing either Jacinto or Augusta, because our statutes clearly state that they have to be their sons or daughters, and well…". Right at that moment Jacinto walked into the precinct and Germán shut up. Other comuneros could hardly suffocate their laughs. I was embarrassed…

Why was I so put out by the idea of being mistaken for being a tourist? Why should I draw a clear line between the tourist and the anthropologist? After all, was not I studying tourism in town? At first, it seemed important to me to underline the distinction and give my work and my presence a higher status than the leisured approach normally accorded to

[5] *Faenas* are collective tasks performed for the benefit of the community.

the tourists. It was also a way of making people aware of my academic intentions and predispose them towards talking to me about my research. In practice, this distinction never worked so well. Those with whom I achieved more intimacy understood the purpose of my stay and came to see me more as a friend than anything else. But for many others the boundaries between the tourist and the student of anthropology remained blurred. The situation only highlighted the irony and the paradox of my condition. For many years and during the course of travels and experiences abroad, I had abhorred finding tourists in my way. I strongly held on to the perceptions most commonly associated with mainstream or mass tourism, especially from the "First World" to the "Third World": the triviality and superficiality that I found disgusting, the outstanding social and economic disparities, the unique capacity of tourism to spoil otherwise beautiful spaces, among other perceptions. And now I was finding myself not only being mistaken for a tourist, but also needing them (almost thanking them) for my research. On top of that, the classic literature on Tourism (Graburn 1989; Urry 2002; MacCannell 1999, 2003; Cohen 2005; Bruner 2005; Edensor 1998) had challenged the boundaries between the tourists and other, traditionally more respectable, figures, such as travellers, pilgrims, development workers, researchers, and so on. The claims emphasised commonalities in the type of gaze, in the shared state of mobility and travel, in the social and economic conditions in origin, and so on. MacCannell had even pointed to the equivalence between social scientists and tourists, arguing that "both are interested in primitive peoples, poor peoples and ethnic minorities", and that "both have been criticized for having a superficial view of things as well as for being purveyors of modern values" (MacCannell 1999: 3). In spite of my reluctance towards the total merging of both figures, and having no significant objections to the charges formulated by MacCannell, I felt progressively led to embrace my "tourist skin", to openly behave as one of them when the situation demanded it, to camouflage myself sometimes as a tourist to participate in tourist's activities, sometimes as an anthropologist in more formal interactions, moving in and out of my various identities and faces, in the practice denying a strict separation between the one and the other, feeling as comfortable as possible in both roles, without making them clash. I finally came to the conclusion that if people did not make such clear-cut differentiations in a town that lived off tourism, I should not do so either. This is not to concede that, after all, there are no differences between tourists and anthropologists. For example, I had to write a doctoral dissertation after my visit to the community, whereas tourists did not, and this was a big difference.

However, particularly in the context of my fieldwork, the line between the one and the other was very thin and within that line I had to carry out my research.

As time went by and my integration in the life of the community was more effective, it became more apparent that, at the very least, I was not a conventional tourist. As my tourist skin began losing its thickness, other layers of identity gradually came up to the surface and people's perceptions about me also changed. This was not a linear process. People's perceptions shifted as events in town unfolded and I positioned myself within them. Sometimes my position was compromised by some sensitive research issues, as I realized that at times, my research was uncomfortable for some of the people around me. Other times my own awkwardness led me to inadvertently occupy spaces that were not meant for me. Consecutively, and simultaneously, I was a *gringo*, a tourist, a student, an NGO worker, a friend and, for some, a spy and somebody whose intentions were not clear at all[6]. Gossip was rampant in Chinchero and obviously I was not going to escape from it easily, let alone being an outsider living with a local family and perhaps making business with them, as many people in town suspected. To further compound these problematic views of my presence, my Spanish nationality was not the best introductory card in a place where people were taught, like in the rest of the national territory, that the country had been irreversibly damaged since the day the Spanish arrived...

Chinchero, I found out, was not an easy place to live and to do research. Historically there always had been resentment against whites and *mistis* (mestizos), former landowners and *hacendados* (hacienda owners) who had abused their power and influence. Life in town was at first sight dominated by close kinship and ties of reciprocity that bound people together. People often addressed each other in the streets, with names seemingly indicating kinship, such as "tío" and "tía" (uncle and aunt), even if they were not close relatives, and the atmosphere was at the same time familiar and relaxed. But intertwined with this apparent level of social life, I soon learned that the community was

[6] One day, late during my fieldwork, I attended the assembly of Cúper Pueblo. It was not the first time that I had attended an assembly, and, to that date, nobody had publicly objected to my presence. Erroneously taking for granted that it was one more routine assembly, I popped by the *salón comunal* or communal house. It turned out that it was an extraordinary assembly called to deal with some sensitive internal issues. I was requested to leave the house. Ironically, the same man who kicked me out had been until then one of my best friends, or so I believed. Later I learned that in the assembly he sparked comments of me being a spy. A hot debate followed with some *comuneros* expressing mistrust towards me, whereas others held more sympathetic views. The incident appeared to endorse what Augusta kept telling me over and over: "In this town you cannot trust anybody."

also shaken by long-term internal strife, mutual distrust among neighbours, inter and intra-family rivalries and competition, fights and envies, personal antagonisms, secrecy, etc., that characterizes the lives of many small communities virtually the world over. As an ethnographer, in spite of my will to remain untouched by these conflicts, I ended up being drawn into them one way or the other by virtue of the network of relationships I established and the resulting associations and statements made by other people about me. As it turned out, the situation was not as idyllic as it might have looked at the beginning and, I wanted it or not, I was often forced to take sides, or rather have others assign sides for me. I became one more thread woven into the complex textile of communal life, embedded and at times lost in the multiple crossroads and intersections that made up the town's microhistory.

These oscillating and at times uneasy relations with the community[7] belonged to the nature of fieldwork and the implication of the anthropologist within this human conglomerate. This particular mode of occupying a space is laden (not unlike tourism incidentally) with misunderstandings, inequalities and imbalances between the ethnographer and the villagers**.** Asymmetries become evident and shape our fieldwork. To start with, I, from a "developed" country, was there "studying their culture". I always found this statement a little overwhelming, as if by virtue of my origin, research activity and academic credentials, I automatically acquired rights and status[8]. Additionally, they "worked" and I did not. For them, what I was doing (basically wandering about observing and talking to people) was not proper work and they often asked me how I managed to sustain myself economically without a job. Indeed the contrast between their lives and mine was all too evident. Teasing me about this, and to my secret embarrassment, Augusta used to tell me that she wanted to have the kind of life that I had. In their view, I did not start working until I began using my hands (and in fact my whole body) when accompanying them in their daily tasks in the fields, at the weaving centres or at the construction sites, to mention but a few examples. This "proper work" (which could be physically extenuating), I learned, was endowed with a high moral value and it was one of the main constituents for being respected as *comunero.* In my case, "real work" earned me

[7] The use of the term "community" throughout the text is clearly reductionist. It suggests a homogenous group of people with whom I interacted on the same level. It is clear, though, that my level of interactions varied a lot and that with some people there was no interaction at all.

[8] See Abercrombie (2006) for similar concerns.

some additional respect and sympathy among the villagers and contributed to ease, though not completely, my sense of differentiation.

Moreover, I was usually taking notes in my notebook from my observations, meditations, and participation in events[9]. But writing in a country of weavers reminded me that literacies and textual practices cannot be easily disentangled from power relations (cf. Street 2011a, 2011b). Whenever they saw me weaving, it was greatly celebrated; whenever they saw me writing, there could be speculation and even occasional discomfort as to what I was writing and what for. They knew I was writing "about" them and their business, and again this practice raised issues about my position within the community. My concern with technology and the power of representation was old. When discussing photography, Urry (2002: 127-29) notes the relation between knowledge and power that comes in the form of the appropriation of the object photographed. Writing could be another form of appropriation. The concern was not with avoiding difference. Difference can be turned into a positive force without creating disruption. The concern was more with finding appropriate ways of inhabiting their space without spreading further and unnecessary tensions. To borrow Marylin Strathern's apt idiom, I meant to "approach them in a spirit of honest difference" (1987: 17).

Now that I mention methods, during my twelve months of fieldwork in Chinchero I spent most of my time in town engaging with the residents in many different ways. To a lesser extent, I also engaged with tourists visiting the town and with the tourist agents that might or might not be leading them. My visits to Cuzco were not infrequent, even if these were usually short and driven for the most part by the necessity to talk to people involved in the tourist industry. While in Chinchero, I used different method for recording information. Depending on the type of my relationship with my field companions and the context in which the conversations took place, I would either use a tape-recorder or a notebook. In some instances I had to rely on my memory and, whenever this was the case, the information obtained is not presented in the text in quotations. The quotations that I include in this thesis come from the recorded (and transcribed) interviews.

The fact is that this range of asymmetries framed my interactions with the residents and located myself in an ambiguous space. For whilst I was part of the community, I was not; whilst I was trusted, I was also mistrusted; whilst I was integrated, I was ignored as well.

[9] I should also mention here: drawing, taking photographs as well as tape and clip recording. While conducting these representational practices I tried to be as discrete as possible, and I sometimes abstained completely from such practices

On top of that, I had come to study change and, as MacCannell (ibid) had remarked and Lippard (1999) had underlined referring to the tourists, I myself could be an inadvertent catalyst for social change through my embodied transmission of "western" values. I had to live with these limitations and contradictions. Ambiguity carried with it a sense of liminality attached. Never fully included, nor clearly excluded, permanently on the edge between the inside and the outside of the community, fluctuating between both poles, tourist and anthropologist, opportunity and threat at the same time, feeling both powerful and helpless. Liminality involved further tension and tiredness. Much has been written about the vulnerability of these rural communities, but little about the vulnerability of the ethnographer. I was vulnerable because I was unable to properly perform most of the things they could do, for their amused disappointment. I was fragile because my body suffered from the rigorous climate and life conditions and I was often weak and sick, whereas they were tough and healthy. Perhaps, after all, these were just fair ways of inverting other imbalances.

Jacinto Singona and Augusta Pumaccahua lived in Cúper Pueblo, one of the four sectors in which the community of Cúper was subdivided[10] (fig. 3). Jacinto was in his late forties whilst Augusta was in her late thirties. They had five sons (Amílcar, Washington, Lennin, Rober and César), all of them adolescents, except for little César, aged three, the unexpected outcome of Augusta´s desperate and frustrated attempts at having a daughter, an unfulfilled dream that she finally had to give up. The four elder boys attended either High School or the University in Cuzco. Little César, or *Cesarcha*[11], was taken every morning to the Kinder Garden, except when Augusta took him with her to the city or to the near town of Urubamba. Augusta was a weaver and spent most of her days wandering the streets of Cuzco selling her crafts to the tourists trying to earn income to feed her family, and to be able to finance her sons' studies. As tourism is a precarious business, with low and high seasons or even years, the flow of income was consequently very unreliable. During the particular year that I lived with them (July 2012-July 2013), tourism was low in the Cuzco region, mostly due to the international crisis and the news filtered in

[10] In chapter 2 I describe the political organization of the District of Chinchero. The town is basically divided in three main *ayllus or* communities: Cúper, Yanacona and Ayllopongo.
[11] In Quechua language, where the suffix *cha* is an affective diminutive.

the media about the supposed activity of some remnant of *Sendero Luminoso*[12] in the vicinity of Machu Picchu.

Augusta, as other *Chincherinas*, was struggling to make money from selling crafts. The money she made was coupled by Jacinto´s salary. As with many men in Chinchero, Jacinto had a job, more or less unrelated to tourism. When I stayed with them he was an employee of the INC[13], working in an archaeological excavation near the town of Lares, in the mountains up the Valley of Urubamba. Later on he found another job in the civil construction in Cuzco. They lived in a house in C*alle Bolívar*, just a couple of blocks South from the church plaza in the *Centro Poblado*, high above the main road and overlooking the vast and beautiful *pampa* (plain or flat space) of Yanacona, the place designated for the construction of the new airport, a matter that had the community greatly divided and that was in the mouth of virtually every single *comunero* in town[14]. The house had belonged to Jacinto's parents and grandparents and, as most houses within the *Centro Poblado* (except those more recently built near or along the road), rested on Inca and colonial foundations with plastered mud-brick walls. It was a two-story house with a patio, a garden, two rooms upstairs and one downstairs, as well as a storage-room, an old kitchen in the basement with a floor made of tamped earth and an adobe stove, where wood was burnt every day for cooking. I was allocated one of the rooms upstairs, with a magnificent view of the *nevados* or snow-capped peaks of the *Cordillera Oriental* which dotted the skyline towards the North and Northwest. By the time I moved in, there were pigs, hens and sheep in the house, without a clear physical separation from the space of the humans. In fact, the animals were messing the whole place with their waste, and one day Augusta and Jacinto decided to have them removed and found a better location for them elsewhere. *Cuys* (Andean guinea pigs) were bred in the kitchen and, along with the other animals, they complemented the diet of the family and occasionally they could be sold for cash.

Jacinto and Augusta had *chacras* (plots of land) scattered in different sectors of Cúper, but also in Ayllopongo. This pattern of extended land tenure[15] across the territory was common currency in Chinchero (as in the Andes, broadly speaking). Typically, families

[12] "Shiny Path" in English. This is a Maoist guerrilla organization who fought a bloody war against the Peruvian State in the 1980s.

[13] Instituto Nacional de Cultura (Institute for National Culture). It is currently the Ministry of Culture. Hereinafter I will refer to it as INC, as most people do today in spite of the linguistic move.

[14] Chapter 8 is dedicated to the airport.

[15] Land tenure will be discussed more in length in chapter 3.

would have *chacras* in different communities. Since kinship ties are important in the district, this fact enabled access to land in different geographic/ecological points simultaneously. Only crops that do well in altitude can be cultivated in Chinchero, which is officially situated at 3.765 m above the sea at the road (and pampa) level. However, most Cúper land is located in the *quechua* and *puna* ecological zones, which rise higher than the *pampa*. In any case, tubers are mainly grown in the fields, especially potatoes and oca, but also cereals like *quinoa* (a native plant) and barley, or legumes such as broad beans and peas, are also grown in the same areas. Maize does not survive at those heights, nor do most fruits and vegetables. Maize was instead grown in the warmer valleys of Urubamba and La Convención and was brought every Sunday to the busy local market where women would either buy them or trade them following the old custom of *trueque* (barter), within an overall and long-standing Andean pattern of verticality and reciprocity[16].

Jacinto and Augusta worked their fields all year long according to the agricultural calendar. They would work the fields mainly during the weekends with the help of their sons, since they were too busy during the week. Agricultural tasks and cycles had to be synchronized with their jobs and occupations outside of the household and with the many duties inside of it. Both Jacinto and Augusta often complained that they never had time to do everything that they wanted and needed to do. Agriculture could not be neglected because, despite its progressive marginalization in the wake of profound societal changes introduced by a market economy, most families in Chinchero still relied on agriculture as the basis for their daily subsistence and it was seen as a secure asset against the precariousness of their economic conditions.

So, there I was, living in their house, at times watching, at times participating in their interactions and routines, again integrated and excluded, depending on what they wanted to share or what they chose to conceal from me. As a rule, I was accepted into their routines and conversations. These could be conducted either in Quechua or in Spanish[17]. Augusta and Jacinto talked to each other in Quechua, but would converse quite often with their sons in Spanish, even if they understood Quechua. Augusta felt more compelled than

[16] Verticality refers to the adaptive strategy whereby different groups occupying different ecological niches enter into reciprocal relations to make sure that each one has access to the products grown in the other zones (cf. J. Murra 1978, 2002)

[17] Methodologically, through the sharing of their quotidian activities it was easier to engage people in conversations while doing something *in situ*. In this process of integration, being able to speak and understand some Quechua was quite important in order to sympathize with the locals. However, whenever my command of the language was not enough to keep up with a conversation or an event conducted in the native language, something was inevitably lost.

Jacinto to talk to the boys in the native language. There were a few times when I realized that I could be an uncomfortable witness of events or talks, and that they required their privacy, just as I needed mine. Nonetheless, I had a privileged vantage point for insights into the life of an Andean family and into how they raised their children.

Being adolescents, the boys were experiencing difficulties with their studies and in their relations with their parents. Not only had they to study, but they also had to fulfill their household chores every day, which typically included cooking, washing their clothes by hand, feeding the animals, cleaning the house, watching over César, and several other chores. Often the parents would talk to their sons at night to stress the importance of responsibility, hard work and discipline, and warned them repeatedly against the neglect of their obligations. The parents reminded their children of the sacrifices that they were making for them. Most times these conversations were quiet, intimate, and relaxed; but at other times they were not. Sometimes Jacinto and, particularly Augusta, would lose their patience and would tell off the boys in a loud voice. Whenever that anger reached a climax, for example whenever Augusta learned or suspected that they were lying to her, the outcome could be shocking. Indeed I was taken aback the first time I heard Augusta flogging Amílcar, the eldest son, from my bedroom. Amílcar had lied by saying that her girlfriend had not been in the house in his mother's absence when in fact she had. It would not be the last time that I would hear Augusta flogging her sons in the kitchen (something she would never do in front of me or in front of other people). She was exerting her female authority in the household as well as putting into practice local modes and understandings of education that incorporated the notion of raising proper human beings. In spite of my initial shock at the physical violence from mother to sons, it did not take me long to grasp that Augusta was making sure that her sons would keep their moral standards high, even if through drastic ways in this case.

Contrary to what the previous episode might suggest, during my stay I observed a consistent pattern of behaviour and multiple instances that proved the great care and concern of both parents with regard to their sons' physical, intellectual and moral well-being. It was for this reason that it was painful for me to see them struggling economically that year. Augusta sadly acknowledged that she was not properly feeding her family, while Jacinto would simply tell me in a resigned manner "no alcanza el dinero" (money is not enough). And yet they were making every possible effort to support their sons' studies. Augusta made it clear: "I do not want my sons to live the same life that I have led,

wandering the streets of the city up and down. I want them to be professionals and have good jobs." In a similar line, when I showed my appreciation of the boys' ability and disposition for performing almost any possible task, her answer was, "I want my sons to be independent". These ideas did not sound very "traditional" to me and ever since the start of my research they challenged my unconscious assumptions about the people I was living with. Augusta herself would push this challenge further when, several times, commenting on the conventional behaviour and ideas held by other members of the community, she would dismiss them as *pensamiento ancestral* (ancestral thinking), an expression loaded with connotations of backwardness and normally used in opposition to urban values. I heard other people using the same expression in similar contexts. The irony was that this kind of talk came from people that from the outside were still being described precisely as "ancestral", but in a quite different sense. This latter characterization was couched in the discourse of the tourist industry in alliance with the Peruvian State, to underscore a presumed unbroken continuity between the contemporary indigenous peoples and their Pre-Hispanic past. However, it seemed that these local categorizations were turning upside down the stereotypical view of a people somehow caught "between tradition and modernity" (a view to which I had held on to). At least, these incidents made me suspicious of the classic "tradition versus modernity" framework of discussion for a proper study and understanding of change. Perhaps those categories did not work as analytical tools and were not even "real". Could there be other ways of addressing and explaining cultural change without resorting necessarily to this kind of well-established and dichotomous tropes?

It was not going to be, however, so easy to think outside of that box. This conceptualization of the "modern" and the "traditional" was played out at various levels of community life. It turned out that, during that year, Jacinto and Augusta were *varayuq*[18] or

[18] *Varayuq* is a Quechua word that can be translated as "staff holder". It alludes to the staff that traditional leaders hold as symbols of their authority. The imagery of the staff as a symbol of power in the Andes is very old. It can be widely found in the Pre-Hispanic visual language, as well as in the oral tradition such as in some Inca origin myths. The tradition of the *vara*yuq could be of Pre-Hispanic origins. However, Thurner (1997: 8) locates its origin in the early decades of the 18th C., when they took over classic caciques in the Indian cabildos or councils. Nowadays, and in the regional context of Cuzco, the tradition still continues in some places like Chinchero or Pisaq, whereas it is absent in other places. In Chinchero, it is part of the *cargo* system widespread in the Andean region, whereby *comuneros* are expected to assume different positions of responsibility within the community on a rotational basis. A person who has passed most or all *cargos* is highly respected and there is usually a direct correlation between c*argos* well carried out and social recognition. *Cargos* are also perceived and experienced as a burden because they normally entail the expenditure of large sums of money.

traditional authorities of Cúper Pueblo. Every sector and community in the District appointed their own groups of *varayuq*, male and female, every year, organized hierarchically and with a sense of descent embedded. For example, those who occupied the lowest position in the hierarchy (usually the youngest individuals) were addressed with the Quechua term *wawa* (baby). Both features, hierarchy and descent, were consistent with historical descriptions and ethnographic accounts of "Andean culture". They would typically ensure that the most important festivities and rituals in the calendar of the District ran smoothly and presided over them. They had no real political power but their presence was often sought after in district and communal events to enhance their significance. This institution overlapped with the Municipality and with the *Asambleas de las Comunidades* (Community Assemblies), which regulated political life in the District. Augusta and Jacinto's appointment as *varayuq* was a lucky strike for me. I got to know the *varayuq* of the four sectors of Cúper and they integrated me into their activities and discussions. It was a little window into ancient forms of social organisations that had probably been actualised in new ways over time. This was also an entryway towards values and attitudes inherited by contemporary descendants of former peoples, but values and ritual forms that, while still being honoured, they were also being abandoned or neglected, as Jacinto and Augusta would point out to me often with a mixture of resignation and nostalgia. Augusta would eloquently evoke nostalgia for a past world, when speaking of how the advent of modern times had forever, for the worse, changed the world in which her parents and grandparents lived. However, there was always ambiguity, or so it seemed to me, in the way Augusta related to her past. For, as I have said, she was at the same time very critical of "ancestral thinking" and keen on quickly adapting to that same modernity that had brought to an end the pure and beautiful world of the elders (a world that, paradoxically, she and many other people would describe as *ancestral*, but with a sense of pride at the same time). Proof of this adaptation was the facility with which *Chincherinos* had embraced cell phones and technology in general, not to mention their daily engagements with Cuzco and city life in general, which from the beginning made it very difficult to blindly subscribe to the typical vision of a traditional people stubbornly attached to their dear old ways and being just the victims of "modernization".

Thus, if my affinity with the *varayuq*, along with my living with a local family, greatly eased the initial problem of integration[19], learning to weave helped me in turn to accomplish two important goals. In the first place, I was introduced to the intricacies of an ancient and paradigmatic Andean cultural practice whose governing rules and principles are akin to those found in other domains of the social structure (cf. Franquemont 1992; Arnold 1992, 1996; Callañaupa 2007, 2012; Cereceda 2010), in an exemplary exercise of cultural transposition. Secondly, and more importantly, it was the key that opened the doors of the weaving centres to me. These weaving centres operate in town and are overwhelmingly the domain of women[20]. To a sceptical mind, this situation would seem to present an impassable gender barrier. And yet, the lessons that I took with Rosa, my master weaver who eventually became one of my best friends and allies in town, were extremely useful and allowed me to be granted a more permanent presence into these groups, and be able to weave and talk with them as part of my routine. Weavers were greatly amused by having a male gringo weaving *chumpis* (Quechua for belts) in their workshops. They would correct me and assist me whenever I got in trouble with the threads and would often make fun of me through jokes consisting of overt sexual overtones. In turn, I entertained them with silly anecdotes told in broken Quechua about my life in the village, which, for some reason, they found hilarious. Weaving with them afforded me a privileged view of what was going on in these groups in terms of their internal dynamics and also with regard to their interactions with the tourists that visited these centres for shopping, looking around, or for attending a weaving demonstration[21].

One of the arguments that seek to differentiate anthropologists from tourists, is that the former, so the argument goes, have access to the "backstage" of the community, whereas tourists normally remain in the "front stage". MacCannell (1999: 95) has rejected a clear-cut distinction between front and back regions and the implied assumption that anthropologists get to the core of family or community life. I think he is right. I got as far as people wanted me to go, in my household and in other settings. Between the "front" and the "back", if these exist at all, there are gradations, multiple positions to occupy

[19] Living with Augusta and Jacinto in the heart of the urban core was key in this regard. Through them it was easier to get to know their neighbours and friends. It also helped the villagers to associate me –an outsider from a foreign country- with a local family and gave them a certain sense of who I could be, despite the controversies around my identity.

[20] However, historically speaking, weaving in the Andes has been practiced by both women and men alike.

[21] In chapter 7 I include a detailed account and analysis of these groups.

consecutively and not necessarily in a linear, progressive manner. It was the residents who most of the time who assigned me the positions and roles that I would take up.

During the course of my research in these weaving groups, and with weavers in general, I came to learn about some "uncomfortable truths" that, some women felt, could compromise their image and business. I learnt about this information because some women talked to me openly and spontaneously about it, whereas others feared I was going too far and raised concerns about my activity in town, concerns that never reached me directly but that reached Augusta and it was through her that I found out. I was "sticking my nose in other people's business" and this fact put me in a dilemma with regard to the limits of research, especially when they could affect the relationships between the ethnographer and part of the community (and could also compromise my host family). Augusta was concerned too and asked me to be careful, as well as with the rest of my entanglements with the villagers. She herself usually conducted her own business with secrecy so that nobody would learn about them and try to take advantage, a pattern of behaviour extended in town. Jacinto, for his part, while adhering to the basic principle of hiding their private affairs away from their neighbours, had a different approach and felt that I should go ahead with my research.

So, I was faced with the question of what should I write and what I should not, and how, and for whom. These questions in turn brought me back to the larger issues of ethnographic representation, accuracy, and authority. Since Clifford (1986), the presumed authority of the ethnographer, as well as the capacity of the ethnographic account to "represent" a culture, has been called into question. Along these same lines, Strathern (1987: 18-24) has repudiated the Euro-American notion of "authorship" (even that of a shared authorship), denouncing the appropriation of native knowledge by anthropologists and the exploitative kind of relations between one group and the other, when, as she says, one of them has the power to convert relationships into personal prestige. Addressing related preoccupations with language and the place that the native voices occupy in the ethnographic accounts, Ramos (1988: 230) has encouraged ethnographers to write with an Indian readership in mind and she asks if it is possible to avoid the tendency to objectify the subjects of our study in our pursuit of anthropological understanding. All of these claims and the challenges they pose for writing ethnography continue to be difficult to ignore. Bearing them in mind, I had to ask myself what kind of text was I supposed to

write, or what can of story was I supposed to tell which could also do justice to the people from whom the story itself would emerge.

"You have to tell the truth", Jacinto told me one night at a wedding in Cuzco, when he got drunk and Augusta was very upset with him. Ashamed as he was of being in that state in front of me and of his family, he first told me, "You are not going to write this in your diary, are you?" But then, a few seconds later and after reflecting a bit on it, he added: "well, no, you have to! You have to tell the truth of our lives!"

Assuming that "telling the truth of their lives" is not only too ambitious, but also beyond my means in all of the vastness of the statement, there is just one authority that I can claim and this is that of the witness, of the one who has been there with all of his senses as well as his filters, and tells a story of what he has seen, heard, touched, and grasped to the best of his ability. The result is a partial but lived account of the people of Chinchero and of the problems and situations I encountered there. The story may not be perfectly accurate, and the *Chincherinos* may well not feel that they have been properly "represented" if they read it. However, I hope that the story I am able to write, despite any limitations, will at least be an honest and engaging account.

2. THE DISTRICT OF CHINCHERO

Fig. 4: The historical ayllus of Chinchero

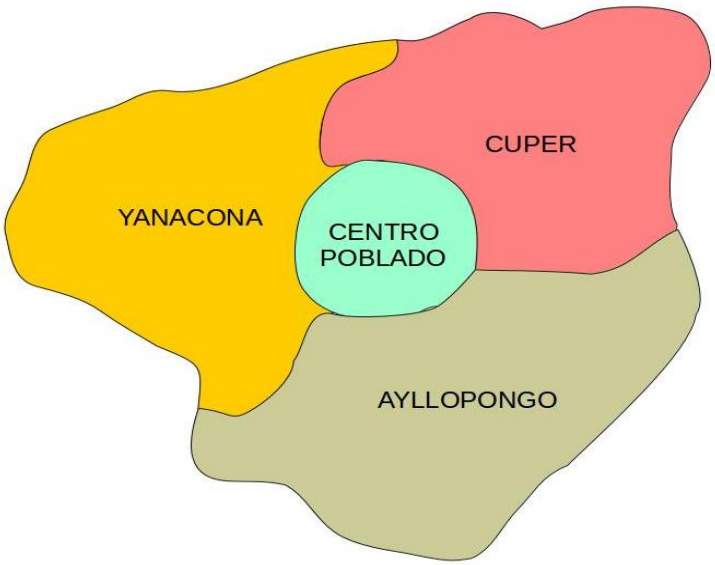
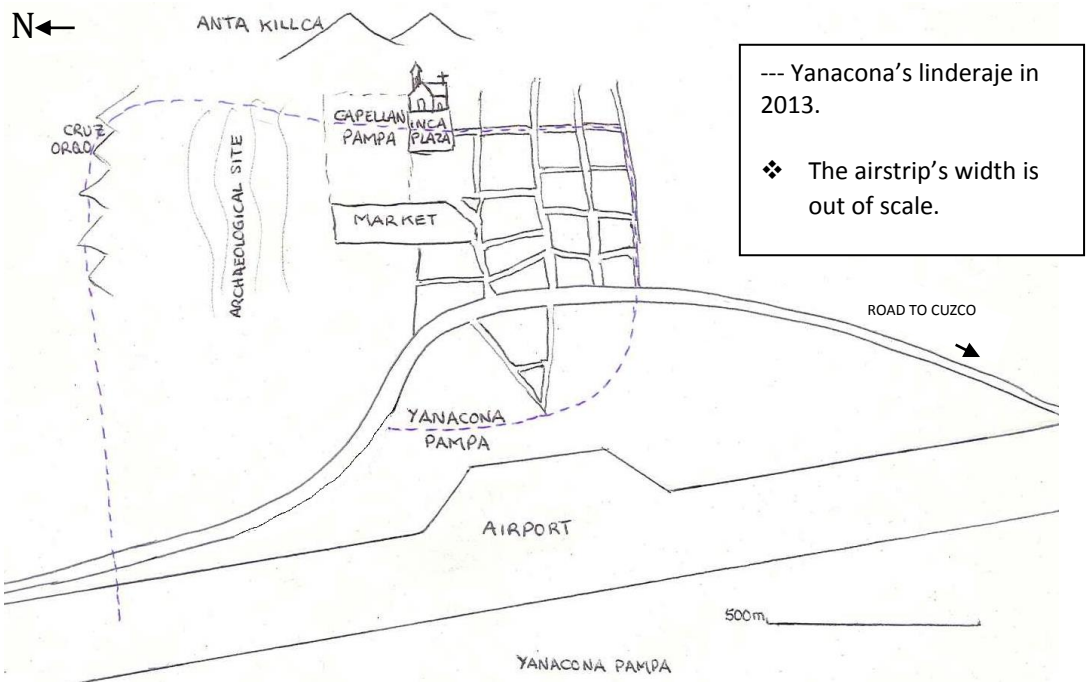


Fig. 5: Map of Chinchero showing future location of airport.



2.1 Origin Times

One night in his house, I talked with Geronimo, a man who I had been recommended to talk to concerning the oral tradition. He picked up on my question as to who the first inhabitants of Chinchero had been[22]:

> "We come from the *Gentiles*, who are much older than the Incas. They are our ancestors, the *Hatun Taytay*[23]. They lived in the hills and the caves, under the earth and the roots. They still do. Their bones are still there but we do not like to uncover them. We respect them. In the old times there was water all over, from Piuray to Wila Wila. There was ice and snow in the hills, unlike now. The gentiles are still present. They are good with us but if we mock them they punish us severely. We respect them a lot. Then there came the Incas and the colony. The Spanish made their haciendas. The Incas retreated towards Vilcabamba and Paucartambo[24]. The descendants, our brothers, live in the jungle nowadays. Before Felix Puma[25], those who left came back and repopulated the village. It was then (towards 1780) that the three communities were founded. The gentiles do have a corporeal entity when they appear. They may appear especially with the full moon and when there is no moon. They may take on the guise of someone we know and the result of this sort of relation is badly deformed children. We know that they are the gentiles by the case of this young lady who was in the hills with her sheep and suddenly a handsome lad showed up. They were together and the next time, to prove that he was a gentile, and after the girl´s boyfriend had denied his involvement, people tied up a thread to his ankle. This was how they could follow him. The thread led them to a semi-buried pile of bones. Then they knew that he came from those bones."

[22] The original text is in Spanish. This is my own translation. The same thing applies to other similar texts in this and other chapters.

[23] "The Great Fathers", in Quechua.

[24] Regions located in the transitional zone between the highlands and the lowlands.

[25] In the 1920s Félix Puma, a man from Umasbamba, made a long foot journey from Chinchero to Lima to report abuses from the landowners before the Republican authorities. His complaints were heard and the landowner had to leave Chinchero. Considered to be a great local leader, nowadays there is a big statue of him in the middle of the big modern plaza in front of the town's hall.

What kind of history was this, and in which temporal framework did it unfold? Could I take it seriously in my attempt to outline a history of Chinchero that blurred the line between history and prehistory? Was there any historical meaning embedded in the story narrated? Was the narrator confusing the one with the other or making a significant difference between both? Did he believe that what he was telling was true and really happened in the past? There were other legends circulating in a cultural area where oral tradition remained strong. Gerónimo was not the only person in town who told me about the g*entiles.* He was one of the various local ethnographers and historians who lived in town. Some of these men and women were self-educated, many had a formal education, and all were curious and very well versed in folk lore. I never considered them my "informants", a most unfortunate term that still appears in the pages of too many ethnographic accounts, laden as it is with power relations and neo-colonial resonances. Frank Salomon (2002) has emphasised the great weight of these individuals in the co-creation of academic knowledge and has rightly accorded them the status of "fellow intellectuals". This is how they must be treated. In the case of Gerónimo, he had received formal education up to college level and had always been very keen on studying the local traditions, ritual and history. He was widely recognised in Chinchero as an authority on local lore. Additionally, he had collaborated before with other ethnographers, such as Christine Franquemont.

As for the gentiles, people believed in them, and recognised them in the ancient bones they found in the landscape. Who were these gentiles, and how could I fit their elusive temporal order within the larger chronological narrative that is supposed to follow these lines? When I asked Matiaza, a knowledgeable woman and leader from the Pukamarca sector, she insisted on the following narrative:

> "Before the Incas, the gentiles inhabited this land. With the rain of fire they buried themselves in the hills. We respect their bones. *Soq'a*[26] is the bad spirit that lives in the bones of the gentiles. When burned in the fire they go blue and speak. At nights the maids or young girls are in the estancias. The gentiles show up as lovers and before dawn they leave. The children born out of these unions are

[26] According to Dillon and Abercrombie, this Quechua word refers to the *chullpas,* the Aymara equivalent of the *Gentiles* (1988: 70).

malformed. There is a place up there called *wayra tujana*[27]. In August the strong wind sounds as if the gentiles are speaking."

In a chapter intended to trace the history of Chinchero, the first difficulty that we face is in deciding on what "history" means for the residents, and how we can approach it in the context of an Amerindian tradition that, as recent critic scholarship has pointed out (cf. Salomon 2013: 19), has related to the past in ways that differ considerably from those of the West. How do we reconcile apparently discrepant or heterodox oral versions of the past with "objective" ones made up from archival and historical documents?

In Chinchero, local accounts acknowledged a mythic time that has been overlooked by historians and archaeologists, who resorted to the Ayarmakas and other ethnic groups to explain the occupation of Chinchero prior to the Inca residence in the area. Traditional South American historiography has drawn a clear line between the "historic times" that arrived with the first written accounts of the conquest, and an obscure "prehistory" (or proto-history at its best) marked by the supposed lack of written sources from the past. The assumption has been that there is no "history" without alphabetic writing (cf. Hill-Boone & Mignolo 1994; Salomon & Hyland 2010). Following on from this idea, we can also derive that, by virtue of the authority and superiority conferred on the written word since contact times as part of the "civilizing" mission of the Europeans (cf. Platt 1992), the oral narratives of the Amerindian societies have been rendered as less "historical" (that is, reliable or accurate) than written history. Given the stigma attached to the oral traditions in the arbitrarily constructed hierarchy of histories, a further misjudgment has been in overemphasising the orality of these groups, as if they had not consistently embraced and re-elaborated western textual practices for their own purposes since the early colonial times (cf. Salomon & Niño-Murcia 2011; Abercrombie 2006). The conclusion is that oral Amerindian material has often been relegated to the category of "myth" (or legends, tales, stories), and that this category has been derogatively constructed in opposition to "history". The former has been usually wrapped in the trappings of fiction and depicted as atemporal and structural[28], whereas the latter has come to stand for "objective truth",

[27] While *wayra* means wind in Quechua, I have not found the word *tujana* in the dictionaries. The conversation with Matiaza was not recorded and I may well have misspelled it in my notes.

[28] Peter Gow has argued that this view of myths as devoid of historical content comes from the misreading of Levi-Strauss' vast work on Amazonian myths and from his division of "cold" and "hot" societies. The former would be represented by indigenous groups reluctant or slow at change, whereas

within a chronological and event-based matrix. But this final judgment on the historicity of disparate narrative materials can hardly be satisfactory.

To redress the balance, J. Hill has argued that myth and history do not stand to each other in irreconcilable opposition, but rather that they represent two different modes of historical consciousness that attempt to interpret the world in their own terms. For this author, oral formulations cannot be read as direct and literal testimonies of historical processes, but can show how these groups have experienced history. Hill concludes that myth is part of history and that both can simultaneously develop in a single society or even within a single narrative (1988: 3-5). This observation fits quite well with the vernacular stories I found in Chinchero, in which the g*entiles* overlapped with the Incas, with the Spaniards, the hacienda owners, the residents and other actors in a sort of fluid time where the order and the structure of the narrative was dictated not so much by the chrono-logic arrangement of the events, but by the hierarchies established among them as perceived by the narrator.

So then we may ask, who the gentiles were, what mode of historical consciousness did they represent, and in what particular ways did they force me to re-think what a history of Chinchero that could also do justice to a picture of what the various ways of relating to the past actually looks like? Actually, the story is not specific to Chinchero. In other Andean ethnographies (Allen 1988; Abercrombie 2006; Salomon 2002) and in folk collections from the Cuzco region, people talk about them as their pre-Inca ancestors, even if with other names such as *Chullpas* or *Machukuna*. As in the Aymara myth analysed by Dillon and Abercrombie (1988), the gentiles were identified with dead ancestors and were associated with the underworld and the chthonic powers of the earth by living in caves and under the roots. However, they were still alive and present, they spoke to the people through their bones and the wind, and were able to exert considerable harmful or beneficial agency amidst the living. By trespassing on the confines of the past and reaching out towards the possibilities of the future, they collapsed the temporal boundaries and re-situated history in the realm of a permanent becoming, in an ongoing dimension that, whilst resting on the beddings of the past, still relied on present actions for the re-production of the potentialities inherent to myths. As Dillon and Abercrombie (1988: 59) have suggested, myth makes the past and the future immanent in this world and accessible via ritual. This

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the latter (represented by the western world) would change rapidly. Gow makes clear that there is no "progress" from myth to history in Levi-Strauss, as J.Hill and others have implied, and that for the French structuralism, myths are historical objects (2001: 9-19).

may be one of the reasons why this particular historical mode is resilient in certain societies, because it would afford the possibility of partial control over the generative or destructive forces of which time is always pregnant, that is, the past is active and can be manipulated to influence the present in certain ways.

Does this functionalist explanation mean that what the story tells is not true? If by "truth" we understand not "that which really happened", but rather "that which brings about the desired results"[29], we may not have a problem in accepting the historicity of a narrative that disclosed people´s attitudes towards a particular past-present. Moreover, the possibility of a correlation between what the story tells and what scientific data may confirm, is always there, and it would not be the first time that archaeological findings validate the information contained in myths. I remember the day that I climbed to *Apu Anta Killka* with my friend Ángel. When we got to the top of the steep hill, I noticed the peculiar type of rock that dominated the lunar landscape. "It is volcanic rock", said Ángel. I was reminded, then, of the rain of fire that showed in Matiaza´s version of the g*entiles* and that had stood so far to my eyes as a symbolic, almost apocalyptic, literary trope. When I asked Ángel about it he explained that the rain of fire is a common constituent in Andean cosmogonies and that it might refer to a shower of meteorites[30].

As it turned out, folklore and the economy of mythic space/time canceled all of the diversity of human habitation prior to the Incas into one single category, namely the g*entiles*, whose traces were still visible in the landscape (their semi-buried bones and the caves where they lived). Mythic time, unspecified as it was, dissolved the multiple stratifications of chronology and reconstituted the temporal dimension in a homogenous space released from the constraints of temporal and physical exactitude, as well as from the fragmentation and contradictions that linearity involves, where the past is gone forever and cut off from the present and the future. For the Andeans, however (cf. Allen 1988; Randall 1982), previous times or ages continue to exist, albeit in a different state, and there is contact and some sense of proximity and interaction with the present.

If these are the folk narratives about the origin times as told by local historians and ethnographers, it is time now to turn to what has been written by professional historians and archaeologists, as well as to explore the problems and challenges that these other

[29] In Salomon 2013: 85, quoted in turn from Warren D'azevedo's "Uses of the past in Gola discourse".

[30] Gaston Gordillo (2004: 21) finds the rain of fire as far as in the mythology of the Toba people of the Argentinean Chaco region, not far away from the Andean mountain range and close to the border with Bolivia.

dominant discourses about the past which extend to contemporary times pose. I will also compare these master narratives with local accounts about the same period in order to gain insights into different senses or emphasis of history and to make further comments about the subject(s) of history and about its making in Chinchero.

2.2 History and Archeology

According to historic research (cf. Rostworowski 1999), before the Incas moved into the Cuzco valley circa 1200 or 1300 AD different groups already dwelled in the area. Prominent among these *ayllus* [31] were the Ayarmaca, whose territory encompassed lands from the Valley of Yucay (Urubamba) and all the way to the Cuzco basin. The Ayarmacas were divided into different groups and one of them was settled in Chinchero. This group from the Ayarmaca nation was composed of different *ayllus* but, apart from them, other *ayllus* occupied the Chinchero region. When the Incas arrived, they competed over the years for the control of the territory, until the Inca ruler Pachakuti eventually managed to defeat them. Archaeologists and historians (Bauer & Stanish 1990; Rostworowski 1970; Rowe 1944; Alcina 1976; Ballesteros 1971; Chatfield 2007) have proposed a *Killke* period prior to the Inca occupation of the Cuzco region and of the site of Chinchero, on the basis of a seemingly identified ceramic style found in the area. The general view is that this *Killke* occupation was early Inca.

Through the Spanish Chroniclers we know that it was customary among the Inca kings to have their royal estates built near Cuzco. These were places were the Incas and the nobility would typically rest and entertain themselves, whilst still keeping up with ritual life and conducting their administrative affairs far away from the hassle and the intrigues that characterised the capital city of the empire. Many of these estates were located in the lovely and quiet valley of Urubamba[32]. However, the chronicler Betanzos informs us of the following about Pachakuti´s son and successor, Topa Inca Yupanqui:

[31] Kin groups organised around the communal ownership of a territory and normally claiming a common ancestor.

[32] Susan Niles (1999) has studied in detail the estate of Huayna Capac (one of Topa Inca's sons) in Yucay. Her study is useful for a comparison between Huayna Capac's and Topa Inca's states.

> (…) After building the fortress in Cuzco (…) he decided that it would be good to build a town to be populated by the growing number of people in Cuzco, so that he would be better remembered, so he and the lords of Cuzco would have a place to go for recreation. (…) The Inca gave to the lords of Cuzco the plan of the town. Leaving this city of Cuzco, the Inca went to a flat place two leagues from this city where there is a big lake and decided that it would be a good place to build this town mentioned above. Then the plan that the Inca prepared was brought there. After seeing it, the technicians and master builders took their cords and measured the town. After the measurements were taken, with the houses and streets outlined, Topa Inca ordered the foundations to be made. Then he had the lords of Cuzco arrange for the construction of that town (…). This town was made of stone and very well constructed buildings according to their workmanship. Then Topa Inca gave the houses to the lords of Cuzco. The Inca and the rest of their lords had some of their women in these houses, where the Inca and lords went to relax during the months and at the times they saw fit. The construction of this town took five years. The Inca ordered this town to be called Chinchero (Betanzos 1996, 1576, XXXVIII).

Another chronicler, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, confirms the information:

> "… After having built the fortress of Cuzco, Topa Inca Yupanqui went to Chinchero, a town near Cuzco where he had some very elaborate houses for his leisure. There he ordered great estates made for his household" (Sarmiento 2007, 1572: 169).

The first systematic archaeological survey of the site was undertaken in the 1970s by a Spanish Mission composed of a multidisciplinary team of researchers. On account of the numerous archaeological sites found in the Chinchero region, the Mission determined that the population density would have been higher in Pre-Hispanic times than in contemporary times. The royal estate of Chinchero was composed of a series of architectural structures and plazas that, according to Alcina Franch (1976: 46), reflected different typologies and it was at the same time an urban and administrative centre, a political-administrative unit, as well as a military and commercial post. Overall, it was a conglomerate of residential and religious structures built around a big ceremonial plaza (1970: 103). The landscape had been heavily reworked to accommodate the main plaza as

well as an elaborated terracing system used for agriculture and it was dotted by several big carved rocks that stood in relation with the architecture and that very likely had a ritual character (Alcina 1970, 1976; Ballesteros 1971).

As for the urban system, Topa Inca´s estate, oriented towards the magnificent peaks of the Eastern Cordillera, consisted of a series of superimposed platforms over a hill that ran South/North and opened onto two different but interconnected plazas. Staircases and ramps connected in turn the different levels, which were traversed by interconnected streets and aisles as well as by a sophisticated canal system that drained the rainwater in both the streets and the terraces (Alcina 1971: 124-131). The urban plan was highly organised in a non-gridded layout, with the nobility residing in the central portion of the estate (Nair 2003: 114, 119). For trading and political purposes, Chinchero was linked not only to the nearby *qolcas* (granaries in Quechua), but also to the lowe*r* ecological tiers and to the Valley of Urubamba through several roads of possible Pre-Inca origins, a network of pre-existing infrastructures that would have been reutilised in Inca times (Cori del Mar 2010: 1-8). Nair (2003: 61) has argued that Chinchero's royal estate was never finished and that their boundaries were greater than those assumed by the Spanish Mission.

Who lived in Chinchero besides Topa Inca and the Cusqueñan nobility? According to C. Franquemont (1988: 22), the two major *ayllus* of Chinchero (Ayllopongo and Cúper) already existed in Inca times. As for *ayllu* Yanacona, researchers suggest that the Yanacona were brought to Chinchero from other parts of the empire (Alcina 1976; Rostworowski 1970) and this group would have served the Inca nobles in their Chinchero houses (Nair 2003: 112). When the Spanish arrived circa 1533, each *ayllu* occupied a distinct hamlet surrounding the area of Inca structures and terraces (C. Franquemont 1988: 23).

What happened in Chinchero after Topa Inca´s death is not clear. Drawing from documentary sources, Nair has argued that after the ruler's death the site remained under the control of Topa Inca´s descendants and of his secondary wife (2003: 176). With the Spanish invasion the situation changed. In 1540 Manco Capac burnt the estate of Chinchero while retreating from the Spanish after their seizure of Cuzco. Nair (2003: 25) has challenged the generalised assumption that after the site´s destruction and subsequent abandonment, the Spanish, along with some indigenous migrants, reoccupied the site and quickly transformed it into a Spanish settlement. Rather, she argues that during the colonial period the Spanish influence was little and was one of indirect control,

and that Chinchero remained a largely autonomous indigenous village inhabited almost exclusively by indigenous people (Nair 2003: 260-268).

And yet, as she acknowledges, there was a *de facto* Spanish take-over of the site, which had a profound impact on the towns' layout and on the peoples' ways of life. This had to do with the Spanish system of *Reducciones,* implemented by the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in Peru upon the approval of the Law of the Indies in 1571, by which the Indians were forced to abandon their villages and were concentrated in newly built Spanish-style settlements, whose spatial layouts and related power dynamics were aimed at "civilizing" the Indians and at facilitating the task of tax-collection (cf. Mumford 2012). In the colonial times what was left of Chinchero experienced drastic spatial and material changes. As Nair explains, much of the Inca construction material was reutilized by the Spanish for the new town. Many Inca buildings were destroyed and some narrow Inca streets were sealed or torn in order for the new Spanish streets and plazas to emerge within a grid plan, designed to convey the idea and the experience of order and control under Spanish rule (Nair 2003: 228-231;)[33].

For many years, a dominant historiography has approached the colonial and republican periods basically as times of cultural destruction and subordination of the Indian subjects to their Spanish and creole masters. However, more recent scholarship (Mumford ibid; Wernke 2007, 2013; Thurner 1997) has shown that the process was never this straightforward and that the Andeans were able to exercise a great deal of agency and contestation amidst the harsh conditions generally imposed on them by the colonists. These authors have demonstrated that conditions of the ground were often the result of negotiations between both parties, rather than the inevitable aftermath of simple domination and conquest. Mumford has made clear, paradoxically, that the Spanish colonial regime was as much interested in dismantling key Andean institutions, land tenure patterns, and ways of life as it was in preserving them for their own benefit, as this was the only way for the Spanish crown to extract tribute from the Andeans (ibid.: 3-4). Reducciones survived well into the Republican period and were typically a mixture of Spanish and Andean spatial and sociocultural traits, even if they never fully succeeded in their goal of general resettlement of the Andean population, many of which kept on living

[33] Nair highlights the fact that Chinchero does not appear in the list of towns reduced by Toledo, even if she does not deny the possibility that the town was a *reducción*.

outside of them, be it in their own villages that were not destroyed, in other villages next to the reducción, or in the Spanish haciendas (Mumford ibid; see also Wernke 2013).

Approaching the end of the colonial period and the Independence of Peru, the name of Mateo Pumaccahua emerges in the history of Chinchero and in the collective memory as an ambiguous figure. Pumaccahua was the cacique or local leader of Chinchero in the second half of the 18th C. As a boy, he was adopted by a Spanish Captain and taken to Spain for his military education. When he returned to Peru he was appointed cacique of Chinchero. In 1780 another cacique, José Gabriel Condorcanqui, revolted against the Spanish Crown and with the name of Tupac Amaru II threatened Cuzco. Pumaccahua did not join the rebellion and fought alongside the Spanish to defeat Condorcanqui. A mural painting above the temple's main entrance recalls this episode. Later on in his life, during the wars of independence in the early 19th C., Pumaccahua sided with the creoles and against the royalists. But it was too late to erase a popular and an official memory that, ever since then, would typically cast him as a traitor. Augusta had some vivid family recollections associated with him:

> "Mateo Pumaccahua was educated in Spain. The Spaniards took him away with them because he was very intelligent. I am a descendant from Mateo. My grandfather was a hacienda owner in Cachimayo. As people would call them traitors, they cut off the ccahua part of their last name and kept only the puma".

But Chinchero's history cannot be disentangled from the more general history of Peru. The colonial society in Peru has often been described by historians as a feudalistic one (cf. Burga, López Soria, and López, in Aranibar et al 1979). Others, assuming the basic fact of relations of domination and exploitation, have preferred to emphasise the continuation up to the present of native forms of self-government and of communal organisation under the control and protection of the Spanish Crown against the ambitions of individuals (cf. Aranibar and Espinoza Soriano, in Aranibar et al 1979). The 17th and the 18th centuries were characterized by the hacienda system in the countryside. Chinchero, according to local testimonies and archival documentation, was no exception.

The end of the 18th C. was a time of indigenous uprisings in the Sierra and of further conflicts like the one between the secessionist creoles and the royalist loyal to the Crown. Did the Republican period after the independence from Spain in 1824 initiate a new era in

the country? Historians do not believe so. According to López Soria (1979), the Republic was founded on the same economic and social colonial basis, with a feudalizing aristocracy and a new commercial bourgeoisie reduced in numbers but with plenty of privileges, as well as an ambitious military class and masses of dispossessed people from many different ethnic strata. The period immediately after the independence was one of great political fragmentation and strong separatist regionalisms such as in Arequipa or Cuzco, a period of political instability dominated by the phenomenon of *gamonalismo*[34] in the absence of a strong State (Flores Galindo 1979) and by the hegemony of the Coast, where the oligarchy were concentrated, over the Sierra (S. López 1979). Meanwhile, the British Empire took over the Spanish one through financial and commercial mechanisms of political control (Flores Galindo, ibid). As Heraclio Bonilla explains, towards the end of the 1860s, there was an increasing polarization in the country between landowners and urban masses, a conflict with an ethnic component included. Limeñan elites held sway over the agricultural exports. The interval between 1879 and 1883 witnessed the war between Peru and Chile for territorial claims. Peru lost part of its territory (what is today the Atacama region in northern Chile) and the devastating effects for the national economy brought along the impoverishment of the popular classes in the city and in the countryside (Bonilla 1979). During the first decades of the 20th C. Peru experienced a rapid capitalist expansion. Lima concentrated the bulk of the financial and mercantile activity centred on the mining production, giving rise to an urban proletariat and a working class. At the same time, the haciendas kept growing in size and the country appeared as a conglomerate of farming societies (Yepes del Castillo 1979).

Against this kind of generalizing account that has provided the model for much historiography a number of scholars have reacted by focusing on regional and local histories that provide a more accurate idea of the conditions on the ground (see Wernke ibid; Thurner ibid; Mumford ibid). Based on their work, it is possible to ask what happened at the community level during the Colonial and Republican eras. According to Thurner (ibid: 6), who is in clear agreement with Mumford, the imperial apparatus was historically instantiated in the local making of Reducciones (also known as *Pueblos* or *Republicas de Indios),* the newly built settlements where the native people had been relocated. These *Pueblos,* governed by a *cabildo* or council*,* were hybrid in nature and thus challenged two

[34] *Gamonales* were landowners, often from urban backgrounds, who occupied posts of political power in rural settings and abused their privileged positions for their own benefit.

basic assumptions in the historiography: one, that Andean social forms had been largely paralyzed or destructured with the trauma of the conquest; and two, that the Indian identity was formed in violent opposition to the Spanish domination. In practice, Thurner argues, these reconstituted communities worked their new legal identities in Andean ways, since much of the cultural and political work was done by the cabildos.

As for the Republican era, in the independent Peru those laws issued in favour of the Indians were never implemented (Espinoza Soriano 1979: 224). As a matter of fact, the terms "Indio" (Indian) and "natural" (native) were removed in favour of that of "Peruanos" (Peruvians) (Espinoza Soriano ibid.: 224-225; Thurner ibid.: 24). For Thurner, this renaming operation, framed within the creole citizenmaking project, implied the negation or the displacement of *derechos* or colonial privileges and status derived from membership in the colonial Indian Republic and favoured a unitary civil model of liberal nationhood under the Peruvian Republic, in what this author describes as a neocolonial creole reconquest of the colonial Andean space (ibid.: 16-17). Bolívar, head of the Independence process, tried to dissolve the indigenous communities because they were a colonial creation that did not fit within the liberal project embodied by the *criollos* (creoles). One of the pillars of this project was the recognition of the private property of the land and of the individual freedom to buy it and sell it at will. This principle was at odds with the communal landholding that had characterized the indigenous societies since pre-contact times. The Republic wanted the Indians to become proprietors and to that purpose those colonial laws that protected and fostered traditional Indian ownership of the land were abolished (Espinoza Soriano ibid.: 228; Thurner ibid.: 6). For Thurner (ibid.: 18, 34-35), this creole drive to dislodge native claims to the Inca legacy and to land rights sought to atomize the communities by turning their dwellers into taxpaying units. Both he and Mumford coincide in viewpoint, by agreeing that making the Indians legal owners of their land only led to further loss and alienation of their property in the hands of Spanish landowners.

Thus, Thurner and other ethnohistorians (Wernke 2007; Stern 1987) have sought to revise and question a type of "official" history that we find in the books and that generally provides the model for a rigorous and objective reconstruction of the past. Being useful as it is, however, the presumed "objectivity" of this kind of history has been called into question by highlighting the subjectivity involved in the process of writing and the selective type of operation that it entails (cf. Arnold and Yapita 1992; Hill 1988; Abercrombie 2006). As Hill puts it, this kind of history is understood in relation to a few

"peaks", or critical periods of rapid change and leaves out "the totality of processes whereby individuals experience, interpret and create changes within social orders" (1988: 3, 7).

To counter the emphasis on extralocal factors, a more reflexive Anthropology has turned to explore indigenous ways of interpreting history in global situations of contact by addressing the problem between structure and individual / collective agency (Hill 1988: 2). The idea was to "give voice" to Amerindians so that they could tell their own history. However, Platt (2007: 123) has denied the distinction between "a history from within", or told by the Indians, and "a history from without", or history about the Indians (cf. Fausto 2007) and has criticized the fetishism of the directness of the oral "native voice" as found in romantic ethnographic accounts. Additionally, in the task of "historical reconstruction" the written document has traditionally been considered as a source of authentic "truth". And yet, Platt (drawing from Collingwood) has repudiated this type of "scissors and paste" history and has drawn the attention to the fact that speaking and writing can be equally partial and biased, hence the need for questioning and interpretation (Platt 2007: 123).

2.3 *Ayllus* and Land Tenure

As we have seen, the land and the struggles for it lie at the heart of an Andean history of which Chinchero is a part, and continues to be a hot issue to date. If, to put it this way, everything boils down to the land and its ownership, it will be useful to track down the historical itineraries of land tenure to pave the way for a better contextualization and interpretation of contemporary issues that will be dealt with in chapters to come. For these purposes, it will also be advisable to keep in mind Mayer's point (2002: 279) that, when discussing land tenure, the emphasis must be placed on the types of property, and not on the act of possession itself. However, since land tenure in the Andes goes hand in hand with the history of the *ayllus*, and Chinchero's narratives of the past are rooted in the existence and historical fate of this institution, there is still something to be said about the *ayllus* of Chinchero

Jacinto and Augusta's house in *calle* Bolivar was located up the hill in the *Centro Poblado* in which the three historical ayllus or communities that form the District of Chinchero converged. These three principal ayllus (Yanacona, Aylloponga and Cúper) were in turn

divided into either *sectores* (sectors integrated in and dependent from the main community), or *comunidades* (settlements that have achieved legal status and enjoy political autonomy within the confines of the district organisation). In practice, sectores were sometimes loosely referred to as comunidades*,* possibly reflecting the confusion generated by the overlapping of the 1969 Agrarian Reform terminology on the older ayllu organisation, which was rapidly being substituted by the new terms. In fact, the word ayllu was rarely used in Spanish, while in the Quechua language both terms, ayllu and comunidad, coexisted more regularly. While the denomination of *comunidad campesina* (peasant community) was officially imposed by the military Government of Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) when the Agrarian Reform was implemented[35], the term *sector* was fairly recent. When Stella Nair did her fieldwork in 1999, it did not exist and sectores were still ayllus or sub-ayllus[36]. When I asked Fidel, who at the time was the president of the sector of Cúper Pueblo, about the origin and circumstances for this term, he confessed that he did not know exactly, but pointed to the municipality as the focal point for its spread. In fact, nobody seemed to know. But as Fidel and Ángel Callañaupa emphasised, it was just one more step within a process of eradication of the indigenous traits through language, instigated by the political authorities and by the Catholic Church.

To add a little more about the origins and historical development of the three main *ayllus*, my friend Tomás Huamán and others recalled that when Manco Capac burned Topa Inca Yupanki's estate of Chinchero on his exile to Vilcabamba after the Spanish takeover of Cuzco in 1535, the site was abandoned. However, some of the population remained in the surrounding areas and a new territorial organisation began to coalesce around the previous Pre-Hispanic foundations and before the Spanish moved in with their haciendas. After the episode in Pukamarca and the eviction of some hacendados, a new re-accommodation process took place whereby the three *ayllus* reconstituted themselves one more time and new *ayllus* or *parcialidades,* often resulting from the transformation of former estancias (cattle ranches) and haciendas, were aggregated additionally within their boundaries. It is this aspect of permanent territorial reconstitution and socio-political re-generation which emerges as a key feature in the history of Chinchero and its *ayllus,* as in the Andes in general (see also Wernke ibid.)

[35] Before Velasco and during the Republican period the terminology employed was that of *comunidades indígenas* (indigenous communities).

[36] Personal communication.

This view is underscored by colonial and republican documents that attest to this process. Ayllu Yanacona was occupied by the *yanakunas*, a specialized group of workers at the service of the Inka nobility; Aylloponggo was not only acknowledged to be the first ayllu and the *punku ayllu*[37], but the "mother ayllu" as well, in line with the importance of genealogy in Andean sociocultural organisation, even if this consideration had no practical consequences in the present-day political life of the District. As for ayllu Cúper, I was always intrigued by its elusive etymology. I heard different versions: Augusta was sure that it came from the Spanish verb *recuperar* (to recuperate), and that dated from the times when, having been a hacienda for a long time, this territory was seized back by the original inhabitants. Other people I consulted dismissed this version and provided others. For Fidel, *Cúper* stemmed from a native type of flower, whereas for Jacinto it was named after the copper mines that existed in the area but that were not being exploited any more. As for Colonial documents, they already mention the *ayllu Cupir* as early at least as 1785[38]. The discrepancy about the etymological origin of the community was never resolved.

If the ayllu is so central to the historic development of the Andean peoples it is because it incorporates the land with it as part of its very foundations and identity (cf. De la Cadena 2010: 353-354). Ayllus were based on core cultural principles that emphasise d their corporate nature, such as reciprocity and kinship. Ayllu membership and access to land went together. According to the Spanish chroniclers that described the Andean societies under Inca rule, each family had land allocated according to its needs and size, and property was communal, under the authority of the eldest member of the lineage group (see Cobo 1979 {1653} Book II, Chapter 27, 214). The large-scale irruption of the Inca Empire, while significantly altering the power relations and hierarchies between the new masters and their subjects, did not imply a significant transformation of the previous Andean structures. At State level, the subdued peoples had part of their lands confiscated and found themselves obliged to work for the Inca, but at the local level the traditional pattern of landholding structured around the *ayllu* did not significantly vary (cf. Mayer 2002; Wernke 2007).

[37] Pongo derives in this case from the Quechua word *punku* (doorway). This was confirmed by other villagers and it is also reported in C. Franquemont's ethnography. It possibly alludes to this ayllu's role as the main entryway towards what is today the District.

[38] I learned that the archive of Cúper had documents dating back from as early as the 16th C. It is highly likely that these earlier documents already acknowledged the *ayllo cupir.*

With the colonial regime, the land tenure patterns, as well as production relations, experienced a wind of change. Europe was immersed in a capitalist expansion, but Spain was falling behind in the race towards modernization. Stern (1985: 8) has argued that the Spanish imperial expansion was not a reflection of an incipient capitalism but of the revitalization of the old feudalistic and medieval order. With the early colonial system the Spanish introduced the e*ncomienda*; that is, a group of Indians bestowed by the Spanish Crown to an *encomendero* or legal proprietor in bilateral contract, normally in return for services paid to the Crown during the conquest. These Indians had to pay tribute to the encomendero for the plots that they were allowed to work for their own sustenance and for that of their families. In exchange, the encomendero had to make sure that his Indians were properly educated in the Christian faith and for this purpose he would hire a priest (Mumford ibid).

Encomiendas and reducciones coexisted already in the 16th c. with the haciendas (estates). As opposed to the encomienda, which did not give land rights to the encomendero, the hacienda did confer rights to land and would gradually substitute the encomienda for the rest of the colonial period (Keith 1971; Mumford.: ibid). The hacienda, which in Peru survived until the 1969 Agrarian Reform of Velasco Alvarado, was the private property of the *hacendado* or landowner, who had a number of Indian peons (*pongos*) working for him under conditions of servitude and exploitation. In the specific context of the colonial economy, the hacienda system reproduced traits of both a capitalistic and of a Pre-Capitalistic or feudalistic logic, on account of the labour productions that it enforced, based, on the one hand, on a capitalist logic of accumulation and, on the other, on conditions of slavery (cf. Stern 1985: 5-8).

Colonial documents from archives in Cuzco and Lima from the late 18th Century show that the *Repartimiento* or *Encomienda*[39] *de* Chinchero was integrated in the *Partido* (province) of Calca and Lares[40], which in turn was a smaller unit within the *Distrito de la Intendencia* of Cuzco (District of Cuzco). The same documents state that the *Partido de Calca and Lares* was made of a *villa* (town), *pueblos* (villages), haciendas, and estancias. Meanwhile, the *Repartimiento de Chinchero* was in 1791 divided into *pueblo*, *ayllus* and *estancias*. These documents, called *matrículas* or *padrones*, are censuses that list the

[39] The difference between both is that a Repartimiento was a sociopolitical unit with lands of its own, whereas the encomienda was basically designed as a system of tribute exaction and indirect rule. Repartimientos were typically entrusted to encomenderos (cf. Mumford ibid: 26-29).

[40] Since 1905 the District of Chinchero is part of the Province of Urubamba.

tribute or annual fee that each tributary living within the boundaries of the *Partido* had to pay for the lands they owned. They make a distinction between *Indios originales con tierras* (autochthonous Indians with lands) and *Indios forasteros sin tierras* (foreign Indians without lands). The former were required to pay more than the latter and tribute was paid in money. Part of it went to the retribution of the priests, while another portion was allocated to the government representative. An additional part of this tribute was destined to pay for the upkeep of the hospital where the Indians were cured.

In colonial Peru, priests were in charge of *Doctrinas* (parishes) or ecclesiastical demarcations. At the end of the 16th C. Chinchero became the *Doctrina de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate* (Diocese of Our Lady of Monserrate), subordinated to the authority and jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Cuzco, and by 1607 the colonial church that stands today in town was finished (Ballesteros 1971: 9). By at least 1796 the District of Cuzco was divided in nine parishes, among them the Parish of San Cristóbal. Fidel and other friends in town told me that, before becoming the Parish of *Nuestra Señora de Monserrate,* Chinchero belonged initially to this other parish. Ecclesiastical administration seems to have taken on board the existing indigenous political organisation, for in a 1786 document the Parish of San Gerónimo in Cuzco appears divided into *ayllus* and *parcialidades (sub-ayllus*).

It would appear that, during the colony, land in Chinchero was clearly under Spanish control. However, and contrary to the generalized assumption that after the destruction of Topa Inca's estate the land quickly passed to the hands of the Spanish, Nair has argued that property of the land in the town of Chinchero remained under the indigenous control of Topa´s decendants (Nair 2003: 266-276). Drawing from archival research, she shows that starting in the early colonial period, the documents make a distinction between the town of Chinchero and the *Doctrina* of Chinchero. The Dioceses covered much the same area as Topa Inca's estate (ibid: 256) and was occupied by different haciendas. Her research shows that by 1722 the town of Chinchero was an indigenous town where the people lived in estancias and haciendas. By 1784, only three haciendas existed in the Diocese and by 1786 no haciendas were left and Chinchero was declared a 100% indigenous town (ibid: 269). This picture is consistent with Mumford's argument that reducciones never fully succeeded in resettling Andeans and in removing them from other settlement patterns.

Encomenderos were not always individuals. They could also be Religious Orders and transactions were normal. In 1598 the Convent of La Merced sold the estancia and lands of Guaypón (site of Huaypo today) to the Jesuits. Other times, the haciendas were leased and this fact spawned legal conflicts. For example, in 1771 the Convent of Santa Clara, which appears as creditor, took legal action against Clara Durán Quintanilla for failing at paying the debts generated by several of her haciendas in the *Doctrina* of Chinchero. The document states that one of the haciendas with the livestock was confiscated. In 1811 the *Real Monasterio del Escorial* (located in Spain) appears as *encomendero of the Repartimiento* of Chinchero. This data, along with similar data I collected for the Republican period, establishes the continuity of the hacienda system in the Dioceses of Chinchero.

During the 19th C. (at least until 1851) Chinchero continues to be divided into pueblo, ayllus, estancias and haciendas. If the structure of the land does not seem to change much, what does change in the documents is the name of the leasers, suggesting, as I said, that transaction of lands and other property (such as mills) was common occurrence. Also, in 1893 another document introduces a distinction between *vecinos principales* (principal townsmen) and *indígenas* (Indians). The distinction was socioeconomic as well as racial and addressed the phenomenon of *gamonalismo*[41] that was to pervade the reality of the Peruvian countryside and of Chinchero until the Agrarian Reform. *Gamonalismo* was the continuation of past forms of oligarchic exploitation and domination under a new scenario of rural urbanization (cf. Cotler 1967). According to J. Contreras (1981), between 1940 and 1970 a dozen of the *gamonales* monopolized the authority posts in Chinchero.

In conclusion, we may ask what types of property regimes existed in Chinchero before the Agrarian Reform? Mayer (2002: 280) has rejected what he calls a simplistic European typology of property (communal, feudal, private etc.) because these concepts presuppose the impossibility of combining two or more. With this in mind, it will be useful to recall Araníbar´s point (1979: 58) that even if Viceroy Toledo managed to set up the *Reducciones*, Andeans were able to maintain their communal property and traditional uses. Forms of indigenous self-government and of communal cooperation made it to the present in a symbiosis with Hispanic forms. Burga (1979: 78-79) has additionally argued that even if during the 18th C. the hacienda absorbed more and more labour force, still the bulk of the

[41] *Gamonales* were mestizos (*mistis)* who, in control of the main positions of authority, used their great political power and influence to exact wealth, land and labour from the peasants in the indigenous communities

indigenous peasants worked outside of it according to their customs. These arguments fit with Nair´s remarks (after Spalding and Stern) that it was not unusual during colonial times for indigenous elites to be landowners *and* Christians, within a complex and multilayered web of interaction between Andeans and Europeans, irreducible to a simplistic vision of permanent confrontation and opposition between two always well-defined groups (Nair 2003: 276-277). Augusta's recollection of her grandfather being a landowner in Cachimayo illustrates well this argument.

This all points to a coexistence of mixed forms of land tenure, which varied diachronically, greatly depending on who was in power or in control of the land (Mayer 2002: 291). And yet, one more layer of complication lies in the difficulty of clearly differentiating the communal from the private. For example, the extent to which indigenous forms of land tenure can be described as purely "communal" may be a subject of discussion. Certainly the internal structure of the *ayllu* allowed for shared uses and resources, but, as Mumford notes, individuals might have deep ties to specific fields (bid: 145). Nowadays in Chinchero, landholding is officially communal within the communities, but in practice it can be argued that each family unit owns their inherited lands privately, and even if there are restrictions posed by each community over these plots in terms of their alienability, they remain often ineffective. Mayer reinforces this view by remarking that in the communities property relations vary from restricted access to community members to strictly defined private property (ibid: 324).

2.4 Folk history

It is time now to explore what local historians and people in general in Chinchero say about their Inca, colonial and republican past, and how they relate to them; what type of episodes they choose (or choose not) to remember, how they remember them, and in what circumstances; what is, in sum, "historical" for them and how "history" is made in Chinchero.

The first time I approached a local historian in town I received an ethnographic slap, so to speak. When I asked Gerónimo about the etymology of the word "Chinchero", this was his answer: "It is not clear. Historians from outside have made up things (Choque Chinchay, Sinchi Roca…). Unfortunately there are not any native historians. People only tell

what they want to tell to the outsiders; many things remain untold or secret". Two things stood out in his short statement. First, it looked like Gerónimo did not consider himself a historian, in spite of his considerable folk knowledge. It is quite possible that he associated history mainly with writing and the archive. Gerónimo, as other knowledgeable adults and elders in town, had gone through formal education. Those who had been through the schooling process had become familiar with mainstream and homogenizing visions of history and knowledge as textual practice spread by State ideology to modernize the Indians and make them good citizens (cf. Ames 2001, 2011; Salomon & Niño Murcia 2011, Stobart & Howard-Malverde 2002). The second point was the mention of the limitations imposed on outsiders who want to learn about the local past. As could be expected, Gerónimo told me only what he wanted to tell me and concealed other information from me. Other friends acted in the same way, but I found significant differences based on personalities and in the degree of trust towards foreigners, as well as in the agency that particular individuals or the collectivity attributed to disclosing the past and making it available to strangers to the community. It was not only about the danger of having someone take advantage of a certain kind of information; there was also a strong sense of the private, of that which should not be violated because its condition went beyond the realm of the ordinary. This, apart from other negative historical experiences, could be behind the fact that my petition to consult the archive of the community of Cúper was rejected by the *Junta Directiva* (community council). There was a feeling of discomfort in the air about having an outsider looking at the documents. As with Gerónimo and oral history, accessing the written history of the community was apparently perceived as a potentially transgressive and even harmful act. In addition, the written past seemed to be highly cherished and there could be something of the religious aura and old reverential power afforded in the Andes and Amazonia to the inscribed document since the arrival of the Spanish (cf. Platt 1992; Salomon & Niño Murcia 2011; Arnold 2006; Gow 1995).

When I asked about the past in Chinchero people spoke about the Incas, but their narratives focused more on the *ayllus* and the time of the haciendas. The Incas were surely considered ancestors and were attributed supernatural powers, but it always seemed to me that, unlike the gentiles, who were still around and active, they were very distant ancestors, in spite of the discourse of tourist agents and state officials interested in fostering an unbroken line of continuity between the Incas and the contemporary inhabitants of the District. The ancestors they acknowledged and remembered the most

were their parents and grandparents. Could it be any other way? These were the people they had met personally, the people they had touched and spoken to, and with whom their lives were emotionally tangled up through direct experience. Unlike with the Incas, the memories of their deceased kin were very much alive and a conscious effort was made to keep them like that, often via regular visits to the cemetery, through oral recollections that took place in non-patterned spatial or temporal settings, or through the material culture that the deceased were associated with.

One day I approached Matiaza to see how she remembered her version of history:

> "When the Spanish came and took the Incas to the mines, the ayllus remained, but mainly the women. The Yanaconas were the servants in the haciendas. They were forced to braid their hair so that it would not fall and make a mess. Since then, the braid has subsisted in Chinchero. Ayllopongo was the first ayllu, the punku ayllu, the door or entryway to the District. There is also Wila Wila, the chaski ayllu, the ayllu of the wilayuq[42]. Pukamarca was a former colonial hacienda. Locals were not allowed to pass through it. In Chinchero there was no church at the time. This one lady from Cúper who was very devout had to go to Maras[43] to attend mass. One day, on her way back from Maras, she was running late and she had to go through the hacienda at night. The dogs from the Loayza family attacked her and killed her. A red signal (puka-marka in Quechua) was set at that point warning others of the risk they ran. That is how Pukamarka came to being. Then the comuneros go to Lima to protest and meet the first colonial government. The government decides to move the hacienda owner elsewhere."

This story, which, along with the origin of Pukamarca and the *ayllus* of Chinchero, highlights the cruelty and abusive power of the hacienda owners, as well as the brave response and political agency exerted by the community members, was consistently referred to me by the people whom I consulted. It would appear that history for Matiaza was an assemblage of past events and materials brought to life not because they

[42] Wila Wila is today an autonomous community within Ayllopongo. According to folk etymology, the name appears to come from *Willay*, Quechua verb that translates as "to announce", "to inform". This links with the word *Chaski*, which in the Pre-Hispanic past designated the Inca post system, a specialized group of male runners who delivered official messages across the empire through an efficient system of post relays. As for *wilayuq,* an approximate translation from Quechua would be "the owners of the news". This is what Matiaza seems to imply.

[43] Town located on a plain between Chinchero and the Valley of Urubamba.

"happened like that" but because they were important or meaningful for her in some ways. In her historical construction, linear time mattered little. What mattered was that which impacted their lives. And so, neither "clarity of thought" nor chronological precision were particularly required, not unlike in the myth told by Geronimo about the *Gentiles*.

Besides this story, and normally embedded in the same narrative sequence, there was another account that was equally recurrent. I will narrate it here as Fidel told it to me. But I shall emphasise beforehand what Gerónimo said when he told me the same episode. In the midst of a wider narrative about the past which included the tale of the excommunication of Umasbamba after the local cacique/hacendado abused the priest, he briefly paused and stressed these words: "And here it comes, a very important historical event…"

> (…) By then, there were already the grandsons and other people who were making social claims due to the abuses by the hacienda owners. I do not remember the year but it was possibly before Mateo Pumaccahua. Three young leaders complain[44] about the incident and in a three-week foot journey with their llamas and ojotas they travel to Lima and meet with the authorities. Their demands are heard and they return with a resolution and a land title for Chinchero with a demarcation inscribed in leather. The resolution states that the hacendados have to be dispossessed from their properties in Chinchero. Then, the police force come and expel the hacendados. This is how the haciendas disappear from Chinchero and become ayllus. The Parish of Our Lady of Monserrate had five ayllus. First was Ayllopongo-collana[45], second Cúper, then Yanacona, Umasbamba (which actually came first) and later Coricancha is aggregated. This happened some 200 years ago. Félix Puma comes much later. I have known him personally. Then they bring the title and Chinchero's boundaries went from Calca to Maras and almost to Cachimayo. To the other side it reached Peccacacho, where there have been conflicts and they have even gone to court. In those times Catholicism was dominant. One of those leaders comes here to the temple to talk to the priest and in Quechua tells him that they have the title and that there were three little documents for each of the three communities. The priests are astute and that title

[44] Like Matiaza and Gerónimo, Fidel switches easily from the past tense to the present tense in his account. In my translations from the Spanish I respect their particular mode of story-telling.

[45] *Collana*: prime or principal in Quechua.

must exist in a private museum in Spain, Italy, I do not know. But they have started selling these things. That is why the priest forces him through confession and tells him that it is a sin if he does not bring that title to the temple and that he will go to hell. Scared as he was because of this, that man carries the title, drops it by the main altar or wherever the priest has indicated him and that is how the title of Chinchero gets lost. Chinchero loses its title. Chinchero had the honour of having a title in leather. Surely the priest will have taken it away or sold it, I do not know. Then the history of Chinchero comes to an end, the history of social demands, that of the hacendados, of the journey of the young leaders to Lima, of the death of granny Tucta, of the excommunication of Umasbamba, the history of it all. When I was little I always listened to my parents talk about the title. It reached from that point to that other point. I had understood it. The topic of land tenure in Chinchero lies in this episode of the title, a big one that had to be loaded on one's shoulders. It was not only what was written in it; it was also how it was written, the very material used… All of that has an incalculable value. Even the author must be there, and those who have signed".

As told by Fidel and the others, this story (or set of stories) seemed to encapsulate quite well the history that Chincherinos cared about, one that was not taught at the school and that was grounded on the ayllus, the haciendas, the church, and the documents. As such, it was concerned with the interwoven deeds of peasants, landowners and priests, which provided the framework for a particular template of the past that encompassed that which was most significant for the people in the present. It was a history about the conflicts and the struggle for the land, played out mostly at the local level and made up of familiar materials and names which remained within the sphere of the microhistorical and the recognizable, even if some of the events achieved epic dimensions and were inextricably linked to the national reality and to the experience of Lima as the big instance of power and authority where those affairs that affected the life of the District were (and still are) decided. It is also a history, it seems to me, which seeks to stress the situation of abuse of power and subordination so that a local identity that emphasises in turn active resistance and response, can be constructed and consolidated against it. Such an interpretation would not be entirely alien to a larger Andean tradition that has conceptualized history as sets of personal and group social relations constructed hierarchically (cf. Salomon & Urioste 1991). These hierarchies also make room for locating and explaining inter-ayllu

dynamics that are central to the lived experiences, past and present, of these communities and that are articulated sometimes in terms of cooperation and sometimes in terms of great opposition and rivalry. It is, overall, a narrative of the past tied up to the land title and to its outstanding inscribed and material qualities, rendered as essential constituents of the power and agency of the document. But there is still more. The land title (and the overall narrative) has a strong geographical component. G. Gordillo (2004) has argued that history and memory are as much about place as they are about time, and has noted the fundamental spatial dimension of memory. Other authors have stressed the symbiosis between history and landscape (see Howard-Mallverde 1990; Abercrombie 2006). History in Chinchero is spatialized because the memories evoked are strongly anchored in recognizable and meaningful cartographies through which a sense of localized identity is conveyed and structured.

Therefore, in Chinchero, social memory is very much embedded in spatial and material forms, as well as in incorporated practices (cf. Connerton 1989). Social memory starts with the embodiment of the Inca and colonial past in the architecture and material culture and follows with the anchoring of memories of dead relatives in households and chacras, in tools and clothes, in dances as well as in festivals, or in various landscapes such as hills or the graveyard. Indeed, what Fidel and the rest were remembering, was based in a community of interests and thought (Connerton 1989: 37), in a collective consciousness bounded and embodied in a particular object – the title – through which the past was thought and made sense of by virtue of a set of shared aims centred on the land.

This is true to the extent that, for Fidel, the moment the title is lost or stolen, the history of Chinchero and all what had mattered until then comes to an end. Fidel´s historical focus rests on what Salomon has called the “secular narratives” of social change, that should occupy scholars interested in Amerindian history more than the mythical recollections that usually entertain the ethnographic pages (Salomon 2013: 59). These secular narratives locate the object of history in the intra-local level, in the small-scale junctions that take place within the confines of the communities and foreground the role of the local subjects in the making of history. But how do the people of Chinchero “make history” today in the absence, as Gerónimo said, of native historians? What do they consider “historical” material if by “history” we can understand in this case that which is worthy of public remembrance for present purposes?

It was August 3rd. In the Pampa of Piuray, by the lake of the same name, a big farming fair had been organized by the Municipality of Chinchero. Along with a profuse exhibition of cattle and agricultural products, different events and games were going on. One of them was a dance competition in which groups coming from different communities of the District were participating for a price. A big crowd had gathered around the dance arena, where a variety of elaborated choreographies were being performed with an abundance of accompanying regalia and material culture on display. Each one recreated or narrated a particular episode or activity made socially relevant by virtue of its embodied public re-enactment. A short introduction read before each dance explained to the audience the historical roots of the representations. The first dance was performed as a thanksgiving occasion to the land for the fruits borne during carnival time (in February). The second dance celebrated the production of oca (a variety of potato), with chicha being poured all over. The third one was homage to textiles and to their Inca origins. Sheep were made part of the performance, which was led by the historical figure of the curaca. For the fourth presentation I was astonished: it was a new dance intended to commemorate the arrival of tourists to Chinchero. For the purpose, they partially re-enacted one of the typical weaving exhibitions that took place every day in the weaving centres. Through dancing, they were elevating tourism and its blessings, as they explained it, to the category of "historical event".

The example illustrates one of the various ways in which people in Chinchero continue making history today "in the absence of native historians". Possibly akin to time immemorial, history was not being written, but rather it was danced; that is, inscribed temporarily through performance in the medium of the landscape and codified for future reenactments, along with other non-written histories. In turn, other contemporary events or processes were being historicized and inserted in narrative threads destined to be preserved on account of a community of thought, for example every time a communal meeting was held and the "Libro de Actas" (Act Book) was actualized and signed, as testimony to what had been said and agreed upon in regard to the best interest of the community. This act repeated itself every time a discrete and well-identified social group in town, be it the "Junta de Regantes" (Council for water rights and uses), or an association of artisans, or the *Varayuq,* etc, met and kept track of their activities and accountancy by leaving *constancia* (record of witness) of their activity. This inscribed corpus of social

interactions and obligations filled unofficial archives with micronarratives that may not find their way into the official history, but that do matter to the locals because the fabric of their daily lives, as well as their position and status within the community, is very much contained in them. A call for these "other histories" made up of more recognizable and meaningful quotidian materials and populated by more familiar, down-to-earth people, was voiced through the following words by Gerónimo:

> "So far there are no written books on Chinchero. Until recently, people from Chinchero did not have the right to go to school. We could not study or we did not have the economic means for it. We could not write. Those sons of mestizos or of Spaniards have had the chance and have written according to their interests, according to the colour of their skin. But our race, the Inca race, is very different. If we look at it from our perspective, it is a different event, different cases, another type of history and actions that take place within our homes, in our communities, in the villages, in the ayllus, in the rituals, in our traditional medicine, in the agriculture, in everything."

This is, *grosso modo*, what Eric Wolf (1997) has called "a history of the people without history". What Gerónimo was vindicating was a "history" that does justice to the events, places and activities where people's lives are played out relationally on daily basis and where their individual and collective identities are unmistakably shaped by forces like labour, food, family life, faith, or the body, all of it wrapped up in different forms of socialization that includes conflict.

If different modes of historical consciousness elucidate a plurality of historical genres and practices that do not necessarily contradict each other, a history of Chinchero must acknowledge the narratives of the *Gentiles* and those coming from the archives and books of acts as much as it acknowledges other master narratives and non-verbal acts of historical re-enactment or reinvention. Properly speaking, there is no such a thing as "the history of Chinchero". I am not even sure if they need one[46], at least in conventional terms.

[46] Fausto and Heckenberger (2007:7) have argued that, in order to qualify as "real people" in the context of political struggles with the Nation-States, indigenous peoples are now required to possess history, identity and agency, hence the resulting rewriting of their past according to single and totalizing narratives of past events and phases, to become ultimately an instrument of the logic of the state in negotiations between the two parties.

There are as many histories as past traces waiting to be exhumed and narrated, their own histories not necessary related to the narratives of contact with dominant groups (cf. Gow 2001: 16-19; 1995: 61). The multivocal and biased nature of history poses severe restrictions to the ambitious task of "historical reconstruction", which can hardly account for all the personal stories that occur in the intimacy of the households and other private spaces, as well as in the margins of official history and its ideological bends. But depending on how we want to look at it, the margins can subvert the established hierarchy, take central stage and become the very historical subject, the driven force of history because it is within this peripheral and often neglected territory of the intimate, the anonymous, and the mundane lived together, where silences and gestures can be as eloquent as utterances, that the substance of life dwells and concentrates. From here it expands and impregnates the multiplicity of events and actions that, departing from their original source, will later be rescued and extolled in the written texts. A "true" history of Chinchero would then amount to weaving together the totality of individual and collective trajectories into a single tapestry of social life. Who can write a history like this? Perhaps, like in the past, the real historians are the weavers…

3. THE LANDSCAPE OF CHINCHERO: ONTOLOGY OF THE QUECHUA LANDSCAPE

Fig. 6: Landscape of Chinchero

Fig. 7: Lake Piuray

Every morning, when I woke up in the cold air, and looked through the window of my room, I was confronted with the unspeakable beauty of the mountain peaks. To the right, Anta Killka and Mama Simona against the blue sky, sometimes shrouded in the early morning mist; in front and to the left, Pitusiray, Chicón, Verónica, Salkantay… All dressed in white from the perennial snows. Below them and sliding towards the horizon, the green rolling fields of the pampa, cultivated and circumscribed by the gentle hills. However, my eye alone could not capture the totality of the life in what I was seeing. Its elusive density stemmed from an imperceptible human presence carved out in time and sweat. The imaginary distance between my eye and the world outside prevented me from leaving the confines I inhabited. The landscape had not yet become part of me.

3.1 Origin stories

In the previous chapter I showed how the histories of Chinchero are fabricated with a variety of materials and admit a multiplicity of regimes. In particular, the narratives deployed in what I called "folk history" (myths included) revealed the centrality of the

landscape in the unfolding of the events that mattered to the people. The tales of the gentiles, or the story of Pukamarca and the land title, the social life of the chacras, or the epic journey to Lima, were all intimately embedded in a local and regional geography in which the relation between human action and physical medium is not one of figure to ground, but rather of a merging and dissolution of planes to the extent that there is no history without landscape and no landscape without history. The landscape, from this perspective, is more a subject than object. As Marisol de la Cadena has argued, the landscape *is* the ayllu (2010: 354). The different layers of this intimacy or identity between landscape and people are what I seek to explore in this chapter. Other authors before have talked about the diverse ways in which Native American peoples (as other aboriginal peoples in other parts of the world) have used the landscape to inscribe their history, based on a tightly knitted relationship between land and memory (cf. Abercrombie 2006; Santos-Granero 1998; Rappaport 1989; Gordillo 2004; Howard-Malverde 1990). In the following lines, and mainly through ethnographic examples, I will be concerned with a set of interrelated issues that include how the people of Chinchero have been making a home out of their land; how their world has been and is constituted and inhabited over time; the practices and experiences that afford specific views, values and modes of engagements with it, and the temporalities of the landscape.

But before moving on, it may be pertinent to tackle an issue of terminology that will surface throughout this thesis and that may require conceptual clarification. This refers to terms that are often considered analogous, like land and landscape, but that may carry with them subtle and noteworthy differentiations. Regarding this problem, and in a somewhat forced but still useful explanation, Tim Ingold (1993: 153-156) has differentiated "landscape" from close terms like "land", "nature" and "space". "Land" – he tells us – is quantitative and homogenous, whereas "landscape" is qualitative and heterogeneous. The common idea of "nature", he continues, as something "out there", external to the subject who beholds it and is separated from the natural world, is mistaken. Unlike this concept of nature, "landscape" emerges as a constitutive part of humans through the process of living in it. Even if this takes place in "space", the latter presupposes segmentation and cartographic representations, while "landscape" (like the idea of "place") appears more as a relational whole which incorporates an experiential quality through people´s engagement with the world, experience from which meaning is then extracted. To underwrite these distinctions, Ingold arrives at a definition of landscape

that reads as “the world as is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them”. While acknowledging the problematic nature of such distinctions (as Ingold himself does), I will abide by his “dwelling perspective”. At the same time, and while still keeping in mind these nuanced variations, the terms discussed (and others) will flow freely in the text adapting to the context in which they will be used.

As in many other indigenous traditions, Chinchero kept oral narratives that told of the origin of the landscape. Naming these narratives “origin” stories might however convey a wrong impression, in the sense that it might frame Chinchero´s history in a progressive temporal scheme that is invalidated by the existence of myths and other non-linear temporal frameworks. Properly speaking, these stories have no time, or belong to the undefined “time of the ancestors”, or to those vague days “way before the Incas”. They are told today as they were probably told many years ago, and by the very act of being told, as Rodney Frey has said, they bring forth the past into the present and the narrative comes “alive”, revitalizing the landscape, because these stories are not memorized but rather are remembered (2001: 192-202).

Two stories encapsulate the mythohistorical origin of the landscape of Chinchero. The first one was referred to me by Gerónimo, who took me one day on a trip along the surrounding countryside. The other would come up recurrently whenever I wandered around asking people about the origin of the town. Taken together, they render the landscape as history itself materialized in natural forms and unfolding as a book or a textile every time an event was recalled and the content within it was set in motion. The stories underscore the lack of clear boundaries between myth and history and infuse the landscape with a “supernatural”[47] aura where powerful transformative forces are at play. Thus, they explain more or less why the landscape of Chinchero looks as it does today, and

[47] I am aware of the problems involved in using this word and the confusion it may generate. This confusion is present in the ethnographic literature, which reflects the problems of speaking properly about realities that are beyond the empirical immediacy of the senses and the reason. Terms like “metaphysical”, or “supernatural” to address ontological distinctions applied to Native-American peoples are often objected on the grounds that Amerindian cosmologies do not recognise a strict divide between the natural and the supernatural realms, or between the human and the non-human, as we normally understand them in the “West” in terms of separate spheres with no or little interaction (see Viveiros de Castro 1996, 2004). And yet, they are still used in the literature (see Descola 2012). For the time being, I will assume a view of indigenous worlds populated by a multitude of “beings” with different ontological statuses, in permanent interaction and (some of them at least) with the ability to transform and transcend boundaries. I will preferably refer to them as “other-than-humans”. In doing so, I am following Marisol de la Cadena (2010), who employs this term (as well as that of “earth beings”) in her denial of the nature/human dichotomy.

in doing so they inextricably blend the human and the natural world together. Furthermore, by providing a causal explanation, they "denaturalize" the physical environment and endow it with intentionality behind temporal processes of change, agency that pervades interactions and renders the landscape as the unpredictable outcome of multiple engagements among different beings with the physical world and with themselves.

The first story narrates how the landscape of Chinchero came to life in the form of mountains and not the valley[48]:

> *A puma (león) and a jaguar (amaru)[49] came in an underground race from Lake Piuray to see which could reach the canyon below Chinchero first. The beings had made a bet: if the jaguar won, Chinchero would be valley (yunga) like Quillabamba, with all the fruits and plants that grow there. But it happened that the puma won. He burst out of the ground at the place called P´uqp´uq, leaving behind him an empty canal running back to the lake Piuray. He was pursued by a rush of water, which still bubbles out of the earth at that place, making a sound like "puq… puq… puq", and then falls 100 meters to the quebrada below. The puma raced ahead towards what is now the valley (Quillabamba); there he created a valley, with all the warm climate plants. Seeing that he had been beaten, the jaguar collapsed. Only the tips of his whiskers pierced through the surface of the rock at the place now called Chaqchaq´illay. Today small quantities of water emerge through those holes, making a rattling sound (chaqcha) because the jaguar remains trapped inside. So, Chinchero is sierra (highlands) but the water which comes from P´uqp´uq and Chaqchaq´illay irrigates the tiny sector of warm-maize growing lands below the waterfall in the quebrada of the Inca´s orchard (Inkaq mallkin). People further say that every time any llama´s fleece is cut, the volume of water emerging from the hillside diminishes a little. This happens often enough to keep Lake Piuray from draining completely and drying up.*

[48] This story is also narrated in C. Franquemont´s 1988 ethnography and was similarly told to her by Gerónimo. I am here making use of her version.

[49] In the Andes, the *amaru* is typically a serpent. For some unknown reason Franquemont glosses it as "jaguar".

The second story refers the origins of Lake Piuray, located some three kilometres south from *Centro Poblado,* and principal source of water for the city of Cuzco nowadays. The first time I heard it I was in the company of Cirilo, and old shepherd with whom I used to roam the fields with his flocks, looking for clues into a deeper understanding of, and a deeper empathy with, the native landscape. In spite of my blatant incompetence with the animals, Cirilo was happy with my presence. The fact that he was socially marginalized because of his severe alcoholism and his many years spent away from town, made him appreciate my interest in his world. Quite often, he would take his sheep to the hills above Piuray. There, while we drank *trago* (cane alcohol) and chewed coca leaves, he would tell me stories associated to places. As for the Lake Piuray, different versions of the story circulated. In most, unlike in this one, the events had taken place "long before the Incas". The story goes as follows:

> *One day, Papa Dios (God the Father), disguised as a ragged and filthy beggar, came by the site of Piuray, where some Inca lords were celebrating a marriage. Seeing him in such a pitiful condition, the lords did not welcome him and commanded one of the cooks to kick him out of there. But, since she was a compassionate woman, she tucked some food into his clothes as she saw him off gently. Feeling thankful, Papa Dios addressed the cook like this: "You have been the only good person I found in this place. Now go, grab your things, start walking up the hill and do not look back because I am going to destroy this village". Then, Papa Dios struck a rock with his walking stick and water began pouring out. As she walked up, and out of curiosity, the woman turned back to look and she saw that a lake was flooding the village. At that precise moment the woman was turned into a stone. Today it is said that in that hill of Umasbamba there is a stone shaped like a human figure looking backwards.*

These stories bring to the fore the transformative – and therefore temporal – qualities of the Quechua landscape, which comes to be what it is through the creative / destructive deeds and actions of particular, symbolic characters who operate in an undetermined time. In the first case, two "mythical beings", each representative of the main ecological complementary poles of the highlands and the lowlands, engage in a competition as a result of which the landscape of Chinchero acquires its recognizable shape as opposed to that of the valley. This is an underground performance that mobilizes the chthonic powers

of the earth and makes water find its way toward the surface, thus delimiting the different ecological regions. In the second case, the landscape is transformed as a divine punishment for the improper behaviour of the ancestors. This second story seems to blend elements both from the Andean and the Christian tradition[50]. It brings to mind the tale of Sodom and Gomorrah's punishment and of Lot's wife being converted into a salt pillar that its Andean counterpart renders in stone, with all the powerful implications that this material has in Andean origin myths. It thus takes on board a (Christian) moral component apparently inexistent in the first story, unless we take competition as part of the ethical code of Andean societies. In both cases, water[51] plays a fundamental and dynamic role in the ongoing (re) configuration of the material world and clearly recalls Andean cosmogonies that explain the primordial underground circulation of water and its emergence to this world through openings in the earth´s crust (see Sherbondy 1992). The involvement of divine and mythical forces (God-Wiracocha and the binomial puma / jaguar) is ultimately responsible for what humans see around them and this is what the stories set out to explain. The involvement of other-than-human powers in the making of the world means that humans must engage with them in relations of reciprocity in return for the world received. These episodes may again have a historical correlate since, on that corner of the lake where the event seems to have occurred, residents commonly agreed that there are archaeological remains hidden under the waters.

3.2 Naming the land: Andean "animism"?

Every time I went with Cirilo and his flocks, and to my puzzlement, he would point out to me a rosary of features in the landscape and would name them in Quechua one after the other. More often than not, he would tell me stories or anecdotes associated with places, something that I found overwhelming because at the end of the day there were far more names than my mind was able to remember, and Cirilo´s Quechua in those early days of

[50] Authors like Abercrombie are very critical of this separation between "the Andean" and "the Christian", and argue that an "Andean identity" that does justice to historical developments must be located at the crosses between both poles. I do certainly abide by this view, but if I separate them out in my discussion it is on the basis of a historical method used by Chincherinos themselves, who, as will be become apparent later in the chapter, tend to make a clear distinction between both spheres.

[51] In a study of the language of the Huarochiri manuscript, Salomon (1998: 15) brings forth the role of Cuni Raya, a principal trickster-huaca, as transformer of landforms by means of water, an element that represents both fecundity and danger.

fieldwork was highly unintelligible to me. Literally, there was no single place or topographic marker without its name or small biography attached. I remember how intrigued I was by this practice and realized that if I wanted to come to understand in some depth the relationship between the people and their land I had to follow this lead further. For this reason, I seized every opportunity to accompany the locals in their journeys across the landscape. These journeys would usually end up in their chacras for seasonal agricultural work or in the pastures where their animals roamed. They could also take the people on longer trips to the valley for trading or with the occasion of an important festivity in a nearby town or village. The civic-religious calendar of Chinchero additionally provided major occasions for pilgrimages across the landscape that disclosed eloquent clues on the nature of the native landscape and on its significance for the people.

My interest in names was twofold: not only was I curious about what they said about the places they designated, but I was equally concerned with the act of naming itself and with the insights that this cultural practice could provide. As I initially saw it, assigning names to "inert" natural forms or spaces seemed to me a very "human" thing to do. I wondered at the same time whether this could be related to a form of "animism"[52], a characterization that I found at the same time appealing and problematic. Romanticised views and constructions of indigenous peoples had tended to depict them as "animistic", in the sense of being immersed in a highly spiritual and harmonious relationship with a natural world that was considered to be "alive" and possess a "soul". This animistic depiction had notably contributed to the anthropological construction of the "other" as the object of fascination of an industrialized world that had lost many of its religious referents and that was increasingly aware of its schizophrenic and exploitive relations with the environment. Having been elaborated in anthropological and New Age discourse as a trait of the exotic "other" (often nomadic peoples or the so called hunter-gatherers), animism as a category had been temporalized and relegated to a state proper of superstitious, pre-modern

[52] In this thesis I am interested in animism as a particular mode of engagement with the natural world (including the "supernatural") that goes beyond purely narrow empiricist or scientific explanations. I realize this is slippery territory though, especially for outsiders to the Andean milieu. Eduardo Ladrón de Guevara has expressed the risk of depicting the *runa* (human being, in Quechua) as "animistic" because, he argues, runas do not transfer their psychic condition to nature, nor they see themselves as separated from it (2012: 202). Other leading authors, like Descola (2012), characterize an Amerindian animistic ontology in terms of continuity between the interiority of humans and that of non-humans, with differences based on the physical appearance. For Descola – and this the part that interests me the most for the purposes of this chapter – animism is the kingdom of temporary metamorphosis and of troubled identities.

peoples who had not fully evolved towards scientific rationality and remained therefore either primitive or stubbornly traditional (Bird-David 1999; Fabian 1983).

As for myself, my goal was not so much to determine whether "animistic" (as well as "magical") practices survived in contemporary Chinchero or not (and the extent to which animism was compatible or incompatible with Christianity and Modernity); nor was it to demonstrate continuities, even if these were self-evident at times. Rather, my aim was to familiarize myself with the different modes in which people contemporary manipulated the world in ways other than those I was used to and grasp something of the cultural logics that guided their transactions. My second goal was to arrive at an understanding of animism that could open up new angles for interpretation by exploring the temporalities involved in the recurrent trope of transformation present in many Andean folk stories and lived imaginaries.

In this ethnographic quest, place-naming appeared as a multilayered praxis directly related to place-making where language played an essential role, to the extent pointed by Weiner (1991: 50) in her study of the Foi of Papua New Guinea that "language and place are a unity" (1991: 50). Names varied greatly in character. Many names, as most residents agreed, seemed to have been inspired by the physical characteristics of the site; some made an explicit connection with the past; others bore no apparent resemblance with the topography but rather seemed to warn the passer-by of a past event that still cast a potentially harmful shadow over that place. Most of the elicited short stories did not contain moral teachings or healing properties in the sense described by anthropologists working with Native North American groups (Basso 1988, 1996; Frey 2001). They rather captured the ambivalent and threatening forces and presences of the landscape, which could be both friendly and dangerous in accord with the transformational qualities described. Overall they made up a familiar and animated geography with which they could enter into "human" relationships because the practice of naming among humans amounted precisely to acknowledging others as members of the same species, recognising their specificity, and welcoming them into a given society or group.

Weiner (1991: 50) has written that "place names create the world as a humanized, historicized space". And yet, as other authors dealing with other indigenous landscapes have pointed out, the world was created and prepared for the humans since the beginning of time, and, therefore, cannot conceived of as a "cultural construction" (Frey 2001: 203; Ingold 2000: 57).

It did not escape to me, however, that naming the landscape had an immediate, pragmatic intentionality. In an agrarian society where land tenure was scattered and interspersed, and farming was based on communal land rotation, and where much of the social life unfolded outdoors, forcing the people to navigate through an often vertical and visually constraining countryside with an acute sense of directionality and location, the detailed physical and mental mapping of the territory was an extremely useful tool. This became all the more evident to me the morning I went with Rosa to graze her sheep. Upon my return home I ran into Toño, Rosa´s second youngest son, who asked me where his mother was because he needed to take her some water. As I did not know (or could not remember) the name of the place where I had been with Rosa, my vague indications were insufficient for Toño to figure out the exact location and he finally had to guess where she could be that day.

And yet there was clearly more than utilitarianism involved in the practice of naming the land and I wanted to find out what other meanings were entailed. So, I once asked Tomás Huamán, a respected community elder who had worked over forty years for the INC (Ministry of Culture) in Chinchero and who knew the landscape well, to walk with me across the territory of Yanacona, his ayllu of origin, and to tell me about names and places. Tomás knew what my study was about, sympathized with it, and shared with me much of his knowledge of the community. Here I am transcribing (and translating) part of the conversation we had "while walking". We started in the lower sector of the Centro Poblado, off the main road, and began walking north towards the ruins and the hills of Yanacona. And as we walked we became part of the landscape and of the stories that enlivened and embellished it.

> Tomás: …That place over there (pointing to a big rock on the way up to the main tourist checkpoint) is called *saqra rara* (the devil´s row), probably because some strange noises could be heard at night. That was a sacred space for the Chincherinos. When we were kids we were afraid of it. They said that, at nights, the rock opened up, like the chinkana, and one had to be very careful and stay away from that space …
>
> …This is the *Q´erapata* sector. Why would they have named it like that? Because there was a vegetation called *q´era.* It grew when I was a boy and I used to carry it home for making fire. Hence, *q´erapata*. *Pata* is something to sit on and

be comfortable, like on a table. It was an area as you see it now, exactly the same. But nowadays they are building houses because the population is growing…

…That part over there is called *Mesa Ccaca*. Mesa means that it was a mesa (table, in Spanish) and it was a place to perform *despachos*[53], offerings to the apus[54] that are still conducted. *Ccaca* means rock. In general the whole sector is known as *Mesa Ccaca*. However, every specific place has its name. When would they put these names? How old can they be? Because I have always known these names. These names have not been changed. They have survived, especially in those areas where agriculture is practiced. But in those communities with new generations, they are changing…

Pablo: from what historical period do you think these names come? From successive epochs perhaps?

Tomás: ...They possibly date from the colonial period or something like that. But for sure they existed before, because by then there were people around…

…This rock in front of us also has a name. It´s called *Aya Ccaca*. Aya means "dead", and some human bones have been found there, possibly predating the Incas. I do not know what became of those bones. There has been no official intervention…

… This hill is known as *Cruz Orqo* (the hill of the cross). And yet the whole place is known as *Q´erapata*, the turn of *Q´erapata* because of the rotational agricultural work. The cross is at the summit and it is a milestone for the festival of *mojonamiento* or the marking of boundaries. Beyond that hill is not Chinchero anymore. That land belongs to Huayllabamba and Urquillos…

…This little ravine that we see has its name: *Llaño huaycco*. It is as if it was a passage. To the other side we have *Hatun huaycco* (big ravine). *Huaycco* is an enclosed site, while *llaño* means narrow…

[53] Ritual offerings made up of miscellaneous elements wrapped in a package and then burnt or buried in the ground.

[54] Mountain deities believed to be responsible for the abundance or the scarcity of rains and for the good or bad agricultural year. As such, they have to be appeased regularly to obtain their favours and avoid misfortune.

Pablo: Jacinto showed me a place, *machulaq senkka* (the old man´s nose) According to him, the name might derive from a bad wind or something eerie like that proper to that place. And people gave it that name for that reason.

Tomás: ... For example, imagine that you are walking alone over here, or that we are walking together, and suddenly something weird appears and scares you. The name would have had its origin there, in the sense that there is something suspicious about that place and one has to be alert. Because in the past – not so much now – there always existed *ñak´as* in Chinchero, not *kukuchis*, but those who slit peoples´throats, the *ñak´achus…* [55]

… This side is called *Acco huaycco*. *Acco* is that very fine sand that you see. My father had land over there. He worked this land and sometimes he obtained good potato and big oca. And he would say, look, my chacra is productive. Sometimes he would reach his coca and said "*apu mama"*, "*apu acco huaycco"*. He invoked the apus with his coca or his chicha. The land yielded good, sandy papa. At the same time he would make his *watya*[56]. And you ate something good. My father used to say, "This is the chacra I remember the most, because I am really enjoying what I am eating"…

... Did anybody tell you about that donkey´s or cow´s leg across from Anta Killka? *Wakaq chakin* is called, because it really looks like a cow´s footprint. Since the very first time that I went there to look after my animals they told me about *wakaq chakin*. And they told me, "That is where your animals will be", because they are always around there. There was a big pasture over there and the animals did well. Lots of people had animals and grass was not lacking. I wandered around the tip of that hill, where every smaller tip has its name. I had to walk in search of my lost animals. I was not the only one, and those who were looking for them would say, "This is mine; yours is not here. You have to go to that other side". And

[55] Kukuchis were the *condenados* or *retornados* (returned), both Spanish terms that described the condition of those deceased who, due to the bad deeds committed during their terrestrial existence, had been condemned to wander around this world in penitence for their sins in a sort of ghostly or incorporeal condition. As for *ñak´achus or pishtacos*, these were individuals who had made a deal with the devil and in the past would suck the fat of the occasional passer-by, while in more recent times they were said to extract his blood to commercialize it. Both figures loomed over the fields and the roads posing a serious threat to the peoples´ physical and moral integrity.

[56] To prepare *watya*, potatos are first dug out from the chakra. Then, with the same earth a conical oven is assembled in situ and a fire is started. Once it is heated, the potatoes are placed inside and left to roast for a good while. Finally, the oven is deliberately made to collapse on top of the potatoes and after a few minutes these are ready to eat.

there you would find it, resting or eating. We walked in a very good mood because there were young men and women together…

Pablo: then, *wakaq chakin* came from the fact that people would take their animals to that side.

Tomás: ...That is right. Or perhaps also from the fact that in reality it looks like a human face, or a cow´s footprint, or a donkey´s footprint. People even believe that the number of animals was so great that their footprint was stamped, because it stands out. There are some ravines on that side that can be walked. There they say that their animals used to sleep because that land has been flattened and deepened. That is what they call it: *Wakaq puñuña* (the cow´s bed site). That is what they believe, but I personally cannot imagine a number of animals so huge so that they will leave a trace. From the ravine towards this side is Yanacona. Across, that is Cúper. This path continues to Anta Killa, which is Cúper, and up to the town. In the past there were lots of eucaliptus, but not anymore. Possibly there was a fire, since it looks somewhat blackened…

Pablo: how would you translate Anta killka?

Tomás: …I would translate *anta* as a hill lined with furrows, something elevated; and *killka* as the drifting clouds…

Pablo: today Anta Killka is the local apu.

Tomás: … Yes, it is even international. Tourists are told that it is Anta Killka, but they do not tell them where the name comes from. My father used to tell me that, at times, during the rainy season, he had to wait until the clouds cleared out or until the rain ceased. Whenever it cleared out, he said that something like a flower or foam let itself be seen to his eyes and thus he said *"killka"*, something that is moving. I myself would ask him, "Dad, why is it that they call it killka"? And he replied, "It is because it is high, something we cannot see from our house and that is moving. Even the hill is moving because the ravines and the tips are shifting. Sometimes they may scare you. Normally you are not afraid because it is a stable rock. But whenever it is raining or freezing or something, you think it is

moving and you get scared, because that is not what you typically see from the house." That is how he talked to me…

This was (if abbreviated) my conversation with Tomás as we moved across the landscape. The talk illustrates very well the diverse typology of names and their versatility in terms of the relations that they mediated between humans and the world. For Tomás, landscape features, names, stories and memories were clearly intertwined. But Tomás was not only showing me the landscape of Chinchero; through the subjectivity of his memories and experiences he was leading me through a personal journey that differed from many other possible journeys, making clear that there were as many landscapes as lived histories. In any case, the stories *were* the landscape (Frey 2001: 203) and, as Ingold has argued, our wayfinding was more comparable to a storytelling session than to an exercise of map-using (2000: 219). Also, Tomás´ narrative touched upon themes that I had witnessed before when travelling with Cirilo, Jacinto, or others, like the respect paid to the apus and the pachamama in form of offerings of coca, chicha and trago, as retributions for the fruits borne or for the protection granted against misfortunes. The apus were invoked by blowing coca leaves in their direction, while their names were called or murmured. In these performances, as in others that were less ritualised, where people would blow away the clouds in an attempt to prevent the rain from falling at a certain time, the lightness of the breath seemed to be invested with a far-reaching vital force or an agentive substance with the power to dynamize the surrounding world[57].

Something that I came to realize over time is that social memory (whatever this may be) was not so much to be found in the built environment of the monumental remains from the times of the Incas or the colony. It was still located in the landscape but concentrated more exactly in the more modest chacras and pastures where people had worked hard and had eaten, had drunk and had enjoyed for generations, like Tomás´ parents had. And when I say the chacras I cannot leave out the roads and pathways that connected them, a "network where the activity of an entire community is sedimented" (Ingold 1993: 167). As a matter of fact I had noticed the relation between naming and walking, as if one needed the other. Regarding this matter, Feld (1996: 103) has pointed out that every naming

[57] Catherine Allen (1988) has written in detail about this life force or *sami*, whereas there is virtually no Andean ethnography that does not account one way or the other for this rituality. See for example Abercrombie 2006; Bastien 1996, Valderrama and Escalante 2012; Sallnow 1987, Dransart 1997; Arnold 1992.

practice involves path-making, a point corroborated by Gordillo, who has argued that journeys along landscapes create meaning on account of the dialogue established between memory and place (2004: 169).

Every chacra had a name, a story behind, and memories attached[58]. This identification between land and memory was underscored by people´s comments that I picked up randomly, like the day Augusta told me, "Today I went to walk in the countryside and saw the fields where my grandmother used to sow papa". Memory was thus strongly spatialized (see Gordillo 2004) and associated with labour. Through labour and the traces and memories left by memory in the landscape, affective bonds had been established and a sense of home had been fostered. Tomás´narrative also makes clear the shifting, unstable and ambiguous conditions of the Quechua landscape, familiar and productive on the one hand, but far from idyllic and plagued with eerie presences on the other, that obliged the people to be in guard and avoid certain places. In effect, tales of encounters with *kukuchis* and *ñak´achus*, beings with unclear ontological status operating in between the dead and the living, abounded in social gatherings and family conversations. These frightening encounters always occurred at a particular spot in the landscape and frequently involved transformations from human to animal and viceversa, or from human into another human. Along with the huacas, the apus, and the rest of other-than-human powers, they configured a liminal geography characterized by fluid borders and constant interactions between different worlds that could be accessed and mobilized via ritual and performance.

Walking with Tomás helped me to gain a perspective that I could hardly describe as "from within", because the landscape in Chinchero was everywhere, even in the urban core unfolding in a multitude of domestic landscapes, as an overarching presence that encompassed everything. There were however two other particular instances that epitomized and condensed what the landscape and the practice of naming were about for the Chincherinos. These were the ceremony of *linderaje* in February and the festival of *Cruzvelakuy* held in early May.

During our conversation, Tomás had referred to the festival of *mojonamiento* or *linderaje*, an annual gathering held during carnival in which the communities renewed their territorial boundaries by means of a long journey along the *mojones* or milestones

[58] Already in the colonial period chacras were for the Andeans a group of fields with a name, a history, and a host of associations (see Mumford 2012: 145).

that dotted the landscape´s skyline and separated the communities politically. Alongside the festival of Chinchero´s saint patron *Mamacha Natividad* in September 8th, this was the most important event of the year, one everybody had told me about since my arrival. Living in the community of Cúper, I was invited (and expected) to participate in their linderaje. But Cúper´s rugged topography was extremely arduous and demanding. Given my lousy physical shape at the time (aggravated by multiple ailments), and as I did not want to perish in the attempt, I chose instead Yanacona´s much gentler geography.

> On the morning of February 8th, a large group of comuneros congregated on Yanacona´s plaza by the stadium, led by the Varayuq or traditional authorities dressed in their customary ponchos and *ch´ullos* (woollen knitted hats) and holding their staffs of office. All of the men carried spades and picks because linderaje, being a ritual, was at the same time a *faena*[59]. At a given signal, the *pututus*[60] were blown and this far-travelling sound announced the beginning of the march. In front went the *waylakas*[61] waving their *wiphalas* or white flags and dancing at the music played by musicians with flutes and drums. We were going to pilgrimage for most of the day along the territory of Yanacona, acknowledging and celebrating the milestones that delimited the community´s boundaries. Starting from the pampa, we marched Southbound along the road, and soon we hit the first milestone that separated Yanacona from Ayllopongo. This was an earthen mound into whose top the varayuq´s staffs and the wiphalas were driven. Right after, the comuneros began digging the base of the mound and its surroundings with their tools and adding the removed soil to the main body of the mound, therefore slightly enlarging it and displacing it just a few centimeters from its original position. Then, one of the varayuq climbed on top and called out loud its name, which was acclaimed by the crowd with a collective ¡que viva! (Long live it!). Finally, the staffs and flags were removed and the party moved on, cheered by the pututus and the flutes to the next milestone in line with a prescribed itinerary that could be modified from one year to another.

[59] Collective work undertaken for the benefit of the community.

[60] Conch shell trumpets of prehispanic origin.

[61] In a context of carnivalesque inversion in the Andes associated with the rainy season, the agricultural calendar and the fertility of the land (cf. Harris 1982), these are female characters embodied by male performers who, during linderaje, race ahead the main group and dance around the milestones.

That year, Yanacona´s linderaje traversed the urban center to reach the main Inca plaza of Capellan Pampa. There, they met with the party from Cúper and they danced and drank together at the spot where both communities shared their boundaries, before splitting off again, each pushing forth in its own direction. We began ascending the hill across from the ruins and the town towards the summit of Cruz Orqo. Midway through the ascent, while surrounding the ridge that overlooked the river down below and the pathway to the valley, we waited for a group of comuneros who had taken a detour to go down to the warmer yunga area to bring some plants from this region, especially maize. These plants were added, along with the staffs and the flags, to the mojón where we were waiting and the ritual was performed as usual. Once we got to the heights of Cruz Orqo we stopped for lunch. From that summit our eyes encompassed all Yanacona land. Tomás invited me to eat with him and talked to me: "The spades and the picks are meant to return the milestones to their original position in case they had been displaced by a neighbouring community, and to add more soil so that it gets more difficult to move them. This faena is the most important work of the year because it is related to people´s lands, with their personal plots. Without land one cannot survive in Chinchero. The food we are eating now comes from our land".

After lunch we resumed our walk. From then on we followed the crest of the ridges, lined with a long sequence of milestones interspersed approximately every two hundred meters and where the customary ritual was performed. Before their names were spoken, many milestones were formally addressed as apus and a very brief account of their history would follow. Names referred to the places they were at: *apu icchu… apu pukasaya… apu patacocha… apu kanllechayoq…* Also, they were initially enunciated in terms that introduced both a gender distinction and complementarity, a fusion of the Christian and the Andean, and a sense of genealogy: *María Santísima (Holy Mother)… Mamanchis Natividad (our Mother of the Nativity)… Papanchis San Juan de Dios (our Father Saint John of the Lord)…* In addition, they were hierarchically ranked in such a way that their hierarchy correlated with the hierarchy of the people who commemorated them. Those regarded as more important were enacted by the Inca curaca, the Inca alcalde or the president of the community, who ranked over the rest of the varayuq and the comuneros. It occurred more than once that the person designated for a mojón either forgot its name, or mistook it for a different one. Far from being a humorous scene, the situation generated considerable unrest since this was regarded a serious matter. At some point Tomás approached me and told me

that in those days things were not being done in the right manner, and that people were less familiar with the landscape. He added that past conflicts and trials with Urquillos had resulted in some name changes, hence the confusion generated. Also, addressing my observation regarding the profusion of Christian references in the nomenclature (a significant number of milestones were named after Christian Saints or Patrons) he made clear the influence of Catholicism in changing names that were originally Quechua. He further confirmed that most milestones names referred to the places they were at and designated plants, birds, flowers and other natural characteristics. We continued walking until the last milestone of the route was met and properly honoured, and then the whole community gathered in the evening for a big meal to mark an end to a long day.

Linderaje – I reflected after my participation in it – could somehow be compared to one of those *thakis* or pathways of the memory described by Abercrombie (ibid.) in his ethnography of K´ulta, where people remembered past events and ancestors through a series of libations and oral recitations that unfolded in the landscape like pathways travelled by the social memory, conflating time and space in *chronotopes* or places charged with time. Fernando Santos-Granero (1998: 140) has similarly spoken of "topograms", or elements of the Yanesha landscape that have historically been configured as signs that evoke things, events or ideas and which are, in addition, performative acts.

In Linderaje, milestones were indeed performances of events that celebrated space and time[62]. As performative acts, they brought the past back to life and activated that which could be dormant, but not yet dead or gone. They re-created history and erased temporal boundaries so that the agency of the past could operate and bring about the desired results in a present that was always spatialized and fixed to specific places. In this sense, the physiognomy of the festival, with its rounded knot-like mounds linked by the main cord of the pathway, resembled the structure of a khipu[63], which might have been itself performed in public narratives that would keep the memory of the past alive. Moreover, linderaje was a pilgrimage that bore further resemblances with the ancient *ceque*

[62] Edward Casey (1996: 34) has sanctioned the deconstruction of the space-time dichotomy by showing how they come together in place.

[63] Andean mnemonic device used in Prehispanic and early colonial times for storing data and, possibly, historical information as well.

system[64], which projected over the landscape relations between the people who inhabited it (Abercrombie ibid: 239). As such, it was principally a matter of territoriality (as Gerónimo, Jacinto, Fidel and others confirmed), of asserting communal identity and control over the space by defining one´s boundaries and by defending one´s land against neighbouring communities[65]. Territoriality was not purely a mental representation of abstract boundaries; it was rather constituted by the sheer materiality of the land and the multiple contacts that humans established with it. The act of naming the land was thus a political ceremony of (re) possession and of renewal of old bonds between the landscape and the people. This renewal was also directed towards ensuring the fertility of the land and its generosity, hence the symbolic planting of maize and other plants in the mounds and the many references to plants and flowers in the language. Other additional elements such as the music played (see Stobart 2006: 40) and the dancing of the waylakas, were read as well in fertility terms. Names were the conduits through which these transactions, connections, updates and renewals were made possible. Actually, it was through names that space was turned into place in the sense described by Casey[66]. On account of their performative nature they had the power to "animate" (insufflate *animus* or life force-soul), or perhaps "awaken", that which they designated.

Fidel helped me to understand this better the night we were sitting in Cúper´s chapel celebrating the Cruzvelakuy or festival of the Holy Crosses for harvest time in early May, when the crosses in the landscapes were returned back to their chapels after having been taken out to the fields in February, coinciding with the rainy season and the maturation of the crops:

> "Names in the landscape are related to Pachamama. We are now in *Soqta Kuchu*[67] and many of our grandfathers have stood in this place before. Each place has its own spirit and is either male or female. This is animism. Crosses have their names

[64] Conceptual lines that radiated out in all directions from the main temple in Inca Cuzco and that organised the space and the landscape hierarchically, mirroring the social hierarchy of the Inca society. Along each ceque, huacas were located and worshipped. The system also served to organise water and land rights among the different social groups.

[65] See also Beatriz Pérez´s study of linderaje in Chawaytiri (1996), Nates and Pérez (1997), and C. Franquemont (1988: 109)

[66] Casey (1991: 32) has argued that, through naming, the Foi of Papua New Guinea turn space (as sheer physical terrain) into place, understood as historically experienced and constituted space and time.

[67] In Quechua, "four corners". It is also the name of a native plant.

as well, like *Arariwa* (“the one who looks after the seeds”). With the colony the priests imposed their names to the crosses, but the Andeans changed them.”

Fidel´s words led me to think of animism in terms slightly different from the notion of “relatedness” in performative context employed by Bird-David (1999), where personhood attributed to objects and animals is not based on positivist and modernist ideas of the person. It would seem from Fidel´s account that a place acquired its spirit by means of the dwelling presence of the ancestors, a presence felt, activated or renewed by the repetition of the same actions and by not forgetting its name. By the same token, oblivion and abandonment of social and ritual practices amounted to emptying a place from its social and spiritual significance. From this perspective, the landscapes of Chinchero were all about remembering and forgetting (see Nair 2003 and C. Franquemont 1988: 112). Also, Fidel´s comment on the gendered nature of places reminded me of ethnographies (Platt 1978; Isbell 1985) that had described an Andean universe in which everything was either male or female, in a pervasive gender dualism that characterized the whole region. Understanding gender as the fertilizing and dynamic encounter of two generative and complementary living forces that dwelled everywhere in the material world since ancestral time, might add something to a characterization of Andean animism. However, no possible inquiry into its origins and nature would be possible without referring first to the critical Quechua concept of *cama,* and to the extraordinary power of the huacas associated with it. The notion of *Cama* figures prominently in the Huarochirí Manuscript, the earliest ethnohistoric source written in Quechua, as well as in the writings of the Spanish chroniclers (see Cobo (1640?) 1990: 30). In these sources it is rendered as a primordial and mighty agentive principle, capable of instantiating all sorts of metaphysical operations associated with the extraordinary power of the huacas and the apus, abodes of other-than-human forces.

In his ethnohistoric and linguistic study of the verbal root *cama (*with its derivatives, *camaq, camasqa* and *camaquen*), Gerald Taylor (1974) explains that the Catholic priests erroneously translated it as “God”, and also as “soul”. In reality, as Taylor says, this Andean concept expressed the idea of an efficacious primordial force that nurtured everything that existed on the earth, so that it could actually perform the function for which it was created. Accordingly, for every object in this world there was a “double” or celestial prototype in charge of its protection and reproduction. It is this sense of transmission of

the vital force that animates the whole world that the concept of *cama* embodies. Expanding this line of inquiry, Pierre Duviols (1978) has evinced the strong association between *camaquen* (life force) and the *mallqui* (ancestors), with their *paqarinas* (places of origin). Additionally, he has shown how the Andeans recognised the *camaquen* in the statues of the Christian saints and considered it as force that survived the destruction of all material envelops whichever these might be.

Taylor and Duviol´s remarks on the concept of *cama* illuminate what my neighbour Cirilo Pumallalli (at the time temple administrator and *paqo* or ritual specialist) told me one day with regard to linderaje, and the significance of the native landscape:

> "When, during mojonamiento, we invoke the apu San Juan Bautista (Saint John the Baptist) and other Christian saints, we are invoking the ancestors, uniting the Catholic with the Andean. Milestones´ names allude to the features of the landscape they are on. These names were important to produce documents about boundaries and to maintain the documentary accuracy on the plans. That is why getting the names wrong or forgetting them, as it happened in Yanacona in February, is a grave matter. What we have in mojonamiento is the fusion of two cultures, the Catholic and the Andean (that famous syncretism): the Catholic element in the milestones and the Andean in the Quechua names. We are Catholic and go to mass, but in the landscape lies our other religious elements: the apus, the pachamama, the springs, the condor, the snake, the huacas, the rainbow… The clergy force the people to go to mass to pray to God, but I can converse with the Christ right on this spot or elsewhere because God is everywhere".

Cirilo was conflating the milestones with the ancestors and was underlining the importance of both for ayllu identity. Additionally, he was underscoring the foundational potency of language and of its performative condition. It was precisely Cirilo Pumallali who performed a despacho for me one night upon my request. He took me to *Anta Sacca*, a prominent outcrop in the upper section of Cúper Pueblo which, according to local lore, had been an important huaca since the times of the Incas. During the ritual, Cirilo invoked as usual the local geography of the apus and the huacas, bringing the power of words into the ritual. But, to my surprise, he asked me the names of the principal mountains in my homeland and pronounced them aloud, incorporating my own sacred geography into his

and magnifying the impact and outreach of the ceremony by this means. I remember that I felt comforted by the gesture. The flames of the fire he had started burned high, and he took this sign as a good omen for my future.

Anta Sacca, similarly to other hills and outcrops of the landscape, was topped by a cross. As it has been noted, during the Cruzvelakuy festival, crosses were returned by the varayuq from the hills from where they protected the fields and the crops during their maturation period. As guardians of the fields, they had taken over the functions (and clearly the power) of the ancient huacas that occupied those same hills and outcrops in the time of contact. So I was told by Fidel and others. Cruzvelakuy was one more pilgrimage[68] across an intimate and named territory that served to renew a sense of kinship with the land.

On May 3, I travelled with the envarados from the chapel in Cúper Pueblo to the summit of Wanakaury, another hill nearby Anta Sacca and conceptually related to this as being female and male respectively, as other twin features of the landscape like the Lake Piuray and its counterpart, the Lake Huaypo. When we got to the top, with several stops to drink chicha, the men gathered around the cross. Another party of envarados had set off to Anta Sacca, visible within some distance. Mario, one of the men, visibly moved, embraced the cross, kissed it and uttered these words: "Papay Anta Sacca… Mamay Wanakauri…" I confess that I was deeply touched because such an open display of sincere devotion in genealogical terms[69] came from a man more reputed in the community for his problems with the bottle and his idleness than for anything else. Then, Mario poured chicha at the foot of the cross and, shortly after, he removed it from its base and carried it on his shoulders. While we were making our way back down to Cúper Pueblo, the envarados began blowing their pututus and so did the twin party at Anta Sacca, in a way that enabled them to engage in a vibrant acoustic dialogue that filled the air and reached out to all the confines of the land.

[68] Sallnow has interpreted Andean pilgrimages in terms of the kinaesthetical recovery of the sacred landscape, as well as an attempt to appropriate the Christian sector of the cult (1987: 269).

[69] Salomon has stressed the analogy between milestones and ancestors. Both are taken as markers of relations between different groups, but he makes clear that this relationality is particularly intense within the domains of genealogy and political affiliation (1998: 15).

Sound indeed was another major feature of the Quechua landscape[70]. I had soon noticed its extraordinary acoustic properties. While being in the fields or in the ruins I had seen and heard the men working in their chacras communicating from far away, their voices being echoed and greatly amplified, even if they could sometimes not see each other. But their voices travelled lightly across the space and saturated it with their specific form of dwelling. In these instances, it seemed to me that the landscape transformed itself into an intense sensory field of which I was but a small part. Sound was pregnant with cosmic potency,[71] and so, when the pututus fertilized the air with their vibrations, they were insufflating in the landscape the breadth of life much in the same way as the crosses, on their journey across the fields, spread their blessings and their generative power over them, like seeds for the new season, charged with the surviving *cama* of the ancient huacas destroyed. *Cama* possibly also dwelled in the shell out of which the pututus were made and that, as in the past, would have been thought to attract the rain.

Crosses, pututus and many other objects were part of a material culture charged with certain forms of energy that could be mobilized to bring about some desired results or, conversely, to avoid unwanted developments. This was the basic tenet, I believe, behind certain "magical" practices that caught my attention and that were surrounded, if not by secrecy, at least by a sense of cautious privacy.

> One day, while in the house, Augusta called me because she wanted to show me something she had in her room. A few days earlier she had told me about the *muhu papa rumi*[72]. This was a small, dark, and nicely polished stone that she had found one day in the yard while doing some digging. Even if fractured, the stone still retained a distinctive potato shape. Augusta assured me that thanks to this stone she had plenty of potatoes in her chacras. She kept it hidden in a basket wrapped in a cloth with a religious motif. Within the basket there was also a real papa and a second stone shaped like a condor´s head. The basket was placed

[70] Feld has pointed out that voice creates space. He has furthermore drawn attention to the role of hearing as a way of seizing reality with the whole body and to the importance of sound in the making of place, in a sort of synaesthetic experience (1996: 96-99).

[71] In his ethnographic context, Stobart (2006: 7-8, 39-49) shows that music is partly seen as a body of "energy" (*animu)* that invokes and communicates with other bodies such as the human, the life-cycle of potatoes or the animated earth and cosmos. Music operates at a cosmological level by stimulating the cycles of production and influencing the atmospheric phenomena, as a means to transform both time and space. He also describes how the primordial time of the chullpas is characterised as *amu timpu*, or time of silence (*amu* also being translated as "bud of flowers").

[72] In Quechua, "the potato-seed stone".

within a big niche in one of the room´s walls and was surrounded by images of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints, in what appeared to me as an improvised altar. I wondered whether Augusta and Jacinto would pray in front of this shrine during sowing times to ensure a good harvest.

In his discussion of animism in the Andes, Bill Sillar (2009) has criticized those views that subordinate the agency of things to that of humans (that is, the capacity of certain objects to arise emotions, invoke memories, and so on), thus inhibiting the possibility that things have an effective agency of their own. In response to this, Sillar re-locates Andean notions of animism in the recognition that places and objects are sentient entities with the power to act, and that these entities are not taken as "supernaturals" or "gods", but as people with whom one establishes social bonds and identities through reciprocal exchange. Through the attribution of sociality to materials, materiality emerges as the possibility for these kinds of transactions to occur, since, as Sillar says, it is through their raw materials and form that objects are connected to other objects, places and other animate entities. Sillar concludes that it is the assumption that one can influence one thing based on its prior relationship with another person, thing, place or process, that constitutes the main principle of Andean ritual nowadays (2009: 368-373).

This perspective illuminates the germination effect of the muhu papa rumi by casting it in terms of "sympathetic magic" (Sillar 2009: 373, drawing from Frazer), which operates on the basis of similarity of form and contagion, and assumes the intermediary role of objects and their materials, like the *illas* or *conopas*[73] used by the shepherds to reproduce their livestock, charged with *enqa* or life force (see Flores Ochoa 1974 and also Allen 1990). This is not far from the concept of the "double" or celestial prototype for every animal species that was in charge of its reproduction and with which it bore physical resemblance. In sum, animated things – where *animu*, as Sillar observes (2009: 369), is not a human soul but the vital force that energizes life – were believed to act on each other and to respond to each other. This responsiveness of the world, upon which Andean animism was predicated, was put very simply to me by Rosa when I asked her in the fields whether plants were alive or not: "Yes, they are'', she said with a smile, ''because when I talk to them they are happy"[74].

[73] Small figurines made of mud or other materials.

[74] Similar observations regarding the animacy attributed to the vegetal world can be found in C. Franquemont´s ethnography, who additionally notes that this is partly due to the fact that plants possess all elements attributed to living things, such as body parts, behaviour and capacity for growth

Perhaps this sense of personhood attached to sentient things was best expressed in the way they handled the papas and how they spoke about them. I remember one day when I was walking with my friend Milagros, a youngster in her mid-twenties, along Cúper Alto that we came to a rundown house that had belonged to her grandparents and where papas had been left abandoned. She felt pity for the old and wrinkled papas and told me that when people peeled off the potatos they would say "Don´t make the papa suffer, because it will curse you". Also at home, with Jacinto and Augusta, I noticed the care that both parents tried to instill in their sons when handling the "poor little papas" in the kitchen, as if they were fragile *wawas* or babies that had to be disposed of properly. In fact, as Stobart has pointed out (2006: 26), the affective language strengthens the empathic relations between humans and the spirit of objects, beings or places. The same author has shown how food products "weep" when they are not taken care of properly and how people´s emotions are entangled with them (2006: 6, 26).

Popular depictions of "Indian animism", including tourist narratives, have spread both romantized and simplistic understandings that in turn have only perpetuated the image of an Indian "other", still anchored in pre-modern times and guided by intriguing irrational and superstitious logics. Scholarly research has sought to redress the balance by locating animism within the wider context of social practices and rationales that give coherence and ontological status to a cultural system. And yet, the relation between animism and time has not been sufficiently emphasised. If, as Descola argues (2012: 129-132), there is ontological continuity in animistic systems, then there is temporal continuity as well. Animism, thus, is a pragmatic historical mode aimed at the mastery of time and of its potencies. Like myths, which only come to life when they are either told, sung, or danced, its *modus operandi* relies on temporary metamorphoses and collapse all temporal boundaries so that the world of the ancestors and all the powers created "at the beginning of time", like the primordial archetypes, continue to inhabit the human sphere and can be accessed and manipulated for contemporary purposes. As such, it is an operation to reestablish lost contact between otherwise separate temporal horizons, contact that allows one to tap into the forces that created the world and the diversity of beings that first populated it and that continue at work today, with different intentions and guises. In a sense, animism is a synchronizing device that brings cosmic unity by ensuring a smooth

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and change. Furthermore, this animacy is extended to other realms of the world such as rocks, water and cloth (1988: 110).

continuity between the different temporal layers that the universe is made of. Transformations occur in the contact zone of the landscape and it is the mechanism through which these two-way journeys back and forth between layers are possible. Animism, in sum, by establishing the contemporaneity and unity of past, present, and future, asserts its radical modernity in spite of lasting prejudices originated in linear conceptualizations of time and history (see Latour 1993).

3.3 The temporalities of the landscape

Landscapes are always in motion, in constant flux, like living organisms (see Ingold 1997). They are made, unmade and remade. Typically approached in the western tradition in terms of space, their condition is however essentially temporal. They carry the past(s) on their shoulders. The lives of the previous generations are sedimented in multiple layers and visible traces that add consistency and texture. This sedimentation of past materials provides the humus that sustains current landscapes rooted in those that preceded them. Their temporality closely resembles that of the humans, from which they cannot be separated.

Different authors (Hirsch and O´Hanlon 1995; Bender 1993; Gordillo 2004; Fabian 1983) have reacted against previous conceptualizations of the landscape as picturesque and finished objects for aesthetic contemplation. These images sanctioned the primacy of the visual and were mainly drawn from a European artistic tradition that started in the Renaissance and that was linked to an incipient mercantile and capitalistic expansion that relied on fixed cartographic representations of the world for its economic and political aims (Olwig 1993; Fabian 1983). They have also rejected views of landscape as mere settings or backdrops for human activity. Instead, they have preferred to emphasise the processual and dynamic tensions of landscapes as unfinished places where the forces of history have left a trace and continue doing so in the ongoing reshaping of the human environment. This has led them to questioning any neutral and aestheticised images of nature, and also to illuminate in turn the social and political condition of all human landscapes. This relatively recent current has coexisted in turn with more phenomenological approaches that have focused on experience and senses of place (Basso 1988; Feld and Basso 1996). The main difference between these two approximations may

reside, as Gordillo argues, in that the phenomenological view treats landscapes as culturally given, whereas for him and others they are the result of historical processes and struggles (Gordillo 2004:5).

One of the reasons why I chose Chinchero as my fieldsite was because of the extraordinary force of its landscape. Apart from the stunning beauty of the natural forms combined with the intensity of the light and the colours, its density – it was clear to me – stemmed mainly from the all-pervasive presence of the past, which burst out in multiple forms and shapes, but particularly in the Inca and colonial remains that spread out across the territory with their immense evocative power, a power accessible to the senses and the informed imagination through the "haunting physicality of the ruins" (Lazzari 2011: 176). But, overall, it was the people who continued dwelling in and travelling along the landscape with bodily practices and oral narratives that perpetuated the ways and memory of the grandfathers, those who provided the landscape with its proverbial hold.

Indeed, the landscape of Chinchero was a palimpsest of past traces that spoke about the successive transformations it had undergone through time, as geological strata evincing the dynamic and cumulative nature of history and of the human condition. As history materialized, the landscape was the reflection of the social forces that had continually shaped it over time to produce the present (Gordillo 2004: 10). The origin stories had already depicted a landscape in continuous flux, being created and destroyed at the same time by the ancients with the power to do it. The record of their past transformative deeds and habitation was still visible, as was the sacred geography of huacas, apus, and other sentient beings configured since time immemorial. When the Incas settled in, they undertook a major reshaping program of their homeland in Chinchero (see Nair 2003). By means of a big-scale intervention in the landscape, mainly through the act of building, they had asserted their control over the territory. Their imprints, along with those of other Prehispanic peoples, were found everywhere and confronted me with the inalienable character of their materiality.

If the Incas had left their imprint on the land, then so had the Spanish after them with their reorganisation of the territory found upon their arrival. In Chinchero the landscape of the huacas gave way to one of churches and crosses; narrow and winding streets were turned into a grid plan; Inca stones were reutilised for the new Spanish settlement, and newly imposed land tenure patterns and power relations altered the physiognomy of the landscape in place until then. Reducciones and haciendas created the conditions for

discrete territorial units, whereas the degree of communalization or privatization of the land varied much depending on who was in power (Mayer 2002: 35, 291). This contrasted with the more fluid and continuous pre-contact territorial organisation, based on the flexible structure of the ayllu and in the possibility of accessing other ayllus´ land, as well as a variety of ecological tiers, through kinship and reciprocity ties. While Spanish settlement patterns juxtaposed with the indigenous systems of communal landholding and, in doing so, disrupted the vertical Andean landscape structured by networks of scattered villages, the organisation of the ayllus, as Wernke (2007: 136) points out, remained intact, attesting to a parallel process of cultural continuity in settlement patterns that emerged, as we have seen in the previous chapter, from the continuous negotiations and legal battles between Spanish and Andeans (Mumford ibid). By the early decades of the 18th c. however, much Indian land was being alienated and parcelled, a trend that was only going to intensify during the Republican period (Thurner ibid.).

More recently, further changes had modified the town´s appearance. The implementation of the 1969 Agrarian Reform signalled the end of the haciendas and encouraged the formation of cooperatives and “comunidades campesinas”. The advent of the road in 1983 opened the town to intense exchanges with the city and to tourism development. New building and dwelling patterns arose. Propelled by the prospect of more economic activity, those with the means to do it had moved down their houses from the upper section of the town to the road and had used concrete instead of adobe. The development of the tourist industry had in turn imposed further spatial changes in the urban landscape resulting from the accommodation of the local resources to the visitors´ demands and expectations. Meanwhile, changes in forestry practices dictated by time and economic constraints had led the peasants to neglect the native flora in favour of the more rapidly growing, but foreign and invasive, eucalyptus, with the corresponding visual impact.

In conclusion, the permanent re-configuration (and dismantling) of the landscape owed much to the political pasts and power struggles in the village that had resulted in different geographies, agricultural practices and land tenure regimes. These varied patterns of land ownership, labour and building practices, associated with specific worldwiews, hierarchies and political projects that required concrete cartographies, projected themselves spatially onto the landscape in visual arrangements that belied the ideologies from which they emanated.

If building and dwelling, along with naming and story-telling, were central to home-making, home-making itself – as the ongoing process by which the people of Chinchero had made a home for themselves out of the land over successive generations – rested as the bedrock for all temporalities. This sense of continuation had been achieved simultaneously through political confrontations and social practices that entailed a deep involvement with the materiality of the land and the memories embedded in it. This engagement often took place around places like the chacras or the ruins where the grandfathers had laboured and transformed the land themselves with their hands in a process of permanent renovation of the landscape. This kind of renovation I witnessed many times. When collaborating in the construction of one of the many adobe houses that regularly replaced older ones or filled new spaces, I was struck by the constant reshaping of the land in the making of adobe bricks and at the intense participation of hands, feet, and other parts of the body in the handling, manipulation and refashioning of all the raw materials and tools involved during the task. This intimacy of body-materiality was pervasive and, by its very processes, knowledge of the environment was gained and a sense of identity[75] and belonging was forged.

Above all, home-making and the temporality of the land was determined by the cyclicality of the agricultural year and the seasonal work associated with it. *Muyuy*[76] was the key Quechua concept that embodied the rotational pattern that impregnated and governed not only the agricultural and pastoral tasks, but many other aspects of socio-political life in Chinchero. Muyuy enveloped a world already immersed in other cosmic motions, generating a multiplicity of rhythms that emphasise d a strong sense of alternation and circularity[77]. It was mainly through labour that men and women participated in this dynamic move. This seasonal dynamicity – which mirrored that of the natural cycles – entailed being within the movement of life itself. Muyuy was fecund time that extended over the land and wrapped it with a germinal force implicit in its semantic

[75] "Identity" is probably one of the most difficult, contested and controversial concepts in anthropology. For now, and within the context discussed, I use it in the sense of consubstantiality.

[76] In Lira´s dictionary (1941) *muyuy* is translated as "to spin, move in circles, rotate, turn around, go in circles around an axis".

[77] Jorge Ladrón de Guevara has underlined the collective sense of Andean time encoded in the concept of *pachamuyuy*, which takes *pacha* as the reality and *muyuy* as its time. *Muyuy* is not uniform time, but rather multiple and diverse. There are different muyuys in nature and they have to be harmonised: the succession of day and night, sowing time, the time of the papa and that of the maize, the time of the ayllu, the time for working the land, that one for performing pagos and despachos, etc (2012: 204-205).

field[78]. Rotation and alternation was a seed-like way of being in the world and the sweat of labour was the humidifying element that allowed it to spring into growth.

[78] González Holguin (1608-1901) translates *muyuy* as “seed”, as well as “circle” and “round thing”.

4. THE ETHNOGRAPHIES OF CHINCHERO: A CRITICAL RECORD OF PAST RESEARCH

When walking down the streets of Chinchero it would come to my mind that other researchers before me had walked the same streets and had lived there for some time. They, like me, had also become part of the local history, if only for a short while, and had added further layers to the town´s thick past. Some, like the Franquemont, had even settled down and become comuneros. Like them, I was perhaps leaving my own trace (and writing my own little history), a trace that would surely linger in the air for some time before vanishing in the memory of the successive generations. All of these persons belonged to Chinchero´s history and had at some point been part of, and in some cases helped to transform, its landscape. What they wrote was shaped by their personal and historic contexts, as well as by their specific modes of engagement with the reality they faced. With different research agendas in mind, they all had to deal with, and become part of, the problem of change. The way they addressed this problem and positioned themselves with regard to it, differed, and their accounts, which afford a certain diachronic perspective for the relatively recent evolution of Chinchero, are important contributions not only for the history of the District and for Andean studies at large, but also for general concerns of this thesis such as social change, ethnic formation and representation, and the land-scape. Their visions of change were coloured by the stiff opposition they posed between the "traditional" and the "modern", cast in antagonistic terms. It was against this backdrop that many of their arguments and conclusions would be played out.

4.1 Oscar Núñez del Prado

Nobody personally remembered Oscar Núñez del Prado, the first ethnographer of Chinchero along with Abraham Valencia (both professors at the UNSAAC) in the late 1940s and early 50s. But some educated locals had read his texts and that is how he had lived on

in their memories, while in the case of Valencia, who had never had his work published, the day he returned to Chinchero many years after his fieldwork as a student, nobody recognised him, as he would tell me when I interviewed him in Cuzco. Valencia did not have fond personal memories of Núñez del Prado. Their academic relations never worked out well. Both of them were mainly interested in collecting data on aspects of the culture. Valencia evoked a socio-political situation dominated by the influence of the haciendas and that of the mistis or mestizos, who exerted political control over the Indians, a time in which the memory of Félix Puma and his journey to Lima in the 1920s was very fresh among the peasants. In 1949 Núñez del Prado published "*Chinchero, un pueblo andino del Sur*"[79]. In the late 50s he was involved in projects of applied anthropology in the Cuzco region (Kuyo Chico). Following these concerns, his research in Chinchero was motivated by his active engagement with the, at the time, so called *problema indígena* (the indigenous problem), which within a national context of *indigenismo* was perceived as the need to modernize the countryside, turn it into a productive force, and rescue the Indian peasantry from its historical condition of poverty and backwardness through education. As Marisol De la Cadena has shown (2000), *Indigenismo* as a political and intellectual doctrine resulted from an intense debate initiated at the turn of the 20th century about the identity of the Peruvian Nation, where different "races" coexisted. Also, at stake was the superiority and dominion of the Coast (Lima), constructed mainly as a white and modernized region, against the Sierra, where the backward Indians lived. *Cuzqueñismo* was the regional variant of *Indigenismo*. Cuzqueñan intellectuals and elite members took on the task of protecting the Indians against the abuses of the gamonales (considered as spurious landowners and agents of Lima who jeopardized Cuzqueñan regionalism and autonomy) whilst at the same time defining themselves as "individuals who have Indian features without being Indians" (Luis Valcárcel, quoted in De la Cadena 2000: 47). By 1921 president Leguía had reconciled indigenismo with a liberal modernizing capitalist agenda through the recognition of "Comunidades Indígenas" and the communal property of the land (ibid: 87).

Núñez del Prado opened his article with the following words (translated from the original in Spanish): "Everything we find in the indigenous culture is worth collecting carefully in order to inform ourselves about the real causes of the distortions that generate its

[79] In 1952 he also published "La vida y la muerte en Chinchero" (Life and death in Chinchero), a very brief ethnographic account that documented religious aspects related to local ideas on the afterlife.

problems" (1949: 177). His proposed solution to the indigenous problem was the "integration" of the native culture into the national mestizo one, an integration that he did not understand merely in terms of acculturation (keeping in mind the fact that there were different positions within indigenismo). In his own words:

> "We do not believe that integration is merely a simple transfer of elements. National integration will be the result of taking the best aspects of both cultures and forming a homogenous species of a third order. The aim of integration is to achieve a balanced fusion of the positive features of both cultures whilst eliminating the negative features. The validity of such traditional institutions like *ayni*[80] and the family in rural agricultural life cannot be denied, but, to equalize the participation of the Indian in national life, these aspects of the Indian culture must be united with the technological resources of the Mestizo culture" (Núñez del Prado 1973: 8-9, translated from the original in Spanish).

Núñez del Prado´s ethnography was mainly concerned with the political economy of Chinchero in those years, as well as with issues of ethnicity and class, and with more general observations about cultural life, including a myth of origin that people did not seem to remember in 2012[81]. From the beginning, he identified three clearly distinct social classes: mestizos, Indians or *naturales*, and *cholos*[82]. At the time, "mestizo" was an immoral category assimilated with power and with the gamonales (De la Cadena ibid: 80-84). They monopolized the highest political positions of authority even if they amounted only to 1% of the population. Indians and cholos occupied in turn the other positions within the municipal government, and in the hierarchies of the long-standing system of cargos or posts of responsibility for the internal administration of the ayllus, the

[80] Reciprocal work. I will expand on it throughout the chapter.

[81] According to a local tradition, a child named Manko Qapaq was born to be the Inka from Cuzco. Manko spent a long time searching for a beautiful woman named Pitusilla who lived in a rock nearby Chinchero. When he opened the rock, the Inka found Pitusilla and together they went and founded Cuzco. Shortly after they returned to Chinchero and built the town. When the Spanish arrived, they seized the Inka, who asked his captures to be able to sing for a little while. Having been granted his wish, he vanished. But Manko has not died. He is in the sky and he shines every day to provide light and heat for the people as usual. After Manko´s fleeing, Pitusilla was very sad and she hid again in a rock that can be seen now in the heights of Pisac, where she waits for Manko´s return. Then, she will leave her hidden site and people will be joyful again.

[82] Núñez del Prado depicted the *cholo* as an Indian who had left the community or hacienda to live in the town and worked at a trade or in small commerce. He was bilingual and had achieved some level of education that enabled him active participation in national life. He looked down on the Indian and constantly tried to hide his Indian extraction (1973: 12).

organisation of the civic-religious festivals, the performance of communal tasks, and so on. Mestizos and cholos wore hats, whereas the Indians were visibly identified by their *ch´ullos* or knitted woollen hats with earflaps.

A similar threefold division was noted with reference to land property. The land was divided in lands of the church, municipal lands, and lands of the ayllus. The lands of the church were in turn split into those belonging to the resident priest and worked by the *mayordomos*[83], and the lands of the saints. The lands of the ayllus were divided into *laymis* or parcels cultivated on rotational basis. It did not escape Núñez del Prado that, even if property was theoretically communal and therefore inalienable (since the 1921 Law of "Comunidades Indígenas"), in the reality the peasants were proprietors with the faculty to sell the land, pass it on through inheritance, donate it, etc, notwithstanding the fact that these transactions were illegal under Peruvian Law. He attributed these sales to the excessive fractioning of the land encouraged by the customs surrounding inheritance. These rules, whilst guaranteeing access to the inheritance both to sons and to daughters, established the preeminence of the eldest son. Whilst he noted that transactions were very usual (given the fact that in order to be recognised as comunero one needed to own land), he added that this partitioning had led many families to sell their plots and migrate to the warmer Valley of La Convención[84]. Additionally, faced with the impossibility of making such small properties profitable, the indigenous people had had to go and look for land in the haciendas, thus increasing their condition of servitude. Others yet had managed to accumulate land out of several purchases, a process facilitated by the very cheap price of the land as its sale was illegal. Amongst these actors were the mestizos, outsiders to the community, who did not have restrictions for acquiring property.

After that, Núñez del Prado shifted his focus to some agricultural practices, calling the attention to their strong traditional basis and continuity over time in the organisation of the agricultural year, according to the two main periods of sowing (*maway* and *hatun tarpuy*), performed in classic Andean formulas of cooperative work such as *ayni*, *mink´a*, or *raymi*[85], as well as others less common in the literature such as *compañía* (or *aparcería*)

[83] The institution of *mayordomía* was introduced by the Spanish during the colony. M*ayordomos* were in charge of the statues of the saints within the churches and of the proper celebration of their festivities.
[84] In this regard, during my fieldwork I was explained that if somebody purchased just a small parcel, the land was sold with no obligations to the community, except an economic contribution. However, if the amount of land acquired was considerable, the new proprietary became automatically a comunero and had therefore to assume the obligations that came with the new status as full community member.
[85] The first two are explained later in this chapter.

and *arensa*, in which traditional tools were employed. He also provided some relevant information with regard to weaving and the materials involved, observing, for example, the increase in the cost of aniline[86] and the subsequent return to weaving.

Based on these observations and concerns, Núñez del Prado came up with several conclusions (ibid: 227-29), from which I extract the following:

1) The myth of the Sun was likely a rationalization of people´s conformism, perhaps invented and spread by the Spanish during the colony to calm down the indigenous populations after the death of the Inca ruler Atawallpa.

2) Fluctuations in the Cuzco market modified the routine and customs. For example, *bayeta*[87] technique was re-introduced as a result of the rise in the price of aniline, which used to be purchased before the increase in cost.

3) The discrepancy between customary laws (derived from the necessity created by the dismembering of the community) and state laws (which prescribed the inalienability of communal land) only disoriented and harmed the Indian.

As a follow up to these general conclusions, and prompted by his interest in applied anthropology, Núñez del Prado concluded his article with a few specific remarks of "immediate application" (ibid: 230):

1. As a consequence of the *amestización*[88] of indigenous patterns, the ayllu had entered into a period of clear disintegration, as reflected in the individualism surrounding the property of the land.

2. Preserving the inalienability of the land amounted to keeping the peasant locked in *reducciones* from which he could not escape.

[86] Chemical product used in the dying of textiles, popular when I was there because it saved a lot of time.
[87] A type of coarse weaving often used for men´s traditional pants. According to Rosa, my master weaver, bayeta was a very ancient technique that employed different kinds of wools and textures for a variety of garments.
[88] The process of becoming mestizo.

3. A cooperative form of association appeared as most convenient for the purposes of attaining the small amount of private property.

As a man of his time (as deterministic as this may sound) as well as member of the Scientific Society of Cuzco, Núñez del Prado was imbued with a positivistic and even paternalistic mentality with which he approached the "Indian problem". Regarding this point, and aware of the criticism that the term "paternalism" already elicited in those times, he declared that "…An initial period of protection and aid, or "paternalism" if you wish, is necessary, until little by little the Indian learns to walk alone" (1973: 54). But approaching the Indian culture and the reality of Chinchero mainly in terms of a problem that had to be solved, entailed a sort of analysis directed by some basic distortions. It involved a certain predisposition to judge the indigenous world not so much for what it was, but for what it could or should be. Indigenistas claimed for themselves the role of redeemers of the Indian cultures, which they perceived to be the root and bedrock of national identity, whilst at the same time not wanting to compromise their social and class status[89]. However, they failed at recognizing that the real problem in Peru, at my own risk of simplifying a very complex and nuanced reality, was not the "integration" (in whatever version we may specify) of the Indians in the national life, but rather the profound contradictions and tensions derived from the forced collusion into the modern Nation-State of two very different lived worlds: the dominant white-mestizo and the Indian, which generally mixed like oil and water, in spite of all the interactions, exchanges, and (limited) processes of mobility that took place within Peruvian society[90].

One more bias resulting from Núñez del Prado´s scientific analysis rested on the characterization of the indigenous cultures as falling behind in the race for progress, not because of biological issues but due to moral / intellectual capacities. His negative temporalization of the Indian came from the insertion of the latter within the paradigm of linear, evolutionary time. From this perspective, perpetuation of cultural life in Chinchero was "traditional", worthy of esteem and continuation, but ineffective and backward when

[89] Nowadays in Cuzco is common to hear from people working with indigenous organizations a complaint about "those (referring to the *Incanistas* or most updated version of indigenistas) who want to be Incas but not Indians".

[90] Silvia Rivera has described the situation with the aymara word *ch´ixi* (that which is and is not at the same time), which combines the Indian world with its opposite without ever mixing them (2012: 105).

it came to the domain of economic production and the integration with the national market. Consequently, cultural change had to be induced from outside, as in Kuyu Chico, to bring about economic progress and the distribution of power in relation to the mestizos[91].

However, his position with respect to the indigenous culture and change was made most explicit in his conclusions. For example, his analysis of the myth of the sun in terms of a "rationalization" of conformism probably revealed more about himself than about the myth. To rationalize something involves passing it through the filter of reason so that it becomes intelligible from a logical point of view, which turns out to be the only possible view of reality. Rationalizations are part, as Huon Wardle has written (2014), of that intermediate theoretical language in Anthropology between reality and "ideology", one which hinders other understandings of the world. It presupposes, in this case, the irrationality of myth. This process of rationalization de-legitimized other modes of relating with the past. His scientific stance could not conceive of an alternative explanation, such as regarding myth as a local elaboration of a historical experience grounded in the relations between people and the other-than-human forces of the landscape. Myth belonged to the realm of the primitive mind, a mind that could be redeemed through formal education, as one of the main tenets of indigenismo held. Furthermore, his interpretation of the myth as being invented to appease the Indians after the execution of Atawallpa, overlooked the fact that many ethnic groups initially welcomed the Spanish take-over as an opportunity to free themselves from their Inca masters, although at the time the author was writing historical research on the Incas had not yet made this point clear.

Other observations, however, quite rightly foreground the importance of the market and the economic conditions in the evolution of customs. Interestingly, his comments on bayeta and aniline demonstrated, perhaps inadvertently, that change takes unexpected directions and that it comes about through multiple channels that do not necessary imply the abandonment of tradition or the intervention of "external" actors. Rather to the contrary, changes in the market and in the price of commodities had had the effect of making people return to practices that were being abandoned, like weaving, as a rational and spontaneous response and adaptation to the shifting circumstances of their lives.

[91] See the introduction written by W. Whyte to Núñez del Prado´s 1973 book.

Thus, change could occur "backwards", showing that involution was not at odds with moving on with the times.

As his conclusions made clear, Núñez del Prado´s interest concentrated on the situation of the Indian peasants. His concern with their exploitation by mestizos was evident. As we have seen, Indigenistas were pro-Indians, even if, as De La Cadena argues (ibid: 299), theirs was a de-Indianized version of indigeneity, one whereby natives had to get rid of all the stigmas attached to "Indianness" to qualify as *gente decente* (decent people). His position was determined by his vocation for social reform. Noting the uneasy fitting between ayllu and State and the progressive weakening of the former in the wake of wider socioeconomic changes, he advocated for the transformation of the structures that prevented peasants from prospering. Interestingly, the gamonales and hacendados also pursued the modernization of the countryside, but a modernization enforced with violence and that did not jeopardize their hegemonic position (López 1979: 260). The author´s remedies, including doing away with communal property and the inalienable character of the land, as well as the reorganisation of the peasants in cooperatives that secured the small private property, were, on the one hand, grounded in the liberal programs implemented since the independence (and anticipated by the way the "revolutionary" Agrarian Reform). However, on the other hand, they were based on the important observation that private property – or at least a variant of it – already existed *de facto* in the communities (following a historical pattern discussed in chapter 2). His conclusion posited that, whilst the ayllu and the indigenous culture were evolving out of necessity, the State was not catching up with the changes. This fundamental disjunction was, in his view, condemning the Indians to poverty and backwardness. This opinion may shatter the image of what a "proper" indigenous culture should look like from a contemporary, western viewpoint (see chapter 8). His assessment was anticipating what more than 40 years later Jacinto would tell me one night in the house:

> "The State and other outsiders want us to keep our customs, our systems of social and political organisation, etc. With that purpose they issued the Law of Comunidades Indígenas that acknowledges our different reality and our rights. This way, it looks like they are supporting us but in reality they keep us poor and neutralize our rebelliousness".

4.2 Jesús Contreras and the Spanish Mission

As it was pointed out before in this thesis, between 1970 and 1973 the multidisciplinary team of the Spanish Archaeological Mission conducted research in Chinchero. Along with the archaeologists, a group of anthropologists were sent in during those summers to carry out ethnographic work. Jesús Contreras was one of them. After 1973 and the completion of his doctoral degree, he returned to Chinchero in 1978, 1979 and 1982 for short periods of additional research. Contreras´ research agenda was geared toward the study of the traditional ideology and the structures of power in the rural Andes as reflected in institutions like *compadrazgo*[92] (1979) or in practices like labour (1980) in a context of social change. The time during which Contreras conducted most of his research (1970-73) was momentous for the modern history of Peru. In 1968 General Velasco Alvarado, by means of a military coup, had assumed power in the country and declared his government to be a "revolutionary" one. One of the main changes he implemented was the Agrarian Reform, initiated in 1969. The Reform aimed at reducing the power of the hacendados in the rural areas through a large-scale program of expropriations and at the redistribution of the expropriated land among the peasants. Modernization and the transformation of old and unproductive forms through the organisation of the peasantry in agrarian cooperatives was part of the Reform, as was the official transition from "Comunidades Indígenas" into "Comunidades Campesinas" (peasant communities). Such was the political panorama that Contreras encountered in Chinchero and that provided substantial background for his work (see also Contreras 1981).

As Núñez del Prado had done before, Contreras contextualized his 1976 ethnography by mentioning the important changes that had taken place in the country since its independence in 1823. Prime amongst these changes, he wrote, had been the recognition of private property and the modification of the Inheritance Law, which obliged the head of

[92] In his 1979 study of *compadrazgo* (co-parenthood or the establishment of kinship and reciprocity ties between non-kin) Contreras defended the existence of a vertical compadrazgo that, as opposed to a more horizontal one, was defined by the reproduction of relations of dominance and dependency. After tracking down the changes in its structure over the last ten years, he concluded that the new orientation of this institution was characterized by a new correlation of forces between peasants and mestizos, even if the structure of power remained basically the same. In 2012-13, I found that many Chincherinos were then looking for *compadres* and *comadres* among tourists and foreigners, who were seeing both as economically capable and morally qualifying, the two main qualities that an ideal compadre should meet. On top of that, as Sabine Hyland has observed (personal communication), this new tactic has the advantage that no reciprocity is required for the locals, who often experience *ayni* as a burden, no matter what the anthropological romance say about it.

the household to equally distribute his possessions between his sons and daughters. In the sierra, this change had altered the former equilibrium between the size of the household and the number of persons living in it. The resulting fragmentation had facilitated the process of land accumulation by the hacendados or gamonales. In Chinchero, one of the responses to the situation had been migration and, with it, an increasing decline in agropastoral practices and the subsequent erosion of the traditional basis for a precarious subsistence characterized by insecurity in the face of a hostile and unpredictable environment, as well as the quotidian reality of livestock robbery. Contreras focused on the extended practice of divination through coca leaves and on the role of the *paqo* or ritual specialist in the appeasing of the natural and supernatural forces that threatened the existence of many families. Apart from controlling these otherwise uncontrollable forces, the paqo was able to tell those who required his services where the missing animals were, and who the robber had been by reading the coca. Placing divination at the centre of a local security system devised to tackle the anxiety generated by precariousness of life conditions, bad harvests, frost, cattle robbery, etc, enabled the author to analyse the general theme of social change by exploring the factors and circumstances involved in the progressive decline of the institution of divination that unfolded before his eyes (1976: 20-300).

Contreras accounted for several agents of change. Schooling came first in the list. Aware as he was of the ideological implications of the schooling process as a mechanism of State control and "civilization" of the indigenous people, he nonetheless concurred with Núñez del Prado on the important role of literacy in the overcoming of a situation of dominion and exploitation and the new possibilities that it opened up for the peasants. Within the school, the opposition posed between the urban and the rural, between the national culture and the indigenous culture, was reinforced by the figure of the teachers, who came from an urban background and believed in the superiority of the national and urban culture over that of the backward countryside. The radio, which broadcast "educational" programs in Quechua, was a means of introducing and spreading among the residents new habits adopted from the city, and was considered another agent of change. As was the *posta*, or health post, that highlighted the apparent contradiction between traditional and modern medicine and stigmatized the former, with its reliance in herbs and plants against many ailments and diseases, as anachronistic and unscientific. Many of the health post programs tried to foment hygiene among the rural dwellers, who felt coerced and

pressured to use its facilities. The military service in turn exposed those young men that went through it to the values and ideology of the dominant society. Once there, they achieved a superior status and prestige under the rubric of formal education. One more representative of the national authority, the *Guardia Civil* (Civil Guard), was reputed by its alliance with other State powers and its corruption. Finally, migration revealed a consciousness of the crisis of the traditional culture as a result of modernization, and encouraged processes of social differentiation and *cholificación*. Contreras asked himself, how did Chincherinos perceive all these changes? For many, it was a move towards "progress and civilization", linked to the disappearance of traditional customs (ibid: 330-395).

Apart from *compadrazgo,* other reciprocity systems in Chinchero, namely *ayni, minka,* and *faena* were studied by Claudio Esteva Fabregat in 1972. Like Contreras, Esteva was himself a member of the Spanish Archaeological Mission. Coming from the same intellectual milieu in their Catalonian homeland, their work was informed by close theoretical postulates and analytical approaches, with a common interest in the social fabric of Chinchero as influenced by the economic and production conditions. *Ayni*, as explained by Esteva, referred (and still does) to reciprocity (normally in labour but sometimes in products too) involved in a dyadic exchange characterized by its symmetrical and balanced nature. *Mink´a,* on the other hand, entailed asymmetrical exchange within a hierarchical structure of power relations in which mestizos and other individuals who had accumulated economic and political power, imposed their arbitrary conditions in the exchange. Esteva regarded *mink´a* as an evolution of *ayni* in relatively recent circumstances. Lastly, *faena,* was the collective work undertaken for the benefit of the community. Esteva discussed the changes and evolution of these systems of reciprocity and documented the restriction in their spheres of operation, a restriction parallel to the transition from an agrarian society based on barter and exchange to a more capitalist one based on cash and monetary value.

In addition to this work, Esteva published in 1971[93] an article about the uses of the coca leaf in Chinchero, in which he accounted for the changes in attitude toward this very old custom, as the ideology of progress and the growing presence of the urban society spread hostility and negative propaganda in relation to its consumption.

[93] One more ethnographic study he conducted (1970) focused on the town´s Sunday market.

To a substantial degree, Contreras[94] was reading the reality of Chinchero from a materialist standpoint. Politically informed and of great relevance for the study of the District, his detailed analysis unfolded in terms of class struggle and in the context of direct confrontation with the State. This analysis made sense in a historical moment dominated by land conflicts between landowners and peasants, a situation that merited the attention of the anthropologist, but it erased issues of ethnicity and largely ignored realities other than the economic and material conditions in Andean tradition, such as the embeddedness of the religious and the ecological within the political. In addition, by defining divination as an institution and describing it (and other ancient practices) in terms of a response to the anxiety created by the economic environment, he was drawing from a predominant functionalist-structuralist analysis that was paradigmatic in Anthropological studies at the time. Functionalism can be helpful to understand how a cultural practice like divination fits within a given social structure, but it does not tell us much about the people who engage in it, nor about their social context, nor does it reveal its internal logic. In this utilitarian and static view of society, divination appeared above all as a "useful invention" to maintain the social balance. One of the risks of such an interpretation is the reduction of all or most religious native practices to simple "ideology", stripping them of layers of significance beyond the functionalist approach. Along these lines, "animistic beliefs" attached to divination were regarded as "rationalizations" (ibid: 277), negating again, as Núñez del Prado had done before, the ontological autonomy of these socio-religious practices. It might well be, as Wardle (2014) has pointed out, that the highpoint of rationalism in anthropology was reached in the late 70s and the 80s, when anthropologists were less concerned with understanding how people in specific settings viewed their world than with fitting them within particular theoretical templates, be it Structuralism, Marxism or whatever. On top of this, by mainly grounding his social analysis in analytical categories derived from western modern economic and political theory (such as "class", "peasant", or "relations of production"), he may be overlooking the weight of Andean history and tradition and its specific ways of dealing with change. In other words, this kind of analysis tends to separate the present from the past, or at least to show indifference toward the latter. In fact, it can be argued that one of the weaknesses of his work is the failure to trace and perceive certain continuities between the Prehispanic and colonial times and the situation that he found on the ground. This may provide a reason for why he

[94] My evaluation of Contreras´ work can be applicable in broad terms to Esteva´s.

predicted the disappearance of divination once the material conditions that prevented its complete demise were gone, alluding to the agropastoralist lifestyle (interestingly, he noted that the material substratum was indeed being modified, but the pace of this modification was not still fast enough (ibid: 343). However, institutions that have endured and evolved for millennia under different circumstances must have hardly relied solely upon the material conditions for their survival, and this is the point that Contreras may be missing in his interpretation of an Andean reality in which past and present continue to be intertwined in diverse and generative ways.

Lastly, Contreras perceived a certain fatalism and resignation among the Chincherinos, illustrated in his comment that they blamed their own culture for their failure. His lament on the lack of "horizontal solidarity" (ibid: 407) probably stemmed from the unrealistic expectation that a class consciousness would bring along new and more solidary modes of organisation. In this case, class ideology, with its emphasis on structural domination, obscured some elemental facts like the dynamics of life in a small community that had been torn or weakened, like many others the world over, by internal strife, envy, partisanism, personal antagonisms, and so on, and where opportunities for conflict abounded. *"Pueblo chico, infierno grande"* (small town, big hell), the people would often tell me during fieldwork, reminding me of the necessity to consider the local scale and its subtle intricacies, including the disputed issue of "human nature", in the sociological analysis, beyond rigid structural principles or social theory.

4.3 Christine (and Edward) Franquemont

In 1977 Christine[95] and Edward Franquemont moved with their two children from the US to Chinchero, for an involvement that lasted until 1986. Both were researchers, Quechua-speakers, and accomplished weavers who learned how to conduct many other tasks and cargos expected from their status as comuneros. Furthermore, they engaged with the community in development projects related to the rich weaving heritage of the town. Whilst Edward published high-quality and well known texts on the practice of weaving in Chinchero and its many sociocultural ramifications, Christine wrote an ethnography for her

[95] At the moment that I am writing this chapter, in April 2014, the passing of Christine Franquemont while in Cuzco for a short visit had been announced just a couple of months ago.

doctoral dissertation that revolved around local perceptions of the natural world. In contrast with Núñez del Prado, Contreras and Esteva, her work was not highly politicized (or perhaps ideologized). Certainly, dealing with plants and the landscape had different implication from studying social institutions, labour or the problem of the land as a field of contention between social groups or classes, but, if Contreras had not considered the ecological within the political, conversely she never explored the potential role of some political events (like the recent Agrarian Reform) in the perception of the environment. Her approach – to use a trendy word nowadays – was more ecological, or even "ontological" (this is not to imply that these are necessarily non-political categories by any means).

By the 1980s the mystique of the Agrarian Reform had largely vanished in Chinchero. Hacendados and mistis were gone, and times were not so politically momentous in that regard. Alternatively, Chinchero and the Cuzco region were beginning to experience a surge of international tourism with an interest in "Indian crafts". This interest was parallel to an emergent interest in the US and Europe with "cultural conservation", which had grown out of the perception, expressed by Christine, of the urgency to document what was left of local knowledge in an era of rapid technological change disadvantageous to Chincherinos (1988: 3).

The topic of C. Franquemont´s dissertation addressed the social life of plants. Drawing from her long-term observations and practical experience with the residents, she developed a basic argument: different forms of association permeated the relations between humans and the natural world. By means of this logic of associations, the landscape was incorporated into the Quechua botanical nomenclature. Plant names were related to specific environments as well as to specific places and events within the geography of the ayllu, in a major mnemonic classificatory system that enabled an extensive knowledge of the landscape. Also, plants were classified after their properties of form, color, smell, texture and so on, and then integrated into analogies with animals and body parts. This bio-logic was thus concerned with bodies, growth and gender, with the knowledge of living things. Plants were considered to be either male or female, and most of them as bisexual. Their formal structure shared attributes with human skeletons and their bodies had the same parts as those of the animals. This organicity was coupled by a further logic of utility, whereby plants were extensively known and used on account of their medicinal properties. Still, another range of associations located plants along a

sacred geography animated by active spiritual forces and entities where humans coexisted with animals, “superhumans”, and dead kin. Franquemont concluded, first, that the Quechua ontology of the environment was more about relations among the different components than about establishing “kinds”; and second, that this taxonomy of the environment did not reproduce a Western vertical taxonomic structure, but rather extended horizontally to duplicate itself in a variety of domains outside the realm of plants.

Franquemont´s study cannot be separated from her more general preoccupation with cultural change and the disappearance of weaving in Chinchero. Her weaver´s eyes perceived logics of association and relatedness that still stand at the core of the weaving practice and that mirror the social order (see Franquemont et al. 1992; Desrosier 1992). She actually stressed the connection between the way people learned about plants and the way they learned about weaving, realizing that the basic geometric structures that children learned in the natural world were sometimes found in the weaving structures (1988: 56-59). As Contreras had done approximately a decade before, she reported that changes on the regional and national trends were leading to the extinction of the pastoral life style. Unlike Contreras, she did mention tourism as an agent of change, insofar as, by then, it was contributing to the immersion in the cash economy, a transition already favoured by an increasing control over the profits from their products and labour. The cash economy was fostering changes in the agricultural patterns. The traditional strategies of crop rotation and fallow periods were being substituted by a more intensive approach that relied on pesticides. The low prices of agricultural products, plus the lure of the city to find jobs, had discouraged many workers from agriculture. Furthermore, there was the new road Chinchero-Cuzco, finished in 1983, which greatly increased the interactions with the city. In light of all of these circumstances, she predicted the end of the social life of plants on account of the following factors: 1) forced schooling prevented children from roaming freely on wild spaces; 2) herds were severely damaged by liver flukes; 3) the dwindling in the household production of woven garments was making sheep wool unnecessary; 4) young people kept on migrating to the coast for jobs.

All these considerations led her to a closing statement: “Unfortunately, the final act of classification of plants by people of Chinchero is increasingly the act of forgetting, rather than that of remembrance” (ibid: 112).

Both Franquemont and Contreras had pointed to pastoralism as the basis for traditional cultural forms and had interpreted change in light of the erosion of these bases. More specifically, Franquemont was reading the transformations around her in terms of "cultural loss", something that she deeply regretted. Concealed in this view of culture was a strong and straightforward identification between people and a set of defined patterns of behaviour. From this perspective it was natural to see an urgency for documentation and cultural conservation, arguably a well-meaning but ideological trend with a narrow view of cultures as enclosed systems or boxes filled with a number of identifiable characteristics and recurrent traits (see chapter 8). This vision contrasted with Núñez del Prado´s, who was also interested in collecting data but for an applied intervention that should promote change, progress, and modernization. For the Peruvian anthropologist the Indians were minors in need of help; for the US anthropologist they were cultural others at the brink of extinction.

From this essentialized and de-politicised notion of "culture" it necessarily derived that changes that affected its basic principles and continuation were deemed negative and harmful (even if they might not have been perceived as such by the residents). Franquemont´s legitimate concern with the disappearance of cultural forms precluded her from identifying new opportunities in terms of self-definition, social reassembling, and cultural reinvention. Where Contreras and Núñez del Prado had recognised the benefits of schooling and literacy, she only saw destruction; where Contreras had envisioned the potential of political organisation, she never dealt with this part of reality. Her final act was the intonation of a swansong for Chinchero as it appeared inevitably subsumed by the irreconcilable forces of modernization. Unfortunately, the idea of "dying cultures" overlooked the historical resilience and capacity for adaptation of the Andean peoples.

To some extent, this idea of vanishing cultures was also implicit in the visions of both Contreras and Esteva, who regarded change as a progressive delimitation of the competences of ancient institution that kept evolving and adjusting to their new circumstances. Both understood contact and interaction between the city and the countryside in terms of transition and acculturation. Acculturation implies the notion of "cultural death", of the takeover of a cultural system by another to the point of the absorption or disintegration of the former, and operates with problematic notions of culture (and worldviews) as bounded, fixed entities, one dominant and active and the other oppressed and passive. None of these ethnographies openly challenged this notion

of acculturation[96], nor did they consider an alternative process in the light of the long chain of changes, irruptions, intervention, and ruptures that pervades the history of the cordillera. No one attempted to insert change in this historical trajectory to gain a better appreciation of its nature and its place within it. They did not explore older processes of reaccommodation that took place centuries ago and that have in fact been a recurrent landmark of this part of the world, often forced to undesired transformations. More importantly perhaps, there was no attempt made at considering what was going on in Chinchero since the 1950s in terms of ethnogenesis in times of disintegration, and how this was played out in everyday life. At least Contreras had imagined a future that was necessarily political, and Núñez del Prado had believed in a new and educated Indian, while no viable future could be imagined from Franquemont´s account other than the preservation of ancestral lifestyles, which fed, as Rivera has written (2012: 99), the stereotype of the indigenous people as invariably rural and confined to their original communal land.

In regard to these ideas, whenever these authors discussed the agents of change, they rarely or never mentioned the local people. Instead, Núñez del Prado saw himself (the anthropologist) as a necessary agent to bring about change, while the Franquemonts felt equally compelled to step in and do something for and with the people. It would appear, to a certain point, that they viewed the Chincherinos largely as passive recipients (if not victims) of the transformations taking place around them. If Contreras had blamed the lack of political consciousness for the peasants´ inaction, Núñez del Prado had objected to the "myth" of the passive peasants, on the grounds of their active participation in past rebellions and in the hope of changes to come, even though these should be subjected to the anthropologist´s tutelage (1973: xix).

Against this general understanding of change as exogenous to cultures, I would rather invoke other currents in anthropology which had stressed instead the internal dynamicity of cultures understood as organic systems (see Kroeber 1917) and, I add, their capacity to generate change "from within". With this idea in mind, the next subheading is intended to show and to comment on something that I found in Chinchero in relation with the situations that the other ethnographers had reported and evaluated before.

[96] This assimilationist approach has been more recently challenged on the grounds that other possibilities exist in terms of variable cultural and psychological outcomes resulting from inter-group contact, such as integration, separation, and marginalization (see Berry 2008 for a discussion).

4.4 Notes from the tourist-anthropologist

"What happened with the mistis that lived in Chinchero?" – I asked Tomás one day while we were chatting in his house. "There are not any left now", he said; "they all died, and their sons, who never took up agriculture, migrated to the city in search for jobs[97]. Before, we were exploited by the landowners. This goes on today and now they are the politicians who are doing the same thing". "So then" – I inquired – "who influences now the appointment of political posts"? "The communal assembly does", Tomás answered. "It looks like the whole community is making a decision, but in reality it is the small groups who make a row and put pressure on the voting whenever a hot issue is at stake. Each of these groups is formed around a politician from rival parties". This opinion was corroborated by Carlos Quispe, my fellow local anthropologist: "Yanacona´s assembly is a politically factionalized space".

There were no more mistis in Chinchero, no more abusive gamonales who monopolized political power and took away land and property from the people, but things did not seem to have changed drastically though. Tomás confirmed that "favores"[98] continued to be the rule in a corrupted system which had transferred the mechanisms of power to reconvert local and regional elites embroiled in the political game within the Municipality and the Regional Government. In terms of the continuous push for change and (as) modernization, both institutions, the District Municipality and the Regional Government, had taken on the vanguard. The Mayor of Chinchero, a young man born in town but a long-term resident in Lima, maintained the discourse of a modernization rooted in tradition and also focused on the future of the youth in education. Every morning I would wake up and would turn on the radio to listen to the news in Radio Inti Raymi, a most popular bilingual station both in Chinchero and Cuzco, which, in-between the news, systematically propagated messages of progress and development for the Region. In addition, the Municipality was implementing programs of *Seguridad Alimentaria (*food security) and *Saneamiento Básico* (basic sanitation). The first one, by means of supporting small gardens and providing chickens to the residents, aimed at increasing the self-sufficiency levels of the families; the second

[97] According to Augusta, former hacendados of Chinchero were then running hotels in Cuzco and owned valuable buildings.

[98] Typically, some kind of benefit or political advantage granted by an authority or leader in return for gifts, votes, or money received.

targeted hygiene habits considered unhealthy, funded the construction of new toilets in every district household, and encouraged the adoption of enhanced stoves and ovens in the kitchens. How were people responding to these programs? Certainly, responses varied and, broadly speaking, people within the Centro Poblado, already and more often exposed to tourism and urban life, were perhaps a little more receptive than those in the communities. One day, at a farming fair organized by the Municipality, I spoke to one of the local functionaries in charge of the projects in his stand. He was a nice bilingual man who lived in Cuzco and who told me about the stiff resistance he was meeting in the communities:

> "People carry on living according to their ancestral customs, in dirtiness with their animals, in mud with the rains. When I started visiting the communities, people would not let me into their houses. At first I thought it was because they were stingy; later on I discovered that they were ashamed of me seeing the conditions they lived in. People are not responsive to our *capacitaciones* (workshops). This is partly because they do not have the time, but especially because of *paternalismo* (paternalism). If we give them something, say gardens or hens, they will attend; but if the meeting is just informative they will not turn up. People resist changes".

Many other members in the community subscribed to this idea of paternalism. One *promotora* (female health worker) who was around at the same fair expressed a similar opinion: "Countryside people do not observe hygienic habits. We teach them how to wash their hands and we make new toilets for them at no cost". These views reminded me of what I once had heard from Hilaria, Augusta´s sister, one day the extended family had gathered in the graveyard to commemorate Hilaria´s husband passing in a car accident a year before. There, while the whole family rejoiced and had fun right after praying and weeping abundantly for a deceased person who had been offered drinks and food in his niche, because he was expected to consume them, food was served and circulated. Then, in the midst of the conversation about its preparation and the pressure from the promotoras in terms of observing clean habits, Hilaria proclaimed: "The more hygienic the food, the worse it is!"

Since my arrival to town it had become apparent to me that Chincherinos were not necessarily "conservative". Rather, on the contrary, they usually remained attentive to

what was going on in the world "outside" and in many cases were quick at embracing the novelties coming from the city. Augusta was always aware of the latest trends in Cuzco, whereas Jacinto liked to read the papers and listen to the news to stay updated on national and international affairs. Their relations with the health post, for example, indicated this openness and their ability to occupy two different "worlds" at the same time without conflict. The day Augusta felt sick and little César was sick as well, she treated herself with herbs and took César to the post to get some drugs. The notion that people "resisted change" was held above all by the urbanized middle-class functionaries of the Municipality, who in many cases did not have a good knowledge of, or a real interest in, the peasants´ world. It was strongly suggested that the real cleavage was not between being either "conservative" or "progressive" but, as Franquemont and Contreras had pointed out before, between a rural setting and an urban one which despised the former, considered it inferior, and tried to "convert" it. When I asked Augusta whether she felt discriminated in Cuzco for being a woman, her answer was: "*no, no por ser mujer, pero sí por ser del campo"* (not for being a woman but for being from the countryside). Chincherinos, for their part, even if they often expressed dislike and distrust for urban life, regarded the city in a different light. Augusta and Jacinto had sent all of their sons to Cuzco to study. Jacinto had a construction job in the city and Augusta roamed its streets almost on a daily basis selling crafts. Like them, many other families in town. Dialogues, contacts and negotiations between both city and countryside happened every day at many different levels, making it clear that the city (or the urban) was not necessarily a site of acculturation for native peoples, but more a place for professional opportunities, personal development, and choices to be made in terms of self-definition (see chapter 8).

While many men found jobs in Cuzco, and the youth studied there, and most women worked in the weaving centres opened for tourism, agropastoralism had indeed taken a secondary role in the household economy and almost nobody lived exclusively off of it anymore. The low prices of the crops in the market made the agricultural work an unworthy investment of time and energy, encouraging a more intensive approach to cultivation as C. Franquemont had already made clear in her ethnography. I was assured, though, that if people were paid fair prices for their products, they would take up agriculture again. But if agriculture was clearly receding, by no means had it been abandoned. Chincherinos knew very well that, due to the unpredictable nature of tourism and the insecurity of jobs in Cuzco, they still had to rely on the land for eating during the

entire year. Forced to re-schedule their activities in light of the shifting circumstances of their lives, Jacinto and Augusta worked their chacras on the weekends with the help of their sons. They had different views on the agropastoralist lifestyle. Amílcar, the eldest, did not like it and considered it backward. He enjoyed city life and envisioned himself settled in an urban environment with a job. So did Lennin, whereas Washington and Rober disliked the city and preferred the tranquility of the countryside. Before starting the sowing, their parents would still perform the ritual *tink´aska*, by forming a cross on the soil with potato seeds and having these sparkled with chicha while a prayer to the apus was mumbled and the sign of the cross was made by everyone. Augusta would complain that, with the increasing hustling and bustling of life, these rituals were not being observed properly, as they had been in the times of the grandfathers.

During the week, apart from tending to other household chores, the boys would take turns to take the animals to the pastures early in the morning before going to the University or the school in Cuzco and then would bring them back home in the evening. One evening I found Augusta with Rober, Washington and Lennin in the kitchen. One of the pigs was lost. Augusta had sprinkled a bunch of coca leaves on a kitchen cloth over the floor and declared that, according to what the coca was saying, the animal was with a group of sheep. Not fully satisfied with the coca, because the leaves were too dry, she randomly scattered a different variety of leaves on the cloth and interpreted them: the smallest leaves (representing the lost little pig) were too far away from the main group, indicating that the pig was far away from home. It seemed apparent that the logics of association and form resemblance described by Franquemont were at play in this case of "sympathetic magic". The episode also showed that the practice of divination was not a prerogative of the *paqo*. Later on I learned about other people practicing divination in the communities at the request of individuals concerned with business other than finding their lost or robbed animals. The performance of *despachos* were other divinatory instances in which people could find out about their good or back fortune in various domains, suggesting that divination was not necessarily tied up to the pastoral material basis. In addition, I did not see much anxiety related to the crops or the animals; Augusta´s worries were normally caused by the economic uncertainty of a lowly year in tourism and her (and Jacinto´s) difficulties to provide for her family´s most basic needs.

Quite often, the family would work *mancomunadamente* (in joint collaborative effort) with close relatives like Felipa (one of Jacinto´s sisters) and her husband Julián, who

additionally were our neighbours. In theory, everybody worked everyone´s contiguous chacras; in the reality, this was not always the case and Jacinto and Augusta used to get angry with Jacinto´s sisters and their families because they would not always comply with the reciprocal expectations. In terms of agricultural work, *ayni* was still relatively common but it was becoming increasingly confined to reciprocity between close relatives, as Esteva had already reported in 1972. Whenever extra workers were needed to work in a chacra, *jornal* (a wage paid per day of work) was the rule and the all-expansive tendency. People explained and justified the transition from one system to another on the basis that families were more and more in need of cash to pay for their sons´ education. *Ayni* has traditionally occupied a central stage in the ethnographic literature of the Andes as a defining trait of these societies[99]. The ethnographies of Chinchero are no exception. And yet it seemed to me that *muyuy* (see chapter 3) was an even greater spatio-temporal organizing principle, an all-encompassing one, ranging from the traditional pattern of crop and land rotation, to the annual alternation of cargos and ayllu authorities in office, to the rotational organisation of women in the various responsibilities within the weaving groups, or to the periodical circulation of Jacinto and Augusta´s sons across the different household chores, to name but a few examples. One comunero in one of Cúper´s assemblies, when publicly advocating for the timely renovation of the ayllu leaders, was very clear about it: "Everything is rotation!" The omnipresence of a circular structuring in the everyday life-cycle is what might have led Jacinto to emphasise one night in the course of a conversation on ayni: "Ayni may disappear someday, but muyuy never will!" And yet, in another casual conversation with Augusta she told me that "Everything is ayni", in the sense of "return"[100], implying not only the consuetudinary reciprocal obligation in a given exchange, but also a movement back and forth in time that, as Jesús, another comunero, stressed, entailed temporal continuity. This continuity was both constituent of, and subsumed under, the wider overarching trajectory of the muyuy.

If in the previous ethnographies of Chinchero schooling had been the focus of great preoccupation for its effects on the local culture, it did not seem, though, that Chincherinos saw it primarily as an instance of acculturation and loss of cultural knowledge, but rather as the privileged gateway to a very much sought after education and professional success for their sons and daughters. Wanting to hear about the

[99] Bruce Mannheim (1986: 270) has pointed out the weight of ayni and reciprocity in general in Quechua-speakers quotidian language and how it permeates the minutiae of everyday life.
[100] Both Holguín and Lira stress this meaning in their dictionaries.

teachers´ perspective, I talked one day with Vicky, a Primary School teacher from the community of Yanacona, who received me in the classroom during a break:

> "Teachers are part-time workers and most come from Urubamba or Cuzco. There is no instruction in the afternoons. We do not get support from the Municipality to extend the instruction and our salaries are low. Education is not imparted as it should be, because the contents are not completed and few parents care about their kids´ education. The real problem is alcoholism, very common in town. Alcoholism brings machismo with it. Only the ladies come to the assemblies. There is also the issue of domestic violence. Furthermore, the kids have to work in the chacra and cannot do their homework. Internet is spoiling them. Instead of using it for their homework, they play videogames. In the Internet cabin they learn to steal and this fact reflects later in the classroom. Education should be bilingual, not only in Spanish. The educational contents should be diversified. It is not the same to teach a kid from Lima than to one from Chinchero. Contents must be adapted to the local reality".

Vicky was hinting at a series of relevant issues, starting with the recognition that most teachers were still from urban extraction. But then she reversed C. Franquemont´s perspective by pointing to agropastoralism and traditional upbringing as one hindering factor in the children´s proper education. Also, she stressed the role of the new technologies and their pernicious effects on the children. This matched with my own experience of walking into the internet cabin in town and being shocked by a crowd of hyper-excited and rowdy school kids absorbed in extremely violent and alienating videogames. If hell existed in Chinchero, surely it could be found there rather than in the U*khu Pacha*[101]. Furthermore, Primary Education was only in Spanish, and, as I noticed, in the classroom walls didactic posters in this language highlighted the importance of learning to read and write, without any allusion to other literacies such as weaving. This neglect would have horrified both Ed and Christine Franquemont, who had argued that through the practice of weaving, culture was reproduced (1992, 2004). Additionally, these posters extolled the "urban values" that the students were supposed to cultivate, spreading the urban ideology that the other ethnographers had talked about. The teacher

[101] The inner or lower world of the Andean cosmology that Christianity erroneously associated with hell.

also raised the issue of “ethno-education”, in a country in which the dominant values radiating out from Lima elites reached almost every corner of Costa and Sierra. Finally, she brought up the problem of alcoholism (linked to domestic violence), and in bitterly complaining about the local customs, she was not alone:

None of the ethnographers of Chinchero had mentioned the church as an agent of change, in spite of the historical role of this institution in the continent. Clearly, by the time they lived in the town, *Lumen Dei* was not still in charge of the Parish of Nuestra Señora de Monserrate. Lumen Dei was an originally Spanish ultra conservative Religious Order, ideologically affine to the better known *Opus Dei.* I remember the first day I attended mass in the colonial temple, very shortly after my arrival for fieldwork. After listening to the priest's paternalistic sermon and observing the liturgy involved in the celebration, I felt like running away from the precinct and never going back. Unfortunately I had to go back every time the varayuq sponsored a fiesta and I was invited to attend. All of the sermons, like in the colony, were systematically aimed at severely censoring the residents´ habits – particularly those related with drinking, fornication, and with casualness towards observing the strict norms and behaviour prescribed by the Holy Mother Church from Rome – and would threaten people with hell and divine punishment for prioritizing their mundane businesses before those of God. Thus, working the chacra on a Sunday without an inexcusable pretext was a grave sin; as was the use of contraceptives within marriage. *Convivientes* (unmarried but stable couples) could not take communion; nor could young women arrive immodestly dressed. Confession was the only sure way to allow people to reach the afterlife, unlike participation in native rituals and festivals. And so on and so forth. As for the liturgy, there was an absolute disregard for the local ways. Mass was delivered integrally in Spanish by Spanish or other foreign priests and was absolutely boring and never-ending. Religious symbols were alien. Disembodied sermons never addressed the practical concerns of everyday life. People would fall asleep because many, particularly the eldest, did not understand or were not at all interested in the content. The negative feelings in town towards Lumen Dei were eloquently voiced by Tomás:

> “Lumen Dei began earning the antipathy of the people the moment they started criticizing their drunkenness and customs and by telling them that everything was a sin. They have never spoken about the people´s reality; they have never shared

their work in the chacras, their social gatherings, their marriages, nothing… They have remained distant and aloof".

Had these forced attempts to change people´s life had an effect at all? Apparently they had not. Attempts to force a religious "conversion" and its secular counterpart – modernization – as implemented for example by the Municipality programs and the radio propaganda, had only served, at least partly, to reassert traditional patterns. On the other hand, in the wider context of the national culture and globalization in which Chinchero was inserted, it was people themselves who were taking an active role in embracing change as long as it could be beneficial for their strategic interests. In this case, intense contact and interaction with the dominant society did not necessarily result in disintegration. It looked more like a conscious reconstitution by which some elements were dropped and new ones were picked up as the social and economic circumstances invited to continuous readjustments. The cash economy and shifting market conditions could have unexpected consequences in terms of making people return, like in a muyuy, to languishing cultural practices, as with the case of aniline and weaving reported by Núñez del Prado, or with the possibility of revitalizing agriculture should crop prices go up. And yet, for an observer who returned to Chinchero after a 10 or 15 year's absence, the greatest changes in town would have been clearly associated with the extraordinary growth of tourism and with the related management of the cultural heritage. These realities, including the active involvement and response of the residents in their implementation, will constitute the central theme of the next three chapters.

5. TOURISM IN CHINCHERO AND IN THE CUZCO REGION

Fig. 8: Tourists in Chinchero

5.1 The anthropology of tourism

Over the last few decades the study of tourism has been gaining scholarly currency, a process attested by the sheer and ever-growing amount of publications on the topic. In order to reach this point, tourism studies, initially conducted by sociologists, philosophers and anthropologists, had to overcome a deep-rooted prejudice that regarded tourism as a trivial and unsubstantial topic, unworthy of academic research (Hall 1994). As years went by and the world entered into complex economic and political processes of globalization

and transnationalism, of which international tourism was only a part[102], it became apparent that the topic deserved to be studied in its own right, and that turning a blind eye to tourism was not the response to a phenomenon that simply happened to be everywhere affecting the lives of many in multiple and interconnected ways. As Linda Richter has made clear, today tourism is the largest industry in the world. Its magnitude means that the ramifications of international politics and policy on tourism need close and immediate attention (1989: 3).

According to Nash and Smith (1991), the anthropology of tourism emerged from the discipline's concern with cultural contact and social change, concerns entangled in turn with issues of development and colonialism, once the initial and optimistic promise that tourism would foster general prosperity and mutual understanding between the peoples of the world, was rapidly debunked with the first case studies that began bringing back reports from the field. The tourist was now perceived as a new agent of change, especially in less developed countries. The anthropological approach was holistic and turned the touristic processes into a tourist system embedded in a larger social and international context that required the consideration of all aspects of the system. Thus, anthropologists began looking at the impacts of tourism on the host populations and at the practical implications for host governments and international development agencies (ibid: 13-15; Burns 1999: 14-15, 26).

The publication of "Hosts and guests" (V. Smith 1989 [1978]) set an important precedent in the literature. Most of the contributors to the first edition expressed a critical view of tourism and of its cultural and economic effects on the local populations, as shown in their case studies in different regions of the world. For the second edition there was a general reassessment of the case studies and a more nuanced view. However, the main issues and preoccupations still stood. One of the key questions was directed to specifying whom tourism was benefitting, and also in illuminating the inequalities present in tourists interacting with local populations (Smith, ibid: 8). Others directed attention to the positive effects that tourism had had in the revitalization of local arts and traditions. Many of the

[102] I am following Ted Levellen's definition of globalization, which reads as: "…The increasing flow of trade, finance, culture, ideas, and people brought about by the sophisticated technology of communications and travel and by the worldwide spread of neoliberal capitalism, and it is the local and regional adaptations to and resistances against these flows" (2002: 7). Also, for Norma Fuller, Tourism would be an expression of this economic globalization that divides the world in centres and peripheries, as well as of the resulting inequalities between First and Third World (2009: 14-19).

main debates and theoretical views that would later inform the study of tourism were launched through this work. For example, Graburn (1989) concentrated on the symbolic meaning of tourism and its transformational qualities for the tourists, who were equated to modern pilgrims in search of the sacred and the extraordinary through the tourist quest. On the other hand, Nash (1989) focused on the economic and political aspects of tourism, regarding tourism as just another form of imperialism in which the tourist was an agent of change, as the conqueror or the missionaries had been before. One more important question raised by Núñez (1989: 267) was whether the advent of tourism occurred at times of rapid change or rather precipitated rapid change. This question was ultimately connected to the view held by Smith (ibid: 9), for whom tourism was not an agent of change, and change was more likely to be due to modernization at large. Other commentators on tourism have since then made clear the difficulty of differentiating those changes that were specifically induced by tourism from those attributable to more general processes of modernization (Bruner 2005; Fuller 2009; Burns 1999). Furthermore, these scholars have pointed out that cultures change with or without tourism and that there are other factors at stake, even if they have recognised the role of tourism in accelerating the pace of change (Burns 1999: 89). In this regard, Burns (ibid.: 97-98) has stressed a point already discussed in chapter 4: that cultures are not inert and passive entities and that, therefore, change is both internal as well as external, and this is why acculturation and cultural assimilation cannot be simply taken for granted even in a context of asymmetrical relations between cultures.

After *Host and Guests,* commentators in general began to look to and to ponder both the negative and the positive aspects of tourism in their studies. By then, the debates were shifting and were taking shape around the nature of tourism and the authenticity or inauthenticity of the tourist experience, as well as around issues of cultural commoditization, particularly in relation with "ethnic" tourism in the so called "Third" and "Fourth Worlds" and the production of ethnic art (see Graburn 1976; Greenwood 1989 [1978]; Cohen 1998). Pertinent distinctions were also made between types of tourism, including the difference between domestic and international, and their various impacts. As early as in 1962 D. Boorstin had defined the nature of the tourist experience as a pre-fabricated one filled with "pseudoevents" that hid reality from the tourists. Examples of these might include staged dances, spiritual performances, or meals with families. For Boorstin, these pseudo-events were no more than travestied rituals for tourist

consumption (1962: 79, 103). In a similar vein, J. Baudrillard used the term simulation (and simulacra) to account for touristic representations described as second-hand truths or models without an original that were presented as real, or hyperreal, in an ideological world of illusion and phantasms that can be epitomised by Disneyland (1988: 166-172).

The notion of the pseudo-event (as well as that of the pseudo-community) was equally applied by D. MacCannell (1999 [1976]), for whom tourism reflects the social structure, (ibid: 11). This author has criticised Boorstin´s analysis for its inability to explain social change. Instead, his theory regards tourism as an operation conducted by a modern society in which leisure had displaced work in the centre of arrangements, in order to preserve itself. Tourism is driven by a quest for authenticity emanating from the modern nostalgia of a non-modern world where old traditions persist. But instead of an authentic experience – MacCannell tells us – what tourists get is "staged authenticity", one in which the reality is divided in a "front region" occupied by the tourist and where the show takes place, and a "back region" or intimate and real space where the host team retires after the performance. And yet, this distinction between the front and the back may not be so clear, as the author himself acknowledges (ibid: 91-96).

Binary concepts such as authentic/inauthentic, true/false, real/unreal, or front/back that appear in the works of Boorstin, Baudrillard and MacCannell have been repudiated by E. Bruner (2005), who has argued that tourism generates new cultural products for a tourist audience, products that have to be studied in their own terms and that are worthy of anthropological attention. There are no possible simulacra, the author argues, because there is no original to refer to. Tourist performances do spring from a cultural matrix but are "new" within that specific context, with shifting audiences and times. Bruner concludes that performance is constitutive and that tourist productions must be studied as social practice in their own right and not as representations, simulacra, texts or whatsoever (2005: 5-7).

Along the same lines, other authors like E. Cohen and J. Urry have expressed their rejection of the idea of real or authentic versions that tourism would jeopardize (see Fuller 2009: 30). In this sense, Cohen (1979), in a critique of MacCannell's overarching and structuralist analysis, has pointed out the multiplicity of tourist experiences as well as the diverse types of tourists and motivations, whereas other authors (Urry 2002a: 74-90; Ritzer and Riska (2003 [1997]: 102) have underscored the playfulness involved in postmodern tourism, with its denial of an "authentic" tourism experience and its emphasis

on performance, spectacle and representation to please the tourist gaze (2002a: 74-90). The contemporary post-tourist, as Fuller has argued, knows that authenticity is prefabricated; what matters is the quality of the representation (2009: 30). Other critics, like Edensor, have objected to most theories of tourism on the grounds that they are ethnocentric, over-generalizing, or functionalist, failing to investigate tourist understandings and practices (1998: 1-6).

Consequently, the debate in the literature of tourism is currently moving from issues of authenticity and towards processes of authentication, a focus that reveals the problem of who has the power and the authority to authenticate authenticity (see Cohen 1998). In addition, other theories and themes of contemporary analysis are emerging in the context of globalization and the growing internationalization of tourism (cf. Cohen 2012). These theories propose a shift from synchronic to diachronic perspectives that locate tourism in a global complex of mobilities that include migration, transnationalism, diasporas and other forced as well as voluntary forms of travel. At the same time as tourism is being de-differentiated from other mobilities, other binary concepts are being blurred, such as the distinction between home and away, hosts and guests, everyday and holiday, etc. The shift from the synchronic to the diachronic entails a transition from being to doing, and from structure to agency and flux, a movement that foregrounds the role of performative acts in constituting reality rather than merely reflecting the social structure. The implication is that personal identities are not stable and that a person has the capacity to perform different selves that have effects on the public. Likewise, places can be no longer considered fixed but rather integrated in larger networks (ibid: 2181-2183).

Alongside paradigms concerning mobility's and performativity, Cohen points out a third development based on the recent Actor-Network theory, which posits the participation of objects and other non-human entities in systems of networks. He also criticizes these three approaches for their inability to engage researchers (Ibid: 2184). This is hardly surprising because, novel and fresh as they can be, these methods do not fully address the most pressing sociocultural and environmental concerns that international mass tourism – and not only mass tourism – is raising in vulnerable, mostly non-Western destinations. Therefore, I feel more inclined towards other methodologies and theoretical frameworks that are able to account for these key issues and take us further into other ideas and concerns.

Postcolonial scholars such as Hall and Tucker (2004) have insisted that the study of tourism must not be considered in isolation from the dynamic context in which it operates. These authors examine tourism from a postcolonial approach[103], useful for an understanding of how its cultural politics and political economy work, without losing sight of the limitations involved in the method. Following the postcolonial tenet that colonialism did not end with the independence of the colonized countries, these authors place tourism within the framework of globalisation and other transnational phenomena controlled and orchestrated by economic powers located for the most part in the West. Globalization, they argue, is a more complex phenomenon than a simple updating of imperialism, but it retains much of the legacy of the latter. In other words, tourism has the potential to become a new "plantation economy", one characterized by being structurally part of an overseas economy, by being directed by the local elites, and by the difficulty to calculate the flow of values (ibid: 4-6).

Hall and Tucker highlight the role of tourism, as well as of (English) language and texts[104], in the construction of places and identities and the ensuing commoditization of collective and individual values. These constructed representations facilitate the transition from "cultural texts" to "cultural products" through which traditions and heritage are invented (ibid: 6, 12). And yet the authors, echoing criticism of postcolonial theory by Finnström (1997), correctly point out that it would be wrong to just assume a passive role for the local populations in the ongoing construction and representations of their identities (ibid: 12-13). This criticism, apart from refuting the dichotomy active colonizers/passive colonized typically seen in postcolonial theory, has stressed that postcolonial studies often ignore the reality of the postcolonies in the absence of field work research, giving rise to an essentialized binary opposition colonizer/colonized. Furthermore, it has been emphasised that other postcolonial dichotomies such as hegemony/resistance must be complemented with strategies of adaptation, collaboration and accommodation deployed at the local level (De Boeck 1996: 94, cited in Hall and Tucker 2004: 17).

[103] Ella Shoat defines postcolonialism as "a designation for critical discourses which thematize issues emerging from colonial relations and their aftermath, covering a long historical span (including the present)." (quoted in Hoogvelt 2001: 167).

[104] The authors follow Ashcroft et al. (1989), who argue that one of the main features of imperial oppression is control over language and text. Here, language is seen as a medium for the perpetuation of a hierarchical structure of power and for the establishment of concepts of "truth", "order", and "reality".

Even if, in line with this criticism, we can consider some postcolonial tenets reductive or at least partial (and the authors are aware of it when they acknowledge, for example, that colonialism is not the only source of power and cultural construction, ibid: 8-17), still my own sympathies and understandings align with much of the postcolonial critique, as it ties up economic, political, and cultural realities into an integrated and historicized system that can be fruitfully interrogated about the problems that concern this thesis, such as the relation between the global and the local, the redefinition of ethnic identities in a context of power asymmetries, or the ideological and political considerations that underpin practices of conservation, preservation and development in the so called "heritage tourism" (see Cohen 2012: 2186-2191), of which Chinchero is an example.

5.2 The tourist system in Cuzco: Political economy

I visited Cuzco for the first time in 2005, while I was backpacking around Bolivia and Peru. At this time, I was struck by two things in particular: one, the stunning beauty of the city enhanced by its Inca and colonial built environment, as well as the sense of energy and vitality that emanated from the populated streets where Cuzqueñans of all sorts and conditions conducted their daily business. The second was the overwhelming presence of the tourist industry in the city centre, where foreigners seemed to have taken over the public spaces to the detriment of vernacular life. The public architecture, which prominently featured international franchises such as McDonalds or Starbucks, as well as chic boutiques, reflected what for an external onlooker could look like a globalized and cosmopolitan city, an illusion that disintegrated once one went beyond the perimeter of this restricted and relatively small historic centre. Then, a different city emerged, one without tourists in which the money being pumped in large quantities by the extractive industries (gas and mining) coexisted with blatant neglect and poor living standards. And yet the tourist activity in the centre was frenetic, with myriads of tourist agencies, hotels and restaurants all over, guided tours of the city, tourist vans and sightseeing buses transporting visitors from one spot to another, touts in the Main Plaza selling packages to Machu Picchu and the Sacred Valley from early in the morning till late at night, street vendors wandering around, craft shops, advertisements of ayahuasca sessions conducted by Indian shamans, and promises of ineffable transcendent experiences in the land of the

Incas via a mystic tourism that, along with other forms of tourism, produced a highly "orientalized" vision of the Andean culture (Vich 2006: 94), highlighting the distortions as well as the peculiar dynamics and pathologies of such a concentrated microworld.

In this highly commercialized bubble, everything, particularly that which had to do with a mystified Pre-Hispanic past, seemed subject to being bought and sold, in an increasing commoditization of space characteristic of the tourist system (see Hall and Page 2002 [1999]). On top of that, the sheer numbers of tourists walking down the streets and plazas and informing an urban space increasingly shaped for them evinced the irony described by Jaackson (2004: 176) in the sense that, by seeking contrast, the tourists were erasing the same contrast that many of them were after. And yes, I was one of them...

What was the driving force behind that tourist system? How was it organized and who pulled its strings? The State propaganda was internally selling tourism as an ecological and prosperous "industry without chimneys", a world of economic opportunities for everyone and the greatest catalyst for progress in the region, taking for granted a straightforward relationship between growth in tourism and economic development, an equation that is questioned by the anthropology of tourism (see Hall and Page 2002: 192-194; Fuller 2006: 34, 74).[105] At the same time that tourism was associated within the country with modernization and development, the official narratives were able to produce another discourse of Peru – particularly of the Southern Andes and directed to the international markets – as the land of authenticity and traditions, an operation that in Vich's view only demonstrates the lack of correspondence between the reality and the discourse elaborated about it (2006: 95). Fuller has synthesized the situation by describing tourism in Peru as a great discursive machinery that generates representations about the nation and about the different groups that make it up (2009: 14). Even if today in Peru most tourists come to see the archaeological sites, tours normally incorporate visits to "living heritage" sites like Chinchero or the more popular example of the Urus in the Lake Titicaca. Apart from making the tours conveniently longer for the agencies, I will argue that this strategic move is encouraged by the growing recognition of indigenous peoples at the international level. By promoting this kind of tourism the Peruvian State is able to present itself abroad as protector and steward of native groups (protection negated through other less visible

[105] Even if I cannot ignore the issue of the economic impacts of tourism and of the distribution of the money it generates in the Cuzco region, a detailed economic analysis and evaluation of these impacts is outside the scope of this study.

policies) and can additionally capitalize on a trendy "diversity" that can be successfully branded and exploited. But before delving into the intricacies of the political economy of tourism, it may be useful to briefly trace the history of tourism in Peru and in Cuzco, to better understand where the situation in 2012 was coming from.

The 1911 "scientific discovery" of Macchu Picchu for the world by Hiram Bingham inspired the frequent visits of foreigners and in the 1920s Cuzco experienced a surge of tourism as an economic and cultural activity (De la Cadena 2000: 139). As Mark Rice has shown in his PhD dissertation (2014), during the 1920s, and in order to contest Lima-based stereotypes of the backward *Serrano* (inhabitant of the sierra), Cuzqueñan elites and the neo-Indigenistas welcomed the prospect of international tourism. Following this author´s reconstruction of the advent of tourism to Cuzco, these elite groups complemented the work of Indigenistas by promoting the image of a new Indian and a folkloric vision of the past at a time when there was little support from the Peruvian government, interested instead in promoting the image of a white, coastal and modern Lima abroad. During the 1930s and 1940s, different institutions associated with the "Good Neighbour" US foreign policy manifested a growing interest in the Southern Andes. Using these new transnational and economic links, Cuzqueñans manipulated the external gaze to argue that their land represented the true *Peruanidad* (Peruvianness). They promoted Machu Picchu and Cuzco as tourist destinations, cultural contact zones and, especially, national symbols.

In the 1930s folklore groups and artists supported the Indigenista project of promoting tourism and in the year 1933 Cuzco was declared "Archaeological Capital of South America" by National Law. The strong connection between the promotion of the local folklore and tourism development in the region has been analysed by De la Cadena[106], who has evinced that the neo-Indianista project rested on the representation of the Indian "other" to attract tourism (2000: 277-291). This author has argued that, with their focus on folklore, the intellectuals wanted to portray the image of a "festive Indian" as opposed to the portrayal of a rural race made by early indigenistas, or that of the introverted and coarse Indian depicted by artists and writers. This image of a "festive Indian" functioned as a magnet as tourism was gaining impetus (ibid: 277). The folklorist set out to collect dances and cultural expressions in the communities. As de la Cadena argues, they could have done this in the city, where the same dances were represented, but in order to

[106] See also Zoila Mendoza's work (2006) on the revitalization of folklore in Cuzco.

achieve the desirable temporal and spatial distance to turn the Indian into an authentic "other", it was more effective and authoritative to go and look for the Indian essence in the countryside (ibid:278). In this directed process of folklore revitalization the way was paved for the invention of traditions. In 1944 the first *Inti Raymi* festival[107] was celebrated in Cuzco, an event that De la Cadena has described as "a conscious process of using the past to create a public ritual for political ends" (ibid: 157). This folkloristic approach was not merely a national phenomenon. Already in the 19th century in Europe a strong folkloristic movement was on its way and would irradiate out towards other continents where European theories and methods were adopted (cf. Dundes 1999).

The 1930s were years of tourism infrastructure development in the region. In 1946 the CNT (National Corporation for Tourism), the first State institution for tourism development, was set up and in the following year the first National Tourism Conference was held. During the 1950s Peru went through a process of industrialization, urbanization and modernization (Fuller 2009: 112). In the 1960s world tourism experienced a boom, becoming a mass industry. The affordability of commercial aviation and the growth of the middle classes accounted for a situation that, as Rice has pointed out, was propitious after WWII (ibid: 71). At the international level, tourism was enthusiastically perceived as an alternative for development, with an emphasis on its economic potential (Fuller 2009: 113). Under the Government of Belaunde (1963-1968) the first public policies for national and international tourism promotion were delineated, along with an expansion in the infrastructures and a greater integration of the national territory. In 1968 the CNT implemented the "Plan COPESCO" for the promotion of tourism development in Southern Peru, whereby the State assumed an active role in the setting up of a hotel infrastructure. With Velasco Alvarado (1968-75) the State assumed a firmer grip on the economy and tourism was turned into one of its sectors, while at the same time stimulating private inversion (ibid: 113-114).

In congruence with what Rice and De la Cadena had argued for the previous decades, Fuller stresses the official ideology of the indigenous origins of the Peruvian nation that guided tourism policies in the 60s and 70s, policies based on the salvaging and extolling of the rich cultural (material and immaterial) heritage and folklore, as well as the emphasis

[107] Festival of the Sun, in the Quechua language. It was an arbitrary re-enactment of a supposed Inca festival related to the winter solstice and the agricultural year. It may be noteworthy saying that Núñez del Prado participated in the script. Today, *Inti Raymi* is a major touristic event that gathers thousands of national and international tourists in Cuzco´s Plaza Mayor in the month of June.

on nature and on native and peasant populations. With Morales Bermúdez (1975-1980) the Velasquista model was reverted and the private initiative took the lead. During his mandate, the Ministry of Industry and Tourism was created and investments in the sector continued (ibid: 114-116).

The 1980s brought along an internal and international economic recession. The political violence in Peru and the subsequent climate of insecurity significantly reduced the number of tourists. Fujimori (1990-2000) re-established the internal security and implanted a neoliberal regime that dismantled the state's apparatus and favoured private inversions. Since 1993 onwards, the sector never stopped growing. The focus has been on “culturas vivas” (living cultures), ecology, regional artistic expressions and gastronomy. PROMPERU has been created to promote Peruvian touristic products and image in the international market and the first Master Plan for Tourism Development has been set up with the aim of extending and improving the touristic offer. With President Toledo (2002-2006) the trend has continued towards the marketing of the product “Peru” as a touristic brand. As Fuller states, the improvement of the touristic offer has unfortunately been directed more towards the satisfaction of the tourists’ needs rather than those of the local populations (ibid: 117-119).

This summary reveals some of the historical conjunctions that have shaped the advent of tourism in Peru, a process suffused with strong political and ideological components. One of the points that this trajectory foregrounds is that, since its inception, the history of tourism in Peru and Cuzco has been inextricably linked to the construction of the Indian “other” and to the “folklorization” of the local cultures to lure international tourism. If in the early stages this operation had been led both by intellectual elites and the State, it was becoming more apparent that the latest State´s involvement in tourist development in the Region had taken the form of an alliance or partnership with private investors and promoters, far in any case from a regulatory role or from a genuine concern for the even distribution of the revenues. This situation was in line with Burns’ conclusions regarding the international tourism system in the sense that the financial benefits are likely to enrich foreign companies and local elites, and that control is likely to be external to the destinations and exercised by transnational tourism corporations (1999: 111-113; see also Hall and Page 2006 [1999]: 193-194).

In order to find out more about the intricacies of the tourist system in Cuzco, I went and talked with my friend Liborio, an experienced tour guide and owner of a small tourist agency in the city. Part of the interview is worth reproducing:

Pablo: I would like to gain a better understanding of the world of tourism in Cuzco. I believe most of the agencies work with tour operators.

Liborio: Well, in our economically globalized world there are different kinds of operators: direct tour operators and national tour operators. Within them you have the wholesale travel agencies and the retail travel agencies offering different sorts of tourism, and they can be local or national. Considering that Cuzco is an extremely important piece within the Peruvian touristic system, it becomes the axis at the regional, national and South American level. That explains this whole gamut of tour operators, agencies and tourist agents.

Pablo: What is the difference between the tour operator and the travel agency?

Liborio: There are small differences. In the Peruvian tourist legislation there are differences. For example, a wholesale travel agency is that which provides customers in set markets abroad where they offer the product. They segment the market, for instance the USA, Europe or Eastern Europe. And these wholesalers provide groups of tourists to Peru. But, being wholesalers in their countries, they can at the same time have their operators here. The operators in Peru are the national agencies. In many cases, let us say Thomas Cook in the UK or Meliá in Spain, Meliá sells in Spain and in different points in Europe. And it can sell Peru. And also Meliá has Meliá Peru in Lima. Thus, Meliá Peru in Lima is the operator of these who have sold in the rest of Europe.

Pablo: For example, Viajes Pacífico, Condor Travel… these big national agencies, are they tour operators?

Liborio: These are travel agencies, operators that sell their travel packages via internet, via other international purveyors that can compete with Meliá, Thomas Cook or with other companies abroad, but all of them commission work with

Condor Travel, or with Viajes Pacífico in Perú, or with Viajes Pacífico via internet. Likewise, Condor Travel sells these packages via the internet; they sell Peru, South America. They, by means of their tour operators in Lima or in the rest of the country, directly operate their groups. Those are the tour operators. On the other hand, we are an example of a retail travel agency. We offer local touristic packages. We design them and we can offer them to a wholesaler. We give them a fair price and then they can in turn resell them to their public in Europe, and we can become their tour operators here in Cuzco, that is, the one who operates or executes the service we are offering.

Pablo: Who is in control of tourism in Cuzco?

Liborio: The Regional Board for Tourism handles the legal aspect. But if we talk about the volume of tourists, of making decisions about where they go, where I put them, the prices, and all that, the wholesalers are in charge, those that we call transnationals. Let us say, for example, Condor Travel, a national company; because of the sheer flow of tourists they handle, they can manage hotel rates and offer better services at better prices in better hotels because their flow of bookings is permanent. They are settled in Lima, Nasca, Arequipa, Puno, Cuzco and Puerto Maldonado. And they can also handle the issue of transportation in domestic flights because they are making use of the airline, because they are handling flows. They are not stakeholders in LAN[108] but they may have preference in their bookings. Other transnationals such as Limatur, Meliá, Thomas Cook, and other American companies, or even smaller adventure tourism agencies like GAP, Tucán or SAS, they also have preferences. Just imagine, those same preferences in the case of the bookings for the train to Machu Picchu. Since you have that flow of movement, you can get most spots for the peak season. Additionally, you have enough space so that you can sell your packages in detriment of the smaller regional companies.

Pablo: It looks like those who move most of the capital are foreign transnational companies.

[108] The main Peruvian airline, of Chilean capital.

Liborio: Absolutely. Most of the capital involved in tourism transactions is foreign: the hotel chains and the international wholesale agencies, many of which already have their national branches in Lima and some in the most important points of the country like Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, and Puno.

Pablo: And what kind of ties are there between these transnationals and the Regional Board for Tourism?

Liborio: Politically, there are alliances, in this case between CANATUR (National Tourist Chamber) and the managers of these companies who, as a matter of fact, preside over the Board. Likewise with APAVID (Peruvian Association of Tourist Agencies). The National Tourist Chamber is a conglomerate of operators or travel agents and hotel businessmen, as well as some carriers in a few cases. And they are also part of the Ministry of Tourism. There is the General Board for Tourism too, an entity that regulates and handles all the touristic activity in the country, where they equally have a representative. Regrettably, tourism is not a State issue in Peru, but rather a private one.

Liborio´s words confirmed that the tourist system in Cuzco and in Peru was controlled by well established transnational economic and political elites. The public sector, represented by the State, had surrendered to, and merged with, the global powers of capitalism. If the economic dimension of tourism was determined by the vertical integration of the system and the concentration of infrastructures, airlines and hotels in a few hands (Fuller 2009: 20), its political agenda was geared toward the re-creation of a strong regional identity that could be easily marketed and sold. Two short conversations I had, one with Cuzqueñan scholar Jorge Flores Ochoa[109] at the Café Ayllu in Cuzco, and the other with my friend and Peruvian Anthropologist Carlos Velaochaga, further exposed the powerful symbiosis of economics and politics in the tourist system, helping to round the picture. I first transcribe Flores Ochoa's views:

[109] Flores Ochoa is a well known and highly respected academic who has written extensively on a variety of topics, ranging from the life and customs of Peruvian Highland shepherds, to Inca iconography, or to more recent interests regarding the distortions introduced by tourism in the Andean culture, especially those concerning the so called "mystic tourism", which, in his view, represents a corruption and a mystification of more genuine cultural forms (see, for an example, his 1996 article).

> "Tourism is a political power in Cuzco. Quite possibly, the next mayor will be a businessman in the sector. Additionally, they have the control over the media. Those like me who speak against tourism are labeled and our access to the sources of information is hampered. Tourism generates much revenue in Cuzco but its distribution is very uneven. The illusion exists that tourism is bread for everyone. And yet, the tourist resource is not well treated. The tourist is not well treated.
> Cuzco is still under the spell of Incanismo and of the recreation of the identity. It is the same situation in the north (of the country) with the Moche identity. Now they speak "Mochica", but they don't even know how it was pronounced! Whilst Incanismo is on its way, Inca remains and other remains from other epochs are being destroyed. The case of the Marriott Hotel is flagrant[110]; there, not only were there Inca and Pre-Inca evidences, but also Colonial and Republican.''

As for Velaochaga, who had worked before as a tourist consultant and guide, I asked him about tourism in Cuzco. As he poured his second *pisco*[111] in the bar we were at, his observations, both random and insightful as usual, subverted the common idea of the "effects" of tourism on the local populations and hinted at the agency and strategies of native people to manipulate the conditions created by tourism to their advantage:

> "We need to start with the admiration that the average Peruvian feels for that what is foreign and with what Cuzco has elaborated in regard with the role of tourism: the gringo tourist always has money, they could improve the race…. A typically Andean thing, practiced by Quechuas as Qollas[112] alike, is to conceal the money one has, to display poverty in order to exploit the tourist."

But not everyone was critical of tourism, by any means. Those who made a good living out of it held other opinion. One of my oldest and best friends in Cuzco, José, had been in the tourist industry for many years. Having been incidentally born and raised in Chinchero,

[110] The recently inaugurated, ostentatious and luxurious Marriott Hotel in Cuzco downtown, was involved in a big controversy when it was made public that during the course of its construction numerous and important Inca archaeological remains were secretly removed out of the construction site with the connivance of the National Institute of Culture (INC). The episode illustrates well how economic logics of profit regularly contradict cultural discourses of heritage protection in the country.
[111] Strong Peruvian spirit made of grapes.
[112] Term that designate indigenous groups broadly located around the area of the Lake Titicaca as well as in the Bolivian Highlands.

he owned and ran a hotel very close to the city centre and he was a successful tourist businessman as well as entrepreneur. Coming from an accommodated mestizo middle/upper class social background, his perspective considerable differed from others and, to a large extent, could be taken as representative of his social group. They also illustrate the stark conflict of interests surrounding the world of tourism and the marked polarization existing between those who occupy different positions within the hierarchies of the system.

Pablo: As a Cuzqueñan, you have witnessed the evolution of the city in the last few years with tourism. In your view, how is tourism changing things? What is it generating?

José: I think we have to divide Cuzco into two parts: the touristic places and the non-touristic. In the touristic ones there has been a lot of progress for a long time, because where there is tourism there is money. When the country was at its worst, during the times of cholera, of terrorism and social problems, Cuzco did not sink like other cities because tourism had provided resources. But this phenomenon only has happened in the touristic part. In the non-touristic part there was a lot of poverty, but this is recently changing, not due to tourism, but due to mining. A "negative" impact of tourism could be the increase in the price of the properties, which are very expensive compared to other cities in Peru. But there are benefits too, and obviously you have pros and cons, as with everything else. Also, many foreigners are coming, and for many of my fellow Cuzqueñans that is bad. They consider it a negative that Chileans, Argentinians, Spanish, Gringos, purchase properties in the Sacred Valley. I think you cannot avoid it. Some even take it as far as wanting to ban the purchase of property by foreigners. That is absurd. It is as if the many Peruvians scattered around Spain, Argentina, or the USA, were forbidden by the State or by some crazy guy to buy property. We are in a globalized world where we have to adapt ourselves to the circumstances and make the most out of them.

Pablo: I see a phenomenon of "expropriation" of the historic centre, of touristic absorption and of forced withdrawal of local residents towards the periphery. Is that accurate?

José: To be honest, I do not know. But it they have left, it must have been because they have wanted to. Nobody has expelled them. Neither the Municipality has expelled them nor has the Government expropriated them to benefit a foreigner. It is because they have deemed it convenient to sell or to rent their property and consequently they have moved to another place where they may be more comfortable perhaps. But this is part of the economic growth, of development. Regrettably, or fortunately, there are people with capital that are coming here. And for those countries with a free market that is good and it has to be boosted. These investments in your country, in your region, in your municipality, are what Peru has been after for more than thirty years. Lots of people are coming to invest here, Peruvians and foreigners alike. These are the benefits and the costs that a city has to pay.

Pablo: Now that you mention the benefits, ¿who benefits from them? Is it a wide segment of the population or just a minority in control of tourism?

José: It is said that the benefits from tourism are ample in any part of the world. Again, from my viewpoint, in Cuzco you have those who benefit by living in the touristic zones and those who do not benefit because they live in non-touristic areas. If a foreigner or a Limeñan comes, buys a house and turns it into a hotel, well, it is clear that he is providing jobs for his employees. At the same time he is benefiting the taxi drivers, the agencies that earn commissions, the farmers that produce the papa and maize that the hotel will need to feed its guests. It is the same thing with a restaurant: many producers will indirectly benefit because there will be more demand and the foreigners will consume. In my view, the benefit is ample.

5.3 The case of Chinchero

"This town lives off tourism", people would remind me over and over in Chinchero. In fact, most, if not all Chincherinos would agree in that tourism had substantially changed the town, or at least the Centro Poblado, over the last few years and that change had been

generally for the good in terms of life standards and basic infrastructure. Money from tourism was reaching many homes – even if in significantly asymmetrical ways – through direct sale of textiles and crafts to the visitors as well as through the revenues originated from the tourist ticket that all non-Cusqueñan visitors had to pay in order to visit the archaeological site and the Inca-colonial town. These revenues were collected by the State and the Municipality received a percentage, supposedly destined to be reinvested in the town. Truth was that many residents wondered about the use (or misuse) of that money and did not clearly see its benefits. For the visitor, the tourist-oriented nature of the town and the changes introduced were apparent the moment access to the urban centre was restricted by several checkpoints, the movement inside directed, the relationships with the locals highly commercialized and altered, and the space transformed according to the criteria of heritage management and the multiplication of weaving workshops to cater for the tourist industry. Even if the residents tended to attribute such noticeable transformation of Chinchero mainly to tourism, it was clear for some that changes could not be disentangled from wider processes of modernization and development which had been taking place in the region. As for the income generated, critical voices were not by any means lacking:

> One night, shortly after my arrival to Chinchero in July, I listened to the conversation that Rober and Washington were having in the house. They were talking about how the town was changing with respect to previous times. Surprisingly to me, they were blaming tourism for the abandonment of many customs. Being only teenagers, they were speaking like elders, perhaps attesting to the big change that had occurred in relatively little time. Their main accusation was directed toward the fact that everybody in town was thinking of tourism to make a living, while forgetting at the same time about other practices and economic activities. Local parents – they said – wanted their kids to be tourist guides. “Economically, tourism does not allow you to prosper; you earn something, but not much”, Washington said.

This kind of obsession with the tourism business was evident on many different levels. As the two brothers underscored, most young people were studying tourism-related careers in Cuzco, such as hotel administration, gastronomy or business management. For their part, their mothers spent most of their day either at the weaving centres that had been

inaugurated over the last few years, or wandering the streets of Cuzco following the steps of the tourists to talk them into purchasing their crafts. This was the case of Augusta, who, being aware of the dependency that tourism had brought into her life, had discouraged her sons from following a similar pathway and had pushed them towards other kinds of jobs instead.

But even if Augusta was an exception in this regard, her life was equally shaped by the constraints, as well as the opportunities, imposed by the tourist business and its temporal schemes. Her dedication to tourism implied therefore a thorough reorganisation of her personal time, and, with it, that of her entire family as well. Being forced to spend most of her time away from home during the day, the core of the household chores were left to the boys, given the fact that Jacinto, as many other men, had a construction job in Cuzco which kept him away from the house since very early in the morning and until very late in the evening. When the boys were little and Augusta had to leave the house to go selling crafts, it was Jacinto who would stay at home taking care of the kids and assuming most of the domestic tasks. But under the new circumstances, both Augusta and her sons had to fit in their respective schedules in order to meet the challenges of the new temporalities introduced by tourism. In this picture, the strong seasonality and chancy nature of the business, with high seasons and low seasons during the year, as well as unpredictable better and worse years depending on the international conditions, posed additional problems, exacerbated when all the eggs were put in the same basket. Little by little, through personal experience, more and more women were becoming aware of the risks involved. The following entry extracted from my field notes sheds some light on the situation:

> *February. No tourism. Augusta is running out of money, and she is not the only one. This month she has to pay the school for her sons and she is struggling. The boys have to look for jobs. Amilcar has already found one and the rest may follow. This is in addition to their household chores and studies. Living off tourism brings about these new dynamics at home.*

New temporalities meant that the town moved at the rhythm of tourism and that social life had to be organized accordingly. As Chinchero was inserted within the Sacred Valley of the River Urubamba circuit, its geographic position and hierarchy within this popular

itinerary, which included the visit during the same day to other famous Inca sites like Pisaq and Ollantaytambo, paced the flow of tourism to the town. Typically, most packaged tours would end up in Chinchero in the late evening before the tourists were returned to their headquarters in Cuzco. This meant that activity in town reached its climax in those late hours when the parking lot would become packed with tourist buses and vans from many different agencies. For many villagers, particularly the weavers at the workshops, as well as the artisans and the *ambulantes* (street vendors), these were the busiest hours of the day. During the day, to the contrary, the Centro Poblado remained quiet and almost deserted. With most men working in the city and with the kids in the classrooms, the remaining villagers would take advantage to work in their chacras, cook in the houses and pasture their animals. The women who sold crafts in Cuzco had to balance their jobs with their many other occupations. Normally they would take some mornings or afternoons off during the week, if not on occasion entire days, to attend to other obligations in the household or outside of it. One way or another, tourism was part of the daily lives of most families and was forcing them to make changes. A powerful illustration of this was provided by Mandy, a self-defined tourist industry worker with large experience in the sector with whom I talked in Cuzco:

> "In regard to the textile salvage in which we are now working, it is a supercomplicated process. It entails an ideological change for the women. For example, in a small community nearby Ollantaytambo they are now doing textile exhibitions. The NGO is offering them the opportunity of participating in paid workshops and the women only show indifference. For a long time they have been living their own lives around the kids, the household and the chacra. All of these are very noble jobs that adjust to their own pace, to their own time, which comes from long ago. The textile salvage is only twenty years old in comparison and it involves a huge reshuffling of their time.''

To explore further in depth the question of how tourism had been received in Chinchero and the new set of circumstances that it had introduced, I will make use of the interview that I conducted with Pabel, director of the Tourism Department at the Centro Bartolomé de Las Casas in Cuzco (CBC), a prestigious research institution which embarked upon collaborative projects with peasant communities at the regional level. Pabel and his team

worked under the premise of "turismo solidario" (solidary tourism), as opposed to other currents in tourism. The main difference, according to Pabel, was that whereas the latter sought to benefit the intermediaries, their approach wanted to benefit the communities by fostering associative practices and by reducing the economic dependency of tourism. The interview was not specifically focused on Chinchero, but, nevertheless, its content illuminates and is relevant for realities that I encountered in my field site:

> Pablo: I am interested in the social and environmental impacts of tourism.
>
> Pabel: We do not have a lot of activity in Chinchero, but we are familiar with it because sometimes they come and ask us for support in the sector of tourism as well as in other subsectors like crafts and rural community tourism[113], which are complementary activities to tourism. Regarding some negative social aspects, first, you know that tourism has been promoted by different actors. In this case by the NGOs, some local governments and other private companies. But not all of them work with the same approach or take into account the concept of sustainability. Normally they prioritize the economic aspect. This is the most conventional approach in promoting tourism to the communities, but they neglect the environmental, cultural, and social dimensions. There is a weakness evident nowadays. At the social level, individualism is gaining terrain in the communities. Sometimes tourism does not benefit the whole community, but rather induces segmentation, stratification inside the community. Moreover, those who have benefited from tourism have tended to adopt other patterns. A sense of discrimination has been introduced from within. Some people enjoy more opportunities and money than others. This is what tourism has created. Apart from this, in Cuzco there has not been a strategy that has fostered the social cohesion of the community; rather to the contrary, it has led to disintegration. It was thought too that promotion of tourism in the communities would limit migration. On the contrary, the migratory flow of the youth to the city has increased. Because when tourism is not carefully planned and organized, what you generate is a big mess in the community. You create new patterns, new customs. When people in the communities see the visitors coming with their own customs, this grabs their attention. They think that those customs are superior

[113] Also referred to as experiential tourism (*turismo vivencial,* in Spanish).

and thus new necessities are being created. This prompts the people to migrate to the city and seek its benefits.

As for Chinchero, I do not know the situation well enough, but it would be good to look at how they have organized themselves now; how the social organisation existed before and after tourism. I do not know whether the former social organisation has been respected or rather if there has been a fusion, a change. Whenever we have done research in the Sacred Valley we have seen a change. They have veered towards the western organisational model and have neglected the more traditional one. This is, for example, an impact on the social level.

On the environmental level, some things do not go unnoticed. First, solid waste has increased in the communities because now they consume more things. Furthermore, the volume of production in traditional activities such as agriculture and livestock has decreased. Supposedly, tourism should be a complementary activity that co-ordinates with the rest, but that has not been the approach. In many communities tourism has been mostly regarded as the main activity. They have neglected agriculture and livestock and they have been unable to integrate these sectors. Then, there is concern on account of the increase of solid waste and of the decline in other activities. The other thing is that there is no control in the communities over the properties. Before, there were rivers and pastures; but now there is an incipient depredation and uncontrolled usage. Where once there had been rivers, households are now being built. These households do not match with the environment. Quite the contrary, they are being built with materiales nobles[114] that distort the aesthetics of the community. These are some of the negative aspects."

What Pabel told me was not by any means unfamiliar to me. The individualism and the segmentation he described were also discernible traits in Chinchero, where, under a guise of a prominent and visible sociability and conviviality, everybody kept their own business private so that others would not find out and take advantage. Augusta used to urge me not to disclose any information about her and Jacinto´s activities in my conversation with

[114] This refers to industrial construction materials, like concrete, as opposed to more vernacular ones like adobe.

other neighbours. Likewise, I should not talk to others about my personal arrangements with them or about what was going on within the household:

> "In this village you cannot trust anybody. If they find out about what I do they will try to bring me down. This is what happens when somebody is faring well economically, they will bring him or her down because people here cannot bear other people´s success. That is why I do not have friends in town; I talk to everyone but I am friends with no one."

In fact, it did not take me long to notice that residents kept a close eye on each other´s movements. Since the bulk of the economic activity was tourism-related, families and weaving workshops alike would try their best to keep their business initiatives away from alien eyes, instead of attempting a concerted effort. People would then enter into a competition whereby those best placed to make contacts in the city with the tourist agents due to their economic position, social network, amount of land, political influence, etc, would quickly take the lead in the race. In other words, it was about a local-scale replica of larger hierarchies found in the system at the regional level. As a result of this, a process of social stratification was well on its way and it was relatively easy, once an acquaintance with the town had been achieved, to spot which individuals, families, or groups were doing better than others. One could have expected some kind of regulatory, organizing role led by the Municipality to try and distribute the opportunities and the benefits more evenly. But in the same way that at the national level tourism was a private matter where the State counted little, so it was in Chinchero, where the Municipality had little control over the touristic activity.

This being said, it would be obviously wrong and naïve to blame tourism for all of the social problems in Chinchero, or to imply that before tourism there was no segmentation of any kind. But it was certainly the case that the way the system worked in town did not exactly favour social cohesion, but rather tended to exacerbate pre-existing differences, as well as tensions proper to community life. The situation reminded me very much of research done in the Island of Taquile, in the Lake Titicaca (Healy and Zorn 1982; Ypeij and Zorn 2007), where in spite of some promising early years of tourism development where the community had managed to keep control over this economic activity, with time and the implementation of neoliberal policies in the 90s that did away with the monopoly of

Taquilenos over the boat transportation system, control had been lost in the hands of external agents. Additionally, problems related with internal fragmentation, growing individualism, consumerism and a general decline in benefits had intensified (Ypeij and Zorn, ibid.).

Pabel had also touched upon issues of migration and of social organisation. As for migration, it did not seem that the development of tourism in Chinchero was persuading many young people to remain in the town. On the contrary, the intense contact with urban life and patterns embodied by the tourists (in giving locals ideas of adopting new clothing, using new technologies such as cellphones, etc), in addition to the years spent in Cuzco as students, functioned for many as a magnet, considering as well the opportunities that Cuzco and other cities could provide compared to a small countryside town like Chinchero. Regarding the social organisation predating the advent of tourism, it made me think of what Shirley, a tourist agent and guide, told me in Cuzco when I interviewed her:

> "I studied tourism and prepared a project on participative tourism in Chinchero fifteen years ago, when there was almost no tourism. What you have encountered began only some five years ago. In many villages tourism has had a positive economic impact, but the impact on their social organisation has been severe. I cannot say either that the social organisation they had was optimum. There are problems that stem from the past."

Probably, the most conspicuous change in the social organisation due to tourism in Chinchero was represented by the weaving groups that dotted the streets of the Centro Poblado. These groups and all the problems and issues that came with them will be examined in detail in chapter 7. Similarly, the topic of the impact of tourism over the landscape and the environment will be best dealt with in chapter 8, dedicated to the construction of the new International Cuzco Airport in Chinchero.

On another level, Pabel had mentioned the adoption of new patterns and customs in a situation of cultural contact brought by tourism, suggestive of something in the literature, known as the "demonstration effect". Authors like Burns and Fuller have recognised this effect, particularly among the youth in traditional societies, but at the same time, they do not think that the "demonstration effect" has a great impact in social change. Whereas Burns (1999: 95) argues that the empirical evidence is weak and insists that with

globalization it is not possible to distinguish between changes introduced by tourism and those introduced by modernization, Fuller makes the point that these societies have already been in contact with the West for a long time (2009: 90-91). One morning, I bumped into Gerónimo in his garden, and he shared with me his views on this issue:

> "In 30 years the pace of change and the disappearance of traditions has accelerated as never before in Chinchero. For example, I do not use ojotas (rubber sandals) any more for working; I use my wellingtons and in the old times I would work barefoot. I would not wear this clothing. In the future, everyone will own an auto, only a few people will work the land, the majority will be constructors, artisans, professionals, and employees in public institutions. The children will be studying. The causes? The new communication technologies (particularly cell phones), globalization, tourism. When I was a boy there was no plastic; houses had straw roofs, stoves used firewood, food came straight from the chacra into your stomach. Now we all go to the store to buy whatever, including fish and chicken. People now want to dress as the tourists, listen to their music in English, and the like. Everything is changing very fast. I am worried. In a short time Chinchero will become a very different place, especially with the airport. It will look like a different country."

Even if I was quite pleased with Gerónimo´s words, because I recognised in them what I probably wanted to hear as a researcher still not completely free from the anthropological romance, I also experienced some resistance. Within the community, Gerónimo had a reputation for being "*un hombre muy tradicional*" (a very traditional man), a view that was not necessarily a compliment. Jacinto, for example, strongly disagreed with him and thought that positions like Gerónimo's were only preventing the village from prospering. In any case, it seemed to me that, even if Gerónimo was making some very valid points, he was also "performing" a role for me, perfectly aware of the nostalgia and concern that many gringos (and especially gringo anthropologists) felt towards the disappearance of traditions. As I noted before, Gerónimo had collaborated with other ethnographers and researchers in town before me, so he undoubtedly knew well the terrain in which he was moving.

Gerónimo´s comments reminded me though of other current perspectives that have equated social change driven by modernization and the subsequent adoption of other

cultural patterns with cultural decadence (see Washington Rozas and Valencia Blanco 2012). While I sympathize with the preoccupations caused by the conditions in which cultural contact and social change are happening in many corners of the Andes, it is very difficult to simply subscribe to sweeping views that rigidly oppose "traditional life and values" to those of the city and of modernity. We should also be aware that, as Levellen has put it, "the traditional/modern dichotomy is closely associated with modernization theory, a form of developmentalism that has been discredited" (2002: 100). Chapter 8 will elaborate more on the topic of social change.

The fact is that much tourism (particularly, but not solely, ethnic/cultural tourism and mystic tourism) has been predicated on this separation and that relies on and exploits it for its own survival. The disjunction is both temporal – the time of the tourist is the present/modern whereas the time of the toured people is the past/traditional – and spatial, with tours and places specifically designed to provide that experience of the past, and so presupposes the construction of the other in multiple ways. Hall and Tucker stress that "otherness" is essential in tourism because it is what makes a destination worthy of consumption by fuelling myths and mythical language (2004: 8). Earlier on, in his "Time and the Other", J. Fabian (1983) had argued that Anthropology has constructed its colonial object of inquiry by temporally distancing itself from this object through various devices. The colonialist/capitalist expansion (in which anthropology played a role) needed Space to occupy and Time to accommodate both the schemes of a one-way history (progress, development, modernity) and those of their mirror images (stagnation, underdevelopment, tradition). In other words, *geopolitics* had its ideological foundations in *chronopolitics* (ibid: 144-145).

Considering the centrality of Fabian´s core argumentation for my study, this thesis might well have been entitled "tourism and the other: the politics of time in Chinchero." Indeed, the argument that I will put forward in the next chapters will approach tourism as an extreme form of (capitalist) temporalization and will explore the ways in which the tourist industry is colonizing time (and its spatial concretizations) in Chinchero by means of ideological artifacts destined to fabricate its "other". These distancing devices are conveniently concealed under the current paradigm of "cultural preservation", and include, among others, the politics of archaeological and cultural heritage, the use of language, the guided tours, and the spatial transformations. The argument will consider the role of the residents in this process, the tensions and conflicts that arise from it, and

the different responses given to powerful and suggestive external pressures to fit their lives to certain standards and expectations.

6. RUINS IN THE LANDSCAPE: TOURISM AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE OF CHINCHERO

Fig. 9: General view of Chinchero and the Inca ruins.

Fig. 10: Inca Plaza and colonial temple

Fig. 11: Historic Centre

6.1 When ruins become archaeological sites

During the 8th of September festival of *Mamacha Natividad* (Our Lady of the Nativity), the main annual religious and civic festivity of Chinchero where big altarpieces were set up by different groups in the Inca Plaza to serve as stations in the processions of the images taken out from the church, tensions mounted between the group composed of the *varayuq* and the *mayordomos* on the one hand, and the INC (National Institute of Culture[115]) personnel on the other. The first group was ready to celebrate the festival according to their *costumbre* (custom), making use of the space of the archaeological site and of the Inca precincts contained within; on their part, the INC workers had been instructed not to let the varayuq and the mayordomos develop their activities. These activities involved, among other things, eating and drinking, as well as dancing and cooking, within the ruins. In 2012, and for the first time in the history of the festival, access to the main precincts had been fenced off, and the workers, who on that day doubled in

[115] The INC has recently been renamed the Ministry of Culture, but still most people refer to it as INC, as I do in this thesis.

number, were monitoring and policing the site on the auspices of its preservation as a monument that brought tourists and money to the village and, therefore, had to be kept clean and tidy at all times. After the mass, and when the crowds coming from every corner of the District started to fill the main Inca plaza, frictions began when the varayuq and mayordomos from the different communities of Chinchero tried to jump over the fences and access the structures for feasting inside. As the INC staff tried to prevent them from doing so, tense verbal exchanges occurred between both groups. One such exchange happened in this way:

> INC: Chinchero lives off tourism. The town has to be clean. You trash the site, throw out garbage, urinate and pour chicha over the stones.
> Mayordomos: You don't understand. This (custom) comes from the Incas.
> INC: These customs must change. The site will be gradually fenced off for preservation. You drink a lot!
> Mayordomos: We don't!
> INC: We are going to strip you of (your customs)!

After a negotiation, the *comuneros* were allowed amongst the Inca structures. Later on in the evening the conflict picked up again and escalated when the varayuq intended to make fire in the plaza by using firewood for cooking and keeping the cold at bay throughout the night. The INC workers, who feared possible damage to the plaza's pavement, made a dash toward the pile of logs and grabbed them. At that moment, Jacinto rushed up to the workers and pulled the firewood away from their arms, while the rest of the varayuq shouted names at the employees, who had to go away still carrying their frustration and resentment.

The events of September 8th represented the culmination of a gradual process of encroachment and transformation that had taken place since the space of the ruins had been turned into an archaeological site and monument, under the control of the State and of the professionals who worked in the name of scientific knowledge, the protection of the Nations' past and, more recently, with the intention of developing local tourism[116]. The events also epitomized the tensions inherent in this transmutation and highlighted the

[116] Archaeological works in Chinchero began in the 1940s. In 1945 the INC allocated a guardian to the monument and in 2001 the site was officially declared "Archaeological Park". In 2004 a General Law of the National Cultural Patrimony was issued.

political nature of the apparently neutral operation underlying it. Lastly, they underwrote the diverse and conflicting views and practices surrounding the material traces of the past and the notions of heritage attached to those material traces.

Before the ruins became a "site" they were mainly an agropastoral and ritual space fully integrated into the rest of the village. The Inca terraces and adjacent lands were cultivated by the peasants and the animals roamed freely. The *chinkana* rock and other natural shrines polarized ceremonial life and regular trading journeys between the nearby Valley of the Urubamba River and the heights of Chinchero traversed the ruins to end in the village's market. The reconversion into an archaeological monument took on a stark spatial significance and was achieved at the expense of land tenure. Numerous testimonies that I had collected from angry residents attested to the expropriation of chacras by the INC in order to demarcate the perimeter of the site with its adjacent *zona intangible* or intangible area. Nobody, to my knowledge, received compensation after the demarcation. A 1984 INC report of archaeological works in Chinchero conducted by the anthropologist Percy Bonnet confirms that by 1945 the cultivation of the terraces was forbidden because some comuneros did not have an interest in the conservation of the Inca terraces. And the report goes on: "Having been able to dislodge the peasants, the terraces were liberated from cultivation ever since"[117]. In 1987, another report by Percy Bonnet recommended the authority that "you do not still allow to use the terraces for cultivation until the intervention has concluded and the monument has been "*puesto en valor"*[118]*,* and also because the peasants that use the adjacent terraces do not propend to maintain their optimal conservation."[119]

Therefore, control and protection of the site remained in the hands of the INC, a conglomerate of professionals directed by archaeologists and architects, but who are also inclusive of anthropologists and other specialists. The site was appropriated, expunged from its former condition, enhanced and extolled as part of the national heritage and consecrated to archaeological research for the purpose of knowing the past. Regulations destined to ensure effective control of the space by the State and its representatives were enforced, and these measures altered the relationships between the residents and the ruins. The marking of the site's boundaries, plus the expropriations of plots and the

[117] INC, Cusco, Programación de Obra. In the INC's library.
[118] "Puesta en valor" in the Peruvian context implies the opening of sites, buildings and heritage in general to the tourist industry and its subsequent commercialization.
[119] 1987, Annual Report. INC's library.

prohibition of traditional practices within it, physically segregated the social space of the ruins from the broader local dynamics in which they were integrated. In the advent of the recent tourist boom the restrictive measures had only stiffened and access to the site for the animals was barred by wooden fences to keep the area clean for the tourists. Additionally, regular maintenance and restoration work was implemented as part of the heritage conservation programme.

Segregation was not only physical; it was also moral and symbolic. When the archaeologists took over the site, they established their authority in different ways. Not only did they decide who could work within the site and who could not, and they decided on the kind of work allowed in the area, and they also laid claim to the interpretation of the archaeological remains, displacing or disregarding folk lore. Hegemonic scientific knowledge overthrew local knowledge, and, making use of Marisa Lazzari's words, "reworked a tamed space for the purpose of educating the nation about its past" (2011: 181)[120]. This knowledge was far from being simply objective or innocuous. Laurajane Smith has disclosed the political nature of archaeological knowledge and discourse, making clear that through cultural resource management, public policy makers exercise control over expressions of the social and cultural identity (2004: 2).

INC in Chinchero was perceived to be a foreign body, even if most of the employees hailed from the District. But the heads were from elsewhere; they were Cuzqueñans or lived in the city. In fact the whole institution was strongly associated in the Cuzco region with urban Limeñan centralism, on the grounds that most of the tourist revenues generated by Machu Picchu and Cuzco were transferred to Lima and administered from there. Originally from an urban background, they were considered ignorant and incompetent regarding countryside matters and ways. Apart from living in the city, they were qualified professionals and, as such, by virtue of their education and academic training, they were legitimated by the State to take decisions that affected all of the

[120] Similar processes of appropriation in other parts of the world have been described by other authors, where different groups claim rights and struggle over heritage sites or objects which are normally under the custody of State agencies or heritage organizations (see Bender 1993; Lazzari 2011; Gordillo 2009; Smith 2004, 2009). For example, Bender, on her study of Stonehenge, has commented on the ways that, over the years, those with economic and political power and the cultural capital have appropriated the past and the land of those engaging with it in different ways and have imposed a monopoly of knowledge in the name of scientific rigour (1993: 246, 270). But scientific rigour, as Bender notes (ibid: 270), has tended to eschew politics, severing the cultural and the aesthetic from the social. This unfortunate insulation of archaeological-scientific practices from their present social context and demands has also been addressed by Silverman (2005) and Lazzari (2011).

villagers (most of them formally uneducated or non-qualified workers) who lived within the archaeological zone and the historic centre, which encompassed most of the *Centro Poblado*.

The relationships between the institution and the villagers were consequently uneasy and often strained. From the residents' perspective, the INC was an institution that worked against their interests. The INC prohibited them to work and graze their animals in the ruins, as well as to undertake maintenance and refurbishment work in their households without a previous archaeological exploration, under the premise that they were within the archaeological-historic zone and that all archaeological material was inalienable and belonged to the State, that is, to all Peruvians. In order to undertake badly needed improvement and construction work in their households and gardens they had to request permits, permits that sometimes were not granted and, if they were, they were costly and took time in being processed. Money paid under the table would certainly speed up the process but not everybody could afford to do this.

These costs influenced a preference to dismantle the Inca walls in people houses, during the night, rather than paying or waiting for permits. From the INC's point of view, they had been entrusted with the important (and patriotic) mission of safeguarding the town's rich Inca and colonial heritage and nobody was above the Law that sanctioned the protection of this legacy. Moreover, the INC had to fight against what they perceived as the absence of identification of the residents with their heritage, clearly demonstrable by their tendency to become drunk in ceremonial spaces and urinate in them. The INC's sphere of influence extended to almost all realms of life in Chinchero and every single public work or community project within the archaeological zone had to count on both approval and surveillance from the INC. In practice, this meant that whilst the villagers were heading in one direction, the INC were almost systematically going in the opposite one. As an example, the artisans, the traders and the Municipality had agreed that a new market was needed to replace the old one in the lower part of town. But while they wanted a more modern structure that required excavation, the INC objected to the project, arguing instead in favour of a restructuration of the traditional market with rustic materials that did not clash with the typical image of old Inca/colonial Chinchero. As a result, the project was paralyzed.

In addition to processes of reterritorialisation and displacement, the segregation implied in the transformation from ruins to sites carried along a process of spatial sterilisation and

ideological domination that was already embedded in the language. I remember clearly the day that I conducted interviews with the friendly INC workers, María and Soledad, with whom I used to chat almost every day during the long hours I would spend wandering the usually rather solitary and cold realm of the ruins, taking notes and making observations on what was happening (or not happening at all) around of me. When, during the interview, I intentionally used the word "ruins", they were quick to correct me: "Eh… excuse me: "ruins" is not the appropriate word; it suggests debris and mess. The proper term is "Archaeological Centre". Only the dwellers talk about "ruins"; but we, professionals, say "Archaeological Centre*".* When a few days later I referred the incident to Tomás, who had worked for the INC over forty years, he said:

> "It is like they are trying to attract respect for themselves by also denying the word 'ruins', with its suggestion of destruction and abandonment. This way they come across as functionaries, as workers. They get offended when somebody says "ruins". For me, after reconstruction work they can also be called archaeological remains or whatsoever, but there is nothing wrong with the word "ruins"[121].

In the course of the conversation, María and Soledad stressed what I had heard many times from other INC employees and from their bosses, in the sense that the uneducated locals were not prepared to appreciate the value of their heritage and that they did not care at all about it, unlike the tourists. This was the official discourse that emanated from the higher hierarchies of the institution; a discourse internalised and repeated by those who occupied the lower tiers in the hierarchy, no matter their level of education or their position within the community. It was largely through the medium of language that prestige and authority were established by a particular social group to impose its project onto others and to legitimate an appropriation. The ideological manipulation of language for political purposes was not new in Chinchero. Fidel, the president of the Cúper Pueblo sector, recounted that, in order to assert their symbolic dominion over the urban space and in order to marginalise the Indian peasants, the colony had imposed Spanish names. Also, during the Republic and after the 1897 War of the Pacific between Perú and Chile, some streets were baptized with the names of the war heroes (Grau, Bolognesi). Ángel

[121] Regarding this controversy, I preferably use the term "ruins" in my text because the concept of "archaeological site" abstracts a multiplicity of meanings and associations important to local sensibilities (see Gordillo 2014).

recalled that, still later on, one mayor had changed the Quechua names of the streets into Spanish ones. Those names had deep meanings and people still remembered them. In more recent times, the substitution of the native word "*ayllu"* with "community" and "sector" had brought about, according to Ángel, a process of dismembering. As for "ruins" and "archaeological centre", it was clear that the former had been tainted with negative connotations that did not exist in origin for the residents, while the second had been infused with the positive values of science, study, research, care and protection. Ultimately, through a process of altering the language, the past was professionalized and alienated from the locals. Smith has reminded us that archaeological discourse is inseparable from hegemonic structures and yet, in practice, discourse is separated from ideological dominance, leaving power issues unaddressed (2004: 50-51).

6.2 Space, time, contact

Henri Lefebvre has postulated that hegemony does not leave space untouched and that social space is a social product (1991: 11, 26). The spatial hegemony of science, and, particularly, tourism, over the "archaeological site" of Chinchero had been largely founded, as I have shown, on the forced evacuation of the social life that predated it and on the arbitrary imposition of physical and symbolic boundaries where territorial continuities and cultural rationalities ruled before. The new rationality of this space demanded a qualitative transformation: visually, the ruins were turned into an object of aesthetic contemplation and enjoyment for tourist consumption. They had become, as the local anthropologist Carlos Quispe pointed out to me, an icon. Visuality was privileged and enhanced, a visuality constructed according to the rules of western perspective, which produced a luminous, coherent, and objective space. The resulting "abstract" space was physically clean and visually unobtrusive; but it was also deprived of mystery, easily packaged and consumable, and devoid of cultural and religious meaning (see Lefebvre 1991; Herzfeld 2006: 138; Lazzari 2011). The extolling of a visual order inhibited at the same time the participation of other senses and concealed the forces that had shaped that space. It was also a regulated space: movement was directed within it by newly created paths for the tourists, whilst the old local paths that crisscrossed it and that stored the condensed traces of countless journeys were falling into misuse. At the same time, the

peasants were being pushed towards the margins of that territory. The resulting situation for them was one of loss of contact and control.

Loss of contact was a grave matter for a population whose sense of place was spatialized and embodied. Loss of contact to the site had begun much earlier. Fidel, the president of the sector of Cúper Pueblo, recounted how in older times the Catholic Church had separated the population from the idolatry of the ruins:

> "When we were kids we were forced to go to the temple to pray and practice confession. Now the kids go to the school… but I used to play in the huacas and climb onto the rocks before I learned about the importance of heritage preservation through my studies. Catholic education has separated the people from their heritage. Now it is being revalorized through tourism."

The space of the ruins was made of material traits that physically referred to the past and connected the people to that past largely by means of the senses. When contact is suppressed or restricted, continuities with the past, as well as knowledge of the present, are interrupted. Contact requires the "experiential order of materiality" (Lazzari 2009: 172) and operates intensely with the senses, particularly – though by no means solely – with or through the sense of touch. In addition, materiality and the senses, as well as historical processes, are closely related to the making of place. In Chinchero the relationship between materiality and sense of place was an intimate one (see chapter 3). People made sense of place through their continuous bodily engagements with materials in the multiple domains of daily life, such as in the making of adobe bricks, in the washing of their clothes, or in the varied physical tasks involved in agricultural work, to put but a few examples.

Moreover, contact and sense of place occurred within a certain landscape. The landscape of Chinchero was more than just a random and static accumulation of physical or geographic features apprehended through the eye. It was a travelled landscape constantly changing through the re-productive practices that took place in it, such as farming, herding, logging, building, and so on. These travels and practices required of a continuous corporeal engagement with the physical environment. Men, women, and children walked, sometimes at a considerable distance from their houses, with their animals to the fields and pastures. Walking reiterated relationships with the landscape[122] and mobilized the

[122] I am indebted to Stella Nair for bringing this point to my attention.

memory in different ways, from the libations to the Pachamama or the blowing of coca leaves to the apus, to the remembering of the lands that their grandfathers had worked before. It was contact in motion, the anchoring of the individual into the land, and the renewal of affective ties through the body. Carlos Quispe reflected on the topic of contact and of its relevance:

> "Yes, I have seen here in Chinchero, years ago, when the INC was still barely influential, that the dwellers permanently used the space of the archaeological zone to cultivate their staple products: barley, quinoa, green been, potato… Yanacona and Cúper used that space. In any case, I have always seen that they respect the archaeological zone. What is more, when I was little I appreciated that I could not get too close to certain spaces like the chinkana. Even right here, in Titiccaca, there was a rock to which one could not go. In any case there was always this fear of the rainbow that would normally appear from (behind) the chinkana. I thought about that space and said "no, I don't have to look at the rainbow because it will rot my bones." One could not urinate in the direction of the rainbow either. And for us the rainbow was generally related to the chinkana. Somehow there was respect. They would tell you, "this was the place of the grandfathers, of the mallku" (ancestors, in Quechua) and one could not get close to it. Then, with time, the space, through legal regulations, has become part of the INC. After that, contact was lost and I guess that ever since I have seen as well people interested in finding certain objects, the famous huaqueros (looters). I have seen in the years 1985 to 1988 in several places people who, given that the space was not protected, came and looted. It was then that the State stepped in, but to restrict the use, because I assume that some sites were not well administered by the locals and were supposedly in need of greater conservation or preservation. The problem is that this intervention introduces a division. It is not any more a space of the villagers; rather, it is a more private space. Consequently, the bond with the population is gone, the bond with the Inca past, of that past that bonds them. Still some places are relevant for the dweller, but are now regarded from the outside. This is what I see."

And yet, it was also for the tourists, that the ruins became a largely disembodied space. Once the locals were gone for the most part, the only bodies that remained there were

those of the tourists themselves and their guides. And this could be highly disappointing. As an annoyed Polish tourist told me once, "tourists are not real"; "the real thing'' he said ''is the local people, and here there aren't any!" The isolation of the tourist experience was further bolstered by the expectation of not touching the stone and not stepping on walls and rocks. Whilst the intention of protecting the site from the effects of an uncontrolled tourism was readily understandable, it was also true that by preventing closer physical contact between the tourist and the site, the tourist was deprived from a deeper layer of sensorial intimacy[123]. A Russian Orthodox priest whom I met one day in the ruins told me, while placing carefully his hand on an Inca wall, that when the stone is touched one feels the history, one feels closer to the people who made it and gets to know these people better. Additionally, in the case of Chinchero today, the scale of tourism, whilst already considerable and ever increasing, could not be catalogued as "mass tourism" and therefore, until then at least, extreme protection measures had not been required.

Dislodging the people and their animals from the ruins was just the first step in the sterilization of the space, an operation jointly required by science and by tourism. The process demanded the removal of additional "polluting" traces. The animal droppings that appeared every morning on the terraces, after some of the farmers had sneaked in their animals (usually sheep, pigs or cows) there at night to annoy the site's managers, who took for granted that such display of organic matter would offend the tourists. In reality, the tourists I talked to did not mind about these casual encounters. For the tourists these incidents were the only sign of habitation and life around them, reminders of the local activity that they had come to see and that had been hidden from their eyes and their other senses. A group of young Spanish tourists I interviewed in the ruins put it like this:

> ''We enjoy the peace and quiet, the landscape, the fact that there are not many tourists. Everything is very clean, but maybe just too clean. We would not mind at all seeing animal waste (but not garbage). What's more, we miss the presence of sheep and other animals and of people doing their lives and their works around the site, like those women who are making chuño (dehydrated potato) at the plaza. We would all like to see that kind of living site.''

[123] Tim Edensor (1998: 51-52) has spoken of "deodorized" and "unsensual" tourist enclavic spaces.

The image of a humble piece of excrement encoded a great metaphor of contemporaneity and of its systematic denial in the site. The disposal of organic traces was coupled with the removal of all moss and vegetation that covered the stones and walls. It turned out that some of the 'weeds' pulled out were medicinal plants that people collected for the alleviation of their ailments, signalling a further tension between past and present within the site. These interventions were further complemented with the repositioning of fallen stones in collapsed walls. In other words, all signs of temporality were being erased through maintenance and restoration work and this was ultimately where the sterilization of space was leading to the suspension of time.

Indeed, time was being evacuated from the ruins and this operation owed much to cultural or heritage tourism. This process was paradoxical because, in essence and especially since the late 18th C. in Europe (see Lowenthal 1985), ruins embodied the passage of time and time's destructive power through its decaying condition. Ruins were testimony to older historical times and to the fugitive condition of all human endeavours, while at the same time being part of the quotidian landscapes of human groups. And now it turned out that, through the dynamics of heritage conservation and the promises of difference heralded by cultural tourism, ruins had to be made to last (see Gordillo 2014: 8-9). By insulating and restoring them, by polishing them and concealing the blemish of time from them, they were turned into an atemporal monument; they were fashioned into a classic "other" in the same way that Greco-Roman ancient monuments stood for the ideal of eternity[124]. Monumental space, according to Herzfeld (1991: 6), is coupled by a monumental time that stands in opposition to social time. This author defines social time in terms of formal relations and daily interaction, the "grist of everyday experience" (ibid: 6) whose unpredictability gives events their reality. By contrast, monumental time is reductive and generic, predictable, with a singular focus on the past, and conceives of events in terms of the realization of a supreme destiny. The awareness of social time, the author argues, dwindles as people begin talking about history in monumental terms (ibid: 10). Monumental time, I should add, is also touristic time, which is itself "suspended" in a

[124] Herzfeld has written that the built environment reflects the ideologies that endorse it. The ideology behind monumentality is one of eternity, permanence, and of disappearance of temporality except in a mythological sense (2006: 129). Indeed, this is very much the case with the narratives of the guides in Chinchero. Also, his study of a small heritage town in Crete is particularly relevant for Chinchero, as he shows the residents contesting an imposed de-temporalized past as well as a de-socialized present imposed by the heritage bureaucratic-administrative apparatus (1991: 9-10).

sort of bubble that originates with the temporary and circumscribed rupture of the tourists with their everyday world. The resulting asynchrony and disjunction has been underwritten by Urry when pointing out that tourists' time may not be the same as the time of locals, because it tends to slow down (2002b: 166).

Yet, paradoxically, freezing the flow of time in the site amounted to an extreme form of temporalization because, by separating the ruins from the local history and turning them over to the tourists[125], by ignoring the passage of time and the contemporaneity of the ruins, these same ruins were made into a distant "other", unavailable for their descendants precisely on account of their maximized condition of eternal "Incanness". Ironically, as Herzfeld has argued, when observing the incoherence of historical conservation as it helps to destroy what it seeks to preserve[126], nothing is more permanent than the temporary, and, conversely, nothing is potentially more temporary than a building designated as a permanent monument to the past under the conditions of historic conservation (ibid: 251). Monumental history amounts to the mastery of time, claims Herzfeld (ibid: 9, drawing from De Certeau's work). This point is reinforced by Meskell, who, when commenting on tourism's ability to turn "negative" heritage sites like Nazi buildings in Munich into toured objects, concludes that tourism may represent the ultimate past mastering (2002: 566-567).

6.3 Academic versus local archaeology

Time suspension in the ruins and conservation / restoration imperatives ran contrary to historical practices maintained by peoples in different parts of the world in various time periods (see Gordillo 2009, 2014; Lowenthal 1985: 389-390; Bermejo 2006). For these peoples, ancient materials have a value in terms of use and their reutilization or disposal is consuetudinary, with no sense of loss attached. Similarly in Chinchero, a massive reutilization of stones from the Inca terraces and collapsed walls had taken place. Also, the Inca town had been heavily redesigned under the colony. People still remembered the old

[125] This observation was made by Carlos Quispe.

[126] See also Silverman for a similar argument in Cuzco's historic district, where residents with insufficient resources prefer to demolish old walls or let them decay into self-destruction rather than undertake the INC approvable renovations (2006: 183).

custom of *rumichakuy*[127], which, according to Julio Maza, an INC high official in town, was a faena undertaken by the comuneros to transport Inca construction material from the ruins to their new construction sites.

Rumichakuy obviously was no longer practiced and was both legally banned and socially disapproved. But, still, within the confines of the households and hidden from the surveillance of the INC, it was customary to undo the Inca walls found within their boundaries. This material, as well as other objects or remains buried in their gardens, was excavated in the course of construction work and recycled in different ways or simply discarded. This practice was strictly forbidden by the INC, whose employees accused the residents of lacking any historical and artistic consciousness and of ignoring the value of their heritage. A good deal of the energies the INC deployed in town were precisely directed towards the goal of *sensibilización*, or the raising of awareness among the villagers. For that purpose, two anthropologists had been hired to give talks in the communities and in the schools to teach the people to value their heritage and that of their *cultura viva* (living culture), that is, the offerings to pachamama, the veneration of the apus, the traditional clothing and other traits essentialized in the literature as representatives of the "Andean culture".

The truth was that the INC was not alone in its claims against the lack of appreciation of the legacy of the past. Educated residents like Fidel or Ángel, or INC ex-employees like Jacinto and Tomás endorsed a similar but much more nuanced discourse, one that exhibited an understanding of the gap between the INC as a State institution and local views, needs and practices. Their position, whilst critical of some of their neighbours, reinforced the premise that the INC was going too far with their restrictive policies, and called for a closer collaboration between the Institution and the residents. In addition, the alleged disregard for the value of the archaeological site was contested by many villagers. They blamed the INC for neglecting the patrimony that they exhorted others to protect. For Augusta, "It is precisely our fellow INC people who are also the very people who do not value the Inca. What they do and say is just because of their job. If they didn't work there they would not care at all". In actuality, it was not rare to see in the upper streets of the Centro Poblado collapsed Inca walls that had been abandoned. Residents expected the INC to collaborate with them in the restoration of their houses, whilst the institution did not allow them to handle those "archaeological" remains, raising the issue of the nebulous and

[127] Literally, "the hunting of the stone", in Quechua.

conflicting boundaries between the public and the private in a so-defined archaeological area that overlapped with current domestic habitation. Luis, a comunero from Cúper Pueblo, illustrated the situation like this: "If I try to fix the wall myself the INC will fine me; but if I don't do anything, neither will they." The discrepancy about the ownership of historical material found within the household was a bitter one. Luz Marina, the owner of one of the weaving workshops in town, recounted her argument with an INC official in regard to the ownership of Inca material in her property:

> INC official: That which is underneath the surface belongs to the State.
> Luz Marina: No, it belongs to <u>you</u>!

The episode exemplified the ambiguity regarding the property of heritage and the overall feeling of disenfranchisement amongst the villagers. On the table was the question of the institutionalization of heritage and of its ownership. "When culture becomes the heritage of the humanity the presumption is open access", Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has usefully written, and who has also highlighted the contradiction between the specificity of sites and the universality of their designation as World Heritage (2006: 185, 1-2). According to the law, it was the State who owned heritage for the common goal. But understandings of "the State" differed. For some, like my neighbour Julián, "*El Estado somos nosotros*" (We are the State); yet others, like René, Tomás' eldest son, were more sceptical and wondered "*Quién es el Estado?"* (Who is the State?), this statement also voicing the concerns of the many.

The comuneros maintained that they understood the value of the ruins. Many expressed their admiration for the great craftsmanship and engineering skills displayed by the Incas, a characteristic that Fidel aptly defined as "*un régimen de hacer bien las cosas"* (the habit of doing things well). Carlos Quispe defended such ideas by saying that indeed the population had a heightened sense of historical and artistic appreciation, apart from affective bonds and memories of the grandfathers who used to warn them against playing too near the Chinkana rock, which could open and swallow them.

The local values that were attached to the ruins were not only historical, technical or emotional. The day that I asked Julián about the relevance of the ruins for him, I suppose that I was anticipating some kind of response in terms of rootedness, ancestry or skills. Instead, his answer came plainly: "without the ruins we would be poorer because there

would be less tourism". Any flirting temptations with the anthropological romance dissolved on the spot. This added dimension of the economic value of the archaeological site through its exploitation for tourism was common in town. Sinforosa, an elder weaver who used to sell in the Church Plaza, underwrote this vision: "I am very thankful to the Incas because they left us these ruins. Because of them, tourists come and they buy something from us everyday". It would be too easy at this point, I am afraid, to engage in an inflamed speech against commodiffication but, as Kuutma holds (2013), heritage is just too entangled in human life to simply say it is positive or negative. Rather, I wonder if it would not be better to contextualize Julián and Sinforosa's views within the discussed pragmatic logics of use that have typified relationships between native (and non-native) populations and their material culture, ones in which benefitting economically from the past does not necessarily imply an alienation from it. The following testimony by Luz Marina pointed in that direction:

> "The (archaeological) park is a legacy from the Incas so that we remember how well they did their things without studies or anything, like nowadays. For instance, those terraces are free from the frost. The INC has appropriated the site and has evicted us. We can no longer play or sit down in it. It is unnecessary to educate the people about the park, as the INC says. We are already aware of its relevance. The park brings tourists and provides us with income. That's why we know that we have to take care of it."

Certainly, tourism was bringing in new values and these have never been static[128]. The general appreciation of the site by the residents seemed to me to be partly genuine and partly induced by the discourse of heritage conservation that was in the air and that was additionally backed by a legal and coercive apparatus. This discourse was instilled in the minds of the villagers at the local level through the dynamics of "sensibilización" and at the regional and national levels by State propaganda, and was, in my opinion, a form of indoctrination through which the State and its representatives disseminated a set of ideological values. Preserving the patrimony in a way that was also dictated by State institutions and professionals was proper to good citizens and a sign of educated individuals, traits that the State were interested in promoting for purposes of control and

[128] Gordillo has stressed this historical contingency of the concept of ruins (2009: 31).

of creating homogeneity. This ideological operation that linked the capacity to valorize and protect heritage with the possession of (formal) education appeared to have been successful. Many people said that, as opposed to their grandfathers who did not respect the ruins and did not understand their value, their grandfathers held such sentiments because they had not studied, like todays generations. Augusta elaborated on this idea for me (a male, educated, middle class foreigner, tourist and anthropologist):

> "For me the ruins are very important. They are like a sanctuary, those terraces that our ancestors worked for cultivation, everything very well done. Their sacrifice is something to be valued. Our grandfathers did not value it when they took the stones from the terraces to their houses. When the State started with the conservation program in the park, then we learned to value the work of the Incas. Today it is no longer acceptable to move stones because we have already studied and we know its value. It is true that still some people do not valorize it nor do they look after it, like Teodora. She has not studied and that is why she does not appreciate the sacrifice of the ancestors. She takes her animals to the ruins and trashes our patrimony."

Curiously enough, the day I ran into Teodora on the edge of the ruins she told me a different story:

> "In the ruins, in the countryside, I feel happy. In the household, with the animals and the cooking, I get depressed. Here I come and I feel easy; I breath fresh air, walk, and work my chacra. As we cannot bring our animals around here anymore, everything is very clean. It's a good idea that the INC does not let us bring our animals."

The day Augusta talked to me about how they took care of their "*patrimonio*" I just could not believe her. In her mouth the word *patrimonio* sounded forced and learned, especially when in the daily interactions she always used the word *ruinas*, as everybody else in the village. It was evident that, in spite of all the rhetoric and of the external pressure mobilized against vernacular approaches to heritage, there still existed a fundamental

fracture between the discourse and the everyday life, and this was further demonstrated by the contradictory versions spoken by Augusta and Teodora.

What view of the past lies behind a casual attitude towards the spatial debris of history? asks Gastón Gordillo (2009: 31). Gordillo has written eloquently about native practices of reutilization and abandonment of old materials found in ruins deemed "destructive" or casted as "looting" by archaeologists and other professionals in the Argentinian Chaco region. His work on ruins has evinced that people who have been living with ruins for generations relate to them in ways that are different from those promoted by the professionals and held by the tourists. The meanings attached to them are not the same. Aesthetic and historic appreciation – this author argues – is for the most part an academic, middle class concern. The professionals have the time and the money (plus the academic bias) to dedicate to the study and preservation of ruins. As for the tourists, they do not interact with the ruins on a daily basis. This distance enables the production of symbolic meaning. But in impoverished areas people are understandably more concerned with jobs and economic opportunities than with heritage conservation. Practical logics of use, recycling or selling of materials (or of obtaining economic benefit) make sense under these conditions. Gordillo concludes that ruins are important to the locals, but an importance released from the mandate to remember through traces intact in the space, that is, for the locals there is not necessarily a straightforward relationship between ruins, memory and a distant or disconnected past. Moreover, some ruins are preserved as places of sociality incorporated into local practices (ibid: 44-46), and this is precisely what happened in Chinchero with the Inca precincts.

In effect, Chincherinos still recycled old materials recovered from their yards and gardens and would dismantle Inca and colonial walls if necessary, in order to undertake construction work in their houses. Although I had at first found this practice to be disturbing, mainly due to my cultural background and my academic training, with time and careful consideration I started to think of it in a different manner. I entertained the notion that what the villagers were doing was not necessarily an attack on the patrimony, as the INC pretended. It could rather be seen as a local version, grounded in historical roots, of a digging practice that proceeded with different logics and aims in mind than those predicated by an academic archaeology.

When digging in their gardens the villagers brought to the surface objects that had been buried for a very long time. Whilst the objects recovered in scientific excavations were

removed from circulation and destined to go to labs for analysis, or to storerooms for study and classification, or to museums for exhibition and contemplation, those objects that had been recovered in refurbishment and construction works (mainly stones) were often put back into circulation and assigned other uses. Some of them were dismissed and reburied. Whilst in the first case the objects were cut off from any social life, in the second they acquired a new one. The example of the *muhu papa rumi* found by Augusta in the garden was illustrative. Had it been found in a prescriptive excavation, it would have most likely ended up in a museum or a storeroom. Having been found by Augusta it rested in an altarpiece in her room along with other ritual objects and images and exercised a newly recovered agency by helping ensure bountiful harvests of potato (see chapter 3). Professional archaeology entailed a different circulation of materials within another past-present system: it spatially proceeded from bottom to top, the top being the present that removed the objects from circulation for the purpose of knowing the past. Local archeology, by contrast, proceeded from bottom to top and then back from top to bottom, because the materials excavated were first reinserted into contemporary structures and then subject to being again reburied after being reused for a while or simply after being discarded. These material traces were continually weaving their way out of the past and into the present and vice versa, in a sort of meandering movement across time horizons in which the past was not there so much "to be known" from a distant and objective present, but rather to be engaged with in productive ways. The journey of these objects denoted, as Lazzari remarks, that past and present are never fully separated, even if each one has its own internal logics (2011: 175).

So, the movement implied in professional archaeology was linear and unidirectional, and, by treating past and present as two separate entities, prevented the mutual and fertile trespassing of boundaries. The archaeological procedures therefore remained within the framework of linear time. On the contrary, the circularity and dynamics of "local archaeology" seemed more consistent with the broader circularity of the *muyuy* and its cyclical recurrences. The circulation / recycling / rotation of materials mirrored the rotation of people in the social organisation under this principle of the muyuy. In the same way that the social order was regenerated by virtue of muyuy, the material world from which the locals were not drastically separated was also regenerated and reinvigorated. Reinvigorating the objects amounted to reinvigorating the lives, if we accept the proposition that, that which is not circulated becomes stagnant, and that motion is

inherent to life just as the cessation of it may be the preamble of death. Rather than being a destructive practice, it could be a creative one in the sense described, and this practice was moreover in tune with an ancient Andean tradition of burial, rebuilding, and re-using of ritual-civic spaces and buildings that apparently were not made to last.

6.4 The problem with the "Historic Centre"

One Sunday Jacinto and his sons were at work in the house, replacing the yards' precarious corrugated metal roof with new white and yellow plastic plates plus a dark blue plastic. This operation was common among those families who could not afford more expensive materials. Suddenly, Américo, an INC's supervisor, knocked at the door and walked in to let Jacinto know that this kind of intervention was not permitted and to remind him that the residents of the historic centre had to abide by the existing regulations in matters of construction work. Jacinto nodded and briefly conversed with his neighbour Américo in a diplomatic way. But once Américo had left, he burst out and shouted: *¡Ya me tienen harto estos cojudos!* (I am fed up with these assholes!). His sons expressed the same irritation and tiredness at the unwelcome visit, as it was not the first time that the INC tried to halt routine maintenance work in their domestic space.

Many other households within the Centro Poblado were subject to the same periodical monitoring from the INC. After the small urban sector encompassed between the main Inca Plaza and Manco Capac Street (which included most Inca and colonial buildings) had been declared a "Historic Centre" in the 1970s following Cuzco's model, a set of regulations and prescriptions relative to the fabric and style of the buildings and the space overruled their treatment. These regulations further eroded the residents' sense of property over their houses. Furthermore, they were guided by the rationale that the Centre had to look a certain way for the tourists. Regulations prescribed the unity of style. Such demands asked for constructions with no more than two stories and rustic materials (which were more expensive) so that the view of the town did not end up unappealing to onlookers. As I have shown, the villagers found these restrictions highly constraining and recurrently expressed their frustration even if, as Jacinto and the boys did, they acknowledged that certain materials did not look good in their houses.

The problem with the historic centre initially unfolded in spatial terms. As with the archaeological site, the emergence of such a category entailed an operation that re-shaped the space physically and symbolically. It entailed compartmentalization and a creation of hierarchy, as it discriminated a portion of space and this circumscribed part ranked over the whole. It was also a toured space, where a high concentration of tourists and guides in hegemonic position through the technologies and social prestige of tourism, as well as by what Edensor (1998: 16) has called "the politics of looking", that is, the privileged vision and distanced authority of the onlooker, did not leave the space unaffected. Helaine Silverman (2006: 160; see also Urry 2002b: 166) has described the pathologies of historic districts like Cuzco's. Among these, she cites the loss and displacement of residential populations, the loss of traditional lifeways and associated economic patterns, the conflicting demands of different groups for space, changes in the architectural integrity and the conversion of the historic city into a theme-park environment. Some of these pathologies were already recognizable in Chinchero where, for instance, the sellers at the Inca Plaza and other *ambulantes* (street vendors) faced the threat of eviction from the historic district and subsequent relocation.

But the toured space of the town presented its own characteristics. In his study of tourism at the Taj Mahal in India, Edensor has explored the heterotopic or incongruous nature of enclavic toured spaces[129]. His observations (1998: 50-51) correlate with my own regarding the packaged walking tours: objectification of selected landscapes inclusive of their habitants (while ignoring other disenchanted local features); intentional, directed movement involved in their rhythms and choreographies, following demarcated paths designed to optimize selling opportunities; "encapsulation" and "outsideness" (after Weightman 1987) of the tourist experience. In sum, "landscapes within landscapes" (Saunders 2001: 45), governed by a system of ordering that materializes an ideology of consumption and regulates the performance of tourists (Edensor 1998: 52). Furthermore,

[129] This author distinguishes between "enclavic tourist spaces" and "heterogenous tourist spaces". The first are "organized" tourist spaces, especially in developing countries, where tourists are cut off from social contact with locals and shielded from potentially offensive sights, smells and sounds. They are exemplified by international tourist standards and frequently owned by large national and international corporations. "Heterogeneous tourist spaces", on their part, accommodate tourism as one economic activity but are not dominated by it. Within them, tourist facilities coexist with local businesses, shops, public-private institutions and domestic housing. People are not kept out of the area on the grounds of maintaining a cultivated appearance. Locals intermingle with the tourists and there is no distinction clear distinction between the private and the public (1998: 45-46, 52-54). Historic centres are closer to enclavic spaces but, as the author admits, much tourist space is hybrid, combining elements of both categories (ibid: 60).

guided tours looked to me like a modern equivalent of what Patricia Seed (1995) has called "ceremonies of possesion", whereby the various European colonial countries enacted their dominion and supremacy over their conquered lands. These ceremonies; a) fixed boundaries; b) involved processions; c) required of speech and used language to create worlds; d) were carriers of science and technology; e) relied on maps and inscribed signs. Indeed, touring tourists, with their fixed itineraries that delimited a territory, their cameras, maps, guidebooks and other symbols of appropriation, and their submission to guides that constructed objects in culturally specific ways by means of words, could be compared to those older colonial rituals of conquest.

But space was also articulated, or disarticulated, through the multiplicity of narratives deployed by the guides. Every evening, a random agglomeration of guided tours converged at the church plaza. Guides simultaneously delivered their varied versions of the site. The ensuing cacophony was not only acoustic; it also resulted in a discordant space that had lost its coherence and homogeneity, fragmented by the multiplicity of discrete and unrelated groups that occupied it and by the divergent narratives that offered contradictory versions of the past. During such occasions spaces like the church plaza, normally focalized point of high-intensity socialization with the occasion of mass, weddings, baptisms, festivities, etc, resembled what Augé has defined as "non-places"; that is, the negative image of places of identity, relations and history (1995: 43).

If historic centres posed problems in terms of space, so they did with regard to the other side of the coin: time. By means of an arbitrary decision, the "historic" was made to rank over a "modern" area that was apparently "non-historic", marking a further conceptual cleavage between past and present and casting them in almost antagonistic terms. At which precise point in time does something acquire the condition of "historic"? Why do only some objects or places from the past qualify as "historic" whereas others do not? This temporal disjunction had practical consequences because the historic centre concentrated the attention and the resources of the authorities, while the rest did not get much of this in comparison. The valorization of the historic went hand in hand with the creation of "otherness" and the suspension of time embedded in processes of "museumification", identified by authors like Silverman (2006), Meskell (2002), or Kisrshemblatt-Gimblett (2006) among others. Museumification refers to processes by which historic districts under constraints of heritage conservation, and facing the demands of the tourist industry cease to be organic living centres and are often instead turned into "frozen" spaces and

consumable resources. In Chinchero this view was expressed casually, but not unconsciously, by Gerónimo, one day we had gone for a walk in the countryside:

> "The INC practices a policy of non-conservation; it's not a Ministry of "Culture". You cannot tell the people who take their sheep around the streets "don't do that". It's their life; they make a living out of it and do not have any other means. This way they are provoking the disappearance of the culture, because people say: "if I cannot herd my sheep or cultivate my chacra I will have to do something else. I feel not "invaded" when tourists in large numbers are around in town, but certainly "visited" already by many people, as if this was not the familiar, natural, normal environment it used to be. Before, I used to see donkeys, cows, and sheep roaming the streets. This is what has happened and the future looks worse. In the past, in Cusco's Main Square only old Cusqueñans were seen. Now there are only tourists. It is coming here to chinchero. The INC wants to turn us into a living museum: "wear your traditional clothes, perform those festivals and those dances, look good for the tourists". In ten years a foreigner, may be yourself, will be the mayor of chinchero. Globalization is unavoidable, whether I like it or not.''

Gerónimo was instantiating the idea of "the otherness within", as put forward by Herzfeld (1991: 16). It was ironic, however, that the same Gerónimo who refused to be museumized but did not live off tourism, defended that the sellers who occupied the church plaza be moved elsewhere on the grounds of cultural protection so that the space could be turned into a museum. Obviously this idea, entertained by the INC, was contested by the sellers and by others like Carlos Quispe, who was against stripping off the residents from their historical spaces in the name of tourism. What the controversy showed was that values and attitudes towards heritage in town, far from being homogeneous and monolithic, were not disentangled from shifting personal interests and agendas linked to the position of individuals or groups within the politics of the community.

Historic Districts, like archaeological sites, risked becoming thematic parks, fictional spaces, simulacra severed from the flow of social dynamics. This philosophy was contained within the "Plan Maestro" (Master Plan) for Chinchero, an instrument devised in 2005 but still not implemented. The Plan Maestro encoded the philosophy and the managerial principles for the conservation of the historic centre and the archaeological zone. This document referred to Chinchero in terms of a "living Inka town", according to the

predicaments of *cultura viva,* one of the new buzzwords in the theory of cultural preservation. The recent emphasis on "culturas vivas" revealed, on the one hand, an awareness of the risk of freezing contemporary peoples by confining them to the endless repetition of their traditions; but, on the other, it was still part of the rhetoric destined to be consumed by tourists, one which tied the organic evolution of any human group to the survival of cultural traits subject to be commoditized and consumed by the tourist industry. A "living Inka town", according to this philosophy, was one in which traditions and customs of supposed Inca origin were still being celebrated and performed, one in which culture was reduced to folklore and the present was measured in terms of its resemblance and presumed loyalty to a largely imagined or invented past.

6.5 The deconstruction of heritage and the politics of cultural conservation

"The INC wants to kick us out of this space. They believe that heritage is only the archaeological site. They do not understand what heritage is. Heritage is the local cultural identity and we are its representatives". This is what Dalmesio (a plaza vendor and ex-authority of Yanacona) told me one Sunday at the market in the course of a conversation about the growing disaffection among the villagers with respect to the INC's heritage policies and conceptualizations.

What is heritage and why has it become such a great concern for governments, agencies, grassroots organisations and individuals alike in many societies in our times? Lazzari defines heritage as "a value-creation process by which the mundane becomes inalienable" (2011: 172). Howard Morphy rightly adds that value-creation processes have an impact on social change (2013). This value-creation process in Chinchero, as in many other places, had been initially directed to tangible traces of the past. Precisely, this was what Dalmesio was hinting at was the overarching tendency to assimilate heritage to the materiality embodied in buildings and monuments. The recent recognition by UNESCO of an intangible as well as a tangible heritage has been an attempt to redress the balance and emphasise social practices produced by human groups, such as songs, dances, festivals, pilgrimages, and so on. Still, the distinction tangible/intangible, as commentators have pointed out (Kishemblatt-Gimblett 2004; Smith and Akagawa 2009; Kuutma 2013) is

fraught with difficulties and does not fully address the question that at the centre of heritage concerns are, or should be, people and not things.

Scholars (Meskell 2002; Lowenthal 1998; Silverman 2002; Gordillo 2009) have located the origins of heritage discourse in the 19th C, associated with the rise of the Nation-State and the Enlightenment with its rationalistic bend. The Nation-State and the construction of national identities relied on material remains of the past and their emotional power (see Smith & Nagawaka 2009: 293; Lazzari 2001: 177), whereas the enlightenment and the rise of scientific thought developed a modern historical consciousness and knowledge that distanced the past from the present (Hassard 2009: 278). As Western countries embarked on processes of industrialization, the notion of heritage grew out of a romantic nostalgia for traditions, lifestyles and folklore that had been left behind in the transition (see Hewison 1987: 28-29; Lowenthal 1985, 1998). Nostalgia and a sense of loss were behind the origin of heritage. But, as Lowenthal has shown, what had fundamentally changed was the attitude toward the past (1985: 390), a fracture that had – unlike before – turned the past into "a foreign country" whose material traces started then to be regarded as relics. Earlier folks – Lowenthal argues – largely blended past with present and their lives were marked by stability and cyclical recurrence. The growing mystique of historical consciousness as well as an increase in the pace of destructive and disruptive change strengthened the impulse toward preservation (ibid: 389-399). Thus, the problem, as Hewison has observed (1987: 43), was not the past but our relationship with it. Byrne (2009: 245) has underpinned this point by asserting that the obsessive recording and preserving of past materials, rather than indexing identification with our ancestors, is symptomatic of our rupture with the time in which those ancestors lived. Gordillo (2014: 9) has similarly argued that modernity's concern with decay and its overcoming through transcendence has turned ruins into fetishes to be preserved and revered.

Heritage production is by no means a neutral process, nor is it by necessity "a positive thing" as a Western authorized heritage discourse maintains (see Smith 2009: 1). Authors like Kirshemblatt-Gimblett (2004) or Smith & Akagawa (2009) have commented on the ethnocentric and universalizing tendencies involved in the designation of World Heritage Sites by UNESCO, which convert the local into universal and privilege values of monumentality and grand aesthetics of sites and places[130]. For Kirshemblatt-Gimblett,

[130] Expressions like "outstanding aesthetic and scientific value", "universal value", "historical significance" naturalise archaeological remains (Meskell 2004: 568)

heritage is a metacultural operation that assign museological values and methods to living persons, their knowledges, practices, artifacts, social worlds and life spaces (2006: 1). In addition, as Meskell has noted, the globalized language of heritage and UNESCO reinforces western notions of "values" and "rights" (2002: 568)[131]. And yet, paradoxically, UNESCO's aim is to safeguard the cultural diversity of the world. The notion of "safeguarding", as well as its sister concepts of "care" and "stewardship" have also been called into question. For Smith, the archaeological discourse of stewardship creates a sense that the discipline is the "protector" of the past (2004: 82). Kuutma (2013) has argued that "care" is laden with anxiety (2013). Other critics like Kreps (2009: 203) see the notion of "safeguarding" as reminiscent of 19th C. "salvage ethnography". She has made the case (for native peoples) that they may have different ways of caring their material culture and that what matters in terms of indigenous curatorial issues is to not isolate the objects from their largest cultural contexts and to not only take care of objects, but to take care of the relationships between objects and people as well (ibid: 202).

Further criticism of heritage conservation and its discourse has hinted at the reification by the UNESCO conventions of both concepts of "culture" and "the past" (Kuutma 2013; Byrne 2009; Smith 2009). Reification brings us back to the problem of time and historical change. Taking for granted that change is inherent to culture, Kirshemblatt-Gimblett has observed that heritage interventions attempt to slow down the pace of change. Preservation measures are caught between the freezing of practices and the recognition of the dynamic nature of culture. The author's debt to Fabian's concepts of allochrony and the denial of coevalness[132] transpires in her critical observation that heritage is asynchronic and that it generates a tension between the contemporary and the contemporaneous[133], or between heritage clock and historical clock. She adds to this idea, the paradoxical notion that the possession of heritage has become a marker of modernity in our times (2004: 56-60).

There is a profound contradiction inherent in cultural conservation: claiming to value history and "the past", it is essentially ahistorical and ideological because it tampers with

[131] According to this author, terms like "ownership" or "maintenance of the past" are pregnant with the concept of property.

[132] In Fabian's work (1983), *allochrony* designates the tendency in anthropology to separate the time of the observer from that of the observed, a process of petrification of the anthropological "other" that negates *coevalness*, that is, the basic fact that observer and observed are contemporaries and belong to the same time.

[133] The author defines the contemporaneous as "those in the present who are valued for their pastness", and the contemporary as "those in the present who relate to their past as heritage".

time to suit certain political and economic agendas. Furthermore, heritage is often confounded with history. Lowenthal (1998: x-xv) has tackled this intentional confusion by marking the boundaries: "Heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it… a profession of faith in the past tailored to suit present-days purposes". He believes that heritage gives versions of domesticated pasts, versions that instead of complicating things by exploring them in depth, clarifies them to infuse them with current purposes. Hewison shares this vision of a domesticated past – the product of a history reselected and rewritten – made safe by regulation involving rescuing, removing, rebuilding, restoring and rearranging (1987: 137). He insists in that the protection of the past conceals the destruction of the present and that there is a clear distinction between authentic history (which is continuing and therefore dangerous) and heritage (which is past, dead and safe). "Heritage is bogus history", Hewison sentences (ibid: 144).

Hewison obviates the fact that history is also an arbitrary process of selection and rewriting, but his commentaries, like Lowenthal's, are pertinent, yet deliberately taken to an extreme. Similarly, Urry acknowledges the value of Hewison's ideas and adds that nostalgia and a sanitized version of heritage deprive history from its subversive potential (2002a: 218-219). Yet he also objects that Hewison ignores the important popular bases of conservation, that his presentation of heritage can be interpreted in different ways, and that heritage centres can be scholarly and educational as well (ibid: 100, 102)[134].

After this battery of charges and allegations against hegemonic ideas on "heritage", it is time to try and attempt to "reconstruct" the concept out of other materials. For example, what is heritage for the people of Chinchero? What is of value for them? "Conservation solutions that fail to mesh with local beliefs and practices are no solutions at all", writes Byrne, who believes that an authoritarian conservation is morally unsustainable (2009: 249). With this in mind, let us go back to Dalmesio's point: "Heritage is the local cultural identity and we are its representatives". Chincherinos, too, kept things from the past, but what they chose to keep was at once highly selective and also random. It was sometimes driven by the affective power of the object preserved, other times more by its practical properties (both could be conjoined, like in the case of Augusta's papa muhu rumi), but in any case free from the mandate to identify themselves with a past they might not feel as theirs. Among the women it was customary to keep a woven garment from their mothers or grandmothers, as well as their weaving implements, which they would not use. Inca

[134] For a full criticism of Hewison's ideas on heritage see Urry (2002b: 100-102).

mortars found in the gardens were widely reused. Augusta mentioned items like photographs, small pots and the mourning clothes. Alejandrina, an experienced weaver, kept six typical outfits that she bought and planned to pass on her daughter. Other people kept Prehispanic ceramic sherds that were found everywhere in the households and in the streets. It was *vox populi* though, that most sherds and other objects or stones of Inca origin were sold in the black market or even to the tourists. Augusta confirmed that now, with tourism, people would sell their relics. Some dwellers were critical with the INC and argued that if the institution bought the relics from them for a modest price they would not have to sell them to outsiders. Sometimes people purchased items of value for them, like Jacinto, who after having passed his cargo as varayuq, acquired the staff of authority as well as the *pututu* or shell trumpet. It was not only individuals or families who kept things; each ayllu carefully kept its archive, an object of great collective value linked to matters of history and sovereignty. Furthermore, places and not only objects were of value. Augusta always remembered fondly her grandmother's house, which still stood empty near her own. Fidel preserved and lived in his old grandparents' house made of native woods and covered with a straw roof. As he said, he could live in the other house that he owned (a more comfortable one), but for him that was his heritage. Places like the modest chapel in Cúper Pueblo and many others where social practices were customarily reproduced and the memory mobilized, like the chacras or the cemetery, were also important repositories of value.

I had an unexpected glimpse into local values of heritage when a conflict arose in town on account of the colonial temple's ownership, which at the time did not have a legal property title. It was an intense occasion when rumours circulated in the month of April suggesting that the archbishopric intended to privatize the temple and charge an entry fee to the tourists, as they had done before with the cathedral in Cuzco and other religious buildings. The population became very annoyed and wanted to evict Lumen Dei from the village. Suddenly, everybody was talking about the temple in terms of "their patrimony" and clearly extended great value to it. I wondered why the catholic temple was so passionately acknowledged as patrimony, compared to the Inca ruins. Fidel had already told me about the Church separating the people in the past from the idolatry of the ruins, but I thought there was more to it. I listened to all kind of explanations as I went about talking to the comuneros. Historical reasons meshed with other miscellaneous arguments.

My master weaver, Rosa, confirmed that people cared more for the temple than for the ruins, and explained that:

> "All the objects of the liturgy and the images were donated by the villagers after the arrival of the Spanish. The temple was built and restored by the grandfathers. It belongs to the community and all what belongs to the community is more important than the ruins."

From her words it could be inferred that the community did not have a sense of property or ownership over the ruins, an unsurprising piece of news after the overall feeling of dispossession discussed throughout this chapter. Julián, who, as it has been said, was at the time serving as mayordomo, shed more light on this idea:

> "For me the temple is very, very important. The grandfathers made it. Chiwantito[135] painted the pictures. It is important because inside there are the jewels, the paintings and other objects of value. Moreover, for Catholics it is the House of the Lord and you cannot make business with it as the archbishop wants. The topic of the ruins and of its relevance for the people is different. The ruins are the State's property and we are the State."

Clearly for both Rosa and Julián the ruins were not their property, even if Julián apparently felt himself represented by the State, while many others did not. Apart from that, they touched upon the same two topics: first, the issue of the liturgical objects donated by the people and kept inside the temple (excluding the images of the Saints, brought by the priests during the early colonial period), was a point raised by other neighbours. As for the second topic, referring to the protagonising role of the ancestors in the construction of the building, this was one of the strongest arguments in favour of the community's rights over the temple. It appeared that, for the residents, labour and the materiality of things transformed through it, entitled them to claim rights. People remembered the sacrifice of the grandfathers: "The feeling of belonging with respect to the temple is due to the fact that the grandfathers worked and died there", Ángel told me. "Our history is here", remarked Nico, the temple's administrator. Simeona, a weaver and

[135] Native colonial artist who worked in the Church of Chinchero.

influential woman in the community, provided further clues, in a tone of emotional involvement that bonded heritage with specific biographies: “The temple is important for us because that is where we were baptized and got married”. Dalmesio, along with Fidel and a number of comuneros, emphasised the idea of a tradition of care: “Since the Colony, there are written records that attest that the mayordomos and not the priests have taken care of the temple”. Américo made explicit a widely felt connection between faith and ownership: “We are believers and as such we feel that the temple is ours”.

But it was Jacinto who pointed me in the direction of the argument that seemed to both encompass and override any other in the controversy, one acknowledged and engaged with by all of the people involved: “The importance of the temple is not one of historic or artistic value, but rather of sovereignty and jurisdiction”. At stake were the claims made by Cúper that this community had to be the legal proprietary because the temple was located within its territory. This claim was contested by the two other main communities of the district (Yanacona and Ayllopongo), both of whom argued that the temple belonged to the town. The dispute was framed within deep-rooted inter-ayllu territorial conflicts of very ancient origin. But Jacinto’s words were clearly significant because they showed that heritage practices in Chinchero could not be divorced from wider issues of sovereignty and territoriality, and from power relations that continued to be overlooked in discourses of “preservation”, as Gordillo has argued (2009: 52). Only under the premise of these political recognitions other potential benefits of the past in terms of personal and communal identity, the diachronic enrichment of past experience, the guidance of example, and others (see Lowenthal 1985: xx), were possible.

What the case of the temple also reasserted is that heritage in Chinchero was not to be found so much in the physicality and monumentality of the objects, but rather in the various peoples’ entanglements with them, entanglements not to be disassociated from the historical relationships between the communities, and between these relationships and the built environment. Running contrary to official heritage and tourism discourse, that proposed to build an Inca identity for contemporary Chincherinos, these identified more with the colonial temple than with the ruins because, mainly through the local institution of Mayordomía and the material culture attached to it, they had managed to keep a sense of ownership over the temple, unlike with the ruins, where contact had been suppressed. Unlike the ruins, the temple had been, and still was, the scene of important biographical events often lived collectively and had consequently preserved a sense of

place almost gone in the ruins. Moreover, the ruins were not ruins anymore, but a “site” whose new spatial configuration and presentation for the tourists had largely erased the footprints of the grandfathers. The villagers’ history, as Nico had said, could still be found in the temple, but no longer in the ruins, where, along with the suspension of time, local history had ceased to be ongoing. When the ruins became a site, a single version of history was enshrined. It was the mythologized history of the Incas, which had little or nothing to do with the contemporary people of Chinchero. The multiplicity of local histories written in the landscape through daily reproductive practices was silenced (see chapter 2). Once the landscape had been commoditized and desiccated through the complementary forces of tourism and heritage conservation, the way was paved for “the end of history” in the ruins. And, with it, the ultimate triumph of the capitalist forces that had turned a living place into a “disinherited” archaeological site.

However, not everything was lost. The events of September 8th, with the vigorous contestation to the INC by the villagers, resulted in the relaxation of the strict control measures by the State institution in later festivals. Thus, for the important date of Corpus Christi, on May 30th, accesses to the Inca precincts were not fenced off, and the festival went on as usual, in peaceful feasting and general drunkenness. The INC´s new position was summarised by Américo: “We have loosened up a little bit the surveillance for Corpus Christi, because we should not fight amongst ourselves. It is fine that the people can use these spaces. After all, it is just one day. On the following day it will be cleaned and that’s it”.

7. WEAVING FOR THE TOURIST: TEXTILE PRODUCTION AND THE REPRESENTATION OF CULTURE IN CHINCHERO

"Greek artisans and their apprentices are marginal; but, paradoxically, they are nonetheless upheld by the state as exemplars of national virtue and tradition. Craft production in Greece is very much part of a nationalized and commodified folklore, associated with the emergence of national consciousness and glorified as the repository of ancient skills and qualities. In this respect they are a microcosm of the whole country as it faces the consequences of being saddled with an ancient heritage; craftspeople know, however, that their engagement with tradition is a double-edged sword. It exalts them, to be sure; but it also serves to marginalize them from some of the most desirable fruits of modernity" (M. Herzfeld 2004, 4-5).

Fig. 12: Tourists in a weaving centre

Fig. 13: Weaving exhibition

Apart from the Inca archaeological site and the colonial temple, cultural/ethnic tourism in Chinchero had a second major target. To be more precise, the textile heritage of the village was arguably the highlight of the tours. Given Chinchero's position within the tourist circuit of the Sacred Valley, most tours hit the town late in the afternoon on their way back to Cuzco after having visited several other Inca sites. By then, as guides remarked, tourists were tired of seeing stones and wanted to see something different and typical, and this originality, so the narrative went, was provided by the town's weaving tradition.

The textile tradition of Chinchero has a well-established reputation in the Cuzco region and in the extensive Andean literature on textiles. This theoretical corpus, following Torrico (2014), has focused either on the symbolic or semiotic analysis of designs, or on the description of weaving technology and techniques. For the Cuzco region, ethnographic studies are not lacking (see for example Seibold 1992, Silverman 1994 and Heckman 1998, 2003, 2006). In the case of Chinchero, the scholarly production of Edward and Christine Franquemont (1982, 1987, 1992, 1996, 2004) has greatly contributed to the diffusion of the Chinchero brand in the Southern Peruvian Andes. Alongside the Franquemont, the name and work of Nilda Callañaupa (2009, 2012), a native weaver and scholar from Chinchero, is inextricably linked to the history and the revitalization of the weaving

tradition, as well as to its commercial success. These authors have studied the Chinchero textile tradition mainly from a technical-iconographic, as well as ethnic (that is, as marker of ethnic affiliation) point of view. The preoccupations, and the contributions, of this chapter are different, though (yet not necessarily unrelated), as the artisanal work in Chinchero and the social organisation around the area have been notably affected over the last few years by the tourist boom among other forms of modernity. Heritage tourism has supposedly made possible the recuperation of a dying tradition that had been languishing by the late 1970s.

In chapter 6 I introduced the idea that the transformation of culture into heritage entailed a series of spatio-temporal modifications. Following the same line of inquiry, my focus here is on the contemporary production of textiles for the tourist industry and the changes, opportunities, contradictions and conflicts that the new situation has brought to the practice of weaving. I also focus on changes that have been brought to the lives of the weavers, and to the social body in general, considering that most women in Chinchero are now directly or indirectly involved in the weaving industry and consequently, so are their families. In congruence with the previous chapter, I will contend that the "heritagization" of weaving that had been stimulated, among other forces, by the tourist activity, has led to at least three important changes in the domain of textile production. Firstly, along with an (uneven) increase in the general income for many women and families, social hierarchization and fragmentation have intensified. Secondly, ethnic tourism is preventing weavers and weavings alike from moving on and evolving; and thirdly, the textile revival and cultural salvage project as played out in Chinchero is paradoxically leading to the weakening, if not to the gradual disappearance, of the art and practice of weaving.

As I noted in the introductory chapter to this thesis, weaving in Chinchero is an overwhelmingly female activity, even if many men are familiar with its rudiments and help to set up the backstrap loom where women normally weave. Weaving is essentially considered a woman's task[136]. I was reminded of this on the day that I was at home and in the courtyard trying to weave a chumpi according to the instructions provided by Rosa, my master weaver. At that moment my neighbour Margarita happened to walk in and, seeing me struggling with the threads, burst into laughter and teased me in a loud voice: "Weaving is not for men, *wailaka*!" (useless woman, In Quechua). In spite of the verbal

136 Unlike in other parts of the Andes where men also weave, following a long historical pattern in this part of the world.

blow, I continued weaving until I achieved some degree of competence. This strategy to introduce myself into the world of the weavers (also driven by personal curiosity) worked well; it was my wild card to enter into the weaving centres, where women, half amused and half curious, welcomed me for the most part and allowed me to weave with them, a fact suggestive of a degree of permeability hidden within the supposedly strict and defined gender barriers within this cultural domain. I spent long hours during my fieldwork, experiencing the backache that was a common ailment among the women. I chose to work in certain centres, basing my choices on how old the centres were (I worked both in the oldest and the most recent one), how big or small, and I was also influenced in my decision-making by the degree of empathy and trust between myself and the weavers in each specific centre.

Although differences did exist between these groups, it was their similarity and basic homogeneity that were most striking. By spending time within these groups I had the chance to observe the internal dynamics, talk to the weavers, and to witness their interactions with tourists and guides. Learning to weave did not just take place in a vacuum immune to the politics of the relations between foreign tourists and locals; I also learned that other foreigners before me and after the Franquemont had dropped by the village and had learned to weave with the women. Later, the women found out that some of the foreigners had started their own weaving business in their countries with the knowledge gained in Chinchero. This is what Margarita's daughter, Mesalina, a young girl in her teens and member of one of the weaving centres, told me, openly expressing her disgust for what she considered an abuse and a disloyalty, adding that, ever since, they did not teach the tourists how to weave any more. I do not know whether my position as a more permanent member of the community and student, not to mention the mediocre quality of my chumpis, virtually unsellable, persuaded the weavers that I could not possibly be a threat in the race for the market. The incident, as I will show at the end of the chapter, was related to the uncertain future of weaving in Chinchero.

7.1 The weaving centres in the tourist context

In 1996 a joint and long-sustained effort between Nilda Callañaupa, the Franquemont, and other friends including some anthropologists had materialised in the "Chinchero

Cultural Centre", which would soon operate in Cuzco under the rubric of the "Centro de Textiles Tradicionales del Cuzco" (henceforth CTTC) and that would reach other Districts and communities. The creation of this centre occurred at the crossroads of two interrelated conjunctures: The first relating to a great concern amongst both local and foreign individuals for the perceived loss of traditions, as Chinchero had been confronted with new waves of modernization and urbanization deployed at the national and regional levels. Secondly, the increasing flow of international tourism towards Peru and, especially, towards the Cuzco / Machu Picchu axis, is a tendency that was only going to explode in the 90s and particularly in the first decade of this current century. Some indication of these currents was also present in chapter 5. The success of the CTTC, made possible in part by the network of international contacts provided by the Franquemont and other US friends, as well as by Nilda's ability to seize the opportunity with a group of female weavers who had started to weave for a tourist market interested in "authentic Indian crafts", made other women and men think that it was possible to replicate the experience and make a living off weaving for the tourists. This thinking was encouraged by the tourist guides in Cuzco, who had clearly identified the opportunity for business and had talked the local families into accepting their ideas. Nilda Callañaupa recounted the origins:

> "Our work began in the mid 1970-s with a group of weavers, including my mother and sisters. During those years, some of the weavers were already selling simple weavings at the market. The idea began when I realized that many young girls were no longer practicing weaving. The danger of losing our traditional textiles was high. In fact, we had lost a lot of knowledge due to the decline in the traditional method of oral teaching from parents to their children. There were many reasons for this decline, including a rapid change in customs, the enforcement of school uniforms, the use of mestizo clothing, and, especially, the importance of formal education." (2012: 139)

When I carried out my fieldwork in Chinchero the weaving groups numbered around 25 and they kept growing. For a small town like Chinchero this was a high number. This sudden flourishing had occurred in a short space of time and the pattern of the centres basically followed the CTTC's model, albeit to a smaller scale and scope. Before these centres appeared, textiles were sold in the plaza market, but, with the new competition,

many artisans had had to vacate their posts in the market and look for jobs elsewhere. The emergence of these centres had dramatically altered the urban landscape. Physically, most of them were located in private houses within the Centro Poblado or nearby. By rule, every household in Chinchero had a patio, and these patios had been rearranged so that they could accommodate different spaces with different purposes. Thus, there was typically a space for labour and weaving demonstrations; a space for sales and economic transactions where textiles and other crafts were exposed to the visitors, and also a kitchen and toilet area. The domestic space of the patios had been turned into a semi-public one, conveniently fashioned with rustic materials such as adobe, wood and straw, and decorated with colourful garments and woollen skeins hanging from the walls or the beams so as to create a proper "ethnic" atmosphere pleasing to the tourist's eye. Some women would carry their babies around in their llijllas (shawls) as part of their routine, but aware at the same time that visitors loved the sight of it as irresistible marker of Indianness and in the knowledge that they would have their cameras ready for the occasion. The inclusion of local animals like cuys and even llamas in some cases contributed to the effect. Also on display were different varieties of corn, potatoes and other Andean tubers, plants, leaves and also the natural pigments that women used for dying their weavings. Some of these plants were purchased in the local market or in Cuzco or to particular individual community members; but others were still collected in the nearby hills, bringing the landscape of Chinchero into these centres, a landscape already impressed on the textile designs (see Callañaupa 2009, 2012).

Commenting on these spaces, Annelou Ypeij has argued that the centres are reminiscent of the indigenous home (2012: 30), assuming an overriding homogeneity that might not be entirely accurate. They may be partly representative, in that they are places where families do live. But, on the other hand, I always saw them more as intentional (re) constructions that manipulated the space for economic and political ends. This spatial tension between the public and the private was reinforced by the coexistence in many groups between a sought after rusticity and startling icons of financial capitalism such as Visa and Mastercard for payment facilities. The result was an apparent heterotopy whereby a single real space was capable of juxtaposing several incompatible spaces, and this brings to mind Venkatesan's discussion of a romanticized Indian craft context where similarly incongruent heterotopic workshop spaces are produced by ruptures introduced by colonization, industrialization and modernization (2009: 83). The disjuncture lay in the fiction, sustained

by all of the agents involved in the tourist business, that Chinchero's weaving centres were spaces (and peoples) that remained integrally traditional and implicitly outside of contemporary market forces.

A further point of discussion relates to changes in the urban landscape and speaks of the consequences of moving the weaving activity from the plaza market to the centres. In his study of Mayan artisans and vendors in the marketplace, Walter Little (2004) describes the social implications involved in the forced relocation of Maya vendors from the open plaza to a more permanent and closed marketplace, a move induced by the dominant white-*ladino* Guatemalan social class to introduce "order." According to Little, due to the relocation, vendors were removed from their most meaningful economic and social relationships (ibid: 99). Even if the context of Chinchero had been different, the newly created centres entered into spatial competition and conflict with the space of the plaza and with the adjacent streets used by other artisans, as it will be shown later in this chapter.

On average, these groups consisted of some six, seven, or eight women, but the largest groups could employ over twenty, and even thirty women in the case of the CTTC. Ordinarily, women worked there six days a week, eight hours a day, taking turns in ways that would fit their own schedules, making sure at the same time that the workshop was running smoothly at all times, especially during the peak hours and high seasons. The expectation was that these groups remained open from early in the morning until late in the evening to cater for any eventuality in terms of tourist visits. Even though it was not entirely true to say so, guides liked to emphasise and exaggerate the idea that in these centres, women spent most of their time weaving the garments that would later be sold.

The dominant narratives in Cuzco and Chinchero extolled the role of these centres in the cultural salvage operation that started in the 70s, an operation that, according to these narratives held by tour guides and agencies and backed by academic work (see Heckman 1998), had managed to make the women return to the ancestral weaving traditions that were being lost. The weaving centres were presented as proof and as an epitome of this cultural revival, made possible by the implementation of a "responsible tourism" embodied by these tours, which ensured that the women got a fair price for their work directly from the tourist without intermediaries. In addition to being portrayed as the unbroken continuation with an idealized Inca past, these centres, defined in the narratives

as family-run cooperatives, were meant to be the incarnation of traditional "indigenous" values such as solidarity and egalitarianism. However, the reality that I witnessed clashed with this dominant, moralizing discourse and, thus, the intention of this chapter is to provide an alternative picture of what weaving for the tourist was (and is) about in Chinchero.

7.2 Description and social implications of the model

The initiative for the formation of a group came normally from a woman and often, like in Nilda's and many other cases, in a joint business venture normally by herself and other relatives but sometimes entirely by herself with her own capital. Such circumstances introduced an already prevalent distinction between those with the economic means and the social capital to make an investment and those without such means. Such a woman, known as the *dueña* or owner, invited in turn other weavers to work with her in the workshop. These other women were not necessarily kin, not even close friends. They could be called on simply because they needed to work and they spoke to the dueña and requested permission to work in her centre. However, in a small place like Chinchero where kin bonds and compadrazgo ties were extended, it was quite common to find relatives and comadres working together in the same group. The dueña would explain that she did not ask anything from the other women in order to work in her group, but she would charge a fee to pay for the bills of the centre. In addition, weavers were expected to pool some money to cook for the guides that led the tours.

The role of the guides in the system deserves closer attention. Having been educated in schools for tourism and institutes in Cuzco with an uncritical approach to tourism development, for many their job was mainly a way to make a living out of a trendy business. Obviously it would be unfair not to distinguish among guides, their different capacities and their driving motivations (see Salazar 2013). But for Mandy:

> "This topic (of guides) is a big one. For many their job is only a way to make money. This is a step backward. Some do not understand their roles as intermediaries, the opportunity to present their community in a certain fashion, the chance of being ambassadors of their own communities."

Guides were hired by agencies that, at least the most serious ones, demanded from them a degree and knowledge of the area they would work in. Still, as in many other areas of the Peruvian economic activity, the sector was laden with informality. Guides are often described in the literature as "culture brokers", that is, qualified interpreters or intermediaries between a host culture and its guests. I would be wary though of simply endorsing a notion in which mediation appears straightforward and free, for instance, from misrepresentations, manipulations and power relations. For Salazar, guides are accomplices in the construction of local culture for tourists and in the misrepresentation of the complexities of rural societies (ibid: 100). In Chinchero, guides, in alignment with the official discourse of *cultura viva* and Incanismo[137], contributed to fixing an image of an ancestral people whose lives were most meaningful on account of a past often contrasted with discourses on development and modernity, confirming Salazar's point about the reliance of guides on allochronism (Ibid: 104; also Ypeij 2012). In the words of one guide I talked to, "Before, we just explained the sites and that was it; now we tell the tourists about our Inca identity. We tell them about our history, race, customs, and so on." In effect, most guides I listened to only spoke about the Prehispanic past, with no or very few references to current potentially controversial issues conveniently concealed, like the project of the new Cuzco airport in Chinchero, which horrified uninformed tourists whenever they heard about it. Whilst guides stressed in private conversations their identification with their culture and their goal of getting across their pride, the truth is that many were mainly interested in the commercial side of their job. For my friend and guide Liborio:

> "The aim of visiting the workshops is to foster social interaction and conviviality between tourists and weavers. However, the core is the commercial part. This is the point. In the relationship between agencies and guides and weavers, intermingling is expected; but in reality what is sought after is the commercial exchange, that the local producers can sell their products. This is only in theory because, at the end of the day, as you will have seen, it is an intermediary (alluding to guides and agencies) the one who sells, and not the artisans themselves."

[137] Contemporary version of *Indigenismo*, an elite-led ideology in Cuzco that, while extolling the Inca past, treats contemporary indigenous peoples in rather condescending ways.

In Chinchero the relationships between guides and weavers could perhaps be best described in terms of an asymmetrical partnership. The term accounts for the fact that they worked together, but also confirming that the guides were in control; they set the conditions and benefitted the most from the commercial transactions. Typically, every workshop made contacts in Cuzco with one or more tourist agencies. Some groups were initially better positioned than others on the grounds of their social networks and capital. Agencies would bring tourists to the group but would expect something in return. Guides were not only fed in reward for they bringing tourists; they were also paid for it. Apart from their fixed salaries in their companies, there was a well- established system of commissions according to which at least 20% of the sales went to the guides. This percentage was required even if the sales were low and insufficient for the women. Guides demanded this percentage, plus the food, and would threaten the weavers with taking their tourists to other workshops if they were not taken care of properly. Payment of the percentage was usually made in a back room and kept hidden from the tourists, who were led to believe that the money they spent went entirely to the weavers. Needless to say, weavers found these practices exploitative and were very annoyed about them; but at the same time they found themselves dragged into a competitive system from which it was very difficult to escape, even if it was a common view that this commission system was greatly harming the village. The system was certainly encouraging changes in the social patterns and structure. As residents explained, more and more families were sending their sons to schools of tourism in Cuzco and Lima to become their contacts and have them send tourists. Additionally, newlymarried couples who had until then looked for morally exemplary and economically capable godparents, as was customary, were starting to target tourist agency-owners godparents in Cuzco to secure visitors to their centres.

This exploitative system was replicated on different levels. In terms of the workshops, as I have already intimated, the relationships among the weavers, far from being egalitarian, were fairly hierarchical. Whenever a weaver was invited or requested to participate in a workshop, she would enter into a verbal agreement with the dueña. The weaver was expected to weave at least one *llijlla* per month, this garment she then had to hand in to the dueña, who then would in turn sell it and would keep the earnings for herself[138].

[138] According to Simeona, an expert weaver, it was three llijllas o mantas what the weaver had to give to the owner when joining a group. She added that, in order to be in a group, both capital and money were

Beyond that, the weaver could keep the money from everything else that she managed to sell.The agreement, however, came with strings attached in the form of further obligations such as cooking for the guides, cleaning and so on. Additionally, each weaver would normally be temporarily in charge of an area of textile production or, to be more accurate, of the weaving exhibitions, such as the dying of the wool, the washing, the spinning, etc. Typically, they devised a roster with the different assignments and responsibilities listed, and then the weavers would rotate on a weekly basis to live up to their duties. Moreover, records of punctuality, fines, and accountancy were ordinarily kept. The owner had control over the weavers' time and space. Augusta was eloquent on this point, which reflected the view of the vast majority of the villagers:

> "The dueña has control over the lives of the workers: shifts, permits, food for the guides, jobs to perform, etc, whilst at the same time she does whatever she likes. In addition, the workers have to pay a monthly "contribution". All are the same and that is why there is so much competition. You will realize someday what people are like in this village. The real business is between the owners and the guides who take commissions on top of their fixed salaries. That is why I do not want to join any of these groups. And if I start my own, I will not run it that way."

Moving on to the topic of time, the dueña dictated the amount of hours that the weavers had to spend in the group (normally eight per day) and made decisions over the requests for permits formulated by the weavers, who needed time to look after their families, to attend to school assemblies and community faenas, etc. Not infrequently these permits were denied because the dueña feared that tourists might come and that nobody would be there to deliver an exhibition, with the subsequent loss of reputation and business prospects. If the weavers decided to go ahead and take their permits, they would be fined by the dueña, causing frictions and bitter complaints. As for space, all of the weavers in the workshop had a stand to sell their crafts and, in theory, they all had the same opportunities. These provisions, however, did not avoid occasional conflicts over the sales as weavers could engage in competition over the tourists' attention. Incidentally, conflicts within the centres were often reproduced outside of them. The rule was, however, that

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needed. Each manta was worth 80 Peruvian soles (the equivalent of some 20 pounds) and the weaver had to commission somebody to make them.

the dueña reserved a bigger space for herself and would sometimes arbitrarily reduce the space of other weavers, in this way increasing her chances to improve her personal economic situation. On top of that, she could force the workers to beat down their prices whilst she raised hers. It was not so surprising, then, that the day I approached Augusta and Jacinto to ask them about the workings of these centres, they described them as "feudalistic". I was initially struck by their use of a category taken from an early European history. But Augusta and Jacinto went on to compare these groups with haciendas where the dueña acted as the *capataz* (foreman) and the weavers were her *invitados* (guests), who could quit at any time. The experience of the hacienda system was still very vivid in the memory of Jacinto and Augusta's generation, whose fathers and grandfathers had worked in them. As such, both of them were more than familiar with the stark hierarchies, inequalities, and exploitative practices masked under apparent forms of reciprocity and compadrazgo ties between hacendados and workers. Consequently, the use of the term "feudalistic" becomes all the more appropriate as an image of the verticality and asymmetry that governed relationships between owners and weavers.

In trying to ascertain why these groups had taken on an authoritarian rather than an egalitarian and co-operative structure, Rosa gave me a first clue: "They (the dueñas) do that because it is their house". Once again, as in the case of the archaeological site and the historic district, space and the struggles for space had a lot of influence in the configuration of social relations (cf. Lefebrvre 1991). As this was her own house, and having set up the business by herself with her family, the dueña was in a position to impose her conditions. This was one of the consequences of the transition from the open plaza market to enclosed and semi-private centres, where a different kind of "order" ruled. But there was more: these centres had had their origins in a joint initiative between NGO's and tourist agencies and closely followed the CTTC's model, which had been shaped since the beginning by Nilda Callañaupa's vigorous personality and privileged support network that also still relied on NGOs and private funding.

It should also be mentioned that Nilda's group was surrounded by controversy in Chinchero. According to the CTTC weavers, they were members and the centre was run by them. Nilda herself endorsed this view and added that her role was basically one of accompaniment and orientation. This interpretation was disputed by many in the village, who thought that the CTTC had exactly the same internal workings as any other centre. I

can attest that the CTTC's structure was considerably more formalised and complex than the average centre. This was only one angle of the polemic in town in terms of the figure of Nilda and her weavers and her influence. Many, not without resentment, argued that, contrary to claims made by CTTC weavers in the sense that they had taught other women in town the newly recovered art of natural dyes, they had never wanted to share their knowledge with the rest and that they had been very selfish. Other topics of hot dispute concerned the quality of what was produced in the CTTC, who made it, and the prices they asked for it. Since the CTTC stood for quality in the textile market and the tourist industry, and successfully exported abroad, comments made in town by other weavers questioned the reputation of Nilda's group in different ways. Augusta, who was Nilda's god-daughter, was also critical of the CTTC weavers' attitude towards the other women, but always felt certain about the quality of what the centre exported. Whenever I visited this centre I was always impressed by the high standards of the facility and of what was inside. All the details were carefully worked out and the centre had a boutique-like quality that made it very attractive, particularly to middle and upper class customers.

In spite of the controversy and the dominant narratives that praised the CTTC's pioneer labour in setting up the weaving cooperatives in Chinchero, the CTTC was originally born as an enterprise with a capitalist spirit embedded in the cultural salvage operation that aimed at making profit from textiles sales employing as many weavers as possible. Nilda's entrepreneurial character established a pathway and a model to be imitated by other women and men, who could see the opportunities that came with tourism. And yet it would be wrong to simply make the model dependent on one individuals' leadership and on what I deemed to be the related hierarchical nature of the capitalistic system. In reality, a judgement such as this amounted to repeating the sharp distinction criticized by Appadurai (2013) between capitalistic and non-capitalistic forms of production and would override my discussion in chapter 2 about the historical coexistence in the Andes of different modes of property. Furthermore, it overlooked the fact that this household model had great historical breadth in Latin America[139]. As Gudeman and Rivera (2007) have shown, it had its origins in the Iberian *casa* (house), which was transferred to the Americas with the conquest. And, with the conquest, came a domestic mode of production

[139] I am grateful to Roberto Rezende, Roy Dilley, Adom Philogene, and the rest of my colleagues in the Post-Fieldwork Research Seminar in the Anthroplogy Department at the University of St Andrews (Fall 2014) for their illuminating comments and suggestions.

characteristic of peasant and indigenous societies that have been reported in many parts of the world (see Sahlins 1972). This domestic mode was hierarchically articulated because authority was required in order to organise a production mainly oriented to meet the household needs, even though part of it was also aimed towards the local market. Thus, there was the "head" of the house. In any case, the household was clearly opposed to a corporative profit-seeking model that largely dominated the markets and pushed the household towards the margins of the economic system (Gudeman and Rivera ibid: 2). Importantly enough, production also had additional non-economic purposes; it was a source of prestige and social standing (Wolf and Mintz 1957: 380). In the absence of large amounts of capital, and to overcome what Sahlins, referring to the dispersion of family members within the house, defines as the centrifugal trend in the domestic mode of production, surplus and status were accomplished by mobilizing labour through ties of kinship and of reciprocity.This is in fact Polanyi's point (2001), that economies are always embedded in social relationships and institutions. And this is exactly what happened in the weaving centres in Chinchero, where labour was mobilized by means of kinship and reciprocity networks; the larger the network and the number of workers, the higher the status of the dueña and of her household. However, the "mystification" of reciprocity, as Sahlins has put it (ibid: 124) to counter the uncritical anthropological fascination with this institution, concealed, as I have shown before, exploitative relations inherent in the often conflict-laden nature of kinship ties. The important point here is that the centres were both houses and corporations at the same time, with differences of degree and scale, as production was geared both towards the house and towards profit, confirming Gudeman's and Rivera's argument (ibid:2) that corporations and houses fit various economic regimes, at times together.

Still, in order to explain why these groups did not set out to conform to a structure of mutual co-operation, one might even recall the past failed experience of the agrarian cooperatives that had been promoted in the aftermath of the 1969 Agrarian Reform, which did away with the hacienda system and encouraged instead the formation of cooperatives run by the peasants as part of the new governmental modernizing land tenure programme based on efficiency. These cooperatives, according to the residents, had failed both because of internal corruption and also because the leaders were not qualified. For Carlos Velochaga, the peasants were never taught how to administer them

(personal communication). Could there be any relation between the weaving centres and the hacienda system?

At first I did not seriously consider the idea, even if Jacinto and Augusta's depictions of the centres as feudalistic and governed by hacenderas-like dueñas were an invitation to thinking in this way. Moreover, Tomás had explicitly ruled out that possibility when I asked him. However, upon closer inspection and further thought, I believe that a relationship can be traced. In their study of the hacienda and the plantation systems in some parts of Latin America and the Caribbean, Wolf and Mintz (ibid.) characterize the hacienda as a type of household with small capital that supplies a small-scale local or regional market. Furthermore, the hacienda is typified as a social system where production also fulfilled non-economic aims in terms of prestige and social standing, for the purposes of which a labour force had to be mobilized. Being the initiative of an entrepreneur who did not pay his workers in cash but by allowing them to work marginal plots within the hacienda, different binding mechanisms – affective, economic, and coercive – tied the workers to the owner. Moreover, the hacienda engaged in competitive relations with the nearby settlements in order to achieve a favourable situation of semi-monopoly of the land and of the workforce available (ibid.).

This description matches quite well with the internal workings and organisation of the centres, as we have seen. The dueña-owner of the household, an entrepreneur but not fully a capitalist, along with her family, owned the means of production (the house); she hired workers who, in payment for their use of the house, would asymmetrically reciprocate with a garment or more each month, plus other expected duties, in a sort of combination of pre-capitalistic and capitalistic models.

The lack of a collective/cooperativist spirit that I had initially attributed to the proverbial “small town, big hell” with which people in town explained the difficulty for successful joint socioeconomic ventures, had probably less to do with an individualistic ethos than with a “competition mode” deeply ingrained in the social body and whose origins Contreras (1980: 52-53) precisely locates within the highly stratified hacienda system, which stimulated production by making workers compete amongst each other in different ways. Whilst doing his fieldwork, Contreras noted that the existing rivalry in labour contexts was a way of maximizing the exploitation of resources (1980: 55). This dominant “competition mode” made little sense within a cooperative system that, in spite of the

tourist discourse, was probably more alien to the Andeans than the hacienda. And this was so because at least the hacienda, as commentators have remarked (Wolf and Mintz ibid: 389; see also Mumford 2012), permitted and even encouraged the continuation of long-standing cultural patterns, unlike the imported cooperative model with its highly technocratic hierarchical organisation (see Eguren 2006).

The fact that weavers were required to spend so many hours at the workshops to cover the eventuality of a tourist's visit at any time of the day entailed a thorough reorganisation of their time that affected their everyday lives. As women were now economic purveyors to the households thanks to the income that they made from tourism[140], they stood in more of an equal position with regard to men. Moreover, the new dynamics were generating changes in gender roles. If in the past, as Luz Marina – dueña of El Balcón del Inka, one of the most successful centres in town – told me, they were beaten up, now they were respected. This did not prevent other potential conflicts from arising in the wake of the new changes[141]. In addition, it was not rare to see men staying at home with the kids whenever they did not find seasonal work. As many found themselves idle for shorter or longer periods, they were likely to turn to drinking[142]. As a rule, it was the women who administered the household economy. As they said, "we have realized that we are more responsible than the men", and they would spend the money on their children's education, on food, and on making improvements to their houses.

Principal amongst the impacts on the women's time was the fact that they could not dedicate enough time to their kids and their husbands. Most of them acknowledged that they were neglecting their families and this was one of the main points of contention between weavers and dueñas, who were often reluctant to grant permits or to accord the women a more flexible schedule. At the heart of the problem was a disjunction between social time and tourism/NGO's time already noted in chapter 5 (p.126), and some of the critical implications were captured in Mandy's statement that I quote again here:

[140] This income, as Ypeij notes (2012: 29), could be substantial in some cases. This was a difficult topic to ascertain, though, because weavers felt reluctant to talk about it. Most said that it was barely enough to make ends meets but not for saving. I always surmised that it was a little more than that, but not too much either. When I asked Rosa she pointed out the difficulty in coming up with an estimation because one weaver could sell something in a given week and then she could sell nothing for the following two weeks, foregrounding the highly chancy and seasonal nature of tourism.

[141] Some men did not take well the fact that their wives could make more money than them (also reported in Ypeij).

[142] See also Ypeij (2012) for changes in gender roles.

> "With regard to the textile salvage, it is an extremely complicated process. It involves a huge ideological change for the women. In Ollantaytambo they are doing exhibitions. The ONG is offering them the opportunity for attending to paid workshops and the women only show indifference. For a long time they have had their own lives around the kids, the household, and the chacra (plot of land). These are all very noble jobs that fit very well with their own rhythm, their own time that comes from very long. This story of the textile salvage has only twenty years in comparison and for them it is an enormous readjustment of their time.''

Indeed, the centres-enforced reorganisation of time was at odds with what Mandy defined as the women's old rhythm and very old temporal patterns and that was proper to an agropastoral way of life that had already been forced in the recent past to adapt to other changes with strong temporal implications, such as the road, the schooling of the kids, or the employment of men in the city. The centres represented a new assault on what was left of that old rhythm determined by the centrality of the household and the agricultural calendar, as well as a clash between two antagonistic temporal frameworks. The accented seasonality, unpredictability and flexibility of agropastoral time were challenged by the monotonous uniformity and rigidity of the new temporal structure to which they were subjected. And still, the centres accommodated themselves to the agricultural cycle of many families. During the rainy season (November till April), which roughly coincided with the low tourist season, weavers lived mainly off the land. They typically spent this season carrying out weaving tasks, knowing that during the high touristic season (the dry season) they would be too busy just attending to the tourist tours and would have no time to weave. Roxana, a girl in her early teens from El Balcón del Inka, opened my eyes to the calendrical organisation of the centres:

> "We have our weavers, who weave for us mantas, borders, etc. We pay them. They come whenever they are done with our commissions and we give them more work if we have. We give them work particularly during January, February, and March (rainy season), when there is no tourism and we prepare the high season. In addition, in May (dry season) our weavers go to the harvest and they have no time. This month (March) our weavers weave a lot in their houses and we do it here in the group".

The eventual concession or refusal of these permits was also a reason for potential frictions, envies and resentment among the weavers. The temporal demands and constraints posed by participation in these centres often prompted the women to abandon them and try their luck in a different centre or outside of them. The strict timetable, the permit system and the ruling hierarchies within the groups had an even more traumatic effect on the weavers. This time it was Patricia, a young weaver who also belonged to a weavers' association in Cuzco, who clearly and critically unfolded the problem:

> "The structure of the textile centre in Chinchero does not enable the artisan to progress. We are always repeating the same things. There are no workshops. If you go to workshops or courses, the other weavers will not like it. Each of us goes her own way, even within each centre. I have been refused a permit these days to attend a workshop in Cuzco and I feel frustrated. I am losing opportunities to get better, to become a specialist."

Ultimately, the pressures on the weavers to look after the tourists in these centres meant that weaving was no longer their main activity. Rather, women dedicated themselves to other chores such as preparing the materials for the evening exhibitions, cooking, cleaning, or performing minor tasks whilst chatting, such as weaving the *ñawi awapa* or border for the garments that they sold. Nancy, a young weaver in one of these centres, put it bluntly one day: "I come to this group because I don't have to weave and my waist does not hurt". She was not the only one who expressed herself in similar terms. Combined together, along with the general discussion maintained so far, Patricia's and Nancy's statements were powerful allegations against the declared activity, the mission and the viability of these groups.

"The problem of the lack of time for the weavers at the centres is that it turns against themselves because the quality goes down and concomitantly, the business is also badly effected''. The policeman who made such a statement, apart from having a degree in History and being familiar with Chinchero, was quite right. It came as no surprise, then, that the image of the weavers within the town had deteriorated and that bitter disputes and fractures about who the true weavers in Chinchero were, spread across the town.

7.3 "We are the real weavers": Weavers, *comerciantes*… and others

Significantly, the women who worked at the centres, as well as the artisans who sold in the plaza and along the main streets, were not generally accorded the status of proper weavers in the village; rather, they were derogatorily labelled as *comerciantes* (traders, merchants), in a context of competition, internal strife, envies and partisanism that, along with forms of social cohesion, provided much of the texture for social life in Chinchero. This characterization as comerciantes often came from people who were not in the textile business. But both groups – weavers at the centres and street artisans – mutually accused each other of also being comerciantes and not proper weavers / artisans. Both entered into direct competition for the tourists and in this competition the second faction (street artisans) found themselves at a clear disadvantage.They bitterly complained about the fact that guided tours were lured into the workshops and seduced by the commissions that guides were offered. Moreover, guides spread the word that the quality of the items sold outside the workshops was inferior and that the prices were inflated, whilst pointing to the street vendors as the true comerciantes (or cheaters in other words) in town.

This systematic discrediting greatly offended and harmed the street artisans, who saw how tours, spurred by the guides, quickly passed by their side coming from the archaeological site and the temple almost without stopping, on their way to the exhibitions held in the centres, pinpointed in narratives and brochures as repositories or temples of the authentic weaving tradition of Chinchero. Since most tourists visited Chinchero in organized tours, they were controlled by the guides, who would impose on tourists their own narratives and agendas. As it turned out, street vendors found themselves helpless as they did not have control over the narratives that made tourists spend their money in one place or another. And yet, they found ways to counter the tendency as they were also starting to dress up in the traditional outfits exhibited in the centres by the women and that they had not worn so far. The strategy was aimed, through the agency of clothing, at upgrading the "authenticity" of their image and to increase their sale chances. Truth being told, the quality and the provenance of the articles sold both at the centres and in the street was in reality the same as far as I could tell, and much of it

was cheap synthetic material (ie: gloves, hats, scarfs, jumpers, and so on) that came from Bolivia, or from the border cities of Puno and Juliaca, or even from popular markets in Cuzco. On top of that, in neither case was honesty the rule when telling the tourists of the quality of the materials that they were considering for purchase. As Hilda, one of the street vendors, declared:

> "Here we sell a little cheaper than at the centres. Some colleagues cheat the tourists a little bit. They tell them that it is baby alpaca when in reality it is mixed material or alpacril (alpaca with synthetic). But what can we do about it? We have to sell… We bring our mixed material from Bolivia and Juliaca. We look for cheap production. Tourists buy all kinds of stuff. When I weave I have the tourist in mind. That's why I make cheap stuff"

This cheap material, locally known as *mercadería*, turned out to make up the bulk of what was for sale at the centres and in the streets. As many tourists had travelled around Bolivia, Puno, and other places before, where the same mercadería was sold, they sometimes expressed dissatisfaction and disappointment. But, on the other hand, Hilda's words hinted at the crude reality that most tourists did not want to spend too much money and were looking for something affordable to meet their standards. Hand-made high quality weavings were expensive on account of the material and especially of the time invested in them, and only a few were willing to pay the price.

So far I have entertained the argument that much of what the artisans sold was not woven by them. Then, if they did not weave many of the items they sold, who on earth did? An incipient answer to this question was already couched in Roxana's explanation about the calendrical functioning of the groups, a testimony that brings me to the examination of two additional actors in Chinchero with little or no public visibility for outsiders to the town, but of great transcendence for the weaving industry in Chinchero. The first of them was represented by the domestic weavers, a group of women, mainly from the communities around Chinchero's urban centre, who wove in their homes and who took commissions both from the workshops and also from the street artisans. When asked why they did not join the groups, these domestic weavers, like their counterparts who sold in the plaza or those who preferred to roam the streets of Cuzco, argued that they had more time and freedom to take care of other businesses related to the

household and their agropastoral tasks, occupations that they could perform whilst weaving at the same time. They further argued that they were economically better off taking commissions from others than just depending on the highly unpredictable flow of tourists in the workshops or in the streets, in spite of the little money that they received from the other weavers, economic arrangements that they tended to describe too in terms of exploitation. Augusta and Jacinto, as well as other women, disagreed and believed that they did not know how to calculate the production costs, adding other significant comments about the situation of the weavers and of weaving in town:

> "Yes, there are many women who weave at home and sell to the centers. For a manta sold in a center for 200 soles, they get 60 soles. Nowadays many don't do hand spinning. They use the cone[143] because there is no time. Most don't calculate production costs and just ask for whatever they can get. Tourists will beat down the prices and they will accept for the sake of earning something. If they calculated production costs the price to be asked would be much higher. But, due to competition, they would not sell (others will offer cheaper prices). That is why many are quitting weaving and are becoming "comerciantes". They buy cheap stuff in Juliaca and in this way they earn some money. In addition, they don't have to spend most of the day in one center and they have time to do other things."

Matiaza, one of those weavers from the community of Cuper Bajo, was firm in her position: "The real weavers are us, people from the communities who weave at home. 80% of what is sold at the centers comes from us. The centers buy from us but pay us very little. Then they resell for a much higher price." Other domestic weavers would say half and half, whilst weavers at the centres would undermine the proportion of outside production.

The second actor was not to be found within Chinchero itself, but in Cuzco; and more precisely in Cuzco's jail, where a good number of male inmates wove the garments that would later be sold both in the Chinchero workshops and in other places too. As was the case with the domestic weavers, this was something that would not transcend to the tourists and neither guides nor weavers would ever mention these matters for obvious

[143] A conical device that makes the plying process much faster.

reasons. This information had reached me through the spontaneous comments of the women during our informal conversations. For others, however, this was clearly a sensitive topic and finding out about it put me in an uncomfortable position in the community. Some women felt that I was going too far with my research and that I should not stick my nose in their business. Comments reached Augusta, who feared potential trouble and asked me to be very careful. Despite this caution, the weavers would explain their reasoning to me. They emphasised that, first, they did not have the time to provide for all of the demand; and second, that this solution benefitted not only them but also the inmates, who were given the chance to learn a craft and to make some money out of it at the same time. Certainly, this arrangement responded to a clever strategy on the part of the women in order to tackle a problem. The inmates had all the time in the world and at least some of them were acquainted with the art of weaving practiced in their own communities. They had been made into an important component of the production mode which required that they be drawn into a weavers' web of reciprocity that kept expanding by necessity as they were unable to meet the demand. But, on the other hand, what the women were telling me was also part of a self-justifying discourse that stressed the noblest part of the arrangement, whilst at the same time intentionally concealing the economic inequalities and power relations embedded in the transactions. This argument transpired in Francisca's (Jacinto's eldest sister) words:

> "It would be very nice to be able to do everything by hand, as we explain it in the exhibition. But, in order to do so, we would have to start early in the morning, stop an hour for lunch and keep going. Now, we are missing mercadería. We have stuff, but things that we have brought from other places. We are missing our own stuff, what we explain in the exhibition. We need to weave a lot these days. If we did all of the process as we explain it in the exhibition we would not have the time. As it is so much work, we share it and we take it to the jail so that the inmates can help us. We have trained one of them and this one has trained others. That was my condition. I am very happy because in that way these inmates can help their families. I see it as a sharing."

The point was further expanded by Delmi, another workshop weaver in her forties, and this time encompass the domestic weavers:

"Yes, many of us resort to these women who weave at home because we cannot provide for ourselves. It's too much and we don't have the time. I give a woman three pasadizos[144] a month. I pay 80 soles for each and then I resell them for a little more. I reckon that approximately one third of what we sell in the groups comes from these women. It is a chain that we are expanding. This way we benefit them and we benefit the village by generating employment. We have to do it. The price depends on the type of the pallays (designs) and of their number. I tell them what I want. We also buy from weavers from the Valley. Since they have alpaca there and we have sheep here, it is convenient for both and this way we have access to alpaca."

"I have 3 weavers who work for me. As for the prisoners, we teach them and we benefit them. We pay them less than the weavers, because they don't memorize the designs. They work with numbers that they have learned from us and with catalogues. We don´t have time and they have plenty. They make economic arrangements among themselves. All the women take their textiles to the prison, even Nilda, but only that which she does not export."

I learned more about the commercial arrangements between weavers and inmates by talking to the latter in the jail, which, incidentally, had been an intimidating experience because, after trespassing the last checkpoint I found myself in a no-man's land surrounded by inmates (mostly thieves and rapists) approaching me with dubious intentions. In any case, I managed to make my way to the huge and impressive workshop where hundreds of them were weaving with the backstrap loom. I was directed to a few of them who worked with the women of Chinchero and talked to them. They first denied that the women had taught them how to weave and explained instead that some of them were already weavers in their communities and that they taught each other within the prison, something that I had in fact witnessed. Then, they refuted those women's narratives that maintained that they (the women) were employing them (the inmates) and providing them with opportunities. Contrary to this opinion, the inmates, like the domestic weavers, stuck to the view that they were being exploited by the weavers in the workshops, who imposed conditions on them and paid them very little in comparison with the money they

[144] Small textile pieces often sold and used as table cloths or decorative items.

made by selling the finished garments. Jaime, also known as “el profesor” (the teacher) in the jail, made a point:

> “We are exploited. They just pay us for our labour. Later they sell their products for a much higher price. If we ask for more they threaten us with not bringing their mantas. For a *pasadizo* (table runner) they pay us 40 soles. But it also depends on the number of *pallays* (designs) as well as on the type of garments (bags are cheaper and so on). They bring the warp and we do the rest, until we finish it. Sometimes we even do the plying. There is no fixed percentage or price for our labour. We have to negotiate with them but they are in control.”

This apparent system of mutual exploitation seemed to be endless, because even within the jail those who had learned to weave and were teaching others, charged new learners and turned them into a kind of new employee. Augusta confirmed: “Jaime teaches his assistants and gets paid for it.”

How did this story of the jail start, by the way? An experienced weaver in the community told me a story that engaged issues of strife and of the quality of the production:

> “A lady called Juana, a supplier of Nilda´s group, was the first one in town who took her textiles to the jail. By then the inmates were already weaving, as they came from different communities and Departments where men weave as well. Juana taught them Chinchero pallays and they spread them out. Later, other women taught them other designs. Nilda’s women got angry when other women after them began taking their textiles to the jail. They thought that it was their exclusive business. Before everything started, the inmates were already weaving red ponchos. In those times (when Nilda started) there was a big demand and the dollar was very high. That´s why the women began taking their garments to the jail. The quality of the textiles produced in the jail is the same, but the material is not. They work with cones, that incorporate some synthetic materials, mostly alpacril”.

In her account, the weaver dropped the idea that prisoners had already been weaving in jail before the first weaving centre started in Chinchero. As a matter of fact, a 1930 documentary recorded in the jail of Tarma (Peruvian city in the Department of Junín)

shows a prisoner weaving with the backstrap loom under the surveillance of a couple of soldiers[145]. The captions tell us that the prisoners wove belts, mantles and ponchos to provide themselves with food and coca leaves, implying that the garments were sold but we do not know to whom. What the documentary proves is that weaving in jail was not something that Chinchero weavers started or necessarily promoted. It was more about the re-actualization of a preexisting social form, a resource which they could conveniently draw from and adapt to their own needs, in a striking example of how older practices and situations were unexpectedly reoriented and re-functionalized to serve new ends and accommodate new demands. Even further than this, the transference of the production site first from the plaza to the household / centre and then from this to the jail implied that the jail was an extension of the household / hacienda, were the economic, affective and coercive relationships typical of the former were reproduced between weavers and inmates in the latter.

Back to the uneasy relations between inmates and weavers, all of it seemed to fit well with what Carlos Velaochaga told me one day in a bar while talking about guides:

> "The thousands of guides that there are in Cuzco are only driven by the money, even at the expense of exploiting their fellow countrymen. In Chinchero they exploit the women in the workshops and they in turn exploit the weavers in the communities by paying them a minimal fraction."

To be honest, I am not sure if exploitation is the right word, but it seemed evident that every discrete social group was trying to take advantage of the others. We can perhaps examine the picture in the light of the agency that the different social actors exercised in order to escape or minimize the situation of control to which they were subject to by other groups. In a tiered hierarchy of power, those not occupying the top are likely to replicate the structure with those positioned below. It could be argued that, at the end of the day, the model brought together in surprising ways diverse social groups that entered into dialogue and negotiation, and from that point of view it could be fostering some form of social cohesion, as the weavers in the centres stressed and as I have myself argued above. But given the competitive, commercial and cunning nature of much of these relationships,

[145] I am indebted to Cassandra Torrico for bringing this documentary to my attention and to Nicola Sharraz for providing me with the link to the material.

we are left with ambiguity to say the least. Precisely, (the art of) cunningness, is at the core of much Native American mytho-history and tradition, such as in the Huarochiri manuscript[146] (Salomon 2010), where humans and ambiguous trickster-like, other-than-humans engage in multiple acts of competition and mutual deception. Cunningness in these accounts appears as a survival mechanism for politically and economically outsmarting others in a hostile world of unpredictable forces and uneven entanglements. But it also emerges as a peculiar modality or possibility for social life, whereby trickery cannot be assessed by western moral standards but becomes an inherent fixture in the economic strategy of these female entrepreneurs in the context of a highly informal economy,[147] where, as Little argues, trickery is about the selling tactics employed by the economically and politically weak (Little 2004: 111). And yet, the endless proliferation of these centres pointed in my view to further disruption fed by an untenable commission system and by extremes such as the reported episodes of prostitution amongst certain young weavers who offered themselves to the guides in their quest for tourists. As Eli, a young girl who worked for the tourist ticket, put it, "the town is already saturated; someday this is going to burst".

No matter how we think about it, it was certainly ironic that in these workshops that had been supposedly born to revitalize the practice of weaving in the context of cultural salvage, and that as such they were praised and promoted, little weaving was done. In a sense, they were an effective screen that hid some of the contradictions in which tourism development and the predicaments of "cultura viva" may incur. The fact that these groups had basically flourished under the external impulse of NGOs and tourist agents alike, can help to account for the social disjunctions that they were helping to re-produce. The NGOs had provided them with an internal organisation as well as with a temporal and ideological framework that made these centers appear and function more as museums or thematic parks than as anything else. This process of museumification of the weaving practice had turned the centres into spaces that could be conveniently co-opted, packaged and sold by the tourist industry, while the discourse of cultura viva masked at the same time a reality that was significantly at odds with the principles that it it declared to serve.

[146] Early colonial document written by a native Quechua speaker that tells the story of the people of Huarochiri (Central Peruvian Sierra) and of their myths and oral history.

[147] I began thinking about the relationship between cunningness and entrepreneurs after a comment made by Adom Philogene in a Writing-up Seminar at the University of St Andrews' Social Anthropology Department.

7.4 The ethnicity performed: Is this really "traditional" and "authentic"?

Typically, every evening, and sometimes during the day if tourists happened to pop by, weaving demonstrations were staged for organized tours commanded by a guide. As I said before, two central ideas were reinforced: one, the ancestry of this manual art as well as its uninterrupted continuity since Inca times; and two, the cooperative-like nature of the workshops. This being the general framework in which the exhibitions unfolded, the women had to collaborate in its representation. In addition to creating the proper spatial atmosphere, they "dressed up" conveniently with the traditional clothing and braided their hair to look more "Indian"[148]. Guides, male for the most part, would get angry with them should they not conform to these ethnic requisites and, again, would threaten them with taking their tours to other centres.

The structure of these exhibitions was strikingly similar in all groups. Even the jokes were the same. The structure followed a memorized script that explained, step by step, the process of weaving a manta from the gathering of the materials to the spinning, the dying, the plying, and the warping in the backstrap loom. A description of the main designs and their meanings would ensue. The script and the performance were ordinarily introduced by the guides in a very patronizing way, and even using the women for self-promotion. One guide addressed the weavers as "his native sisters", who had survived the episode of the forced sterilization of indigenous women during the Fujimori era and were still alive, without having to beg. The origins of this codified script I could not precisely determine. According to Francisca, "What we say in the exhibitions comes from the ideas and memories of each weaver." I would also argue that since the CTTC was the original model, it was highly likely that the other groups picked elements from it and added others in turn. There was no direct collaboration among groups (with just a few exceptions), but as weavers circulated from centre to centre, knowledge of what was being done in the other groups was disseminated and elements of them eventually adopted.

[148] Weavers wore this traditional clothing while being in the workshops and for festivals, but would use ordinary mestiza clothes for their daily transactions outside of the groups, especially when they had to go the city. Amílcar – Augusta's eldest son – eloquently described this traditional clothing as "*uniforme de trabajo"* (work uniform). This ran contrary to the many guides' claims in the sense that women wore the traditional clothes at all times.

Speech was accompanied by other effective performative acts that, like the jokes, elicited the active response of the tourists and brought the exhibition to life. Songs, dances, on-site manipulation of the materials and the elements that made up the process of weaving were presented in a clear, casual and direct way, in which the role played by the ethnically enhanced active bodies of the weavers stood out. Once the exhibition was over, tourists were invited to proceed to the crafts section to look around the items for sale and eventually do some shopping.

The question at that point surfaced again, both for me as a researcher and for the tourists that consumed the product: had the exhibition been "authentic"[149]? In chapter 5 I introduced some of the sociological and anthropological debates around the topic of authenticity. Here, I follow Bruner's (2005) recommendation of looking at these tourist representations as performances that merit examination on their own, and not necessarily as pseudo-events or fake copies of an original model, as Boorstin (1992) and others had suggested. Assuming this basic starting point we can look at them from different angles. If we consider that what was presented as the "traditional art of weaving" was not practiced anymore because the process required an amount of time that the women could not afford those days, the exhibition was not only inauthentic but deceptive as well. Pushing the argument a little further, the lengthy process that ordinarily took several weeks or even months was compressed in twenty minutes, providing a misleading impression and generating a disjunction between real time and exhibition time. However, if we adopt a more postmodern perspective that prioritizes the performative and playful dimension of the representations, the concept of authenticity will shift towards how well or bad the actors involved did their job, rather than how loyal to a supposed tradition the representation was. In this regard, It was illuminating when a tourist told me after one of these exhibitions: "I don't know whether what we have been told is true or not, but I can believe it". From this standpoint authenticity was mainly a matter of plausibility, that is, the art of persuasion. And indeed the women could be very persuasive and very theatrical for a miscellaneous audience whose expectations could differ, and, consequently, so could their judgments. In the end, it must not be forgotten that the aim of the demonstration was to make the tourists interested in what they saw, make them appreciate the textiles

[149] Urry has argued that "the search for authenticity is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism" (in Wang 1999: 350). But Wang has rightly reasoned that the concept is still relevant to some kind of tourism like ethnic, history or culture tourism, typologies that involve the representation of the Other or of the past (1999: 350).

and the work involved, and have them finally buy ("This is business", Jacky used to say, co-owner of the Balcón del Inka). In this sense the exhibitions were highly successful skilled performances that fulfilled those goals. Most tourists I talked to ended up praising the quality of the exhibitions and highlighting aspects such as the value of manual work, the artisanal process involved throughout, the continuation with tradition, the humour and the empathic attributes displayed by the weavers, and so on.

I once asked Nilda Callañaupa about these exhibitions. More specifically, I asked her how much artifice and how much authenticity were involved. She said, "a little of both; the exhibitions are sometimes screens, because what is sold later is commercial stuff from Puno or Sicuani". Should we finally characterize these tourist events as "authentic shows"? Perhaps we should. But what the discussion and the examples demonstrate is that, in agreement with Cohen (1998; also Cohen & Cohen 1988), authenticity is negotiable and socially constructed and for the same reason, as Frankland has argued (2013), not reducible to a mere subjective experience. Watching these performances for tourists day after day, one might easily subscribe to MacCannell's proposition about the fictional identities fostered by ethnic tourism (1992). Other commentators, however, have argued that indigenous women use their ethnic identities[150] to take economic and political advantage, for instance, for overcoming associations with "Indianness" and poverty (Ypeij: ibid, 20; also Little: ibid). Whilst agreeing with these views, I would limit them by pointing out that the margins for this kind of agency-exercising are fairly narrow, as artisans operate within the confining structural framework of the Nation-State and of transnational forces that make up global tourism and upon which they have very little control, a point to which I will return in the next subheading.

In any case, it looks like the debate on authenticity may only lead to a dead end and, as Cohen has suggested, it may be more productive to engage with issues of authentication instead. So, going back to questions posed in chapter 5, I will ask who has the authority to authenticate Chinchero's textile tradition and these exhibitions. At the local and regional level it is clear that, in the first place, the tourist agents authenticate authenticity. As we have seen, tours are under the authority and control of guides and agencies. They decide what is worth seeing and what is not, what is authentic and what is not; they design tours, routes and packages, their criteria is conditioned by their professional bias as well as by their business agendas.

[150] I will deal more in depth with the problem of "identity" in chapter 8.

At the regional and national level, State agencies like PROMPERU are in charge of the promotion of the Peru brand abroad, in a context of competition for the international market. State propaganda spreads the idea that Peru's touristic offer is based on authenticity, an authenticity strongly linked to the country's Pre-Hispanic roots, the richness of its natural and cultural heritage, the survival of ancestral traditions amongst the indigenous populations, and the vitality of artisanal work in the country. PROMPERU is a great disseminator of tourist imaginaries abroad through stereotypical images of famous archaeological sites and historical monuments, stunning natural scenarios of coast, sierra and jungle, ancestral indigenous peoples still engaged in millenarian life ways and crafts, a worldly renowned gastronomy, etc. Victor Vich has made clear the link between authentication, power, and imaginaries when remarking that the creation of stereotypes in Peru is directly related to the access to power of different social groups (2006: 96). Relegating certain social groups to images of "tradition" and "the past" is just part of the game. As the same author has observed, PROMPERU has spent a lot of money promoting an image of Peru where great changes that took place in the 20th C. such as migrations, urban poverty, new aesthetics, to name a few, have left little trace in a so called traditional world. At the same time, leaflets depict smiling indigenous peoples in front of cameras that strip them not only of their poverty, but also of their present (2006: 97).

7.5 The future of weaving in Chinchero

Any cultural/ethnic tourist suddenly confronted with the omnipresent weaving centres in Chinchero would surely draw some positive conclusions regarding the vitality of weaving and the apparent success of the cultural revival movement promoted in the region at different levels. Most would be delighted to see the local women walking around with their traditional clothing and making a living out of their crafts. Still many would endorse the dominant idea that tourism helps to preserve traditions and cultural practices that otherwise would be lost. It is of little doubt that the majority would be pleased to see tradition and the women's status as artisans perpetuated. Not so many, though, would consider other realities behind the stage. Nobody, for example, would have the chance to talk to Simeona and hear her saying:

> "The prisoners do all of the work because weavers don't even know how to spin any more. The groups are faring well nowadays but someday their business will collapse because it is based on lies. This is why I say that there is no future for weaving in this town. Even our designs are replicated in the USA because people there have learned how to do them."

Patricia's weariness in repeating the same techniques and designs over and over would likely remain invisible, and Jacky's fatigue at staging the same performance several times a day month after month would largely go unnoticed. Nobody would ever guess that Augusta is weaving less and less because she has no time and because the natural dyes required in the traditional way encouraged by those involved in the textile salvage operation are toxic for the hands and the eyes, or that Nilda already noticed some negative effects of the airport on the weaving practice:

> "Right now, with the money received from the airport[151], many people do not feel like weaving any more. As they have good money now, they say "what for?" In the old times we wove out of necessity; but now, there is so much money that people don't want to weave and only think about how to invest and earn more money."

Perhaps some would reflect on their roles as tourists if they were to listen to Mauro's (an INC employee and communication student) words:

> ''Chinchero customs are only being preserved for the sake of tourism. This town is a crossroad between tradition and globalization. Tourism is intentionally promoted by the state to enforce a sense of identity, but its main beneficiary is the state himself. People only obtain the small change and poverty is perpetuated.''

I started this chapter with a quote from Michael Herzfeld, whose research among Cretan artisans matches well with the reality I found in Chinchero. As in Creta, Chinchero weavers find themselves in a subordinate position within the Nation-State in relation to a global hierarchy of value that makes tradition both a pedestal and a tethering post for those who

[151] At the time, the community of yanacona had sold their land to the Regional Goverment for the construction of the airport.

make a living out of it (see Herzfeld 2006). Summarizing this author's ideas, a global hierarchy of value is engendered through a reified and globalized concept of "culture" that assumes universal commonalities. This globalization of the local (or of the culturally specific) is epitomised by the notion and practice of heritage, that ties artisans to a glorified past and turns them into living museums, while at the same time marginalizing them by ascribing them to the role of custodians of tradition. Herzfeld argues that the opposition between traditionalism and modernity is itself a modern invention[152], one that sometimes serves as a means of exclusion from the modernist vision and its practical advantages. In this context, the rhetoric of tradition and modernity emerges as a key instrument in a hierarchy of value perpetuated by tourism and heritage politics as it equates the latter with technological and political superiority and the former with an idealized repository of national talents not completely detached from a sense of backwardness. Being a key component of most Nation-States ideologies, "tradition" can only exist in relation to its "other", modernity, and it is politically manipulated by the elites to reinforce their own position as leaders who "craft a pedestal that serves as a post to tie the wild otherness within" (ibid: 2-195).

In Peru, "the wild otherness within" are the indigenous populations. Associated by the Nation-State and the global tourist system with the maintenance of traditions and crafts that are key to the way the country markets itself internationally, their coevalness is negated. That is, their time is necessarily the past and, consequently, they find access to present opportunities restricted. The agency that they can exercise to expand the boundaries of this framework is limited. Little has shown that, in Guatemala, the new economic opportunities for Maya women generated by tourism can lead to changes in the household and to political action (ibid: 164). This may be true for Chinchero as well. And yet the trap for both Maya and Quechua artisans is that, the moment they will shed their "traditional skin" for a "modern" one, claims will be made against their real "Indianness" and business prospects within the tourist industry will be compromised.

Confined and condemned to repetition by a tourist system and heritage practices that discourage technical innovation and aesthetic creativity, Chinchero weavers are tied to a revivalist ideology that looks more to the past than to the future. The institutionalized environment of the weaving centres has lent itself well to the purpose. This is not to imply that there have not been changes in Chinchero textiles over time (cf. Callañaupa 2009,

[152] See also Little (2012) for the dialectic tradition / modernity.

2012). But, arguably, these have been mainly driven by the necessity to accommodate tourists' tastes and demands and have not seriously challenged "tradition". This is still change induced from outside and produced within a context of economic dependency and colonial history (see Spooner 2013). For the most part, the focus has been on rescuing ancient designs and techniques. The fact that available technological advances such as the pedal loom have not been incorporated "because the quality is not the same", bespeaks more of the potential role of cultural tourism as a straitjacket that slows down change, than being an argument in favour of the quality of the product. In "tradition" discourse, repetition is arbitrarily linked to notions of identity, which runs contrary to the entrepreneurial spirit displayed by many women. In a study of textiles in Potosí (Bolivia), Alejandra Vaca (2012) finds that the NGOs' supported textile salvage project has only frozen the designs in time, whereas those weavings produced for communal consumption are driven instead by dynamism, cultural renovation and change. The example, which cannot be straightforwardly extrapolated to Chinchero, is still relevant and helps me to explore more in depth the pressing topic of the role of tourism in the preservation of traditions.

The official argument claims that tourism helps preserve otherwise endangered cultures and traditions. Little has picked on the problem among the Maya vendors and reaches the conclusion that the survival of some traditions is partially due to tourism and encouraged by the national Government. He further argues that, as the artisans themselves recognise, should tourism cease in the area, these traditions would not continue. In addition, he has stressed the central role of women in the maintenance of traditions and identities that have been otherwise commoditized for sale to the tourists (Little 2004: 249-259). But would Chinchero weavers give up weaving if there was no tourism? I asked this question to several weavers and they all agreed in that they would continue weaving at home for their families. At this point what comes to my mind is Núñez del Prado's 1949 ethnography, where he recorded how changes in weaving and clothing when there was no tourism in Chinchero were subject to the vagaries of the Cuzco market. By that date, the rise in the price of *bayeta* and aniline triggered the return to weaving bayeta instead of purchasing it, and to the use of other local procedures to substitute the chemical aniline. All of this suggests that weaving and some other traditions do not (only) depend on tourism for their survival or demise, as mainstream narratives want; rather, they come and go, disappear and reappear depending on contingent glocal factors regardless of external

efforts to make them artificially come back. When Nilda addressed the reasons for the decline in weaving in her account of the CTTC's origins (page 4 in this chapter), she mentioned the rapid changes in customs, the enforced school uniform, the introduction of industrial clothing and, especially, formal education. However, she has a university degree (which includes studies in the US) and her formal education has been of great help in her successful career as well and in the breaking up of social and professional boundaries otherwise restricted for those without formal education. Her discourse is somewhat reminiscent of her mentor's, Cristine Franquemont, whom I criticized in chapter 4 as an exponent of the conservation ideology, and revealed the contradictions embedded in such an approach.

Tourism may help revitalize some traditions and even come up with new ones (see Azedero 2002), but the costs can be too high. John and Jean Comaroff (2009; 75, 139) have argued that selling the ethnicity in the market may only reify the culture and deepen existing lines of inequality. Augusta believed that tourists had helped her to value her traditions, but Jacinto regarded them as relics locked in a mirror glass as they had been turned into objects of tourist consumption. Tourism may also prevent the invention or re-actualization of other traditions. At some point in time all traditions are invented (cf. Hobsbawm 2012) and take over previous practices. In that sense, no "originality" is possible nor can it be claimed. The obsession with preservation may neutralize cultural renovation and the opening up of new economic and political fields of action for the people. In Chinchero people were blinded with tourism. Very few (even if more and more were starting to do it) managed to think beyond it and consider other economic or professional enterprises in spite of the difficulties. The point is that some traditions may be more important for outsiders than for their practitioners. Commentators (Maccanell: ibid; Bruner: ibid; Edensor 2008; Herzfeld: ibid) have noted the close bond between sense of loss, preservation, and (neo) colonialist regimes can be characterised by nostalgia and guilt for rapidly disintegrating worlds. Ethnic tourism is charged with the assumption of loss and not totally free from a messianic sense of salvaging. The irony is that, in order to build up their dominant position in the world map, Euro-American countries sacrificed multiple traditions and life-styles on the road to industrialization and urbanization. Does anyone bother now to claim them back? The answer from that side of the world to the sense of loss has been conservation, and heritage its corollary.

There is something intrinsically paralyzing in the notion of heritage. It may be that it obstructs the flow of time, the seamless connection that dissolves temporal boundaries. When culture is made heritage, the relation between past and present becomes schizophrenic in the sense of separation, of irreversible fracture. They are rendered incompatible, strangers to each other. Their symbiotic and organic relation is adulterated. The reified past becomes a "foreign country" governed by a monumental or archaeological logic opposed to social time; an allochronic temporal regime that alienates people and objects alike from their present. Subsumed under "heritage", weavers and textiles end up being subordinated to a past disguised by tourist forces as "tradition". In chapter 6 I charted the transformation of the Inca ruins into an archaeological site. The evacuation of time in the ruins led – I argued – to its social death. A similar process can be identified in the space of the weaving, in the transition from the household and the plaza to the weaving centres, or from social time to archaeological time. The manipulation of time that operated within the physical and ideological space of the centres leads to fossilization, to the tethering post. Artisans are attached to a manual work exalted by the State and the tourist industry, but still endowed with primitivistic connotations in the global hierarchy of value. In this marginalized position their chances for social mobility remain constrained unless they become something else than artisans, at the risk then of compromising their marketable indigeneity.

With its focus on selling rather than on weaving, tourism in Chinchero is mainly creating the conditions for the flourishing of comerciantes more than weavers. At this point, things appear to come full circle: the same revivalist ideology that encouraged the textile salvage in the past may be partly responsible for its demise. I may be going too far here; I should say that instead of a revitalized weaving tradition what we can expect is a de-vitalized version of a contemporary practice, as production is more and more oriented to satisfying a foreign demand that is turning textiles into trendy commodities that will end up adorning the houses and the bodies of affluent Euroamerican and Asian customers as textiles adapt to domestic spaces, furniture, and portable objects in multiple ways. Indeed this seems to be the tendency for the future: the transformation of "traditional" crafts into fashion, ironically the most temporal, contingent, changing, and therefore "modern" phenomenon of our global West. The most powerful weaving centres are already taking Chinchero "on the road" to international markets, in what may be seen as a successful blend of tradition and design. But the marketing of the "Chinchero brand" is likely to

further exacerbate existing inequalities and to push most centres into the margins of the market, barely unable to survive, additionally leaving in the air many questions about the cultural implications of this move.

The CTTC's well-intentioned and lauded beginnings, plus its later successful development, also brought with it the seeds of a corruption marked by an over-commercialization of textiles and by severe unanticipated social disjunctures. Nilda partially admitted to this when addressing the widely spread commission system and the growing competition: "At the beginning our goal was the textile salvage, but now unfortunately we are involved in this commercialization thing that distorts a little bit the production. The textile salvage has been accomplished in maybe a 60%, but now we have to be a little more honest".

In the end, the words of an Argentinean female tourist whom I interviewed after one exhibition might signal the fate of textiles in Chinchero:

> "With regard to the process of weaving, that is very nice. But at the end of the day what we all wear (these women included) is industrial clothing, which is much more practical. That's why I think that what they are doing is something in extinction. I am sorry for them but that's the way it is."

8. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE IN CHINCHERO: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

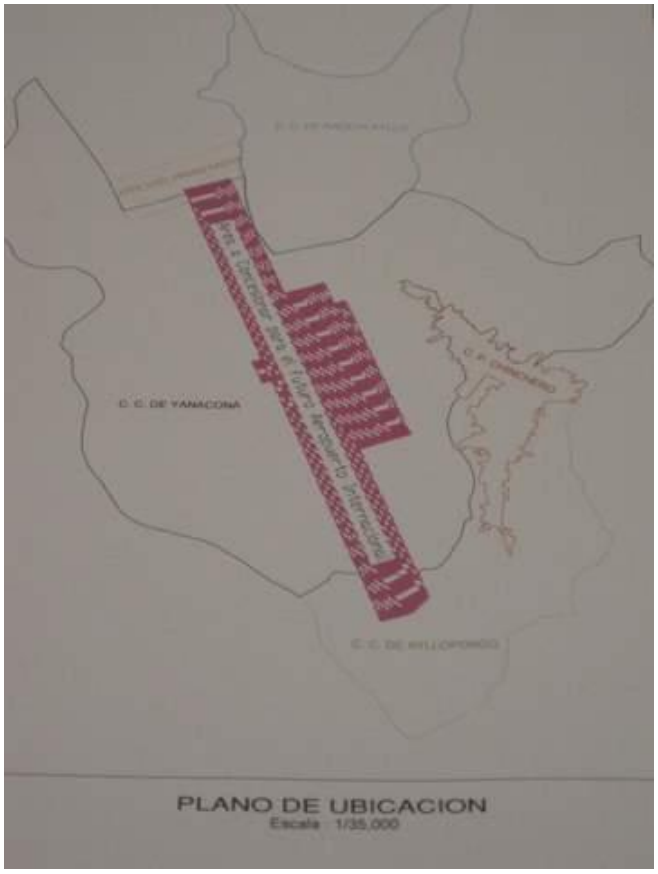

Fig. 14: Plan of future location of the airport

Fig. 15: View of the pampa de Yanacona in the background, site of the new airport

An airport is a great metaphor for time. Its physical existence is proof of technological advance and of development for the location that hosts it. Airplanes are the image of man's quest for the mastery of time, through their ever-increasing speed and capacity to compress the temporal / spatial coordinates. Air travel stands for the promise of coming endeavors, for breakaways from worn-out realities towards new and exciting worlds. An aeroplane taking off could convey the dream of “progress” as well as the promises of “the future”.

Throughout this thesis, time has been a major concern as well as a running thread providing coherence to the main themes explored. This chapter will be the corollary to this sequence by focusing specifically on the topic of change, which is in itself saturated with time, and with the various temporalities that impregnate all historical processes. Needless to say, in previous chapters, change has already been implicit when studying the transformation of the ruins into an archaeological site, or the social implications attached to the weaving centers, for example. The focus of this chapter is another tourism-related and large-scale intervention. At the time of my fieldwork the New Cuzco International Airport in Chinchero had started to evolve from an old and several times abandoned project, into a more concrete reality with incipient, yet very tangible, consequences for the town's social body. Even before its construction, the airport was already impacting on issues relevant for this thesis, such as land tenure, the local social organisation, the

landscape, or the sense of identity, all of them requiring close attention. Yet this chapter also addresses change in a more general sense. It is about the ways in which change has been constituted as object of anthropological study, particularly within indigenous or local communities. Arguably, the "tradition" versus "modernity" debate has provided a paradigmatic framework of study for social change, with its focus on unilinear, large-scale, structural change mainly brought about or encouraged by powerful exogenous forces. This chapter does not completely eschew this framework, and by doing so it adds to previous ethnographies that have documented social change in Chinchero before. But, whilst this chapter intends to show the articulation of the macro-level of the airport with the relatively 'micro-level' of the household and the intergenerational relations, the final purpose is twofold: first, I want to interrogate the very notion of "change" as it has been studied and conceptualized anthropologically and in development programs; and secondly, I intend to propose an alternative framework for its study and its often taken-for-granted relation with time, a framework stemming from local concepts and experiences about tradition and change, and that enables me to put recent events in Chinchero into a corresponding perspective. First, let us start with the facts.

8.1 Dismembering the social body: Airport and conflict

On August 22, 2012, President Humala's government approved a resolution that enabled the expropriation of ayllu Yanacona's lands for the construction of the New Cuzco International Airport in Chinchero. The airport was a long-held dream of the powerful Cuzqueñan tourist lobby, which, finally, and after repeated failed past attempts for over forty years or so, appeared to have convinced the national government. So far, the project had been turned down because of factors such as the stiff opposition from the rival tourist industry in Lima, whose interests were jeopardized by the prospect of a new and bigger airport in Cuzco. Typically, foreign tourists arriving by air to Peru would spend a minimum of few hours and maximum of few days in Lima before following the Lima-Cuzco leg on their way to Machu Picchu, a leg virtually monopolized by the main airline operating in the country, with dozens of flights a day between the two cities. Additionally, the project had been strongly objected to by different voices on the grounds of the reported negative geographical and atmospheric conditions, in an area frequently struck by strong winds and

hailstone and partially surrounded by the imposing snow-capped peaks of the Eastern Andean Cordillera.

In spite of these claims, Cuzco's tourist industry and regional politicians connected with tourism never gave up on the idea. Manipulating the project for their economic and political ends, they argued that the existing airport in Cuzco was too small to properly manage an increasing flow of international tourists and that a new and more modern infrastructure was crucial for the development and progress of the Region. The whole discourse was furthermore couched in the recurrent victimizing rhetoric that, since the colonial times, had opposed Cuzco's intense regionalist feelings to an equally stubborn political centralism with a base in Lima.

However, this time both the National and the Regional Governments seemed determined to materialize a project that, since its earliest inception decades ago, had acquired the aura of a "white elephant", and is a reason why nobody really believed that someday it would come true. Why was the project apparently gaining momentum now and not before? What had changed to explain the rapid evolution of events? A first point was made by Arturo, a comunero who underlined the convergence in power, both at the National and Regional levels, of the same political party (the Nationalist Party), circumstance that, in spite of centralist/regionalist dynamics, eased the way towards shared political goals and agendas. Arturo further argued that, if in previous occasions the National Government had tried to negotiate directly with the community involved, this time they had delegated the task in the Regional Government, whose members were more acquainted with local ways and idiosyncrasies, and were more aware of the power of money to convince many people. I would add that over the last few decades, there had been a shift in national politics, whereby tourism development was now considered an issue of national interest. In relation to this point, the Lima-based tourist industry had been busy lately in duplicating their infrastructure in the axis Cuzco-Sacred Valley-Machu Picchu, and therefore they too were now in a favourable position to benefit from the new airport.

In January 2013, the economic transaction of Yanacona land to the Regional Government was made effective, signaling an arguable point of no return for the project. Here I want to examine the conditions under which these and other subsequent events took place, as well as the internal processes and social side effects unleashed once the step was taken, if not before. During my time in Chinchero the airport was the hot-spot that one way or the

other both overshadowed and pervaded all other issues going on in town. I mainly followed the process of the land sale, and related issues, by attending numerous community assemblies where these and many other problems raised were discussed and analysed, and where important decisions were made.

As Arturo had pointed out before, the tactical role of the Regional Government (RG henceforth) was critical in the unfolding of events and in the direction followed by the negotiations. Since it rose to power two years before (2010), the RG had been exerting an intense media pressure in the region, creating an appropriate political climate for its construction. The airport was made the symbol par excellence of Cuzco's progress and future. It had been one of the flagships of the RG' electoral programme and, as such, the political future of the institution was now tied up in its construction. Any symptoms of organized resistance were deactivated at an early stage by casting those opposing as "enemies of Cuzco's progress" and "traitors". As the notion of "progress" allegedly had come to acquire a sort of secular halo, those objecting to it were made akin to modern heretics. According to Carlos Quispe, when the first contacts began between Yanacona and the RG to set the framework for the negotiations, the community tried to conduct them within the ILO and UN convention terms and declarations in favour of Indigenous Peoples (see De la Cadena and Starn 2009: 200), recognitions that, among others, included the right to previous consultation and an informed decision. However, the RG successfully argued that Chinchero was not an indigenous town because it was too close to a city (Cuzco) and its population was just too urbanized. In consequence, Yanacona started the negotiation process with some fundamental rights violated, and in a disadvantaged position with regard to the RG. This weakness was further underscored by internal factors such as the lack of political and personal understanding between the leaders of Yanacona and the Mayor of Chinchero. Unfortunately, this situation prevented the management of the process at the District level and precluded the full support of the Municipality with its legal and technical resources at its disposal. Instead, it remained confined to the community level where Yanacona found itself alone and without a proper assistance needed, for example, at the level of access to lawyers specialized in land conflicts, or in terms of consultancy with regard to planning, managing and negotiating the environmental, labour, and territorial issues that would come along with the airport. To further compound things, the two remaining ayllus (Cúper and Ayllopongo) were left out of the process.

When the talks started in 2010, the RG fostered the fiction that only the community of Yanacona was going to be affected by the airport, in spite of the physical continuity among the three ayllus. Also, and in the absence of critical information, Cúper and Ayllopongo did not calibrate well the scope of the intervention and thought that the impacts would not be as strongly felt as in Yanacona. By the time they started to realize that the project was likely to have severe effects in their territory and quality of life as well, they wanted to have a say in it but by then the deal was done and Yanacona had sold its land. Moreover, one more reason why the other two communities were excluded from the process, is that for the RG it was easier to deal with one community rather than with three[153]. The crucial point here is that, should Cúper and Ayllopongo had been engaged in the talks since the beginning and had been allowed to vote for or against the project, the result in all likelihood would have been negative because neither Cúper nor Ayllopongo lands (except a minimal fraction of the latter) fell within the perimeter of the airport and therefore they could have not been sold, nor could profit have been made from them, unlike in Yanacona.

Initially the RG offered $20 per square meter, a price below current standards. During the negotiations, Yanacona tried to raise the price but the RG threatened with moving the project elsewhere at no cost, arguing that they had other possible locations where the resident communities were willing to donate the land for free[154]. For months, it looked as if the project would remain up in the air one more time. Yanacona was then pressured into accepting the $20. In one of their assemblies, the majority of the community voted in favour of the project. What prompted Yanacona to sell the land when many of its members confessed off the record that they did not want to? Firstly, both State and Regional propaganda had won the psychological battle that made people internalize the ideals of *progreso y desarrollo* (progress and development), casted in terms of the proper road to *el futuro* (the future). Paradoxically, this ideology of "el futuro" fed on the political project of indigenismo (or Incanismo*),* which largely rested upon nostalgic dreams of resurrecting Cuzco's glorious Pre-Hispanic times as capital of *Tawantinsuyu*. The day Yanacona was celebrating its anniversary (January 29, 2013) also coincided with the day the payment for its lands was made effective. Many local and regional authorities had

[153] Jesús Contreras in personal communication.

[154] The choice of Chinchero as the site for the airport was always wrapped in controversy. The official position maintained that it was the best possible technical option among others. Many felt, though, that it was more a political decision related to the interests of the tourist industry and allied political forces.

been invited for the occasion. A representative of the RG addressed the crowds in these terms: “Thanks to you, the history of Cuzco is changing. Cuzco will flourish as during the Incanato (Inca Empire) to become the principal city of Peru.”

Additionally, the lack of serious economic alternatives to agriculture and tourism in Chinchero led many to trust the promises made in terms of jobs, economic activity and general prosperity that the airport would certainly generate. Most Yanacona agricultural land was good land, the best land in the District in fact. But given the very low prices paid in the market for basic crops locally produced, nobody could rely on it anymore as an autonomous mode of subsistence, not to mention the amount of work and time that it demanded. Little wonder then that people held legitimate expectations for a better life and that these were fertile ground for mega-projects perceived by the majority as the panacea for poverty. In fact, as such they were presented and publicized by the institutionalized e*stablishment*. After all, the money that they were going to make in just one go exceeded by far in most cases all the money they had managed to accumulate in a life time, creating in turn the problem of how to properly invest it or spend it. Most people had no previous experience or whatsoever in handling large sums of money, and were not familiar (or not yet) with the tricks and the mentality of the businessman.

Comuneros were not so blind, however, as to forget to ponder the consequences of losing their land, even if the community had more land available elsewhere. Let us remember that history in Chinchero was precisely very much about the struggles for the land (see ch. 2) and this was just the latest episode of the saga. Many expressed doubts and concerns about the impacts and the changes to come, and complained about the lack of information on the sociocultural and environmental consequences of the airport. As a matter of fact this was a crucial point in the RG’s strategy: to avoid delivering as much information as possible as well as to inhibit social debate in order to circumvent trouble and opposition. Once the land was sold, they set up monthly “thematic tables” supossedly meant to discuss all kinds of issues. They knew very well that people would not attend because it was not part of their routines. In fact, after a few months these tables were not operative. As Sabino Quispe, the INC Resident Director at the time expressed, instead of talking about the social costs of the project and advised the community, they just put the money on the table to dispose at will of the land, acting like proper businessmen rather than as politicians. Comuneros were thus deprived from essential information and discussion, necessary for their full appreciation of what was coming.

Once the decision to sell communal land was agreed upon, a series of problems and conflicts either arose or were exacerbated. A row began between those who had larger plots and those (the majority) with smaller plots. The latter wanted an equal distribution of communal land among all comuneros, but the former strongly opposed and imposed their criterion. Additionally, in those days Yanacona witnessed an outburst of candidacies to comunero status, coming mainly from relatives of legal members who wanted to ensure their rights to the land. The assembly had to be quick to respond to and to slow down this trend. Land tenure being communal in Chinchero (see ch. 3) and inalienable in theory by the *Ley de Comunidades Campesinas* (Peasant Communities Law), comuneros were users but not legal proprietaries (whilst the community was). In practice, land was inherited and handed down for generations within the families. Everybody knew what plot belonged to whom even if often there was no clear or readily noticeable boundary. And yet *catastros* (cadastres) did exist, as did community maps. There were also ways to get around the land's inalienability, and transactions using various kinds of documents or without them were not rare. Along with the sale came a sudden urge to have the plots carefully measured and delimited, not only to determine exactly the amount of square meters, but as a measure against potential claims made by other comuneros for the same plot. What until then – in spite of consuetudinary disputes over boundaries – had been largely a physical and mental territorial continuum that allowed for some fluidity and permeability in inter-family exchanges and patterns of use and occupation, started to veer toward a strict mental and physical diagramming, and also towards an spatial fragmentation that multiplied the disputes. Older inter-family quarrels over boundaries, which so far had been mostly cleared out through communal mechanisms, rapidly spread and frequently ended in court. At the intra-family level, household heads had to decide how they were going to distribute the money among their sons and daughters, or even whether or not they would give them a share at all. The situation led in many reported cases to infight between parents and sons, as well as between brothers and sisters.

And yet, perhaps the greatest challenge was posed by relatives who had migrated a while ago to Lima, or to other cities, and were starting to return to Chinchero, attracted by the prospect of the future airport and the business opportunities. These *retornados* (returned people) did claim in some cases right to the land they had left behind and that had been worked by others (relatives or not) in their absence. Communal Law stipulated that those who worked the land had the rights to it. However, according to Ángel, the law

also implicitly acknowledged other possibilities. Again, bitter arguments arose between those who had been working the land and their migrant relatives who thought that they still had a right to it. Whilst, generally speaking, and as far I could tell, most comuneros sympathized with the popular view that "*La tierra es para quien la trabaja*" (the land belongs to those who work it), discrepant voices, like Tomás', questioned the validity of this principle and took a stand for those who had one day decided to leave in search of better opportunities. Tomás was critical with those comuneros who boasted of having served the community by passing the customary cargos and positions. "What kind of communal service is this", Tomás wondered, "that all you do is eating and drinking while you dress in traditional clothes?" Until I left the field in July 2013, not only were most of these disputes largely unresolved, but new ones kept arising.

Other critical situations stirred by the airport and that had to be dealt with by Yanacona and the RG concerned, for example, dynamics of re (de)-territorialization and relocation of the people who lived in the pampa affected by the construction. Not only was the airport going to ruin the landscape with its multiple host of associations (see ch. 3); it was also going to split Yanacona in two disconnected halves, altering spatial relationships and dwelling, as well as mobility patterns of mobility that bound people from different sectors of the community together through daily journeys across the pampa. Additionally, the pampa was traversed by at least two Pre-Hispanic roads and, technically speaking, it was part of the town's archaeological heritage. Also at stake was the important matter of urban planning and territorial ordering. Comuneros were aware that without a well thought-out plan for urban development around the airport they could only expect chaos and uncontrolled urban growth of the type that could be found around the airport in Cuzco.

Equally crucial were Yanacona's ambitions about the jobs generated by the airport. They wanted to negotiate a fair share of jobs for the comuneros and their sons, without realizing that the airport would be constructed and operated by a private company that would in turn impose its conditions and most of the specialized labour force needed after the initial stages of the project. The most lucid among the comuneros knew that most jobs, especially after the initial stages of the project, would require qualifications for which most people were not ready and realized that the petition that a 30% share of the jobs remained in the community was not realistic. They were fairly pessimistic as well, with regard to territorial planning, considering the poor regional and national standards and the

lack of political will. In fact, as the talks went on, it became more clear that the RG's strategy consisted basically of deflecting the attention to look as if things were being taken care of while in the practice nothing or very little was being articulated and Yanacona had little say in the decision-making process. When I returned to Chinchero for a short visit in September 2014 after my fieldwork, I was told that only a 5% of the jobs for Chincherinos had been secured.

Another major round of disagreement came with the discussion on what to do with the communal lands untouched by the airport. Yanacona – as well as the other two main ayllus – feared an invasion of outsiders to the community. Already since the land sale was made effective, advertisements in local newspapers could be found regularly offering plots for sale in Chinchero. Who was behind the advertisements was unclear. For Tomás they were likely to be speculators even if he did not rule out the possibility of comuneros acting illegally. In the assemblies as well as in private conversations many voiced the concern that the collective titling of the land was no guarantee of protection against potential invaders and construction mafias. They advocated instead the transition to individual titling so that their plots, they argued, had legal recognition and thus were better protected. Also, many others remained hesitant on the topic, like Augusta and Jacinto, seeing the pros and cons of both scenarios. It seemed to me that the individual title, even with its potential benefits, was a double-edged sword. Individual titling freed comuneros from any obligation to the community and consequently they could sell their land at will should they wished to do so without the permission of the assembly. It became apparent that many would be likely to sell if they had a good economic offer and these were not going to be scarce if the airport moved on. The argument that the land would be better protected with private property remained highly questionable.

The debate over collective or individual titling equally affected Cúper and Ayllopongo, and was stirred by recent political developments in the District. In Ayllopongo a fission process had occurred over a course for several years. Some sectors had modified their administrative status to become *Asociaciones de Productores* (Producer Associations). This was just one more step in a larger process of disintegration that had divided Ayllopongo (as well as Cúper and Yanacona) in sectors or smaller administrative units with capacity for political negotiation on the municipal and regional levels. As different comuneros explained, these sectors, sometimes far from the main urban core, had seen their opportunity to prosper once released from their subordination to their main community.

Arguably, they enjoyed more autonomy and chances to successfully negotiate socio-economic projects and financial support directly with the Municipality, the RG, or with financial institutions. Whether this re-grouping into smaller units implied a return to preexisting ayllu formations or not, is hard to say. In any case, the process had escalated one more step with the transformation of these sectors into Associations. The move entailed a more radical breakaway from the "community" and its customary rules and structures, particularly those concerning communal land tenure. These Associations had obtained individual titling and in some cases plots had already been sold to private investors.

At this point two things should be emphasised. Firstly, in being confronted with all of these issues and internal conflicts, Yanacona was increasingly becoming a deeply divided community. This view was becoming generalized as events unfolded one after the other. At first, older comuneros and ex-leaders like Dalmesio considered that having to deal with and solve so many problems would strengthen Yanacona as a community. As time went by, they ended up coming to terms with the evidence of progressive disintegration as they felt overcome by forces they could not control[155]. Others, like Wilfredo, referring to the new roads and further changes to come with the airport, put it like this: "We are going to be inevitably subsumed under the macroeconomic current that is coming". Clearly, Wilfredo was unfavourably comparing the changes to be introduced by the airport with previous changes in Chinchero, like the 1983 road that linked the town with Cuzco, making a significant difference in scale and in degree of impact. Secondly, the new situation created out of these circumstances was beginning to impinge on people's sense of identity, eliciting important questions regarding the highly debatable topic of "indigeneity" and forcing a close re-examination of this concept under the circumstances given. It is to this set of questions that I now turn.

[155] When in September 2014 I returned to Chinchero for a short visit, Dalmesio sadly acknowledged that Yanacona had been finally defeated by the Regional Government and that it was on its way towards its dissolution.

8.2 "Where is our identity?": Rethinking indigeneity

As the situation in Yanacona evolved and the move towards the individual title was gaining impetus, and other changes were on their way, conscious comuneros such as Carlos Quispe and Dalmesio raised the issue of identity and of how this was going to be affected (or was being already affected) with all the changes that were coming. Three episodes in particular – the denial of the indigenous character of Yanacona, the commercialization of the land, and the crisis of the community – forced people to rethink traditional conceptualization of the "indigenous" peoples as subjects more or less identifiable by common and fixed attributes such as language, clothes, religion, ancestral homeland, communal property, rural environment, collective organisation and worldview, and so on (cf. Chaves and Zambrano 2006; Valdivia 2005; De la Cadena 2010). This characterization seemed questionable under the new developments, and these constitute the subjects of my exploration.

Following Valdivia (ibid: 285), I take "indigeneity" as "the articulated identity imposed and inhabited, contested and negotiated by different groups of people." Constructions of indigeneity are strongly localized and historically contingent (De la Cadena and Star 2009: 106.). Significantly in Chinchero, nobody seemed to identify himself or herself with a term often derogatorily associated with "Indian" and all of the stains that this voice carry with it in Peru. Many were even unfamiliar with the word, like Rosa, who defined herself, like many others, as *campesina* or Chincherina. For Nancy, a young and educated girl in her mid twenties, the word "indigenous" was proper to the people of the jungle, but not to highlanders. Her view eloquently reproduced national stereotypes that evinced the historical marginalization of the Lowlands in relation with the Sierra and particularly the Costa. It indirectly bespoke too the troubled and ambivalent relations between Costa and Sierra and their multiple engagements often translated in continuous attempts from the State (after the Independence) to "modernize" the Highlands and turn the Indians into good citizens. More recent processes of urbanization, schooling, and integration into the National life, plus the desire to escape the stigmas of "Indianness" and its inherent marginalization, had invited Chincherinos to shy away from anything reminiscent of that idea (see De la Cadena 2000).

So, for the residents the question of identity was not framed in a larger and foreign trope of “indigeneity”. Rather, it remained anchored in the more recognisable idioms of tradition and custom. Most people I spoke with defined identity as “that with which one identifies”, generally referring to familiar and customary places, references, and ways of life. Carlos Quispe and Dalmesio alluded to this set of signifiers when they expressed concern about the loss of identity with the airport.

And yet, in spite of this distancing from an “indigenous” identity, Yanacona had claimed a status of indigenous community at the beginning of the negotiations with the RG and had attempted to manage the process within the parameters set up by UN's and ILO's recognition of indigenous peoples' specific rights and needs. The paradox reflected the ambiguities inherent in a global debate on indigeneity and the intense politics involved, as Yanacona tried to maneuver so that the negotiations did not stray from a convenient legal and conceptual framework.

The global politics of indigeneity were unleashed at the local level by the counter-operation carried out by the RG, who denied the indigenous character of Chinchero on the grounds of its proximity to a city (Cuzco) and of its degree of urbanization patterns. The argument was meant to deprive Yanacona from the rights given to indigenous peoples at the transnational level and to secure control over the terms of the negotiations. At stake here was the question of who was “indigenous”, who had the authority to authenticate indigeneity, and according to what principles. These questions continue to be the topic of a global debate about what it means to be indigenous today, and are part of the search for appropriate criteria for flexible and dynamic definitions of the category. But definitions may be tricky and intrinsically problematic. Taiaiake Alfred, a Mohawk scholar, has pointed out that demands for precision and certainty neglect group variation in time and space (cited in Corntassel 2003: 76). On the other hand, as Corntassel explains (ibid: 76), failure to establish accepted definitions may lead to other ethnic groups to claim indigeneity to obtain and expand their international legal status and protection. Chavez (ibid.), Valdivia (ibid.) and De la Cadena (2009) have remarked on the contemporary heterogeneity of indigenous experiences and have also highlighted the ways in which culturally different peoples, in response to imposed notions of indigeneity based on a series of academically, and, more recently, State defined cultural markers like the ones defined above, have historically shifted between appropriations of the indigenous and rejections of it,

depending on contingent factors and strategies in their interactions with extralocal and international actors.

Sometimes, as Valdivia has shown for the Secoya and Cofán peoples of the Ecuadorian Amazon confronted with the oil industry and the adoption of Western productive practices, certain groups have opted for performing an "authentic" indigeneity that conforms to the expectation of amazonian peoples as protectors of the forest and this way gain the support of environmentalist organisations. Other times they have preferred to play the card of "inauthentic" indigeneity by aligning themselves with the extractive industries in their territories and by adopting cattle ranching and other intensive farming practices, securing in turn the support of Human Rights organisations. The author's point is, first, to make clear the connection between the production of knowledge involved in academic and State definitions of indigeneity and the exercise of power (cf. Chavez ibid: 17); and secondly, and in close relation with the former, the rejection of fixed and static categories of "the indigenous" that do not do justice to the ability of indigenous subjects to flip in and out of two worlds (the "traditional" and the "modern"), seeking to be considered as equal actors within a neoliberal scenario while maintaining their cultural difference at the same time (Valdivia ibid: 299). In the case of Chinchero, these fixed categories born out of colonial or postcolonial imaginations (Tilley 2006: 12) cast the urban and the indigenous in antithetic terms, confining natives peoples to the domain of the rural with the attached connotations of backwardness, poverty, and so on[156]. Yanacona's approach reflected both this ability to "shuttle" between different articulations and global discourses on indigeneity as possibilities for social change emerged, as well as the ambiguities resulting from a non-homogeneously articulated sense of indigeneity (see Valdivia ibid: 295, 299-300).

The debate on indigeneity was directly related to the crisis of the community as a concept and as a juridical body[157]. The situation in Simataucca and Piuray was interpreted by Chincherinos in ambivalent ways, depending on the point of view. The day I visited Simataucca I was lucky enough to bump into Federico, a resident with whom I talked as we approached the place. He was quite happy with the move to private property. According to him, this had happened in 2010 and had been encouraged by the leaders. Now they had

[156] See also Ribera Cusiscanqui (2012) and the debates on decolonization in Mignolo (2007).
[157] J. Golte (1992) has problematized the idea of "the indigenous community" in the Andes arguing that it was first born as a juridical body and that not all of them share similar characteristics, According to him, the "community" was a fiction created by the early 20th C. Indigenismo.

an association for the production of cuys. “It is not a cooperative; each family works separately and has its own farm”, he claimed. Federico assured me that they had not had the airport in mind when they became an Association because at that time the project was not moving. They did it because they did not want invasions and this was the best way to protect their lands. However, he did say that some plots had been sold to a Real State in Cuzco and admitted that every now and again outsiders were visiting the place wanting to buy land. “Some people have sold plots but the majority have not”, he said. “We are now going to demand the legal disconnection from Ayllopongo, the complete independence; Simatauca was never a sector. Since the beginning it was a community and we will continue like that”.

Other people I conversed with, like Tomás, Fidel or Jacinto, seemed to endorse the process of fission as they thought that every sector was looking for its own progress and so were Simataucca and Piuray with their transformation into *Asociaciones de Productores*. Particularly Jacinto was supportive and understanding, claiming that they were looking to the future and not to the past, like most sectors and communities in the District stuck within their traditions and constrained by their status as *comunidad*. In a powerful and subversive statement, Jacinto expressed his view on the community when I asked him about the possible loss of identity with the individual title:

> “It is a little of a loss. But, what is the use of having my peasant and comunero identity if I do not have the means to educate my sons as I would like to? You cannot live off agriculture anymore. Private property is better. Nowadays without a title you are helpless. The community is something backward and what I want is development. Being a comunero is something of the past. You have to submit yourself to what the community says, to the assembly, to the decisions of others. Everyone has to harvest the same day and so on. Nowhere else in the world is like that. With the individual title you do what you like. The State and those foreigners want us to keep our customs, our social and political organisation systems. That is why they promulgated the Law of Indigenous Communities that acknowledges our different reality and rights. This way it looks like they are supporting us but in reality they are keeping us poor”.
>
> “When property is communal, problems arise. We keep our traditions but these are relics. The community is something recent, dating from the Agrarian Reform. Before, there were only haciendas. Traditions are fine but we cannot live off them.

> If the community remained as ever, that would be fine. But more and more they call for assemblies, faenas, projects, etc. I know the internal workings of the community and that is why I say that it is backward".
>
> "In the old times there was poverty. For the visitor, nature and the way of life were charming, but not for the dweller. Fortunately, the youth prefer to study nowadays and that is their identity. Piuray and Simatauca may still keep their envarados and other customs, but they are not looking to the past any more. With their private property they will sell their plots. Simataucca has never been a community. It was first a hacienda and after that a cooperative. I want a situation of economic and professional stability, so that at the end of the year I do not have to knock at doors and resort to friends to get a job. I wish I was appointed by the State."

Obviously there was a lot contained in Jacinto's statement, apart from his criticism of the community. First of all, his point on the relative irrelevance of having an identity when compared to much more pressing everyday concerns only underscored much of the fictitious character of identities as social constructs often imposed onto others. This is what Tilley (ibid: 15) has called "the anathema of constructed identities", pointing to the absolutization of "culture" and "identity" in classic ethnographies. Drawing from Baumann, Tilley approaches identity questions as a quintaessential product of a liquid modernity characterized by personal and social crisis born out of uncertainty (ibid.: 10-11). Tilleys' insistence in providing a framework for understanding the production of identities is precisely what Jacinto was doing by underlining the interest of the State and the tourist industry in having them maintain a certain identity, culture, and social organisation. Furthermore, Jacinto was promoting the renovation of identities by endorsing their sons' identity as students at the time. Besides this, his knowledge of the community enabled him to clarify the contradictory claims made by Federico (one generation younger than Jacinto and clearly less keen on the District's history) over Simataucca's status as community. The fact that Simataucca had never been a legal community before, but rather existed as a co-operative, helped to explain the pioneering, and apparently smooth transition to a more familiar form. It also explained why there was no sense of dis-membering compared to Yanacona, which was a much older formation and with a full sense of membership.

When I told Augusta about my conversation with Jacinto she tempered his views and put them into context:

> "In those times there was very little money and no need to spend it. People had their chacras and their animals. They did not need buying anything. There was more time and less education. There was poverty and alcoholism. That is why people took to drinking, like Jacinto's parents. He had to assume all the responsibilities in the household and in the chacra. He did not make it beyond Secondary Education. After that, he has only had brute jobs. Since then he was resented. This is why he thinks that traditional lifestyles have only brought poverty. My case has been different. My parents have been poor but not alcoholics. I like traditions."

Augusta was attaching Jacinto's views to his personal biography. However, it was not that Jacinto was ashamed of the past and that he had adopted a "modernizing" position at all costs. On the contrary, he was very respectful of "tradition" and adamant about performing customs in the most solemn ways. But, as his words eloquently revealed, he was acutely aware of the stigmas and political manipulation of the "traditional" and the "indigenous" and wanted to break away from these cul-de-sacs and catch up with mainstream society to reap its benefits. Neither Jacinto nor Augusta defined themselves as "indigenous" either. Their awareness of the politics implied in the term was fully made clear to me the day we were walking down the Centro Poblado towards the road. Then, in the distance, coming up the hill in our direction, we spotted a couple of tourists who were being guided by a local woman in her traditional outfit. At the sight of them, Augusta exclaimed in a humorous manner while altering the pitch of her voice to accentuate the sarcasm implied: "Here they come two tourists with an "*indígena"*! Jacinto approved her comment and the three of us laughed out loudly.

The diversity of views in town regarding "the community" was illustrated by other voices like Gerónimo's, Dalmesio's, or Carlos', who expressed skepticism regarding the developments in Simataucca and Piuray and regret for what they considered the dissolution of the community. "They don't even have assemblies any more", said Dalmesio. For Tomás, *"*Until very recently people still had their identity of comunero, worker, *auténtico* (authentic), Inca, and so. This has changed in a moment due to the

money. People don't know what they are thinking.*"* For his part, Gerónimo provided a broader framework of analysis:

> "When communities were created with the Agrarian Reform, a process of dismembering began in Ayllopongo. It was due to the failure of the leaders to hold the community together. Leaders were put under pressure to create independent communities seeking the benefits of this segregation process. Personal interests were behind these moves. The same situation applies to the sectores. Only Yanacona and Cuper have remained united and solid. I foresee the death of this community (Cúper) with the advent of the airport and the individual property of the land. It is the dismembering of a body."

Similarly, Ángel was very critical with the process and was convinced that Simataucca and the others had an eye set in the airport with their move, despite their claims. In the light of what he was witnessing, he released a lapidary statement that, beyond its prophetic potentiality, clearly testified to the current winds of change: "La comunidad es historia" (the community is history).

The debate over the move to individual titling and the land sale challenged in turn one of the most entrenched stereotypes concerning indigenous peoples: their intimate relation with the land through ancestral and spiritual bonds. In the Andean case, the "cult of Pachamama" typified well this primordialist position within academic debates[158]. As Jacinto had done with "the community", other voices in Chinchero were demolishing preconceived or mainstream ideas about the relations between native peoples and the land. Some of these views were crudely formulated. For example, Simeona and her son Wilfredo believed that, in the current context, it was simply naïve and stupid not to commercialize the land just for the spell of some romantic ideas. To be fair, this particular family had other means of subsistence apart from agriculture that separated them from the average dweller. Wilfredo was a dentist and his wife ran a crafts shop in town, among other family businesses. In their situation it was probably less painful to get rid of their lands than for families without other clear alternatives, even if in a previous conversation

[158] The debate is basically between the so called "primordialists", for whom indigeneity is natural and recognizable through attributes such as language, clothes, religion, social organization, etc, and the "instrumentalists", who give more weight to the social construction of "the indigenous" (see Corntassel ibid: 82-86).

Wilfredo had told me about his affective ties with his land and the sense of loss that came with the sale. And yet their point of not letting oneself be driven by romantic ideas, and rather to be driven by rational choices stood up as a valid generalization for the rest of the comuneros confronted with the same dilemmas.

Simeona's and Willfredo's readiness to transfer to individual titling and sell their lands, in spite of the particular nature and scale of this move, was one more step in the Chincherinos' engagement with capitalist economy to a larger or lesser degree[159]. Neoliberal policies had been targeting peasant communities in the Peruvian Highlands for years with different programs aimed at alleviating poverty and procuring the household with economic opportunities through their transformation into productive and efficient economic units (cf. Mayer 2002). In this context, individual titling was part of a neoliberal agenda that initially sought to increase the land's productivity and the peasants' consumption capacity while emphasizing the commodity value of the land. However, the ultimate aim was to make the land alienable so that it could end up in the hands of more efficient productive units (Mayer ibid: 316-317). The titling campaigns that this author describes in his field site were also in course in the Cuzco region promoted by the RG and bore with them the ideology that encouraged the peasants to become proprietors.

If, following Spalding (1974), the colony had transformed the Indian into a peasant through a new and forced relationship with the land, It looked like the airport was now on its way to turn the peasant into a capitalistic entrepreneur; that is, the quintessence of economic liberalism and the antipode of indigenous collective systems. Many people were planning to start their own business with the money from their lands, and many others still, like Wilfredo and Simeona, whose behaviour by the way fitted well with neoliberal expectations of socially desired rational entrepreneurial individuals (see Valdivia ibid: 289), were even on their way to a speculative economy when they declared that they wanted to wait until the airport was finished because by then the price of the square meter would be much higher. As a matter of fact, according to testimonies, prices were already going up. Again, as was the case with private property, this was not a completely new phenomenon in Chinchero, where other “entrepreneurs” like the taxi drivers, the shop owners, or, as we have seen, the weaving centers had ventured into the world of the entrepreneurs before.

[159] See Tania Murray Li's important article (2010) on capitalism and indigineity for a elaborate discussion about the different faces of this relationship.

The difference now was that it was the "ancestral" land, epitome of discursive and essentialized visions of indigeneity, which was being object of intensive commercialization.

No wonder then that Carlos, when recounting the most recent changes such as the advance of the Spanish language at the expense of Quechua, the progressive dissolution of cherished patterns of sociality, the commodification of the land, the impacts of technology, etc, thought that much identity had been lost and that territoriality – the last binding factor that glued the community together – was disappearing as well. He asked himself in loud voice, "with all these changes, what are we?". As a good anthropologist, Carlos used these diacritics to gauge social change. But he, like Jacinto and many others, did not merely live off nostalgia and understood well the urgent need for his people to move on and keep up with a modernity that had never been completely alien to them. Such was the case with Dalmesio and others, who expressed concern about the impacts of the airport on their identity but still, like Jacinto, judged that identity was secondary compared to more pragmatic and tangible considerations that had to do with their immediate everyday life conditions. These more pragmatic considerations were linked to the idea of "development", one that saturated discourses and imaginaries to the extent of guiding and articulating Chincherinos' actions, perspectives and hopes. Thus, this dominant paradigm, in whose name the airport was going to be built, is necessarily the topic of the next section.

8.3 Under the paradigm of "progress": An anthropological critique of development

When Jacinto declared that he wanted *desarrollo* (development) he was echoing general views grounded on individual and family expectations as well as in regional and national discourses founded on the same word. As a matter of fact, *desarrollo,* along with *progreso* (progress), had become new mantras that pervaded governmental plans and policies with the promise of a better life for everyone. The discourse had permeated the imagination of many who clung to hopes for economic opportunities and enhanced material living conditions. In much the same way that more tourism was meant to bring development to Chinchero, the airport was presented by authorities, politicians, and media alike as the opportunity par excellence for local and regional progress. These ideas of "progress" and "development" informed a collective mindset that identified these concepts mainly with

tangible interventions in the form of basic infrastructures and public works. The construction of the airport was fully justified from this perspective because, as the road and the advent of tourism had done before for Chinchero, it was only going to contribute to the general prosperity by exponentially increasing the economic activity and by bringing more tourism into town.

While understanding of and sympathetic with people's wishes for better life quality, I always found these ideas highly misleading and masking of realities other than those declared by their practitioners. Nowadays "development" has become deeply entrenched in our socioeconomic vocabulary and framework, and can comfortably accommodate a variety of shifting meanings while at the same time being a highly confusing and contested term. Following Grillo (1997: 11), the main themes that interest me regarding development, among other emerging trends in the anthropology of the field, are 1) the skepticism about its aims and practices; 2) the critical views of development and its processes; and 3) the alternative ways of doing both development and anthropology.

The origins of "development" discourses as we know them now can be traced to the days immediately after WWII (cf. Levellen 2002; Hoogvelt 2001; Lewis 2005)[160]. The resulting International Order created a division between "developed" and "underdeveloped". It was initially believed that the benefits of a worldwide expansion of capitalism, flowing from top to bottom in the social pyramid, would reach everyone. Since its inception, the concept acquired a distinct Darwininan evolutionary flavour, a unilinear sense of moving from a backward form towards a more evolved one; or, in a Durkhemian sense of increased social complexity, from "traditional" to "modern" societies (Lewis 2005: 4). As Hoogvelt has shown (ibid: 35), Modernization Theory was born out of the resulting neocolonial order emerging after 1945. It sanctioned the belief in different stages of development that non-industrialized nations should follow in order to converge with the industrialized "First World". For this process to be successful, structural changes had to be implemented in societies conceived of as self-contained and autonomous systems. "Third World" countries were subjected to a series of interventions and programs that ensured their effective control (see Escobar 1988). When the imbalances created became apparent, re-structuring programs were imposed by recently created international

[160] For a more general overview of the historical trajectory of the term, as well as for the different engagements between anthropologists and development, cf. Lewis (2005).

institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank with devastating effects over the economies of the poor countries.

When, by the 1960s, it became clear that many countries were not developing in spite of structural and aid programmes, Dependence Theory challenged Modernization Theory claiming that the reasons for poverty and underdevelopment were structural and political, and were intimately tied to the larger picture of international relations. Poor countries were tangled up within the economic structures and policies of a capitalist International Order organized in "metropolis" and "satellites" that was designed to keep them poor, a tendency with historical roots dating at least from the European overseas expansion in the 16th c. (see Levellen ibid: 64; Hoogvelt ibid: 38). This structuralist approach to development, which corrected the de-politized, evolutionary perspective of Modernization Theory (while still leaving aside cultural, geographical, and locally historical factors), was reinforced by the World System Theory elaborated by Wallerstein and that dominated the structuralist agenda in the 1970s and 1980s with a similar holistic and historic approach. As commentators note (Hoogvelt ibid: 15, 46-58; Levellen ibid: 64), World System theory has often being considered as separated from Dependency Theory, but it is best conceived of as part of the wider dependency paradigm, as it is based on a new international division of labour that divides the world in hegemonic and exploitative "cores" that manufacture and sell the raw materials produced by subordinated "peripheries" and mediating "semiperipheries" that additionally provide cheap labour and markets for the reproduction of capitalism.

The dependency paradigm seems to be discredited today, a fact that Levellen deems unfortunate on the grounds that, in spite of its difficulties to catch up with recent changes that problematize the identification of fixed "cores" and "peripheries", its main tenet of suggesting that underdevelopment is caused by unequal international power relations remains central to contemporary perspectives (ibid: 65). Curiously enough, Modernization Theory partly lives on today as well, if deprived of the prominent role of the state in theory and in spite of the challenges posed by the post-development thinking of the 1990s with its radical critique of development as the imposition of a neocolonial Western set of cultural values (Lewis ibid.: 5-6). The contemporary survival of both paradigms suggests that World System Theory never challenged completely the dichotomy between "developed" and "underdeveloped", and was only aimed at its roots and causal

relationships. As important as this was, it left the door open for the legitimation of antagonistic and categories such as “modern” and “traditional-backward”.

The vacuum left by the gradual collapse of Dependency Theory was initially filled by the Post-structuralist (or Post-development) critique of the late 1980s and 1990s. Since then, Anthropological critiques of mainstream notions and practices of development have come from different directions, with an emphasis on the deconstruction of the whole development conceptual apparatus. One of its most notorious advocates, Arturo Escobar, has depicted development as an ideological system of domination and dissemination of Western practices and mindset (1988, 2011; see also Nash 2003). Central to his argument is the Foucauldian notion of *discourse* and its links with hegemonic power. It is through the control of discourse and of its specific mechanisms institutionalized in different fields of production, Escobar argues, that this system of domination is subtly filtered and articulated, silencing or de-legitimizing other alternative voices and discourses. Hence the need to deconstruct its underlying assumptions couched in the particular language of development. Prime among these assumptions is the notion of “underdevelopment”, a convenient invention that creates unilinear international hierarchies based on economic and materialistic criteria, legitimates political-economic interventions that benefit those behind it, and objectifies the “underdeveloped”. Another key instrument in development discourse is “science”, with its corresponding technical approach to the solution of “problems”. Science, Escobar reminds us, is neither politically neutral nor socially innocuous. It carries with it a dominant ideology of the Western world that underestimates and overrides other local and indigenous systems of knowledge embedded in social and ecological contexts, often ignored by scientists and technocrats with resulting negative effects on native cultural forms (see also Hobart 2002). Escobar's conclusion is that critical development alternatives are not enough. What is needed instead is an alternative to development; that is, doing away with the entire paradigm and its neocolonialistic attributes (ibid.)

Other authors have added to the critique. James Ferguson (1998), who has studied the case of Lesotho, has argued that the failure of many development projects has its roots in the gap between the “construction” of targeted countries by development agencies and the realities on the ground. The way in which the development industry is set up, leads to the rearrangement of the reality to justify interventions. This author notes the often disastrous side effects of many projects and claims that development is a machine not

meant so much for the alleviation of poverty, nor necessarily for the introduction of capitalist investments in these countries, but rather for increasing the bureaucratic power of the state, leading in the end to the same inefficiency as previously existed before. Levellen (ibid: 76) summarises the post-structuralist critique of development projects into three main points: the production of a disciplined society, the enriching of the state, and the depoliticisation of poverty.

Much of this criticism has been partially countered (see Grillo et al. [1997]; Levellen [2002]) on different grounds. First, it would be mistaken to depict development as a monolithic entity without differentiating the diversity of voices and discourses about it and within it. Grillo discards this approach as “the myth of development” (ibid: 20), which portrays it as heavily controlled from the top, as all-powerful, and based on poor or partial history. This myth, Grillo goes on, responds to a “victim culture” that presents the story in terms of “developers” and “developed”, overlooking the wide range of responses and agendas among local populations. Grillo remarks the growing awareness among practitioners of the limitations and problems involved in development and challenge Hobart's point (ibid: 1, 13) about the radical clash between indigenous and western epistemologies in development by arguing that indigenous knowledge is never complete, nor does it have the monopoly of knowledge. Levellen (ibid: 76-80) has basically converged with this line of criticism and has insisted on the too broad use of the concepts of *discourse* and *power*, demanding more conceptual clarification and differentiation so that they remain insightful analytical tools. At the same time, he points out that “underdevelopment”, Is not just an invention of the West but a tangible reality with an empirical basis.

Whilst acknowledging the relevance of the poststructuralist views, their critics still seem to have some faith in development. On the contrary, as we have seen, Escobar advocates the radical rejection of the entire paradigm and an alternative emphasis on local autonomy, culture and knowledge, in regenerative engagement with modernity (2011: 219, 225). Ferguson, on his part, has tackled the uneasy relationship between development and anthropology and has termed development anthropology's “evil twin” (1996: 60, in Lewis ibid: 13), because it is concerned with many geographical areas in which anthropologists work, and yet simultaneously challenges some of their most dearly held assumptions, such as the value of the traditional, the local, and the autonomous. To

be critical of the idea of development, Ferguson argues, is to invite a reevaluation of the idea of anthropology itself.

While the responses to the critics of development may temper some too clear-cut views, the truth is that the concept and the practice of "development", particularly in non-Western contexts, still remains too loaded with ideological connotations. Accusations and suspicions of modern cultural and economic imperialism have not been disproved. On the contrary, these forms of imperialism remain strong, as does the skepticism about the long-term benefits of these programmes on the targeted populations, interventions that are unfortunately all-too often at odds with local realities and expectations.

There is still a fourth theme that I want to explore and this is the relationship between development, time, and change. I entitled this chapter "under the paradigm of "progress". As analysts have shown (Lewis ibid: 4), the historical roots of Development ideology can be traced further back to the European Enlightenment of the end of the 18th C. With its belief in "progress" and the heralding of values like rationality, science and technology, a dichotomy was set in place between "backward" and "advanced" societies. "Development" operates within an assumption of linear time in a unidirectional and unlimited progression, from inferior to superior, or towards "the acquisition of more of the good" (Shay 1957: 5). Thus, development is pregnant with the "myth of progress", one of the most powerful driving forces in Western imagination. The question we can pose then, may ask as to how this belief in progress fits within societies that have different ideas and experiences of time, such as the Andean.

Heidi Storn (2013), in line with Hobart's critique of the clash between western and indigenous epistemologies in the practice of development, has argued that the notion of linear time underlying the concepts of development and progress has been internalized by the Andeans to the point of creating confusion and identity conflicts, because it runs contrary to their tradition and cosmovision based on a cyclical time where there is no room for "progress". Whilst I sympathize with Storn's basic point, I can see its problems too. Particularly, her rendering of a homogeneous, totalizing and static "Andean worldview" seems to be questionable and somewhat dangerous insofar as the negation of change in indigenous cultures across time and space (including cosmovisions) may reproduce older prejudices about these "timeless" peoples and block their way to legitimate aspirations. Also, the idea of an "identity conflict" seems to conjure up images of the supposed antagonism between tradition and modernity that may not be in place.

Finally, if there is no room for “progress” in cyclical time, there is definitely room for change and for an acute sense of the possibility for better times ahead.

This idea of confusion and identity conflict is recurrent in the Native American literature (Golte ibid., Valdivia ibid., Berlo 1995, Rozas 2012, De la Cadena 2000: 291). But is it really so? Augusta and Jacinto's understandable expectations of a better future were no doubt manipulated and exacerbated by the advocates of development and contributed to create frustration and dependency as the myth was perpetuated and fueled by the continuing hardships and uncertainties of daily life. Their understanding of development and progress, as well as their hopes about them, were clearly impregnated to some extent by the mainstream ideology of modernization that filled the air at all times. Nevertheless, when Jacinto declared that he wanted *desarrollo*, he was not necessarily speaking of a progression from being “traditional” to being “modern”. Chincherinos were well aware of the different historical attempts to “modernize” them. He was certainly expressing a natural desire for prosperity – regardless of any established “development” system at work – and also for regaining control over his and his family's lives. Similarly, whenever Augusta told her sons about making progress in life, she was not encouraging them to abandon the old ways; rather, she was alerting them about the need to identify the opportunities out there in the world and making the right choices in a rapidly changing world. Making the right choices in their particular context amounted to study (formal education), to become professionals and to keep up with the times without losing their roots. This was the opposite to what they and their sons criticized as “backwardness” and *pensamiento ancestral* (ancestral thinking), a type of thinking discordant with the new times and its requirements. Additionally, as inferred from Jacinto's views on the community, making progress for his sons amounted to forging a new student identity that stood in opposition to that of the peasant. In any case, what their position reflected was an understanding of change exclusive of an antagonistic use of the tradition/modernity binomial. Their use of the word *ancestral* evinced furthermore the ambiguity and ambivalence involved in uses of “tradition” (cf. Harris 1996: 14), as the term could also acquire positive connotations when they proudly spoke of their *costumbres ancestrales* (ancestral customs).

Many of my insights into social change in Chinchero came precisely from my observations of the interactions between parents and sons in the less visible sphere of the household. A tendency within certain anthropology has been to mourn the youngsters'

disregard of the world of their elders. For example, in their case study of the community of Huama, Washington Rozas and Delmia Blanco (2012) blame development and modernization agents (mass media, NGOs, State policies, evangelical churches, etc.) for the youth's blatant disrespect for their elders and for an acculturation leading to the decadence of the community and to identity conflicts. In a similar but less dramatic way in the Ecuadorian Amazon, Valdivia (ibid.) accounts for the difficulties of youths to navigate between a modernity embodied by the values instilled by the school and a simultaneous sense of loss with regard to the old ways of their parents and grandparents.

> In the meantime, in my household, Jacinto and Augusta liked to engage in the evenings with their sons in multi-topic conversations where their intergenerational differences were made clear. I enjoyed listening to those passionate exchanges where discrepant viewpoints put into dialectic and at times tense dialogue the two different but not necessarily irreconcilable worlds. Many times Augusta attacked the scientifically-oriented education that the boys received at School and in the University on the grounds that it was "materialistic" and imparted by "atheist" teachers. Her sons would laugh at her and replied that her beliefs, rites and stories were just superstitious, irrational and incompatible with her Catholic faith. These identity disputes reached a climax whenever Augusta declared herself a descendent of the Incas and the boys would mock her saying that she was just a mestiza like them. Often times the matter of discussion shifted towards the airport and its impacts. Amílcar and Lenin were convinced that it would bring development and progress to Chinchero, while Jacinto and Augusta often expressed their doubts and fears. Lenin would insist that Chinchero needed to grow and become a city, like Cuzco, because the countryside was backward. Amílcar held a similar view and criticised their cousin Eddy for wanting to become a paqo or ritual specialist. Instead of looking back to the past, they reasoned, he had to look to the future, to science and technology. Washington and Rober considered that traditions were preventing the town and its people from moving on and yet they clarified that it was not tradition in itself the problem, but rather the uncontrolled drinking that came along with it normally. The ambiguity in the adults' attitudes toward development had a reflection in the boys. On the one hand they maintained the pro-modernity and progress discourse; on the other, they could not hide their curiosity about their elders'

> world, a curiosity manifested for example in the absorption with which they listened to their parents' occasional storytelling sessions that deployed a fascinating world populated by eerie and dangerous liminal beings that captured the imagination of the youngsters.

"Our sons are ashamed of our traditions", my friend Jesús told me one day. There is, I believe, nothing regrettable in the younger generations' rebelliousness against the world of their parents and grandparents. As a part of life and of the process of individual growth, its dialectics may contribute to the internal dynamicity of a human group. At the same time, In the Andes many young people from a rural background are lured into city life and confronted with the seduction of new technologies that encode powerful and persuasive temporalities. Tourism is one of these technologies, by the way (see De la Cadena 2000: 303). Did Amilcar and his brothers suffered from "identity conflicts" or even from the "contradictions" of modernity as some commentators have entertained? Responses would necessary vary, I believe. I always saw Amílcar, the oldest son, as particularly uncomfortable in his double skin as both countryside and city boy and eager to get rid of the former, whereas his younger brothers seemed more settled in this regard. Eddy, their cousin, reflected on the topic one day under the lucid effects of severe chicha intoxication:

> "The experience of the city can be better or worse, it may change us more or less. It does not depend on the city but rather on each of us, and every case is different. In my case, like in other cases, it has helped me to clean my mind. I have made friends, some from rich families who have shown interest about my life in Chinchero and have asked me about our traditions. When I was younger and in Cuzco they asked me where I was from I had to lie. Not now anymore. I am proud of my town and my traditions and I will tell you more: they will come back with time."

For Eddy apparently there was no identity confusion involved in contact with "modern" life. Other testimonies I collected among young people in Chinchero who were studying or had studied in Cuzco pointed in the same direction. Interestingly, it was precisely among the youth where I found the greatest opposition to the airport. Magaly and Ivette (the former in her late teens, the later in her mid-twenties) argued that it was precisely because of their education in the city that the younger generations understood the

negative social and environmental impacts of the airport better than their less formally educated parents. Wilfredo toned down in turn these assertions by saying that, if they were offered money, the youth would change their mind as everybody else.

Young boys and girls, as I said, are usually personalities in construction who have not yet made up their minds with regard to certain important matters. As such, they may be more vulnerable than their adults and may be more prone to experiencing confusion, especially when the old ways and the new ways are presented to them in irreconcilable terms such that they feel pushed to choose between one of the other. But while I recognise the psychologically and culturally disrupting effects of an enforced modernization often presented as the only way forward and necessarily in conflict with backward customs to be overcome unless they can be commodified through tourism, I still find the idea of "identity conflicts" suspiciously reminiscent of a "two-world" theory that has typically depicted Amerindians as torn and lost, with one foot in "traditional life" and the other in the "modern world", tragically caught up between the two and incapable of clearly discerning the grounds on which they stand (see Berlo 1998: 125). The theory underestimates, as Valdivia puts it, Amerindians' ability to "shuttle" between worlds without losing a sense of who they are and of the soil that grounds them. It also obscures a long history of engagements with alterity seeking to assimilate its positive forces. Finally, the idea of "confusion" may well derive as well from fixed notions of identity imposed on them by people for whom, as Tilley has pointed out, "identity" may be the obsessive product of their own personal and social crisis. As implied in Eddy's words, the young people's rebelliousness could be part of their own life cycle, at the end of which a renovated interest in tradition might be awaiting.

The problem of tradition and change is thus one with which anthropology has had to grapple for a long time and this is the topic of the last subheading: to propose an alternative approach to change based on a different relationship with time and tradition, one that does justice to Andean notions and experiences and that help us to properly interpret, contextualize, and historicize recent events in Chinchero, like the tourist boom and the airport.

8.4 Towards a theory of change

Olivia Harris (1996) has written that Anthropology as a discipline has lacked a firm grasp on change. It has privileged stability and continuity in early developments, taking cultures, races and social structures as given entities in equilibrium or in long-term stability. The European intellectual tradition has fabricated a vision of the world as a stable object of contemplation divided into distinct and identifiable "things" (ibid: 2). Harris is here accounting for a British Anthropology theoretically dominated by a structural-functionalist perspective. She is leaving out other strains in the discipline that have emphasised instead cultural variation and change over long periods of time and have advocated for a combined interdisciplinary approach involving archaeology and ethnohistory alongside anthropology, such as the one represented by Kroeber and Boas in the US.

In what circumstances, Harris wonders, might it be arguable that situations of flux and transformation are not in themselves a certain sort of stability? To discuss tradition is to interrogate change, this author affirms. Reacting against previous modernist and structural anthropological "moments" that have separated past from present and tradition from modernity, she advocates the current orthodoxy of the postmodern "moment", where fluidity and indeterminacy overruns linear continuity or a systematic contrast between past and present. This approach emphasise s flux and change as constant processes, with an insistence on movement and impermanence where continuities are not interpreted as repetitions or as the inert presence of the past but rather as re-creations. Postmodernity, according to this author, advocates a general move against the reification of tradition and culture, rendering flux and change as permanent conditions and favouring models like Gadamer's (1975) "living traditions" that see the past as ground for the present (Harris ibid: 5-13).

One might argue that postmodernism does not really discover much that is new – the obvious fact that life is always about change and instability. What is more, claiming to overcome previous theoretical positions, postmodernism proves itself to be heir to the evolutionary anthropology it criticizes by partaking of the same sense of linearity and progress that is at the heart of intellectual life. These objections notwithstanding, Harris' position is of value insofar as she moves towards a more nuanced reading of tradition, one that distinguishes between different modalities of discourses about the past, and where tradition and change are perceived as context-dependent according to a diversity of local

practices (ibid:13). Other authors have further contributed to the demolition of the present/past divide providing specific ethnographic examples beyond the constraints of linear historicity. Christina Toren (1988) has shown that for Fijians tradition can accommodate historical contingency. By conceptualizing tradition not as set of reified "traits" but as "appropriate action" performed in the present, culture is transformed, its dynamicity affirmed, and change incorporated. If tradition is appropriate action, Toren concludes, the notion of transformation is contained within that of continuity and this is how the present flows smoothly out of the past.

What kind of ideas do we find in the Andes about change and time that enable us to understand change in this part of the world? If, going back to Storn's argument, "progress" and "development" are incompatible with an Andean cyclical temporality (or with whatever it may be left of it), how is Andean tradition able to accommodate change and what is change in sum?

As Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne has shown (1987), the Quechua/ Aymara concept of *Pacha* evokes both ideas of time and space. Time is conceptualized not as a linear movement but a series of ages, seasons, or turns that relate to each other according to a logic of encounter (*tinku)* and alternation *(kuti, ayni).* This may involve a complete spatio-temporal turnover (*pacha kuti)* whenever a change of extraordinary proportions occurs. In spatial terms, pacha is comprised of three "worlds" (the upper world, this world, and the underworld), a scheme that has led some anthropologists to postulate a temporal correlation for this three-fold division of the temporality of past, present and future. Bouysse-Cassagne disagrees and observes that this kind of western understanding of time obscures an Aymara understanding of history expressed in a pendulous movement that entails a spatio-temporal inversion (ibid.)

Bearing in mind this conceptualization, I would like to now resort to an ancient and recurrent motif in the Andean culture to visualize what I take to be the shape of change and time in the Andes. I am by no means the first one in proposing the spiral (or even the meander, or the zigzag) as a convenient representation of cyclical time in the Region (cf. Ribera 2012: 96; Randall 1982; Allen 1982), even more than the often cited circle. Compared to the spiral, the circle is a bounded and static form that implies endless repetition and return to the same point. It stands, from this perspective, for an eternal form devoid of history and time. The spiral, on the contrary, is an open-ended form that conveys an internal and ongoing dynamicity. Like a cyclone, it moves in unanticipated

directions and the energy of its core transmitted to the edge is, as Ribera puts it, “a continuous feedback from the past to the future” (ibid: 96). Swirling around itself in circles, the spiral accommodates the idea of alternation and return without falling into mere repetition or a passive acceptance of a given fate. Rather, it captures the dynamic continuity and organic interdependence between the past-present system. Furthermore, its centripetal force attracts and absorbs outside elements and, by assimilating them into its own body, it propels further on. Here, “change” cannot be a rupture but the continuation of a process strengthened from its source. In Rivera's words, “...The present... contains within it the seeds of the future that emerges from the depths of the past.” (ibid: 96).

How does the spiral work in ethnographic practice? Jurgen Golte (1980) has disclosed the polycyclical nature of an Andean rationality that simultaneously handles different agrarian cycles and combines them with other seasonal activities. This is truly a lived spiral. Today, nobody speaks in terms of *pachakutis* in Chinchero anymore, to my knowledge; but the idea of *kuti* recurrently surfaces in the everyday language as well as in the textile designs. Moreover, as I have shown before in this thesis, the concept of *muyuy* is still an omnipresent and key organizing principle of sociality, ranging from the yearly alternation in office of traditional authorities and posts, to the seasonal use and distribution of communal land, or to the rotation of the weavers in the centres to take care of the different tasks, all of it within a calendrical context. The movement of muyuy is essentiality rotational and enables the renovation of social life by ensuring a permanent circulation of people and things in accord to old patterns permanently updated through customary action. Similarly, other ruling social principles like *ayni*, whose temporal dimension has often been overlooked or downplayed to emphasise the ideal of reciprocity, is charged with the temporality of the pendulum, much like *kuti* resonates with the idea of a return within a back and forth swing. Rotation, in sum, is tradition in motion, as much as it can be said to be history updated.

In a recent talk at the University of St Andrews, Berenice Gaillemin explained how in the Bolivian town of San Lucas de Chuquisaca, contemporary Catholic instruction takes place in round clay models on which the main characters and elements of the story, including their spatial references, have been distributed. The reading (and occasionally the singing) of the story follows a spiraling pattern, starting from the center and spreading in circles towards the edge, conflating time and space as the different chronological stations unfold

along the concentric rings. These clay catechisms are destroyed every year after having brought the past back to life again via performance. Trying to find an answer for their ephemeral condition, Gaillemin speculates that they may function within a communal calendrical context tied to the annual appointment and renovation of political posts. If this was true, it would strongly reinforce the connection between the spiral and muyuy, a connection already intimated in the evidence that the famous Nasca geoglyphs, some of them spirals, were walked and danced in Pre-Hispanic times in performances ultimately leading to the renovation of the ethnic groups that created and used them (cf. Silverman and Proulx 2008). It would reinforce as well the proposition of the spiral as an apt conveyor of the contingent dynamism of history capable of incorporating new elements as it moves in a non-linear, open-ended trajectory.

From this discussion we could derive a certain premise, arguing that change, more than an object of study, is above all an existential and historical condition, a mode of being in the world grounded in a permanent becoming. As a state of motion, its "other" is not so much continuity, tradition or permanence, but rather stagnation, paralysis and ossification. How can we study movement? Movement that, in addition, and as Shay (ibid) has remarked, is not necessarily coherent or in a continuing direction, nor is it one upon which the evaluation "good" may be placed?

Taking the perspective of cyclical time, exclusive of "progress" and of a forward/backward linear trajectory, the kind of questions we might want to ask would not be of the kind, "where does tradition end and change start?" (Eriksen & Nielsen 2001: 95). Rather, we might want to investigate in what *pacha*, cycle, or spiral ring we are now and where is this spiral heading to? Consequently, we would have to put it in relation not with what came before in time but, according to the logic of inversion and alternation, to what is spatially underneath (or behind) but still exists in the same time. Among the Aymaras, this movement is contained in the expectation that the dead, who are buried underneath the living like seeds, will rise in the future, like the Sun, for the Final Judgment and will inaugurate a new pacha or era that will be energized with their fertilizing powers (Bouysse-Cassagne ibid: 56; see also Randall ibid.). The native chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala (1955) reports a similar scheme among Andeans at the time of contact with the Spanish. The risk is how to handle these ideas without falling into millenarianisms or without ignoring the weight of history. The possibility for regression or progression, says Rivera, or for the repetition or the overcoming of the past occupies every present

conjuncture. If the present contains the seeds of the future that emerge in turn from the depths of the past, a commitment to the present and its struggles is necessary to ensure a renewal of the world (pachakuti) and the defeat of those who want to preserve the past with its privileges (ibid: 96).

Past changes can be seen as concentric rings that departed from a cultural core only to return with a renovated impulse after being digested and integrated back into tradition. The successive incorporation of changes over history had produced a growing resilience and capacity for transformation, key to an Amerindian survival strategy based on the successful incorporation of the past into the present. An example of this would be the acknowledged presence of the ancestors-gentiles metamorphosed in current landscape features, animals, bones, objects, huacas, myths, etc. The haciendas, the road, the school, the Agrarian Reform, and other interventions in Chinchero have had arguably both a disintegrating and reconstituting effect. This not to say that all interventions are similar in shape and content, nor that their effects are equal.

A difference should be made between types of interventions and change. In a conversation with Carlos Quispe, he distinguished between a natural change that was not imposed and that basically responded to internal dynamics, and a forced change driven mainly by external agents with logics alien to those of the local population. I would basically agree with Carlos, so long as we trace a permeable border between what is "internal" and "external" to the communities. Once this has been done, we could characterize "natural" change as paced, in tune with tradition, slow enough for the modifications introduced to settle down, be "digested" and appropriated, and thus lead to the regeneration of the social body. This kind of change responds to the dynamics of the spiral and is therefore potentially ethnogenetic. Forced change, to the contrary, does temporal violence by either artificially slowing down (cultural conservation) or exponentially speeding up (airport) time. Both are significantly attributes of tourism development and thus potentially ethnocidal.

Building up on this idea of different kinds of change, in the conclusions to this thesis I will pick up on the main threads studied to calibrate the dimension and nature of current changes and put them into perspective. Lastly, I will attempt to provide a more elaborate answer to one of the main questions posed in the introduction: can tourism in Chinchero be considered an ethnogenetic process?

9. FINAL THOUGHTS BY THE TOURIST-ANTHROPOLOGIST

Throughout this thesis, I have maintained that, ethnic tourism in Chinchero creates its Other by colonizing the time of its subjects through a variety of distancing devices. Foremost among these devices, are the ideology and politics of cultural conservation, the *heritagization* of sociocultural practices, and the implementation of development programs in the name of the tourist. These ideas are the result of my own fieldwork encounters, and also receive inspiration from Fabian's argument about the anthropological reliance on allochrony and the negation of coevalness to create its Other. All of these mechanisms, I have argued, have only helped to perpetuate a fallacious traditional/modern dichotomy on which the whole machinery of the tourist industry rests. The mastery of time therefore becomes an instrument of political and economic control in the hands of the State, and in the representational practices of the tourist agents, ways of dealing with time and representation, that ensure the continuation of colonial legacy in different guises.

The main question that guides this concluding section is whether ethnic tourism can be a form of ethnogenesis; that is, a process of ethnic regeneration and redefinition of a given group in a situation of cultural contact often laden with power asymmetries. A related question, when put into a historical comparative perspective, would come from asking how tourism differs from other significant changes or contacts in the history of Chinchero, a history (or set of histories) that presents itself to us as a continuous reshuffling of societies that have had to accommodate to the new conditions generated by successive irruptions in the Andean landscape.

Alcida Ramos has written that contact with the whites has contributed to the renewal of Indian tradition and that a static tradition is a dead tradition (1988: 227). In the midst of destruction and disruptions brought about by the colonial and republican periods (also, if to a significantly lesser extent, by the Incas), the Andeans managed to rework and digest the new structures and power hierarchies into their own constructions and formations,

providing a sense of continuity amidst the destruction that surrounded them (Golte 1980: 62; Mumford 2012).

More recently, the agrarian reform, the road and a new wave of modernisation represented by the schooling system and other state institutions and agents, have left their trace in Chinchero. The same thing can be said of the increasing urbanization patterns derived from migration and temporary work in Cuzco and other cities, as well as of the widespread use of new technologies. Like previous historical tribulations, all of these changes, widely engaged by the Chincherinos, had been both disintegrating and reconstituting, as on the one hand they have confronted families with challenges to their customary ways of life and rhythms, while on the other they opened up for them new avenues for social mobility and economic improvement. In a sense, they have confirmed the characteristic interplay identifiable in Andean history between centrifugal and centripetal forces (or ethnogenetic and ethnocidal drives) operating simultaneously over the native populations, in a spiraling movement tending to integrate all sorts of alien and disparate elements into a renovated cultural core, an idea and a movement consistent with another long-standing Andean pattern of permanent ebbing and flowing between the town and the countryside (see Mumford ibid: 8).

Tourism is part of the latest wave of modernization that various developments and agents have encouraged since the early 1980s. Tourism arrived along with such changes and also served to intensify them. Today, bearing its own contours and peculiarities, tourism appears as the latest moment in a long contact history, one more large-scale intervention that the people, like those people in the past, are negotiating, appropriating, and absorbing. However, in spite of its apparently local and regional character, this is an operation launched on a global scale, one that has placed Chinchero within transnational networks and left Chinchero vulnerable to actors with the power to greatly influence the fate and the course of developments from decision centres that can be located many miles away, a situation that substantially curtails the community's capacity for control over its dynamics. And yet, at first glance, considering the enthusiastic response from the villagers and the capacity of tourism to engage people into its economic wheel, the intervention has been highly successful and even re-energizing. The proliferation of weaving centres, the apparent recuperation of old-style clothing, the continuation of traditions such as the envarados, and the conservation of the archaeological and historical patrimony that supposedly afford the identification of current dwellers with their Pre-Hispanic ancestors,

and enhance a sense of identity and ethnic pride, plus the money flowing from the tourist activity, would further provide evidence for an ethnogenetic process currently occurring in town. A more detailed analysis, though, would necessarily challenge such claims.

Arguably, a popular contemporary term for ethnogenesis in tourist and academic imaginaries and discourses is “cultural revitalization”. Against mainstream narratives that attempt to trace a straightforward identification between tourism and the revitalization of cultures I have taken a critical stance. Here, I want to push my argument a little further. Cultures cannot be “revitalized” at will, let alone, as is often the case, by outsiders with a reifying view of cultures as timeless relics of a lost past that are worth salvaging as part of an arbitrarily defined universal heritage that justifies open access to them. Frequently, what is taken by “culture” are only the most ethnicised, aestheticized and romanticised elements of it, particularly those related with the arts and crafts, the rituals, and that which falls within the category of “tradition” and that as such can be marketed. But cultures are not reducible to traditions, not even to “living traditions”. This is normally the sphere where ethnic and cultural tourism operates. In this superficial and reductionist understanding, the symbolic aspect of culture is often dissociated from its economic and re-productive basis and from the landscape that sustains them all. For a society with agropastoralist economic basis, no true revitalization is possible without a reinvigoration of its landscape that amounts to creating the conditions for customary socioeconomic practices to continue and to be economically viable. These practices encourage the reproduction of generative relationships between the people, the land, and the other-than-human entities that affect their daily lives in different ways and that, like the myths, afford humans to tap into the fertilizing powers of the past. These relationships are embedded in quotidian actions like naming, walking, story-telling, and working the chacras, actions whose repetition and enactment in social performances ensure that the nurturing bond with the ancestors and the earth beings is kept alive and remembered. These forms of dwelling are the source and substance of history and identity condensed in the temporal materiality of the landscape.

The importance of maintaining agropastoralism lies not in the idea that it is just another “tradition” to be safeguarded, pleasing to peoples from countries where accelerated industrialization and urbanization have physically and symbolically relegated the countryside to a subordinate position where backwardness is at the same time synonymous with quaintness in a global hierarchy of value. Nor does it matter, because it

is by necessity a constitutive part of an "authentic" indigenous identity as opposed to the city. Rather, agropastoralism is important, first, because it provides material and economic security in times of crisis; and secondly, because, if economies are socially embedded, they then furnish the foundations for a host of social practices based on extensive reciprocity and cooperation webs that bind people together and reproduce culture at large.

Thus, revitalizing a culture would necessarily start by guaranteeing that the conditions needed for the continuation of this economic regime are met, while encouraging at the same time other complementary pathways for economic activity and diversification. This would amount, among other things, to ensuring fair and stable prices in the market for locally produced products. Unfortunately, neither the Chincherinos nor tourist promoters at the local level are in a position to determine market prices largely controlled by transnational corporations and global financial institutions. Not even the Peruvian Government, who is submissive to sweeping global neoliberal policies that seek to deregulate the markets, are able or willing to implement sound plans for integral rural development (cf. Mayer 2002). The point is that tourism-induced revitalisation programs tend to isolate and act upon fragmentary and static domains, like the crafts, or the oral tradition, without much consideration for the organic nature of cultures as articulated assemblages of interdependent fields of action in dynamic evolution. Intervening in one domain is likely to have repercussions on the others. As I said, lived cultural worlds, particularly those in non-hegemonic positions, are vulnerable to global international conditions that may strongly influence the orientation of small peripheral locations like Chinchero well beyond the predictions and the intentions of cultural revivalists.

Nor can tourism revitalize "dying cultures" by "preserving" them and therefore preventing them from moving on in other directions. If ethnic/heritage tourism promotes the "survival" of traditions, it risks doing so at the cost of extracting them from their social context and turn them into timeless objects of consumption for the tourist gaze. Turned into 'others' by a process of heritagization that simultaneously de-historizes them as changeless, these are largely disembodied traditions. Their practitioners, celebrated artisans and indigenous peoples, receive national and international recognition at the expense of remaining unchanged because, in a world that increasingly moves toward cultural uniformity as capitalism spreads (capitalism is a cultural system, not just an economic one; see Appadurai 2013: 11-48; Valdivia 2005: 289), consumable difference is

highly valued, so long as it does not challenge the hegemonic political and economic status quo.

As for the new impetus given to the textile tradition in Chinchero, this study has evinced that the current paradigm in town existing under the conditions favoured by the tourist industry is not that of the weaver, but rather that of the *comerciante*, as the locus of production has largely shifted from the household/workshop to other sites and to other hands, a move triggered by a market demand that far exceeds the reality of life in Chinchero. The textile workshops set up with the help and advice of the tourist industry and some NGOs, were conceived from the beginning as entrepreneurial spaces for marketing, catering, and selling, rather than for weaving. As such, they enforced new temporal patterns onto women and their families, and schemes that clashed with older ones, and that demanded a thorough reorganisation of household as well as of gender dynamics which has further discouraged women from weaving. Additionally, women have been pushed from production to representation and performance, and from innovation to repetition, as the structure of the workshops and their internal dynamics do not respond to the weavers' desires for promotion and professional improvement, but to the tourists' preconceived expectations and their search for the 'traditional' and the 'authentic'.

With regard to the conservation of the archaeological and historical patrimony of Chinchero, I have shown that certain policies driven by universalized assumptions and arbitrary definitions of what heritage is, and of how it should be managed and by whom, may only lead to conflict between competing interpretations of the past(s) and between different forms of relating to past material traces from the contingent standpoint of the present. The troubled temporalities involved in heritage conservation are likely to cause frictions, as local communities may justifiably prefer to prioritize current concerns rather than pay homage to a past toward which they may not feel any obligation, no matter what dominant discourses (coming from the State and academic professionals who do not share their daily struggles) may tell them. The unfortunate gap between both positions may have the undesired counter-effect of alienating people from their past even more, as disputed "heritage sites" are circumscribed, and appropriated by the nation-state through re-territorialization processes that entail the displacement of residents, and the banning of local practices and relationships grounded on the land. The isolation of sites and objects from current circulation inhibits the possibility for them to evolve naturally with the rest of the social dynamics and spaces, to acquire a new life, and to be safe from the profound

disjunction between the past and the present inherent in heritage interventions. At the same time the site's interpretation and management are exclusively left in the hands of an elite assumed to be in possession of an exclusive "scientific" knowledge often out of tune with local sensibilities as much anchored in historical experiences as in present needs.

In the light of the previous paragraphs it would appear that tourism in Chinchero as it is practiced today, is highly unlikely to effect a truly ethnogenetic impulse. If in the short-term tourism may strengthen some form of cultural life and generate income, its long-term effects remain to be seen. In the long-run, the politics of heritage and cultural conservation as colonising artifacts may end up silently killing regenerative dynamics by further eroding the traditional economic basis, by reducing culture to folklore and performance, by slowing down change or preventing necessary change to occur, by de-politicising heritage and tourism development, and by confining indigenous peoples to stereotypical roles such as stewards of the environment or custodians of pre-industrial practices and techniques regrettably lost in "developed" countries, marginalizing them from other opportunities that would require their dropping of their Indianness.

Is tourism fostering the emergence of new identities, or reinvigorating older ones in this part of the Andes? Identities are produced in relation – often in opposition – to others. They are historically constituted over time and in dialectical processes. They are the outcome of pronounced historical interfaces and processes in tension. In Chinchero, the reconfiguration of the ayllus in the aftermath of the Spanish invasion, the colonial and republican times marked by the haciendas, the landowners, and the gamonales, along with the Agrarian Reform, are most memorable events, as they bring forth past struggles centred on the ayllus' ability to regenerate themselves in times of disintegration, and on the property of the land against aggressive outsiders and social groups, struggles grounded in a landscape created, inhabited and travelled by ancestors whose traces have not disappeared.

What is left of this long contact history is that which authors like De la Cadena (2010: 348) and Wernke (2013: 295) called "fractal" identities; that is, flexible, compatible, and with no clear-cut edges subjectivities. Broadly speaking, Chincherinos do not suffer from identity conflicts nor do they regard identity matters as a top priority in their agendas, unless they can be manipulated for political and economic ends when important issues are at stake. By contrast, cultural tourism discourse often assumes and promotes the existence of "pure" or clearly distinct indigenous identities that once were almost lost and that can

be resurrected via the revitalization of traditions. It does so because this kind of tourism relies on difference and on the production of maximized identities for its own survival. Arguaby, so does the Peruvian State, interested in branding these distinct indigenous identities abroad for nation-building purposes within the vast tourist project that Peru has come to be today (see Silverman 2002).

Frank Salomon (2002: 493-494) has argued that a non-ethnic identity among the people of Huarochiri, in the Central Peruvian sierra, is prevalent and that these "Peruvian" and "citizen" identities derive from endogenous processes grounded in grassroots historical events, rather than from external liberators like during the Bolivarian era. This is applicable to Chinchero, if we remember the weight of a remembered folk history that is grounded in the land, the haciendas, the church, and the documents, and the struggles related to all of them. To some extent, ethnic tourism is one of these new "liberators" that provide the native peoples with an opportunity to gain back their lost, devitalized, or conflicting identities, as well as a "history" that they can be proud of. That many are buying into this opportunity is not surprising, as tourism takes place in a different contact situation. The dialectic that characterized those past memorable events and that went into the formation of folk history is largely gone. It is gone because there is no "enemy" out there, no oppressive presence against which to rise and assert the individual and collective self. Tourism is a friendly occupation that produces no readily noticeable historical tension. It has the virtue of disguising blatant structural inequalities and political discrimination under the blanket of an all-inclusive place for everyone in the system, as well as in the symbolic order that exalts artisans whilst simultaneously marginalizing them. At the same time, it creates a proper space for the recognition of ethnicities and of their commodification as long as they do not challenge the dominant order. The moment in which claims to "indigeneity" are made to push for political gains contrary to the dominant powers, like with the case of the airport, it will stop being an opportunity and become a problem.

The tourist industry and the Peruvian State in strategic partnership are the very bodies most interested in the revival of ethnic identities, peoples' responses to this call to enhance their indigeneity for the sake of tourist development may vary, as Chinchero is far from being a homogenous community. For many, the commercialization of their ethnicity is a quick and easy way forward and towards economic improvement. Others, however, are keener to make claims as fully established Peruvian citizens and are aware of the double-edged character of tourism as a subtle taming strategy that deactivates peoples'

political consciousness and rebelliousness. Is ethnogenesis, I wonder, truly possible without any sort of rebelliousness? The example of the airport is illustrative. Should a strong opposition to the project, or at least to the project in the terms proposed, have succeeded, it would have reinforced a sense of identity through a grassroots event, as Salomon (2002) has pointed out, and in a dialectical context of one more huge struggle for the land. But there is no trace of rebelliousness today in this part of the Andes…

Thus, in order to consider tourism in Chinchero as an unquestionable cultural and economic regenerative force, some basic conditions should be met: a) that local people be in control, b) of an economic sector within a diversified economy, c) relatively independent from larger macroeconomic flows dictated by a capitalist globalization, d) with a clear perspective of its long-term effects. Unfortunately none of these prerequisites are met. The systems of international tourism create the conditions for plantation economies in many non-western destinations, and Chinchero is no exception. Control is in the hands of agents who are for the most part external to the community, and the margin for manouevre that is afforded to the villagers is not enough to redress a situation of economic dependency in which tourism (and basically more tourism) is presented as the most straightforward road to “progress”.

Tourism and development normally go together in mainstream narratives. The ethnocidal potential of this association is well represented by the airport. Arguably, ethnogenetic processes always involve some degree of destruction followed by reconstruction. What happens if the degree of destruction is just too big, when the scale of the intervention is of colossal magnitude and the ensuing changes will predictably offer little hope or room for reconstruction because there will be not much left to be reconstructed? Am I being alarmist? Am I underestimating the Chincherinos' historical capacity to reconstitute themselves in times of crisis? Am I too romanticizing the Other by opposing this kind of change? Perhaps; but, is this not how the airport looks? Change that cannot be accommodated, a circle that exceeds the dimensions, inertias, and capacities of the spiral, something just out of scale and proportion and that cannot be absorbed or digested; a time of pachakuti or cosmic chaos in the Andean cyclical conception; “too much of a change”, in the words of Augusta. The first steps have been taken and they have been clearly disintegrating in Yanacona. Again, as in past situations, the land is in the eye of the hurricane. This time the comuneros have made money (in some cases a lot of money) out of selling their property and it would look like the deal has been advantageous

for them. But we could look at it as just one more episode in the long history of land privatization to which Andeans have been subject to. If in the past they were deprived of or pushed to sell their lands through a variety of legal maneuvers (see Thurner ibid.; Mumford ibid.), the murky way the process has been conducted resembles more than anything else one more step in a gradual historical process of encroachment, of which the recent expropriation of chacras in the space of the ruins for its transformation into a "site" is but another example. Chincherinos have sold their land and have made quick money with it, but in a near future many of them may find themselves with no money left and, worse still, with no land. This is indeed a general view in town, as is my own viewpoint. Already in 1981 Jesús Contreras, when assessing the impacts of the Agrarian Reform in Chinchero, wrote that the future airport that by then was already stirring the imagination and the economic hopes of many, could be just another mystification of the land. This mystification had come from the fact that the long-awaited Agrarian Reform had not resolved the structural problems of the agricultural sector (1981: 37-38). A similar and incipient frustration was beginning to be perceptible among the Chincherinos, who, by the time I was leaving the field, were seeing more clearly that the whole process was not being handled as they wanted, and that they did not have control over it. A new and bitter joke was beginning to circulate in town, as a follow-up of a very popular saying in Peru:

> When was Peru screwed up? When the Spanish came.
>
> When did Chinchero screw up? When we sold the land!

I would like to finish these conclusions with some words that Christine Franquemont wrote in the foreword to one of the latest books by Nilda Callañaupa (2012: ix-x), words that encapsulate well the spirit of this thesis:

> "Over the years (now more than forty) that I have known Chinchero, my orientation has shifted dramatically. At first, I was looking for objects and aspects of Chinchero culture that showed archaisms, present echoes of past glory that carried on traditions from ancient times and ways of doing things. Later, I learned to appreciate the value and distinction of the work and knowledge of today's Chinchero citizens, to see those achievements as having roots begun with ancient

times and peoples. I came to understand the continuous thread that links the past with the present (and, we hope, the future), and also to accept that change is what gives that thread integrity, keeps it unbroken, and central to life and lives."

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University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

20 April 2012
Pablo Garcia
Department of Social Anthropology

Dear Pablo

Thank you for submitting your ethical application, which was considered at the Social Anthropology Ethics Committee meeting on 20 April 2012 when the following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form

The Social Anthropology Ethics Committee has been delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has granted this application ethical approval. The particulars relating to the approved project are as follows -

Approval Code:	SA8623	**Approved on:**	22/4/12	**Approval Expiry:**	21/1/15
Project Title:	Modern irruptions in a traditional setting: the changing landscapes of Chinchero				
Researcher(s):	Pablo Garcia				
Supervisor(s):	Professor Tristan Platt				

Approval is awarded for three years. Projects which have not commenced within two years of approval must be re-submitted for review by your School Ethics Committee. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year approval period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

If you make any changes to the project outlined in your approved ethical application form, you should inform your supervisor and seek advice on the ethical implications of those changes from the School Ethics Convener who may advise you to complete and submit an ethical amendment form for review.

Any adverse incident which occurs during the course of conducting your research must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee who will advise you on the appropriate action to be taken.

Approval is given on the understanding that you conduct your research as outlined in your application and in compliance with UTREC Guidelines and Policies (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelinespolicies/). You are also advised to ensure that you procure and handle your research data within the provisions of the Data Provision Act 1998 and in accordance with any conditions of funding incumbent upon you.

Yours sincerely

Convener of the School Ethics Committee

cc Supervisor

Social Anthropology Ethics Committee
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