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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A NATIVE ANDEAN
COMMUNITY.

University of Washington, Ph.D., 1972
Anthropology

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A
NATIVE ANDEAN COMMUNITY

by

STEVEN SEBASTIAN WEBSTER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

1972

Approved by James B. Weaver
(Chairman of Supervisory Committee)

Department Anthropology
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Date 5 June 1972

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Date: May 2, 1972

We have carefully read the dissertation entitled The Social Organization
of a Native Andean Community

Steven S. Webster submitted by
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
and recommend its acceptance. In support of this recommendation we present the following
joint statement of evaluation to be filed with the dissertation.

The dissertation is concerned with a remote, Quechua-speaking community, Q'ero, of the eastern edge--the ceja de la montana--of the south Central Andes. The Q'eros exploit a multi-zonal habitat by means of a mixed agricultural and pastoral technology which is examined in detail. The colonial and hacienda history of the group and their present "accommodated tribal" status are described, showing the degree to which at the present time Q'ero may be considered socially and economically autonomous. The bulk of the study and its focus concerns the flexible use by families and kin groups of jural rules, especially customs of marriage, residence, and inheritance, in adapting their size and their sex, age, and kinship composition, as producing and consuming units, to the resources accessible to them. The existence and nature of a social form, the "parallel kindred," is explored as representative of the cognatic structure of Quechua society. Previously alluded to but often inconclusively or ambiguously, this aspect receives considerable definition in the present study, especially in light of the marital alliance pattern and the relation of Q'ero social organization to the resources of their niche. The quality of resources varies within each resource category as well as area to area within the larger habitat. The inheritance of resources varies from kin-type to kin-type. The access of a given domestic unit to resources thus varies from time to time as well as from other units. And the size and composition of the domestic groups--the users of resources--also varies from one to another, as well as from one time to another in the same group. A cyclic, "push-pull" pattern is analytically shown in the adjustment of the personnel of the several constituent kin-groups of Q'ero within the established rules of the system to available resources. The ecological and structural basis of Q'ero's relative self-containment becomes understandable, as well as the dynamics of a particular social system. The resulting description and analysis are meticulous and self-critical, and stand as a substantial contribution to the literature of social ecology. In the particular case of Q'ero, they are also a contribution to the knowledge of modern Andean societies and cultures.

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Preface

I was initially motivated to carry out fieldwork in the south Central Andes because this area combined a spectacular mountain topography and opportunity for research among an aboriginal mountain people. As my research plans progressed I was excited to realize that opportunities for original contributions abounded. Despite the size and importance of monolingual Quechua and Aymara linguistic groups, modern ethnographic study among the native communities of this area remained surprisingly sparse and superficial.¹ I hoped to advance my research sufficiently in domains of social organization to contribute toward the knowledge that was just beginning to accumulate on the Quechua, and concern myself especially with matters of law and morality in the native community.

My objectives in this last regard could have been achieved had I chosen a somewhat more acculturated native community less remotely situated than Q'ero. But instead I succumbed to the temptation to do my research in one of the most traditional communities among the many ethnic enclaves of the area, and in a striking ecological system that also seemed to cry out for closer examination before the slow but steady march of social change radically modified it. I think that what I was able to learn of Q'ero social organization and ecology is the best contribution I could hope to make to Central Andean ethnography at this time, and I do not regret my decision. However, although the full implications were not immediately apparent to me, the cultural and geographical remoteness entailed in my decision to carry out research in Q'ero gradually forced me to forego my intentions of ground-breaking research in law and morals and a cooperative research experience with my family.

The awareness of ignorance and inundation of humility that fieldwork in an alien society should precipitate in the social anthropologist was never

relieved by candid cooperation from the Q'eros, who were unable fully to trust, or even comprehend, my motives for living with them. Although the more fundamental features of their social organization gradually became clear to me, understanding of its elaborations in native polity, law, and supernatural powers could not be gained in this first short apprenticeship. The community is composed of some eighty mobile families widely dispersed in a basin of several rugged mountain valleys, furthermore removed from roads by one to three days of narrow trails and high passes which can be traversed only on foot or by horseback. The grim portents of usually foul weather, resupply difficulties, emergency evacuation, the necessity of my usual absence from any central location in pursuit of the highly mobile community, and the difficulty of joint research with Lois in such a situation while caring for ourselves and our two little boys, only slowly overcame the drive of my unrealistic optimism. Although Lois and the boys immensely enjoyed our two periods together in Q'ero, and suffered in good spirit the difficult and exhausting exposures of the journey there, it soon became apparent that they would best remain in Cuzco during most of my research. I joined them there periodically for companionship, reassurance, and the indulgence of my other ethnocentric needs as a child of my culture. I was in the Central Andes for about fifteen months and my research was underway from October 1969 to November 1970. I departed with an understanding for the rudiments of their way of life, and groundwork for further research.

Every social anthropologist faces the difficulty of comprehending despite the confrontation of his subjects' ethnocentricity and his own. In tribal cultures, unburdened by particular prejudices toward particular alien roles, he hopes to overcome a general fear and confusion harbored by

the people regarding outsiders, and become accepted as a naive child who needs to learn. On the other hand, in a peasant society or any colonialized society, he confronts an array of established prejudices and presumptions about alien roles all too familiar to the subjugated people. He hopes at least to win the confidence of these people by demonstrating that he fits none of the suspect roles and that his purposes pose no threat to them; only at best will he be accepted, and accept, as a child.

In Q'ero I was confronted by the vague fear and confusion characteristic of an isolated tribal people, but grown impenetrable and hostile through a millenium of accommodations to highland colonial regimes. The Q'eros were not a peasant people in the usual sense, and had no particular presumptions or prejudices which I could hope to overcome; rather they simply did not know how to classify me, not even in terms of the surrounding mestizo culture with which they remain unfamiliar. But neither could they fully accept me as unthreatening, nor as a child; a succession of dominant highland societies from before Tiahuanaco, through the Incas and the Spanish Viceroyalty to the present Republican nation, had evidently taught them an adamant, if vague, suspicion. I could not effectively counter their suspicions that I was coveting their land as a patron, or preparing an inquisition of their customs as a priest, or representing the new and fearful powers of the Reforma Agraria, because their ideas of these roles were amorphous and so not subject to counter-demonstration. In general, I fell into an ambivalent role as merely a strange interloper in the accustomed tranquility and privacy of the community, to be treated with impatient evasion, if I was requiring a response, or teased like a boring child if they required a response. The evasiveness and suspicion characteristic of the Q'eros, and probably to a lesser degree of most Andean natives and peasants, is certainly based on a long habituated strategy of anonymity and obscurity which

has been successful in protecting them from the incursions of militant religions and exploitive colonial economies. The intensity of this behavior pattern reduces in direct proportion to the degree of threat which the Q'eros perceive in an outsider, and they usually treat one another with warmth and openness. Some evidence suggests, on the other hand, that secrecy is also motivated by a need to maintain appropriately sacrosanct relations with extraordinary powers of the native pantheon.

My first contact with the Q'eros was in an exploratory hike through their region with a friend who was interested in the heavily glaciated Ayakachi range, behind which Q'ero is located (see Map 1). Rain and dense fog, sweeping up from the montana 10,000' below, was only occasionally relieved by sunshine. We passed through several of the Q'ero hamlets, found them deserted, and encountered (or rather, surprised) only two people in as many days. When I arranged a meeting with several of them, in a village outside their region where they were buying llamas, they met my request to return with them with a firm negative consensus, countering simply "What would the others say if we brought him back with us?" I entered their region again alone, managed to encounter their most acculturated leader in a high pass (in driving sleet), and arranged to meet him in Cuzco. There I sought the recommendation of Professor Oscar Nuñez del Prado, an eminent Peruvian anthropologist who had gained the guarded trust of the Q'eros by managing the expropriation of their lands in their behalf and by demonstrating continuous interest and concern for their culture. Nuñez del Prado vouched for the harmlessness of my goals in Q'ero, winning me admission to the community; but I eventually realized that this involved the acquiescence of only one Q'ero leader who bore no special authority (and who never risked telling others of his experience). In effect the permission only furnished me with limited rights to live temporarily in the house of a friend of his. His

friend turned out to be one of the most powerful oracles in the community, so the strength of the respect he enjoyed weathered the criticism he received for accepting me. My rights to stay, however, had continuously to be vindicated by explanations and discussion.

I proceeded to make the necessary logistic preparations for travel between Cuzco and Q'ero, and residence in Q'ero. Fortunately, Otto and Eduardo DeBary and their families lived on their hacienda near the road-head nearest to the region, and through interest in my research and extraordinary hospitality furnished me with accommodation and comfort whenever I passed to or from Q'ero.² No public transportation passed between Cuzco and the road-head (132 kilometers) except unscheduled, open, and dangerous cargo trucks, and after several trips on them I decided to buy an automobile. I had twice traveled on foot the fifty kilometers between the road-head and Q'ero (and would several times again) and similarly determined to buy a horse. Atuh Saruh ("one-who-steps-on-foxes") was sufficiently strong and sure-footed to get me and many provisions (or on other occasions Lois or the children) to Q'ero, and swift enough, at least on returning, to furnish rapid transport to the Hacienda Ccapana in case of emergency.³ The narrow and steep trails sometimes collapse and are disconcertingly close to the brink of precipices of several hundred feet, but also provide magnificent panoramas of the glacier-laden Cordillera Vilcanota. I was established in the ritual center of Q'ero about two months after my first exploration of the region.

My presence was tolerated. I became the object of open curiosity from the youths, and speculative suspicion from the adults. The village in which I settled, although the location most central to the scattered hamlets of the community, proved to be empty most of the time. The Q'eros spent a good deal of their time in the valley-head herding hamlets 2-3000' higher in the

basin, but more than half of their time was spent in widely dispersed pastures and fields, and crossing 14,000' passes or descending gorges to as low as 6,000' to get to these locations (see Map 2). The rare times that I could locate them at rest in their huts or camps, or lure them to my own hut, one or both of us was taking refuge from the cold rain and foggy mist which is usual in Q'ero. We would spend some time in the exchange of formalities of hospitality and graciousness, and often before any conversation could begin the encounter would be interrupted by one of us falling into exhausted sleep.

After the preliminaries of hospitality, and when I felt my hosts had adjusted to my presence, I would perhaps begin some questions. ⁴ Rarely were answers straightforward. The Q'eros usually met my direct questions, no matter how innocuous and casual, with simple denials, pleas of ignorance, or elaborate evasions. Almost never was information volunteered, no matter how trivial. Their objective was to break off serious discussion with me, and return to the random chatter of weather or trips, or better still, politely to encourage my departure from their hamlet. If I took the tactic of trying to follow their conversation, asking relevant questions on opportunity, they would similarly brush the questions off and change the subject. I would carefully try to avoid direct questions bearing on sensitive topics such as property, production, customary litigation, or supernatural practices. My most innocent questions, however, were supposed to be insidious. My request for a person's name was sometimes taken as an affront and always answered with a noncommittal "Naa...aaa" ("umm...") or, if I was insistent, perhaps a first name would be divulged. I was frequently given an altogether false name, or the name of someone else in the community. I struggled in my genealogies with "Marianu Acarapi" until I was ultimately told (soon before my final departure) that no such person existed, and it dawned on me that Aka-

rapi in Quechua means roughly "really in the shit". Indeed, I repeatedly met people who purported to be him when they realized that I was not sure whom they really were. (Of the highly mobile community of eighty-two families, I remained unsure of my ability to recognize and place most of the females and several of the younger males even late in my research.)

Although the Q'eros live in almost a dozen hamlets scattered in the valley-heads several kilometers above the central village names Q'ero, and the latter is usually completely deserted, the people nevertheless invariably respond "Q'ero" when asked where they live. This sort of vagueness is customary with all outsiders including itinerant merchants, unless they are personally known. Also in this case, patient and gentle insistence was often an affront, resulting in my deception, or perhaps a grudging admission such as the following: "Where do you live?" "In Q'ero." "Yes, but where, Kolpa K'uchu? Qocha Moqo? Chuwa Chuwa? or one of the other hamlets in Q'ero?" "Yes, there." "But which one?" "The one over there." "Oh, Kolpa K'uchu?" "Well, I might live there, but don't you already know?" Another time I approached a little boy, about six years old, and asked him his name, giving him candy, and cigarettes for his family: "What's your name?" "Naa..aaa." "I'm Esteang; what's your name?" "Naa..aaa..Santus." "Santos what?" "Yes, Santus." "What are your father's and mother's names?" "I'm sorry, I can't tell you that." It was another little boy and girl from whom I first gathered the fictitious and ridiculous name of "Marianu Acarapi," their alleged father. Extracting genealogy was even more harrowing. When it provided convenient evasion, the names of the dead could not be uttered at all. Most people would brush off my first probes with the claim that they had no family, and were left waxcha ("poor" or "orphaned").

Questions of a more complex nature, phrased to require more than a "yes" or "no," were ignored or treated as incomprehensible. I would often

finally be forced to convert them into mere leading questions, at which time the informant would delightedly comprehend meaning, and casually say "no." This answer usually left me with no recourse but to leave off questioning, at least on that topic. Simple denials are hard to elaborate upon or gently controvert for the sake of further discussion; persistence quickly exasperates the Q'eros. Usually the impatient evasion at which the Q'ero were so expert outlasted my boldness and injured the cheek I needed to begin questioning in the first place. I would often be satisfied to retreat to chatter about the weather and trips, and become sufficiently quiet and polite to assure myself a departure from the family at least more amiable than my arrival.

When such disheartening responses reduced me to silence, or when I was exhausted by travel or preoccupied in the drudgeries necessitated by eating, sleeping, movement around the region, and recording data, I became the object of the Q'eros' wonderful sense of humor. When I was not requiring responses of them their guard was dropped and they became natives sovereign in their own domain, evincing little respect for the outsider. I spent a great deal of time in the valley-head hamlets and so often slept in their houses. They would awake several hours before dawn and while filling the low windowless stone and thatch huts with the smoke of their cooking fires, chatter and laugh endlessly, and poke my sleeping bag. At about dawn, when I had had enough and was awake and ready to converse, they would either leave for work in their fields or pastures, or go back to sleep. Other times when they knew I was not ready to ask questions, they would huddle so close around me (with noses pressed to my notebook, hilariously pretending to each other that they were reading) that I would stifle in the sweat and smoke-soaked folds of their several ponchos. The younger men would even sprawl in my lap, showing off their familiarity. Most of their jokes, of

course, I could not understand; I would silently pout, supposing that they were at my expense, and they would redouble their efforts to force me to do something else entertaining. An attempt to ask questions of a group of Q'eros usually disintegrated into jokes and banter, during which anything I would say occasioned great mirth and no answers.

This burlesque and hilarity, appearing when defensive evasions were not deemed necessary, at least had welcome overtones of friendliness. Rarely was a hostility manifest. Once when Lois and I were crossing a shallow stream at dusk, with our children in our arms and leading the horse, large rocks were thrown down on us from the dark bluff high above. Of course my pursuit ended fruitless in silent moonlight, and I was assured by several sincere Q'eros that it was only the pranks of children, or a kukuchi (ghost). Twice my horse was set free from his tether, and he returned loose to his distant hacienda home, leaving me to walk out the forty miles to the road-head to recover him. But this was prank rather than malice, at least the first time. Only a few times was I involved in altercations with other men, and these were limited to verbal bluffs and implied threats; my efforts at reserve and tranquility, their own most respected response, seemed to acquit me well and leave me on good terms with them. In my more objective moments, I realized that the expression of such open anger, like the joking and ridicule at my expense, tacitly demonstrated that I was often considered an equal. At least I was not simply subjected to the inscrutable obsequious duplicity tendered the Peruvian mestizo in order to perpetuate his illusion that the indio is a dull and unmanageable "brute."

Despite the frequent frustrations of my efforts, my respect for the Q'ero grew, and I came to feel a great deal of affection for some of them. Loneliness, living intimately with them, and sharing the same difficult environment, made me feel close to them even though many aspects of their way

of life continued to evade my understanding. My knowledge of their culture was derived from many moments with many of them in many settings all over their region, many fragments pieced together. Never was I able to develop a stable relationship with a special informant. The difficulty of locating a particular individual led me to depend more on several families whose guarded trust I won, one of whom I could usually locate within a few days of searching through the scattered hamlets and camps. I was sometimes hurt that my warmth and trust toward the Q'eros was not more often reciprocated as it was among themselves. Only rarely did I feel accepted, even liked: the sharing of coca leaves as among equals; the serene silence of a night vigil in the cold mist of a mountain side; mourning the death of a mutual friend; long hard hours on the journey of a pilgrimage, through the tangled vines of the jungle or climbing toward an icy white peak in the night; carrying a fearful Q'ero boy across a log over the turbulent river; being ritually handed and forced to drink the two wooden q'eros of maize beer, in the crowded, sweaty, flute-piping, foot-thumping darkness of a house. But to the end I remained an interloper in most social contexts of the Q'ero.

NOTES

1

I have surveyed the ethnographic literature bearing on social organization of highland Peru in an annotated bibliography which is useful through about 1968 (Webster 1970). In this bibliography I argue briefly that indigenous (native) cultural components of highland society have generally been neglected in research, which on the other hand has progressed recently in cultural components best characterized as "mestizo." I pursued this perspective, and in a paper read at the 1971 meetings of the American Anthropological Association (Webster 1971), suggested the fruitfulness of the plural society model as it has so far been developed primarily with African studies. A far more complete bibliography covering the years 1900-1968 with particular thoroughness in Peruvian publications, and supplemented by resumes of contents, was published in three volumes by the Instituto Indigenista Peruano, Ministerio de Trabajo y Comunidades (Lima) in 1968. An institution currently sponsoring considerable research and publication regarding social or-

ganization of highland Peru is the Instituto Estudios Peruanos (Horacio Urteaga 694, Lima 11). Little of this important work came to my attention in time to include it in the annotated bibliography, but a current list of available publications can be obtained from IEP. Another important source soon to appear will be the Actas of the 39th meeting of the International Congress of Americanists, held in Lima in 1970 and being published there.

2

A close friendship developed between the DeBarys and ourselves, and the gracious Hacienda Ccapana was often a home for Lois and our boys while I was in Q'ero (and care for my horse when I was not). The DeBary family was multilingual (Eduardo possesses the rare skill of fluency in Quechua and bilingualism in English and Spanish) and had some familiarity with Q'ero as well as a sincere interest in the folkways of the region. Although the laborious management of their progressive hacienda left them little time to directly assist me, their constant preoccupation to support my research effort and guard against emergencies was a great assurance.

3

Unless otherwise noted, glosses will be from the Cuzco dialect of Quechua. Orthography of native terms is in accord with the standard linguistic notation utilized by Donald Solá, a modern linguistic authority on the various dialects of Quechua. Solá has for several years organized courses in elementary Quechua for Cornell University, but most of his grammars and texts remain available only in mimeographed form.

4

The Q'eros speak only Quechua, with virtually no ability in Spanish. My first several months of research was without benefit of interpreter or assistant, because I wished to avoid the increased hostility and evasion which would unavoidably result were I to bring with me a bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. Such a misti (mestizo, or Peruvian of mixed culture) is ipso facto a representative of the surrounding dominant society, and would be assumed to be a threat even more clearly than I. I also wished to learn Quechua and insofar as possible carry out my research directly with the Q'eros without hazarding the distortions and ellipses tendered by an assistant who enjoys the questionable advantage of "knowing" the people. Toward the end of my research, when I had won the reserved trust of some of the Q'eros and knew them all, and had sufficient ability in Quechua to detect some distortions of translation, I began to work part of the time with a particularly sensitive and bright Quechua native of a nearby hacienda community. Luychu ("valley deer") could speak Spanish about as poorly as I could, and was beginning to guardedly display other symbols of class mobility. But he was previously known by some of the Q'eros and remained sufficiently native in cultural orientation to win the trust of many of the others. Luycho and I worked with one another in both Quechua and Spanish. Of course his fluency in Quechua enabled me to avoid confusions which alone I had to accept and work out. He was also a second pair of eyes and ears attuned to the broader outlines of Q'ero culture; we would discuss these things at hours when we were unable to find informants. Although Luychu was with me for only short periods, my information input was vastly increased at these times. Another person who was of assistance to me in this regard was Edmundo Gongora, an anthropology student at the University of Cuzco who was fluent in Quechua (a rare skill among those fortunate enough to attend the University) as well as avidly interested in native culture and adventurous enough to undertake an expedition to Q'ero.

He accompanied me and Luychu in a two-week census and questionnaire program throughout the community.

Introduction

This study is concerned with the social organization of a native Andean community. My understanding of the "native" community, as distinct from other major components of south Central Andean social organization, is discussed in Chapter 3. Social organization is the network of activities, structured by institutions, rules and pragmatics, characteristic of a given social group. Differences in the frequency and quality of such activities is the usual criterion for loose discriminations between social groups of different scale: families, kingroups, communities, nations, and so on. Q'ero is located about 100 miles due east of Cuzco on the flanks of the eastern cordillera of the south Central Andes, and in 1969 and 1970 was composed of about 376 persons in 82 families and 52 domestic groups, living in more than a dozen settlements dispersed throughout a mountainous basin several miles in diameter. It is best defined as a community because, although it is not a single localized settlement, it is tightly integrated socially, economically, ritually, and politically. Internally these bonds strengthen still more, but take on the quality of kinship or affinity; externally they attenuate rapidly and take on the quality of the dominant economy and polity of the area and nation. These same parameters apply similarly to the wider cultural region of Q'ero; however, it is best to perceive this region as composed of several native communities insofar as each is predominantly endogamous, as well as economically, ritually, and politically independent of one another. The community of Q'ero appeared to me to be an ideal "social isolate," small and integral enough for eventual comprehension through the method of participant observation, yet geographically large and diverse enough to magnify the features of its ecological setting in a high mountain environment.

The prima facie characteristics of social organizational integrity and spectacular ecosystematic adaptation drew me to Q'ero. My theoretical biases inclined me to favor the former in my research, but the overbearing importance of the natural environment in the Andean setting increasingly forced a broadening of my attentions, and occupies over a third of my analysis in this study. The ecosystem of Q'ero was omnipresent between the awesome glistening silence of the peaks and glaciers and the misty abyss of the jungle which bracket the upper and lower extremities of the community. My analysis of the social organization of Q'ero must first take careful account of the ecological niche of the community, in which framework the social system and ecosystem are two sides of the same coin. The ecosystematic point of view facilitates the discussion of the settlement pattern and native economy of the community. It is only after these fundamentals (also routine preoccupations of the Q'eros) have been discussed that closer examination of the social organization can appropriately be undertaken. But furthermore, because neither Q'ero nor any other community is really a "social isolate," an understanding of the native economy and other aspects of social organization must be based on some appreciation of the wider social and cultural context of the community in the surrounding area of the south Central Andes.

Consequently, the first part of the study (Chapters 1-3) is devoted to a brief consideration of some of the more important external influences bearing on the development and current social organization of the community. The momentous and penetrating effects of the Hispanic colonialization program, probably even more than that of preceding regimes, left no region of nuclear America unaffected. Moreover, the dense aboriginal population and network of commerce and communication which persists to the present tends to homogenize highland culture in its continuous processes of change. The cultural region of Q'ero clearly constitutes an ethnic enclave in the south Central Andes,

but its internal organization is to some considerable extent a product of interaction with surrounding influences in the past and present. My concern in the first part is to assess the nature and extent of these influences insofar as the available evidence indicates. Implicit throughout this discussion is the analytic distinction between a "peasant" and a "tribal" society, a discrimination which is useful only insofar as it clarifies the form of economic, social, and political interaction between social groups. I assume that integration of these institutional domains subordinate to their counterparts in the social organization of the surrounding area reflects peasant social organization, whereas autonomy or de facto parity reflect tribal social organization; on this basis I argue that Q'ero social organization is more tribal than peasant, despite its de jure status as subordinate to a national polity and economy. On the other hand, I try to take careful account of some of the manifold ways in which the social organization of Q'ero has accommodated outside influences. Regarding both native and accommodated aspects of Q'ero political organization my remarks are few, because this is an important topic somewhat less central to my concern with social organization, and a fuller consideration of it would exceed the bounds of this study.

The discussions in the second part (Chapters 4-6) focus on the local ecosystem of the Q'ero community, viewed as the integral organization of fundamental aspects of the social system and the natural environment. My concern in these chapters is to reveal and analyze the socio-economic integration and close adaptation of the community despite its dispersion over a broad basin of several valleys and great altitudinal differentials. The basic aspects of social organization which I approach from this point of view are the settlement pattern, key components of the pastoral, agricultural, and horticultural regimes, and the strategy of subsistence which manages these components. My most abiding impression of the daily world of the Q'e-

ros is a fluid continuity comprised of interlocked cycles, harried and strenuous efforts, and interludes of languorous repose. The regularity of these manifold cycles is such that anyone familiar with the strategy can predict where in their circuit of locations and course of concerns the Q'eros will be in any given month and year. In addition, I try to take careful account of some of the more important irregular contingencies faced by each family. Their moments of tranquility and dignity in this routine attest to the general attunement of their ecosystem. Most ethnographic studies of Andean peoples have taken insufficient account of ecosystematic determinants of social organization; the oversight is particularly debilitating to analyses which deal with communities in close confrontation with extremes of altitude, climate, and substrate, as is usually the case throughout the highlands. My own analysis broaches a variety of problems regarding Q'ero and comparable community ecosystems, but because this was not the primary concern of my research my data are scanty and conclusions frequently tentative.

The third and last part of the study (Chapters 7-8) is devoted to a more detailed analysis of some key aspects of the social system, and the ecosystem becomes background. My data on the family, domestic group, kinship, and affinity are ample, and I try to pursue these issues comprehensively. Ethnographic ignorance of social organization is greatest in these fundamental domains, regarding both mestizo and native communities throughout the Andes. On the other hand, I have not tried here to discuss differentiation of rank status, native political organization, ritual, or relationships with extraordinary powers, except where analysis of other aspects of social organization has required it. All of these domains are highly developed in Q'ero culture and generally little understood regarding the highlands; I was concerned to comprehend them, but information I was able to

gather was fuller in the more fundamental domains of social organization, and my basis for understanding more dependable. In matters of politics, ritual, and the supernatural the Q'eros are as reticent with outsiders as they are about litigation and resolution of moral problems. However, the analytic categories of family, kinship, and affinity comprise an integral social whole from the native point of view, and are furthermore obscured to the analyst by tenuous extension and continual movement over distances and altitudes. In the conventional dismembering of the social whole that is necessary for systematic analysis, I try to indicate how these aspects of social organization merge. These relationships are most apparent in the ritual occasions which collate the life cycle and the seasonal cycle of Q'ero, and it is in this concrete perspective that each chapter is grounded. In Q'ero, as in other societies, social organization tends to be most revealingly exposed in the interplay of social ideal, pragma, and actual behavior that is often staged in such occasions. Finally in each chapter, I consider the ecosystematic implications of some of the forms of domestic group, kin-group, and marriage pattern which emerge from the discussion.

PART I

THE SOUTH CENTRAL HIGHLANDS AND THE Q'ERO CULTURAL

REGION: AN ETHNIC ENCLAVE

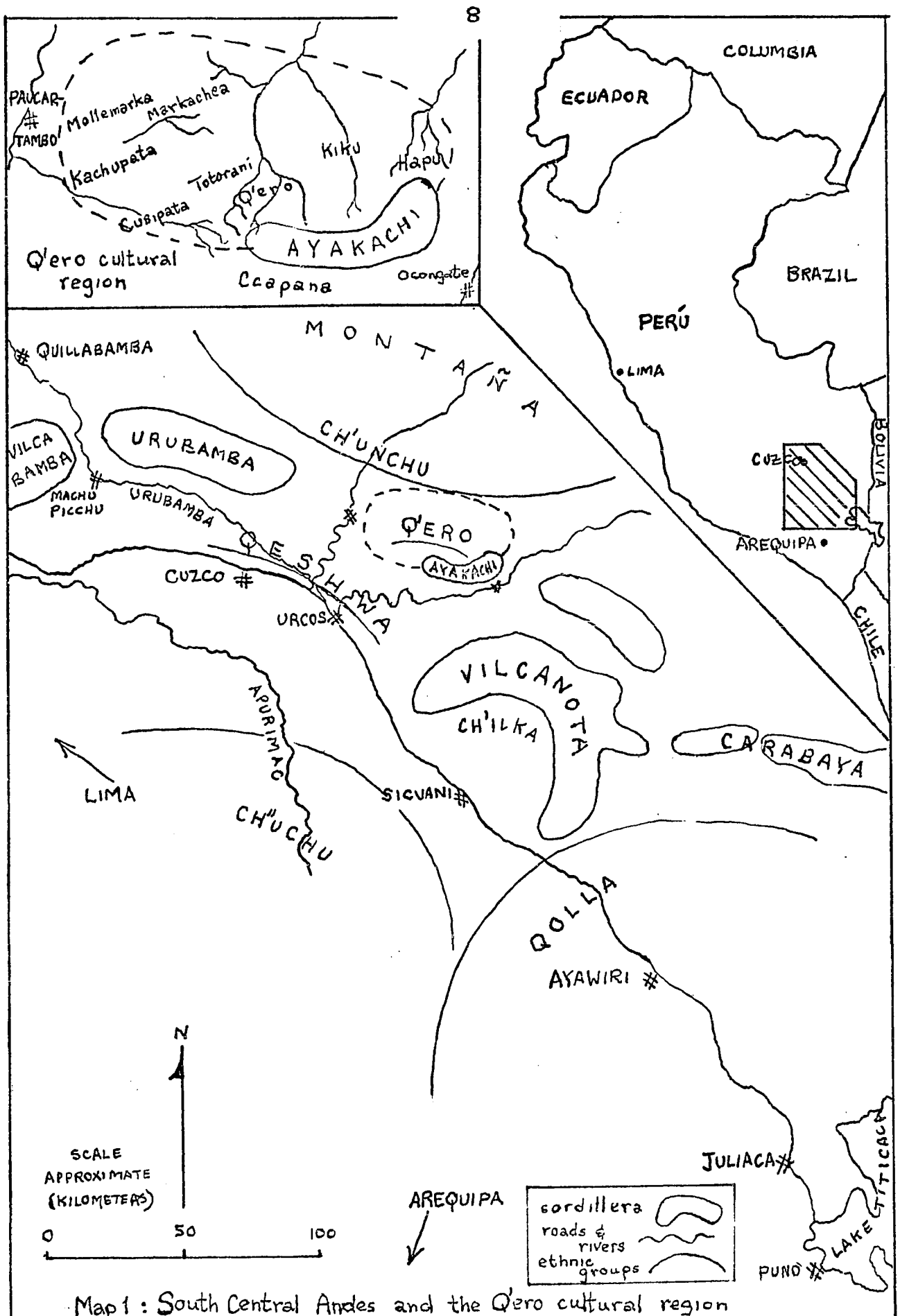
Chapter 1

Area Geography and the Precontact Situation

The Andean highlands of southern Peru and northern Bolivia have evidently long been a distinctive culture area. In recent prehistory, at least, the Tiahuanacan and subsequent Incan cultural florescences originated here. The dialects of Quechua in the area bear a close affinity to each other but contrast with those of the highlands of central and northern Peru. Cultural distinctiveness of the area may respond to its ecological distinctiveness: the flanks of the cordillera, expansive high plateaus (puna), and altiplano of the Lake Titicaca region have a much higher mean altitude than Andean highlands to the north or south, yet intermontane valleys of the area drop to temperate middle altitudes; the whole highland complex of this area declines precipitously into Pacific coastal plains or the upper Amazon basin within relatively short distances to the southwest and northeast. Developing tribal groups probably thrived in isolated regions where multiple access to the highly fragmented habitat encouraged diversification of resources. Early domestication of llama and alpaca, two native camelids adapted to the high puna, and development of a wide variety of tubers, adapted to high and middle altitudes, furnished key staples. Preservation of the tubers and

meat by desiccation in the regular frosts and dry air of the higher altitudes rendered these staples dependable resources. The eventual adaptation of corn and irrigation to the highlands probably greatly increased the yield of grain crops in the intermontane valleys, and helped to precipitate there the development of integrated political systems based on wider social and economic exchange between still more diverse ecological zones.¹

The Q'eros are apparently one of the remnants of an early mosaic of tribal groups likely to have populated this area before political consolidation. The community in which my research was primarily based occupies several converging valleys, but is only one of several communities sharing the Q'ero culture (Map 1). These several communities extend over a region occupying some 1700 square kilometers of the ceja de la montana (outer flanks of the Andes, or "eyebrow" overlooking the upper Amazon basin) primarily in Paucartambo Province, Department of Cuzco. Geographically, the Q'ero region is located on the northeastern flanks of the Ayakachi ("corpse-salt"), an isolated knot of 51-5400 meter (17-18,000') peaks and glaciers adjunct to the vast Cordillera Vilcanota. The headwaters of the Madre de Dios and the Imamburi, tributaries which join the Amazon in western Brazil, descend eastward from these flanks. The Q'ero basin extends from the ice-fields and rolling pastures of the Ayakachi, down several converging gorges to restricted but arable valleys at 32-3700 meters (10,500-12,300') and then finally through steep and dense montane foliage to the selva (subtropical jungle) at 1800 meters (6,000'). The distance involved is only about 30 kilometers. The descent is so precipitous that one can walk (or at least the Q'eros can) the trails from glaciers and alpaca pastures to the jungle clearings and cornfields in a single day, traversing a vast array of ecologically diverse zones.



The region is about 130 kilometers due east of the Vilcanota Valley, the major intermontane basin in which Cuzco and its outlying centers developed, but has probably always been rather isolated from main routes of commerce and communication. The massif of the Ayakachi has limited access to or from the region on the west, and the main route through the eastern cordillera from the Vilcanota Valley to the montana of the Madre de Dios passes more than 90 kilometers to the north. About 50 kilometers to the south, a major route has been developed only within the last forty years. No communication at all occurs to or from the east, which is engulfed in virtually impenetrable subtropical jungle. The difficulty which these geographic features pose against access of exploitive interests from the outside, as well as communication and commerce of the Q'ero natives with the outside, is undoubtedly a significant factor in their cultural distinctiveness. This distinctiveness may be rooted in some aboriginal tribal group which antedates the rise of the prehistoric regimes, but it is more certainly a response to the particular habitat, its relative isolation, and the social and economic influences which have been brought to bear on the cultural region since that time. From the point of view of these factors, the Q'ero cultural region is an ethnic enclave.

No accurate maps yet exist of the eastern and northeastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental in southern Peru. From the patchwork of estimates available, I suspect that some ecologically comparable situations exist along the outward flanks of the huge cordilleras of Urubamba and Vilcanota, and perhaps those of Carabaya, Aricoma, and Apolobamba further to the southeast. These heavily glaciated ranges may harbor conservative native communities which, relatively insulated from interference and acculturation, might carry on a similarly diversified and autonomous subsistence. Reports of travelers suggest that such communities do indeed exist along the northeast flanks of

the Urubamba, isolated from the few routes which penetrate that cordillera, and situated where the descent from the high frigid puna to the low subtropical montana is sufficiently rapid that a single community may have access to the resources of both extremities.² On the other hand, confirmation is lacking of any such communities behind the Cordillera Vilcanota. Descriptions indicate that the communities here are not economically self-sufficient but rather specialized in herding and production of ch'unu and ch'arki, and dependent on exchange with distant communities for their corn and even for part of their potatoes. I have been told that small adjunct ranges similar to the Ayakachi lie off the northeast of the Cordillera Vilcanota, separating it from the final descent of the puna to productively arable altitudes. Community ecosystems comparable to Q'ero may be found here. Further to the south in this region, in the vicinity of Ayabamba where access to lower altitudes is not precluded, Chavez Ballon has reported one community which maintains a diversified and apparently self-sufficient economy (Schadel 1959:49).

Whereas self-sufficiency is promoted by proximity of ecologically diverse zones, it appears that greater distance between such zones may force communities into trade for staples not obtainable in their own domain, precipitating further economic and social integration. This situation appears to obtain in the puna of Qanchis and Chumbivilcas (also provinces of Cuzco Department) and the puna of the Departments of Puno, Ayacucho, and Apurimac. A corollary of the economic interdependence of dispersed communities in these situations has probably been their integration in the prehistoric highland political systems, and, since contact, their early incorporation into the colonial system of development and exploitation. More rapid acculturation into the national cultural milieu of Peru has followed. A deduction one may draw from this perspective is that geographic isolation is a neces-

sary but not sufficient condition of the ethnic enclave in the south Central Andes. Thoroughly westernized mestizo communities may be encountered in even the most remote recesses of the cordillera. Among the many other conditions apparently necessary for the continuity of an ethnic enclave seems to be sufficient ecological fragmentation of the community domain to offer access to key staples and support a high degree of economic self-sufficiency.

Under the prehistoric regimes the Q'eros may have occupied a similarly marginal position, contributing little to and consuming few products of the state economy. There is some evidence, however, that their integration was somewhat more firm under the Incas than it has been since that era. Whereas nothing but narrow and infrequently traveled trails penetrate the region now, a few remains of roads and ramps built in the style of the Incas imply that access was once more frequent. Aspects of the Q'ero material culture and dress reflect influence of that period, especially the unku tunic, which is still worn, and the simp'a hair braid worn until 1945. They are popularly regarded as the most traditional vestige of the "Incas" in Peru and even mythically account themselves as their collateral descendants. Other myths of the Q'eros suggest a period of ruthless control and military occupation under the Incas, and clearly express hatred and contempt of them (Yabar 1923). Exploitative pressures since that time have apparently been weak, and it seems that the Q'eros have accommodated themselves similarly, accepting nominal demands for tribute of labor and goods as part of their natural situation. Even within the last century, under the dominion of a distant hacienda system, the Q'eros managed to suffer only nominal exploitation and control. In the opinion of the former owners, a more serious hacienda regime would not have been worth the trouble necessary to operate it. The Q'ero region has

not offered sufficient potential for development of a surplus beyond subsistence needs of the indigenies to warrant breasting the problems of control in such a remote and uncooperative community.

Ruins in a building style characterized by Peruvian archeologists as "provincial Incaic" are located in various sites throughout the Q'ero region. Ruins and place-names suggest that the central village of Q'ero, Q'ero Llaqta ("Q'ero place"), was originally located near Hatun Q'ero ("Big Q'ero"), across the valley from the present location (Maps 2 and 3). An arrangement of high close terraces, small corrals, and small circular house walls portray a distinctive former settlement pattern since modified. Most former living sites such as this are located on protected terrain, and in close association with a series of defensive redoubts built up a steep ridge-line with severely restricted approaches. It appears that at one time, probably during the Incaic and early Colonial periods, hostilities and raids dictated the settlement pattern. A likely deduction from this is that political integration with concurrent highland regimes was weak, setting the scene for raids upon Q'ero from the outside, or between the communities of the cultural region.

One can speculate, once again guided by the contemporary ecology and social organization of the Andean highlands, that early political integration was limited to major intermontane valley systems. Control of some regions of the extensive puna, and parts of the ceja de la montaña like the geographic enclave still occupied by the Q'ero, was probably never fully consolidated. Contemporary mestizo (westernized Peruvian) culture dominates the main valley systems of the highlands, leaving expanses of puna only partly acculturated, and not extending into the montaña until relatively recently. An ethnic taxonomy and corresponding attitudes are still employed by the Q'eros, probably reflecting such an earlier mosaic of ethnic enclaves

Map 3: Q'ero, upper basin

(Map 1). Qeshwa and Qolla designate two distinct ethnic groups, apparently representing the two highland regimes with which the Q'eros have had contact since prehistoric times. The Qolla are the people of the puna of Vilcanota and the Lake Titicaca altiplano, i.e., the present-day highland province of Qanchis and Department of Puno. Contemporary contact with these people is limited to long distance trade arrangements through itinerant merchants, or occasionally undertaken by the Q'eros themselves. These merchants are considered runa ("people," i.e., native in culture) rather than misti (mestizo), and are received with dignity and relaxed hospitality manifesting little suspicion and evasion. The character of the trade relations, dealing largely in native staples, as well as the enthusiastic acceptance of these merchants, suggests long-established patterns.

The contemporary Qeshwa - in the ethnic taxonomy of the Q'eros - occupy all the major highland valley systems of their area (Vilcanota and Urubamba, Paucartambo and Mapacho, and Imamburi), surrounding their own ethnic region on all sides except the east. The Qeshwa are misti (mestizo) or asinda runa ("hacienda people," partly native in culture but acculturated by a hacienda regime) rather than runa. They are treated with reserved hospitality, ambiguous deference, obsequiousness, or evasion and hostility, depending on how mistiyasqa ("mestizoized") they are perceived to be. The ethnic classification Qeshwa refers to the contemporary dominant and exploitive culture of the highland mestizo, but probably originated with the first highland regime that consolidated control of the main valley system. (Qeshwa, in Quechua, means "braided" or "twisted," referring especially to the broader and lower riverine valleys which take this shape.) Since then the meaning has apparently been extended through the colonial era, referring to successive regimes occupying the most lucrative territory and efficient routes of communication. The potentially exploitive role of these regimes explains the re-

served attitudes of the Q'eros toward people they perceive as Qeshwa. The version of the nak'ah ("butcherer") myth known among the Q'eros suggests, however, that the misti is still perceived as a merely potential threat, manarah chayankuchu Q'eroman (having "not yet arrived in Q'ero").³

Ch'unchu ("savage") is a generic term which the Q'eros use to designate any of the tribal peoples of the montaña, all of which are perceived as ethnically distinct from and inferior to any native highland group. Ch'unchu and misti are interesting antitheses to runa, both perceived as "non-people," but for apparently different reasons, being uncivilized in different ways. Aside from the three large and heterogeneous ethnic types Qolla, Qeshwa, and Ch'unchu, the Q'ero employ a great variety of terms (e.g., Ch'unchu, the relatively unacculturated runa of the provinces of Chumbivilcas and Espinar) designating other ethnic divisions, based on occasional contact or hearsay.

The term Q'ero constitutes a further type in the Q'eros' own ethnic nomenclature. The term is often familiar throughout the Department of Cuzco, being vaguely known to refer to a region in the province of Paucartambo, and a group of indigenies who are isolated, barbaric in their living habits and beliefs, disrespectful in service and recalcitrant in labor conscription, but adulated for their magnificent weavings and tenacious adherence to costumbres de la Incaica. However, throughout the province of Paucartambo, and among the Q'eros themselves, a distinction is made among several dispersed communities within the cultural region of Q'ero (Map 1). Only one of these communities is itself called Q'ero (the location of most of my research). The other communities of the Q'ero cultural region are Hapu, Kiku, Totorani, Markachea, Kallakancha, K'achupata and Mollemarca. Each of these communities is composed of several hamlets dispersed in the headwaters of one or more valleys draining the Ayakachi range. Q'ero is the most

central and isolated community of the region, and has the largest population.

Each of these communities in the cultural region has developed a comparable adaptation to a parallel series of ecological niches. Their culture tends to be homogeneous in general social organization, dialect affinity, interpersonal, family, and community ritual, weaving technique and motifs, and dress. They furthermore intermarry and carry on economic exchange with one another, although the great preponderance of this activity remains within the confines of each component community. All of these measures of cultural homogeneity tend to weaken in proportion to proximity to the highways and mestizo pueblos on the outer peripheries of the cultural region. Their final cessation or radical modification at the boundaries of the region mark the penumbra of the ethnic enclave.

Within the cultural region, on the other hand, the contemporary native communities are socially distinguishable from one another on the basis of a strongly prevalent endogamy, independently operating native political and ritual institutions, and relative economic self-sufficiency. The early distinctiveness of each community is suggested in their separate names, said by previous owners to be mentioned in land titles dating back at least a few centuries. A separate self-consciousness accompanies each name. As I mentioned in the preface, the inhabitants simply identify themselves to strangers as "from Q'ero" (or "Hapu," "Kiku," "Markachea," etc.), frustrating any attempt to locate their primary domicile in any one of the several widely separated hamlets comprising each of these communities. They furthermore tend to avoid marriage with other communities of the cultural region, sometimes saying that chayman warmichakuspan hakaypi wanukunqapis ("marrying there, one will die there"). There is some evidence that colonial and early hacienda regimes may have promoted, at least superficially, a more unified

superstructure of leadership nominally uniting the several communities of the region in a hierarchy with the community of Q'ero in superordinate position. Furthermore, alternate terms still employed for some offices in the early twentieth century suggest that these more centralized roles may have been instituted under the Inca regime. Although no longer in currency, the Quechua terms Inka Qapah and Inka Pampachaq ("powerful" Inca and "judicial" Inca) were used synonymously for the Spanish mandon ("overseer") and alcalde ("mayor") as late as 1922.⁴ Soon after the nineteenth century, the hacienda regime by then nominally controlling the region was divided into zones congruent with the constituent communities, and this weakly instituted political super-structure apparently has since given way to the separate systems of each community.

NOTES

1

The best introduction to the topic of Andean prehistory remains the Handbook of South American Indians, Volume 2 (Steward 1946). Other more recent works which will become central references include J.V. Murra's forthcoming Reciprocity and Redistribution in the Inca Empire (Aldine Publishing, in preparation, Murra's "Current Research and Prospects in Andean Ethnohistory," (1970), and E.P. Lanning's Peru Before the Incas (1967). The publication of the proceedings of the 39th International Congress of Americanists (Lima 1970) will also make more widely available some of the rapidly proliferating research themes on this topic.

2

Remote areas in the highlands are still numerous, and only a few Peruvian scholars have had the time, support, or interest to investigate them. Some appreciation of their extent and significance can be gleaned from interviews with itinerant merchants, but these individuals are especially susceptible to their preconceptions. John Ricker, a Canadian who has explored and mapped most of the remote regions of the Central Andean highlands in the last several years' preparation of a mountaineering guide (to be published by the Canadian Alpine Club), has contributed invaluable to the development of my own comprehension of highland social organization. Ricker's wide experience, capacity for careful observation, and continuing interest in ethnology have been very enlightening to me as well as to other Peruvianists.

3

The content of this myth is summarized by Oliver-Smith (1969). It involves a supernaturally threatening figure (nak'ah or pishtako) who rather clearly symbolizes the exploitive role of the Qeshwa or their regional functional equivalents. Versions of the myth among more acculturated natives portray the pishtako as seeking human body fat for the lubrication of "machinery" on the coast of Peru or "church bells," often under contract with the government or the church. In Q'ero, the misti or Qeshwa are seen as potentially nak'ah, but not a wirakocha ("white" or European), suggesting the precontact origin of this attitude toward threatening ethnic groups. On the other hand, the fact that the Q'eros do not believe the nak'ah ever comes to their region suggests that their fear of the mestizo has not been very highly developed.

4

Luis Yabar Palacio (1922), a son of the family which owned the Q'ero cultural region as an extensive hacienda since the middle 1800's, has written a very informative and fascinating article on Q'ero which was also appreciated by Mishkin (1946). Yabar considered Q'ero Llaqta, the ritual center of the Q'ero community, as the "capital" of the entire region composed of several such communities, the whole of which he termed an "ayllu." The other communities of the cultural region, now politically and ritually independent of one another, he termed estancias or "farmsteads." This might imply more political cohesion and centralized native authority at a former time. This possibility may also be supported by the fact that the office of alcalde ("mayor," or highest locally elected official) is absent or not as fully developed in most other communities of the cultural region.

Chapter 2

The Colonial Era and Hacienda Dominion

Although official title to the Q'ero region may have existed since early colonial times, hacienda dominion apparently did not begin until sometime in the nineteenth century. Colonial and Republican documents regarding the region may exist, but I was not able to locate them in the short time that I devoted to that end.¹ By about the middle of the nineteenth century a powerful family of the provincial capital of Paucartambo had gained control of the entire cultural region of Q'ero, as well as some of the fertile geshwa of the Paucartambo valley, comprising more than one-quarter of the huge province. It is possible that prior to that time, throughout the colonial period, the Q'eros had maintained at least de facto control of their land. I would speculate that the sixteenth century institution of encomienda (a system of labor exploitation, tribute exaction, and Christianization) was extended to Q'ero. This was sufficient to introduce to them the few rituals, symbols, and dogmas of Catholicism which they continue to practice independently, as an adjunct to their native religion.² Aside from this important change however, the requirements of tribute in kind and mita (repartimiento or conscripted labor in service of the provincial parish) would simply have been accommodations congruent to those previously tendered the Inca regime. The labor scarcity suffered in the Viceroyalty through the seventeenth century (a result of the decimation of the indigenous population the previous century in epidemics and the brutalities of encomienda) probably resulted in increased pressure on the Q'eros in form of periodic conscription and peonage in the vicinity of Paucartambo, but it appears likely that they were left a domestic refuge in their own remote region.

The meager agricultural potential of the Q'ero region may not have been coveted until the nineteenth century, at which time private dominion was probably extended more for closer control of the labor resource than for exploitation of the land. Present distribution of agricultural plots in Q'ero indicate that the natives never relinquished control of their better sections of terrain, and that asinta surti (hacienda fields) were limited to scattered plots of mediocre land. The distribution of these tribute plots is such that the term "allocation" is appropriate, implying considerable initiative remaining with the natives.³ It appears that even the hacienda system of the twentieth century had to compromise, at least with the more powerful Q'ero families, for the sake of assuring some cooperation in their exactions. Nor were mayordomos, mestizo overseers representative of the land owner and resident on the hacienda, ever instituted in the management of Q'ero. Rather than employ outside foremen, one of the Q'eros themselves was periodically appointed mandón, and charged with the organization and supervision of the hacienda owner's orders. This was likewise an effort to avoid developing undue hostilities among the Q'eros against their hacendado, and maintain a delicate balance between a profitable exploitation and prudent concession for the sake of cooperation.

During the dominion of the Yabar family in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the more remote communities of Q'ero were probably controlled primarily for access to a constant labor pool. This in turn was used for the efficient and virtually costless exploitation of the more productive qeshwa haciendas in the broad valleys nearer Paucartambo. In about 1920 the cultural region of Q'ero was divided up into haciendas congruent with its constituent communities, and distributed among the several Yabar sons. At this time attentions to agricultural and livestock production within each of the new haciendas may have increased, but even in the 1950's a

prime concern was the transfer of manpower for short periods, especially at harvest time, to the more productive and less remote haciendas. In Q'ero and the other more remote communities, the productive efforts of the hacienda management were restricted to potatoes and their dehydrated forms, and the pasturing of small herds of cows, sheep, and pigs. The labor requirements for these hacienda enterprises apparently were not large.⁴ Although the labor resources of the Q'eros are extremely extended in their own economy, they met these requirements by rotating routine hacienda duties between family members, and assigning special duties to community members on a rotational basis.

Apparently there was never an attempt made to exploit the prime concern of the native economy: alpaca and llama herds. Nor was maize, a key staple of Q'ero economy, ever seriously exploited. Efficient hacienda management was practicable only in the middle altitudes of Q'ero, because convenient access to the region was geographically restricted to this zone. Production of potatoes and middle altitude livestock was therefore most accessible to hacienda supervision, and consequently the most practical form of tribute which could be expected; on the other hand, production of alpacas, llamas, and maize, being at extreme removes in opposite directions from the point of hacienda access, could not be efficiently controlled in the face of native recalcitrance. This limitation of the hacienda regime was probably also a concession to the Q'eros, trading them relatively unmolested independence in their primary domiciles (the pastures in the upper reaches of the region), in exchange for continued tribute of some agricultural produce and supervision of the hacienda livestock.

Restraint on the part of a hacienda regime, and containment of its affects and demands by the natives, are incongruous with the general history of the hacienda in Peru (see Vazquez 1961). Usually throughout the Andes,

the pre-emption of native lands and the resulting peonage and impoverishment has left the indigenous population powerless to resist exploitation and autocratic land-owners unlimited in their license to pursue it. Native culture in such situations usually atrophies, and native social organization, insofar as it is not a reflex of the hacienda administration, becomes the institutionalization of defense postures for self-preservation. But the institution of the hacienda has not always had this effect. Especially relevant to the situation of Q'ero, I believe, is that ownership of the Latin American hacienda in general, and especially the Andean hacienda, was not a rationalistic enterprise managed for the production of goods, but directed importantly to maintenance of upper class status requisites. These were primarily not capital accumulation and expansion, but rather merely land ownership per se, control of sufficient manpower to insure the avoidance of personal labor, and leisure to receive an education and pursue a variety of bureaucratic and social roles. Apparently in the case of the Q'ero cultural region, or at least in the case of Q'ero itself, the vast extent of the holdings controlled by the Yabar family insured maintenance of these requisites without the necessity of bringing the land and population fully under the regime. The family remained primarily in Paucartambo and even more distant Cuzco, dominating the provincial class structure. When ownership was divided among sons, many had taken up professional status and moved to Lima (the owner of Q'ero until sometime in the 1940's was a dentist in Lima), having even less reason to mobilize the potential of their land-holdings. Under such negligent regimes as this, native hacienda communities may frequently retain more of their aboriginal culture and social organization than "independent" communities which are not under a hacienda dominion. These latter communities often either become pools of effectively bonded labor through the loss of their lands, or acculturate rapidly through the mobilization of

their efforts to resist this by legitimate means (Mangin 1957). Similarly, during the early post-contact period the resisting enclaves of Incas tended to acculturate more rapidly, while those who passively accepted pacification and the colonial regime were often able to continue their way of life with little substantial change (Kubler 1946:344).

NOTES

1

Apparently little remains of the several sources from which a history of the region might be reconstructed, although more persistent inquiry could surely uncover some. The last owner of Q'ero itself had died in 1964, living ninety kilometers distant in the provincial center, and his kindly but deaf widow appeared to know little about the operations of the hacienda or its antecedents. She reported that all documents pertaining to it had been stolen or lost, and that the extensive series of titles pertaining to it had passed into the hands of the government at the time of expropriation in 1963. It appears that none of the interested parties set these important documents aside for research; my several attempts to find them in the archives of Lima or Cuzco were fruitless, and authorities in a position to know suspected that they remained mislaid somewhere in the provincial center. There I was unable to gain access to court or civil records on two perfunctory attempts, but was allowed freely to consult the parochial records; these latter date back to about 1620, and would yield interesting evidence if subjected to extended examination. Besides the teacher (whose permanent residence was in the provincial center), the only persons reputed to know Q'ero firsthand were the descendants of a family said to once operate as overseers of these haciendas; investigation showed that they had merely been merchants who traversed the area, occasionally carrying messages to and from Q'ero, and knew little of the history or operations of the haciendas. Of the several sons who early in this century fell heir to the communities composing the region, the previous owner of Q'ero died in Lima only shortly before my arrival in Peru, and the only survivor was too ill to disturb. Luis Yabar, author of some fascinating published material on Q'ero (Yabar 1922; 1923), died as a young man in an auto accident in Lima with most of his important and perceptive knowledge about Q'ero culture remaining unwritten. His daughter, Bette Yabar, is among the few survivors of this large family still familiar with the cultural region, and supplied me with some valuable information (also see Yabar 1970).

2

Some scant historical data, however, imply that the introduction of Christianity was loosely ordained, if involving direct contact at all. Parochial records for the province spanning the century 1679-1778 record only thirty-six matrimonies between "Q'eros" (Nuñez del Prado 1957:20). Organized Christianization and "extirpation of idolatry" had little influence early in the colonization period, but had gained considerable momentum in the century

prior to this period (Kubler 1946: 343,347). During this period and ever since, priests attempted to perpetuate the Church sacraments in remote areas by entering whenever convenient and performing matrimony or baptism upon as many native couples together as possible, much as the Incas did as well (Price 1965). These few marriages imply very rare visits in the span of a century. Presently, Q'eros almost never leave the region for matrimony, and priests may visit the ritual centers in the region only once in a decade or more to perform these sacraments. Adoption of some Christian symbols and mythology in the community of Q'ero has probably been primarily through indirect influence and over the duration of several centuries; it is, of course, nevertheless penetrating. Early in the twentieth century one member of the Yabar family, said to be a priest, took up reclusive domicile in the Q'ero ritual center for some time and evidently died there. His stay is well remembered by the Q'eros, and probably had considerable influence on their acculturation.

3

Semantically, the Q'eros do not perceive their land as anyone's but their own, although they have not had "title" to it until recently. Outside the community and generally throughout this area of Peru the hacienda plots held by natives in usufruct (in the view of the state) are termed mañay ("loan") by the natives as well as the title holders. The term is not used in Q'ero, much to the amazement of natives living in the Qeshwa of surrounding regions.

4

Former owners' estimates of annual harvest taken by the hacienda are confirmed by the natives, and current production of plots formerly allocated to the hacienda (and apparently not decreased since expropriation) appears to further substantiate these estimates. Judging by this evidence, annual hacienda harvests of tubers were apparently not much more in quantity than that harvested by one of the wealthier native families. (Quantities of dehydrated moraya may have been much greater, however.) The labor which the community in concert needs to expend annually for this production currently does not exceed one or two man-days per month per family. Even with the two-week terms of pongo (servant) duty in the hacienda house formerly exacted by the patrón, herding and other duties rotated among the natives, and labor conscription to other haciendas, Nuñez del Prado's report that each Q'ero had to devote as much as 180 days each year to the hacienda (1958:19) seems very excessive. The natives, understandably seeking sympathy for their oppressed plight and support for their expropriation hopes, were probably prone to exaggerate. As will become apparent in discussion of the native subsistence strategy, a family could probably not subsist if more than 30-40 man-days were lost from their annual regimen.

Chapter 3

Contemporary Highland Society and the Accommodated Tribal Society

Although Q'ero may have roots in an aboriginal cultural past, it is also clearly a product of interaction with the surrounding society of the present. The notion of the ethnic enclave finds its utility in the emphasis of this latter perspective. Even the most isolated highland communities have developed in an ecological network of social as well as physical and biotic influences. Potentially the most productive model for social and cultural analysis in the highlands is the concept of the plural society, which envisions heterogeneous cultural components nevertheless bound together in determinable social structures (Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Kuper and Smith 1969). The Q'ero ethnic enclave is a clear example of such diverse corporate cultural groups in the south Central Andes. The social borders between these groups are the focus of interactions revealing their internal social order (Barth 1969). With this analytic orientation in mind, I will briefly discuss the nature of south Central Andean social organization and the position of Q'ero in it.

Contemporary highland Peruvian culture is often characterized as mestizo by outsiders, especially those of the more westernized culture on the Peruvian coast and in some other Andean countries. The term denotes mixed blood, but in popular usage connotes cultural mixture as well as biological, the two being confused. Biological homogenization has proceeded rapidly, but a multiplicity of cultural distinctions has been promoted by the rapid acculturation and social mobility of the last few decades. The cultural distinctions are complex in any given region of the highlands, reflecting local social organization and rendered ambiguous by defensive identifications and

blurred racial attributes nevertheless perceived as important criteria. To admit one's cultural identity as an indio in the highlands is to accept pariah or absolute lower class status. The Q'eros and many other natives of the area call themselves runa ("people"), and in this way consider themselves outside the highland class structure. All highland Peruvians with claim to status in the class system use the term indio to denigrate others with more equivocal claim, and the Limeños or costeños (people of Lima or the coast) frequently lump all serranos (people of the highlands) together as indios, irremediably barbaric.

In analytic usage social scientists have adopted the popular indio, cholo, mestizo, and blanco for social class analysis generally throughout the Andes, but have found that the same term can denote culturally diverse classes in different regions, as well as bear the ambiguities of self-conscious class mobility within any particular region. In most general definition, this series of terms denotes a cultural continuum, distinguishable only vaguely into three or more classes, between native Andean and Hispanic-European culture. The extremes are only ideal types: even the most culturally indigenous community bears effects of the pervasive Spanish colonization and 450 years of contact, and blanco ("white") is used only in obsequious reference or personal conceit. In the south Central Andes, indio (Indian), or indigena (native) is popularly extended to any local lowest class whether natives, hacienda peones, or servile urban statuses. However, it is best reserved in scholarly usage for members of a native cultural orientation which adheres by preference to agrarian self-sufficiency and unspecialized enterprise, traditional forms of education, customary dress, ritual use of coca leaf, native monolingualism in Quechua, distinctive values and principles of social organization, and participation in a system of prestige and leadership based on native concepts of power and wealth. (I usually use the

term "native" with reference to this more specific definition of cultural orientation, and in order to avoid the ambiguities of indio, indigena, or indian, all loaded with confusions of stigma or provenience.) Cholo denotes members of the complex transitional cultural sector who have determined to divest themselves of indio attributes and undertake competition in the mestizo's own schedule of values, including formal education, non-agrarian occupation, commercial enterprise, participation in national politics, and other attributes of western culture. Mestizo denotes the members of a complex of classes who have achieved these values in varying degrees. Mestizo and indio are relatively stable statuses: the mestizo has achieved his sought values to some degree consonant with his given social milieu, and the native, either through poverty of means, contentment, or a wise preference, does not even compete in this alien schedule of values. Transition from the status of indio to cholo involves a psychological revolution, even inversion, of values; transition from cholo to mestizo is impeded by time and poverty of means, and lack of recognized name, developed education, capital, enterprising contacts, and the westernized sophistication of the mestizo.

Utilizing these loose cultural distinctions, a provisional typology of south Central Andean communities can be constructed for the purpose of delineating the social organization of Q'ero in comparison with that of other communities of the area. The highland pueblo community may be of various sizes and is more or less urbanized, evincing broad economic specialization, community services, and a stratified social organization of cholos and mestizos, with the latter dominating the local economy and polity. The cultural orientation of the pueblo community is heterogeneous, with the predominant mestizo or westernized schedule of values shading into vestiges of native cultural orientation among lower class cholos resident in the commu-

nity, and others whose provenience is from nearby peasant pueblos, variously termed aldeas, anexos, or parcialidades. These latter communities are essentially of the same pueblo type, with a stronger agrarian constituency, a greater majority of cholos, and fewer specializations and services, but with these similarly dominated by a small class of mestizos. In Wolf's terms, these peripheral peasant pueblos may evince a "closed corporate" social organization, whereas the focal pueblo communities are "open."

The polar type of contemporary Andean settlement is the native community. It is outside the economic status of peasant satellite to the pueblo community, purely agrarian and relatively self-sufficient in subsistence, without economic specialization or community services other than traditional forms, and adherent by preference to the native cultural orientation outlined above. The social structure of the native community further differs in the absence of a dominant mestizo or cholo class, however small, and hierarchical organization by rank rather than stratification. This rank order is determined by competition in the distinctively native values previously mentioned, and the mestizo schedule of values may actually be eschewed. This type of community tends to remain culturally homogeneous because any individuals who, through various acculturative influences, adopt the mestizo orientation of values (i.e., become cholos) either see fit to leave, or are ostracized from the community.

A third type of settlement is the hacienda community, comprised of indios and cholos. It is usually too dependent on an external polity and economy to be a native community, and too indigenous in cultural orientation to be a pueblo. Although the diversity of community types under a hacienda regime is apparently great, I suspect that the administrative and economic structure of the hacienda management usually is a functional equivalent of the dominant classes of a pueblo community, pre-empting much of the social

organization of the native culture. On the other hand, as mentioned above, this same superstructure may function as a buffer against acculturative influences, perpetuating aspects of the native cultural orientation which are not inconsistent with the hacienda regime. The perpetuation of conservative culture may also be promoted by the regime's prohibition of formal education and migrant labor, and protection from military conscription. These last three factors are probably the most significant acculturative forces in the highlands.

Q'ero does not fit easily into this typology, but then no empirical community will. Until recently it has been, at least nominally, a hacienda community, but nevertheless much of its native culture and social organization has been left intact. It is largely economically independent, purely generalized agrarian in subsistence, and completely without economic specializations. It is culturally homogeneous in all the respects enumerated above for the native cultural orientation (p.27), admitting virtually none of the mestizo cultural orientation and the consequent social stratification. Q'ero remains essentially a native community, as though its native culture had been insulated from outside acculturative influences by the hacienda dominion, but yet had escaped the debilitation of social organization likely to result from a hacienda regime. On the other hand, Q'ero has one modern community service, a school and mestiza teacher which has been more or less established since 1958, and drills a minority of the Q'ero children in Spanish (the official national language, called Castellano), catechism, and some other aspects of the national culture. There is also a certain restricted amount of economic dependency on and production for the outside. Furthermore, one or two individuals whose deviant behavior leans toward choloficación have appeared. But as will be seen, these aberrations

from the ideal type have so far had negligible effect on the basic native cultural orientation of Q'ero.

Q'ero is best classified as a native community, and in most respects appears paradigmatic for this type. For heuristic purposes I distinguish two further analytic types as subclasses of the native community: accommodated tribal and marginal peasant communities. These are, like the other types I have discussed, constructs from arbitrary points in a continuum of cultural postures between the autochthonous tribal society and urban Latin American society. Accommodation is a kind of adaptation fruitfully distinguishable from peasantization; like the notions of the plural society and ethnic boundaries earlier discussed, these alternative viewpoints direct analytic attention to the interfaces of highland social organization. Q'ero, as an actual native community, could be examined from either point of view. It could be seen as either basically a tribal society which has accommodated in various ways the peasantizing influences of the mestizo society which surrounds it, or it could be examined from the point of view that it is on the margin of peasantization, having compromised its economic and political autonomy rather than merely accommodating it to outside forces. The balance of the evidence seems to suggest, however, the Q'ero is best seen as an accommodated tribal society.

The net effect of a diversified subsistence strategy and the self-sufficiency which it supports has been the maintenance of the Q'ero community outside the expanding provincial network of peasant production and dependency. The Q'eros utilize the products of a wide array of ecological zones, extending their own ecological niche to the limits of their ability to control it. The alpacas and llamas raised in the high pasture zone transport burdens and provide meat, wool, clothing, bedding, fertilizer, wealth, status, and capital for trading. The tuber crops of the middle altitudes fur-

nish 80% of the diet. The maize raised in the lower extensions of the region is a necessity in ritual, and, like the other vegetables raised there, important in diet and exchange. Details of this adaptation will be discussed more fully in Chapters 5 and 6. This diversified subsistence strategy produces almost everything the inhabitants need for consumption, and enables them to remain relatively independent of outside sources of supply. Maintenance of a largely autonomous economy is probably essential to the maintenance of Q'ero as a native community. Although maintenance of the community itself is not a conscious purpose of the subsistence strategy, intention of independence and frugality constitute its individual expression. A Q'ero will say "Why should I buy corn when I can grow it?" or "One has no time for journeys outside if he attends to his labors here." He sanctions with overtones of moral obligation the full utilization of the potentials of their domain, and the full extension of labor resources to carry it out. Their reasons tend to be straightforwardly pragmatic: "Getting something from the Qeshwa always involves a loss in the bargain, as well as a long trip; raising it here only costs us our labor."

The Q'eros are also aware of the compromises which adjacent native communities of the cultural region have had to make, and their consequent loss of economic and social independence. In the communities of Totorani and Hapu, on either side of Q'ero, the loss of control over the maize-producing zone has led to migrant labor and dependence on outside sources for this component of the diet also crucial in native ritual. In the case of Hapu, loss of control of some high pastures has led to impoverishment of the alpaca herds and perhaps as a consequence to the general impoverishment of the community (and the labor resources necessary to maintain the production of maize), migratory labor and its acculturative effects, and demise of the native ritual cycle. The tendency in the mestizo economy is toward speciali-

zation in particular ecological zones, exchange of products, and interdependence. The accommodated tribal community faces the threat of conversion into a marginal peasant community through loss of some of its key resources and increasing motivation to develop others into an exchangeable commodity. The Q'eros, through maintaining a diversified strategy of subsistence, have so far avoided this.

Social intercourse with the outside has also been limited by general endogamy (78%) within the community. Within the memory of the Q'eros, no marriage residence or emigration has ever been established outside the cultural region by a member of the community. Nor do any individuals of this outside origin now live in Q'ero, and none is remembered. The few Q'eros who have moved out of the community are mostly females, have done so through marriage to another native of Q'ero culture, and have settled in another native community of the cultural region. Only a very few Q'eros have moved out of the community without marrying outside; all of these have been moves to nearby native communities of the region and motivated by extraordinary events such as ostracism or political incompatibility. Similarly, of the few individuals who have moved into the Q'ero community, all are from other native communities of the Q'ero cultural region, virtually all have done so through marriage to a resident of the community, and almost all of them have been females. These patterns will later be examined more closely with special attention to structures of affinity, but it is clear that concourse in this regard is negligible with the non-native outside, and even restricted with the adjacent native communities of the cultural region.

There is no prescriptive endogamic rule in Q'ero, nor is there specific sanction against migration out of or into the community, either with regard to the native cultural region or the mestizo outside. However, the Q'eros appreciate the continuum of acculturation apparent between themselves and

the outside, native or mestizo, and the declining gradient of emigration and marriage outside the bounds of their community seems to reflect diffuse sanctions against involvement. The term purih ("walker," especially migrant laborer) may express a certain ambivalent admiration, but always connotes general disapproval. Similarly, marrying outside, even to an adjacent native community, is often ironically expressed as dying there.

The austerity of the Q'ero material household is a further expression of their economic independence from outside supply, as well as a necessity in their mobile way of life. Necessary equipment of the household are only the house itself (rock and thatch), a q'oncha (clay hearth), maran and tonawa (stone slab and grinding rocker), mank'akuna and putukuna (cooking pots and eating bowls of fired clay), woven sleeping blankets and unshorn hides for beds, and several types of homemade tools, some with iron blades. Aside from the house, hearth, and grinding stone, some of these items are usually carried by the family in its cyclic rounds from the primary domicile to the several dispersed camping huts. All the items are made by the Q'eros themselves except the pottery, which is purchased with wool or cash in rare special trips to distant traditional fairs, and the iron axe, foot-plow, hoe and knife blades, which are purchased in one or another distant mestizo pueblo. Both of these highly valued items endure generations, the pottery usually passing from the elder mother of a household, and the tools from her spouse, on to its succeeding occupants. All adult males and most females possess a pair of the ubiquitous tire-tread sandals purchased from merchants or in regional markets; however, these are used primarily in traveling the rough trails, rarely being worn in other chores or in leisure, and endure for at least a few years. For a further appreciation of the material household, one must also recognize the things it conspicuously lacks: tables, beds; manufactured blankets, rope, clothing, and shoes; eating utensils,

primus stoves and transistor radios, kerosene globe lanterns; combs, jewelry, mirrors, and soap. The rarity of scrap rags, paper, bottles, or cans is striking. All of the above items are ubiquitous in mestizo or peasant pueblos, and commonly found in even the poor cholo household. In the rare instances that some piece of manufactured clothing, shoes (I have seen only a few pairs of plastic ones), eating utensils, primus stoves (I have seen one) or kerosene lanterns, mirrors, combs, soap, bottles, or cans are possessed by the Q'eros, they are kept out of sight and in fact, rarely used. The only time I have seen western (manufactured) clothing or shoes worn was in fiesta, or fotbol (soccer) costume, or jest in private; that is to say, they appear only in situations licensed by acknowledged misti origin or atmosphere of burlesque, even ritual reversal.¹

Occasional but dispensable household equipment in addition to the indispensable items listed above is limited to pottery urpu (large pots for the preparation of axa, the fermented maize ritual drink), q'ero (the carved wooden goblets from which axa is drunk, and after which the region is named), homemade wooden locks (apparently Incaic in design) or a modern padlock, a few metal pots, plates, and cups, a small can containing a wick as a kerosene lamp, scissors, needles, matches (but fire is frequently carried in embers), and candles (but camelid fat is burned by preference for ritual purposes, if it is available). In general, possession of several of these items denotes superior wealth, and they are frequently borrowed by poorer families lacking them. From this brief view of the typical Q'ero material household it is apparent that non-consumable needs dependent on outside sources of supply are few. Those which are so obtained tend to endure for very long periods of time, precluding necessity of their replacement perhaps through generations. When extraordinary items are purchased, it is usually in a profligate moment, and the rare use of even such items as mirrors, certainly of

manufactured clothing or lanterns, entails regret and recriminations. Their display, unlike such conspicuousness in cholo and mestizo society, suggests to other Q'eros foolishness rather than opulence.

Commercial enterprise, a pervasive aspect of the mestizo and cholo economy, has been consistently rejected by the Q'eros. No resident of the community sells to another resident goods or services from a capital stock in organized fashion, calculated to yield profit.² There is no tinta (tienda, or general store), cantina (bar), or other retail center, no matter how rudimentary; nor are there services such as barbering or carpentry, enterprises which are found on nearly every block in the developed mestizo pueblo. In fact, there are no salable stocks in Q'ero apart from momentary private surpluses (which might be subject to informal trade or loan), and no peddled services apart from the labor of some very poor Q'eros. The special skills of pago (shamans) or illarichih ("one who causes dawn or first light," i.e., a midwife) are sometimes available. However, although a wax-ch'a ("poor" or "orphan") may let it be known that his labor services are available in general, the pago and illarichih reserve their skills for special favors, usually tendered to kin, affines, or neighbors in return for mere recognition and hospitality. Routinely then, each family supplies all of its own needs through a very generalized and wide repertoire of skills sufficient to meet the practical necessities of subsistence and the ideal necessities of spiritual well-being. Adequate flexibility lies in recourse to kin, affines, and neighbors when family resources are momentarily insufficient. If asked why no such specialization has been undertaken by some family, a Q'ero simply answers "There is no time for such things," or "We are too poor to do that." He expresses expectations that are equally the basis for potential moral judgements should a Q'ero appear to involving himself in social exchanges that are apt to assume the trappings of a business.

Although apparently no Q'ero has yet indulged in business, some clearly have sufficient wealth and leisure to do it if they wish. But the adjacent native community of Kiku has furnished an example of the effects of such behavior. One resident was successful in beginning and maintaining a small retail enterprise in coca leaf, salt, and sugar. He considerably increased his wealth and ability to control the labor of the other families, and since became a virtual kuraga (cacique or autocratic leader, often favored by outside authorities) of the village, monopolizing key political offices through relatives and mediating many dealings between the outside and the native community. In this way the beginning of a class stratification was formed in the community, and it has been economically and socially exposed to outside exploitation.³ In Q'ero the power and wealth remains distributed among several families, each of which retains the prestige and means to back its moral condemnation of another if the balance appears insecure or if its conventional use appears to be contravened.

The rare visitors to the community who are not simply itinerant merchants seem to leave little indelible impression on the Q'eros. I have ascertained most of the visits since 1955, and guessed at those likely before that time. However, most of my information has come from individuals in Cuzco and Paucartambo, not from the Q'eros themselves. Among the Q'eros the visits even of the last ten or fifteen years are remembered only with difficulty, and are rarely the subject of conversation. Certain details, striking them as particularly strange or burlesque, may be recalled. One visitor is remembered only as an "eater of raw maize;" he was apparently so exhausted on his arrival that he ravenously ate the first food he saw. Q'ero, due to its notoriety as a particularly remote community "loyal to ancient customs," has been the object of other extraordinary visits. Most notable was the scientific expedition organized by Dr. Oscar Nuñez del Prado of the

University San Abad of Cuzco in 1955; eight specialists visited the community for two weeks, collecting a variety of materials on folklore, social organization and geography (Nuñez del Prado 1958; 1968; Escobar 1958). A filming expedition under the auspices of Limeños, and apparently French and Swiss members, entered the region in about 1963 with a retinue of pack horses, equipment, and servants, remaining in the (usually deserted) ritual center village for perhaps over a month and visiting one valley-head hamlet several times in the making of a film with a folkloric theme. All that is usually recalled from this latter visit is the bare fact of the visit, and that water color kits were left as presents for all the children enrolled in school. Some more details are recalled regarding the scientific expedition of 1955, but this is likely due to the general concern and promise created by Dr. Nuñez del Prado's plans (realized in 1964) to motivate the government's expropriation of the community from the hacienda regime and in behalf of the Q'eros themselves. Since that time there have been several brief visits: John Cohen, a researcher in weaving technique and folk music (Cohen 1957; 1966), short visits by Eduardo DeBary in exploration and search of fine examples of Q'ero weaving, and apparently some hikers and explorers. Nothing seems to remain from these several visits except a vague memory and a few anecdotes revealing momentary wonder and speculation. My own visit was of course far more prolonged, and on a few occasions accompanied by my wife and two boys, the first people of this sort ever seen by most of the Q'eros. But aside from the variety of artifacts (mainly axes, sickles, and boys' clothing) and a greater frequency and distribution of anecdotes, I wonder if my visit will not also soon be effectively forgotten.

In some respects the social organization of Q'ero is more fully accommodated to outside influences, and perhaps verging upon peasantization. There is some limited production for the outside, and a degree of depen-

dency upon outside sources for certain consumables. Furthermore, the introduction of some formal schooling and popular sports appears to be slowly initiating individual consciousnesses which are more liable to acceptance of the provincial mestizo customs, and which extend beyond the traditional native view of the world. However, none of these tendencies in Q'ero can yet be attributed with the force and influence that they bear in a marginal peasant community. They appear to remain merely accommodations, more or less integrated in the native social organization.

Production for outside consumption has been limited largely to tribute, or its modern functional equivalents in hacienda harvests and, now, payments to the state for title to the community land. This tributary economy has developed as an adjunct to the native economy and, as previously discussed, has had very little effect upon its key resources or even the distribution of land. Production labor and special supervisory roles are also dualized in accommodation of tribute requirements. A small surplus of time is eked from the already crowded agricultural cycle by devoting one or two days during each agricultural phase (Chapter 6) to the production of tribute, and a small surplus in family labor is created by detailing one male adult, on a rotational basis, to work during these days. Family labor resources are often overextended in Q'ero, and under conditions of special difficulty a smaller family is exempted from this requirement. Similarly, from the total community labor potential a small surplus pool was established among the adult males when under hacienda dominion. These individuals were charged on a rotational basis with care of the hacienda herds of cows, sheep, and pigs, the processing of potatoes by frost dehydration (in practice both tasks are usually delegated to women or children), or the transportation of the tribute on llamas to its recipient in Paucartambo or Cuzco. These latter two functions continue currently in satisfaction of

tribute requirements to the state. In addition to the supervisory roles for the native subsistence strategy (heads of each family or senior brothers) three colonial native statuses were established to organize and coordinate the production of tribute: the mandón, kuntaror, and gollana. These statuses were apparently instituted under the hacienda regime, but perhaps had earlier native equivalents. The mandón was appointed by the landowner for periods of one to five years, and was charged with communication to and from his distant home, and coordination and supervision of the labors of tribute production, processing, and export. The kuntaror (Quechuization of Spanish contador, "accountant") was similarly appointed, and charged with recording and insuring maintenance of the number of head in the hacienda herds and measures of crop tribute. (He did this until recently with kh'ipu, the aboriginal method of counting with knots on strings.) The gollana ("leader," in the sense of exemplar) was charged with the organization of (and full expense of feeding and transporting) a special community "labor fiesta" for the benefit of the landowner during planting and harvest periods. The functional and conceptual segregation of these roles from the leadership of the native subsistence strategy is apparent in the distaste with which most Q'eros viewed their service, and their exclusion from the series of service roles by which adult males traditionally achieve prestige in the community. Although the service of gollana seemed to carry no such stigma, it was recognized as exploitive and discontinued immediately upon dissolution of the hacienda regime.

On the other hand, the statuses of mandón and kuntaror have been continued, but their roles are now increasingly superfluous to the native leadership roles of the community. The role of mandón, paralleling the shift of the purpose of surplus labor and tribute production, has been redirected to the coordination of kofertifo (cooperativo) labor for payment of the

land title. However, the coordination of labor and assignment of responsibility for processing, transportation, and sale of the products are tasks being progressively dispersed among the native kamachikuh ("one who causes it to be done") leadership roles of the community, which enjoy more established legitimacy. This native leadership has perceived that the production and marketing of this special purpose surplus is now compatible with community interests, and accepted it as an extension of their own roles. The role of kuntaror, through a fortuitous equivocation of adapted pronunciations, has been superimposed upon a new government status required by Q'ero's new official position as an independent community. Kuntaror (originally the Quechuization of contador) has become confused with kwirnaror (gobernador or teniente gobernador; local representative of the federal polity). The new federal status remains effectively empty because Q'ero has virtually no dealings with the provincial capital in this regard.

The official native leadership (kamachikuh; also varayoh - "those with staffs") has apparently always maintained pre-eminent jurisdiction in all community matters. This hierarchical group of four or five young and middle-aged men is selected annually by the family leaders of the community and receives official sanction in the provincial center. However, aside from this ceremony, the kamachikuh avoid virtually all dealings with the provincial representatives of federal and local government, delegating any such requirements to subordinates who act as "front men." Their own allegiance, as well as their legitimacy, is actually based upon their relations with an informal group of elders who in turn have special access to a pantheon of extraordinary powers.

The development of certain consumable dependencies on the outside has compromised economic autonomy, gradually encouraging the further growth of tastes satisfiable only through recourse to outside suppliers. However,

the Q'eros exercise constraint and frugality in this regard, only part of which reflects their limited resources for such purchases. Stigma attaches to any apparent indulgence; for example, although sugar is an accepted private luxury, possession of trago (a cane sugar alcohol drink), candies, or cigarettes appears to exceed the bounds of propriety, especially if not shared immediately. Tiny caches of these items, like the non-consumable items of outside origin discussed previously, are kept out of sight if possessed at all. The domain of accepted consumables of outside origin is virtually limited to coca leaf and salt (the preponderance by far), and small amounts of bayeta (homespun wool material), sugar, bidcuits, analine dyes (recently replacing many of the natural dyes used for weavings), kerosene (for wick lamps), and a variety of grains grown only in the qeshwa or lower valleys (wheat, barley, wheat flour, haba beans, quinua, peas, and rice). Coca leaf and salt, by far the larger part of the external necessities have probably been acquired from outside sources since far into precontact times, being ritual and dietary necessities unobtainable in the region of Q'ero. These two items are the basis of broad networks of traditional regional interdependence throughout the Andes, having been traded and employed as standards of exchange certainly since the precontact empires, and probably earlier; not even the broad ecological extension of the Q'eros has furnished basis for independence from this ancient aspect of the Andean trade network. Bayeta is received from traveling Qolla merchants on an annual basis, and pottery is replenished as necessary through rare visits to distant fairs specializing in ceramics.

The Q'eros could weave their own homespun bayeta from sheep wool and make their own pottery from clays available to them. They offer no explanation for never having done so, contending simply that they have always traded for these items. It is likely that these traditional trades perform

a social rather than economic function, and are customs of interdependence of long standing. A similar traditional trade occurs annually between the Q'eros and the Ch'ilqa Qolla of Kanchis Province, natives who come to Q'ero at the time of the Q'ero corn harvest to trade for maize (the Ch'ilqa, like many indigenous groups, live on a high plateau and can raise no maize themselves). The Q'eros annually trade them a small part of their maize harvest for the items which the Ch'ilqa specialize in and carry for exchange: fresh and dried alpaca or llama meat (ch'arki) and wool. In that the Q'eros usually have plenty of meat and wool (they are herders too) but usually only a marginal supply of maize, the exchange is not economic but rather manifestly social, involving visits and gossip between runa of widely separated regions and an occasion looked forward to every year.

Clearly there is precedent of long tradition for the gradually increasing trade between the Q'eros and the outside. Comerciantes (ambulant cholo merchants) frequently enter the region from outlying pueblos during the rainy season, peddling dependably saleable goods such as coca, salt, and sugar. These are exchanged for wool, or occasionally for money which the Q'ero receive from merchants specializing in the wholesaling of wool. The Q'eros even complain that because they are so isolated there are too few of these merchants, and that their goods are too few. Rumors abound in these peripheral pueblos about how the Q'eros crave the rudiments of material civilization, and an occasional merchant will venture to equip himself with wares beyond the Q'eros' basic needs, even carrying in bread, kerosene, cigarettes, cane alcohol, pots or hats. But I have frequently seen such well-equipped merchants turned away. In their conservatism and basic economic independence the Q'eros do not yet offer a market for even such marginal profits as these itinerant salesmen seek. Even the capital in wool and cash available to the Q'eros for a few months of the rainy season, when

shearing of the alpacas and llamas is done, is largely already committed to the necessities of weaving clothing, repayment for labor from other Q'eros, and the purchase of coca and salt; usually only a limited surplus is free for purchase of additional items.⁴ Approximately half way along in the annual cycle, at the time of ripening of the crops cultivated in the lower zone of Q'ero and about the time that purchases from the wool surplus have been exhausted, small surpluses of corn and quantities of uchu (small hot peppers; Spanish: rocoto) furnish the Q'eros with supplementary capital for purchases from the outside. Also at this time dehydrated potatoes are being processed, and their occasional surplus is available for trade. During the dry season merchants' visits are rare, and this produce along with the accumulation of surplus wool wask'a (braided ropes) is carried out of the region to any of several pueblos. There it is traded, usually with vendors who are familiar and without the mediation of cash, for coca leaf and salt, and small quantities of grains, sugar, bread, and other luxuries.

Economic exchange with the outside through comerciantes, buying expeditions, and migrant labor is likely to increase, but slowly. Both motivation and potential surplus are generally lacking. For the Q'ero of average means, specialization in either herds of the upper zone or the crops of the lower zones (potatoes, maize, or peppers) simply means neglect of one zone or another, and he must expend any surplus gained in the one for recoup of losses in the other. Apparently none has tried this speculatively, but rather in an attempt to compensate for failure. A few families have temporarily suspended their effort in the maize zone in the hopes of increasing a poor or mediocre herd; the result has usually been increased expenditure in buying the maize necessary for participation in ritual, and in due time a return to the growing of maize. Only one family has entirely left off raising a herd of alpacas and llamas to specialize in the crops of

the lower zone, but all surpluses in this case are expended in exchange for fertilizer, meat, transport for their crops, and purchase of his basic necessities; poverty has narrowed their options. Specialization in these cases has reduced the amount of flexible surplus available for trade with the outside. Even the wealthier Q'eros (relative to their own standards) have maintained the diversification of their efforts. In adjacent communities this is not consistently the case; a few very wealthy families in Kiku have foregone the effort to raise maize, and simply purchase it with a surplus of wool. But the Q'eros instead reinvest surplus wool and corn in broadening the base of their power and prestige through increase of their herd, purchase of labor assistance in their management of middle and lower altitude crops, support of ritual expenditures, and expansion of their families through strategic marriages (Chapter 7).

Although some of the flexible capital of the wealthier families is diverted toward consumption of outside goods, the primary economic motivation for involvement with the outside appears to be a moderate poverty relative to the community mean. Usually this is a fairly stable situation, but in three cases this has resulted in desertion of the effort in the lower zone crops or in the alpaca herding enterprise, compensated by recourse to the outside for sale of migrant labor, purchase of goods outside or procurement from surpluses of other Q'eros, and various other strategies short of return to the traditional diversification of productive effort. Frequent employment outside usually results in further neglect of the continuous effort required in the native subsistence strategy, and leaves the individual no recourse but to involve himself more fully in the mestizo economy. In the few cases where this has occurred so far, the individual has been able to balance the criticism he receives for this "wandering" (puripurillay) and neglect of the subsistence tradition by gaining prestige through his rela-

tive sophistication in dealing with mestizo bureaucrats and merchants. These individuals have undertaken a role which is increasingly necessary for the community in its gradual involvement with the outside, and one or two of them have utilized its ambivalent legitimacy to sanction further deviance from community norms of non-involvement.

The main motivator of eventual involvement with the mestizo outside is the small primary school established in the community since 1958. At its inception the school was not accepted by the majority of the community and was located in one of the valleys or the basin. Since this time it has gained wider acceptance, and has been moved to the more convenient location of the ritual center. However, this acceptance continues to be ambivalent. Although about one-half of the children of school age are matriculated, the attendance rarely reaches one-half of those matriculated. Of the students who attend more or less regularly most leave school after a year. The teacher is more dedicated than most such mestizo teachers in native schools, remaining in the community most of the time and intervening in native affairs only when requested; nevertheless it is generally felt that she teaches "things of little consequence to us." Although perhaps necessary for the eventual integration of the natives into mestizo dominated society, the matters in which the school drills its students are incompatible with the continuity of native cultural orientation.

As in any other highland elementary school serving a primarily indigenous population, subjects given most attention are Spanish, appreciation of the national tradition, manners (essentially, deference to people of non-indio status), and catechism (Catholic folk oral ritual). With the exception of the last topic, serious practice of any of these effectively commits a native to the mestizo cultural orientation as a cholo and generally leads to exclusion or departure from the native community. This has not

occurred in Q'ero because in fact very little of what is learned in school is retained, and virtually none of it is practiced. Spanish is of no practical use, evoking ridicule if used in the community and contemptuous denigration from cholos or mestizos if used outside the cultural region. Consequently, those who have left school retain a foreign vocabulary of only a few words, and even proficient students are unable to understand or respond in simple Spanish conversation. With one exception, adolescents and young men who have experienced the school revert to native institutions with little trace of acculturation.⁵ Although they are able to sign their names and know that they are "Peruvian," all remain effectively monolingual, illiterate, unaware of their nationality and unready to offer any outsider deference or obsequiousness. In the words of mestizos, including their teacher, they remain salvajes (savages) and amargos (embittered), which is to say they lack the rudiments of westernization and proper respect toward those who have this sophistication.

The Q'eros must accept compromises in their exercise of labor resources and traditional status relationships if they send their children to school. Adolescent boys and girls over six years of age are positive contributors to production, helpful in agriculture and important in herding and domestic duties, especially at peak phases of the subsistence strategy. In small families with particularly extended labor resources their assistance might be crucial. This factor accounts for the low rate of matriculation, and the sporadic attendance of matriculated students. Those Q'ero families who have decided that schooling is worth the sacrifice in labor resources have compromised by sending only children in excess of minimum labor needs to school, at least when not absolutely demanded by seasonal increase of requirements. The family in such cases is usually not small, and junior male siblings tend to be sent to school. Senior male siblings,

although jurally successors to their father's status in authority, are assured of no inheritance, the preponderance of which goes to the youngest son. Each senior male sibling must labor with the father in the extension of cultivable lands which he may receive as surplus, or he must lay the groundwork for residence with his wife and such inheritance from his father-in-law. The basis for friction between siblings is obvious if the youngest attends school, where he not only can avoid contributions to family labor but also can acquire a new basis for prestige as "educated," threatening the senior sibling's traditional basis of authority.

A further cause of compromise in labor requirements and traditional patterns of authority is the institution of fotbol (soccer), rising in popularity among the younger Q'eros since its inception at about the time the school was begun. The potential for conflict in this case is between the elders and middle-aged, who generally do not play, and the younger men of all ages below twenty-five, most of whom play avidly. Excessive indulgence in the sport is a threat to the authority of the elders and to the efficient continuity of the subsistence enterprise. Although the sport is associated with school, where it was probably introduced to the Q'eros, devotion to it has also been learned from surrounding native communities. (There is probably in all of Peru no refuge too isolated for the arrival of this popular sport.) The Q'eros only recently established organized teams for competition among themselves, but soon began to compete with adjacent native communities, and most recently have had hopes of competing in the provincial capital. Indulgence in the sport is clearly a cause of wider social exchange and probably increased marriage with nearby native communities, as well as the basis for a nascent "national" consciousness. Through diffusion of new values from these less isolated communities this social exchange will be a potent avenue of acculturation in the future.

In these first three short chapters I have reviewed very briefly some salient features of geography, history, and contemporary highland society which have determined Q'ero's course of development. To examine a community even so relatively remote as Q'ero without due regard for such influences would be very short-sighted. The Q'eros themselves can be accused of no such myopia; their daily conversation is filled with references to both Inkari ("the beginner of the Incas") and the kastayanu ("Colonial Spaniards"), and to the qeshwa and misti who surround them in the contemporary plural society. I remain uncertain of the extent and nature of many such influences, but those which are contemporary along the social boundaries of the ethnic enclave are ripe for careful observation and analysis. The primary focus of my research was within the community which proceeds at the confluence of these forces. Ethnographic ignorance in general about the native Andean community seems to logically require that study begin here. But in an effort to properly heed the social and historical forces of the wider ecosystem, I have talked alot about processes of change before I have made it clear what it is that is in these processes. The balance of the study backs up to examine more closely the two most fundamental determinants of Q'ero's social organization: the local ecosystem and the native social system.

NOTES

1

An exception to this is the battered, usually second or third-hand felt hat worn by every adult male over his native knitted ch'ullu cap. (Prior to about 1940 the montera, a saucer-shaped colonial hat, was worn by men as well as women in this region.) The ch'ullu is knitted only by the male and worn by all males, but also by children of both sexes. It is removed only rarely, while sleeping or if overheated. The misti felt hat is usually worn on top of the ch'ullu when walking, otherwise it tends to be taken off and laid aside. Its general adoption among adult males is probably due to

its greater efficacy in shedding the frequent rain (although the more battered ones surely don't), but also probably because the sumpriru (Spanish sombrero: hat) is, like ownership of a horse, a symbol of respectable status officially denied the indios under the Colony. Just as the montera is one of the definitive symbols of female native status throughout the Cuzco area, so are ch'ullu (with emphatically long ear flaps and tassels) indicators of male native status.

2

The only two exceptions are instructive: one Q'ero specializes in the manufacture of monteras (women's hats) and another possesses a few wood working tools. However the woodworking tools are only used privately or loaned out rather than used in the performance of a public specialty, and the articles of clothing for sale are made by a crippled man who exchanges them directly for labor in his fields.

3

During one of my visits to Kiku, a cholo entrepreneur with several assistants entered the community, having walked in the twenty kilometers that separate it from the nearest truck route. His objective was to test the potential profitability of extracting timber from the lower reaches of the Kiku river (where the natives maintain their maize fields) for marketing in the lucrative outlets of Cuzco. He obtained tacit acceptance in the community, guides, and offers of labor and draft animals through the influence of the individual I have described, with whom he had developed a relationship on the basis of business dealings. One can speculate that this venture, if successful for the cholo, may result in an increasing orientation of the native economy toward integration with the outside, which is not impracticably distant.

4

A calculation based upon the average Q'ero herd size and type, and the average value of wool whether sold to cholo dealers in the community or in distant pueblos (the latter is not much more, surprisingly) indicates that the average Q'ero family may harvest wool worth about 1000-1500 soles per year. (Because a minority are disproportionately wealthy, most families are probably limited to much less.) Even along with small sales of dehydrated potatoes, peppers, and woven goods, total average income in sales or exchange is probably no more than 2,000 soles annually (about \$46 U.S. in 1970). This estimate was substantiated by a few Q'eros in their less guarded moments (they usually report much less or nothing), and by a neighboring hacendado familiar with the community. Figures on peasant income are rarely reported in the literature, but this can be contrasted to data offered by Matos (1969: 164) on peasants in a coastal Andean province, where the lowest class agricultural peones earn about 18,000 soles per year.

5

One young man went on to a few months of primary school in a distant pueblo community, and is the only one to have done this. Another boy attended the transitional school of a nearby hacienda, but ran away within a week, humiliated by the other boys who denigrated his native dress. The former young man now understands and (in private) uses some Spanish, and is generally more aware of the mestizo world through his experience, although his acculturation has gone no further than this. He is currently unpopular for his overbearing conceit; if he becomes accepted as a leader through the

influence of his powerful father, it will likely be due to his ability to employ his confidence in a front role for the community in dealings with the mestizo outside.

PART II

ADAPTATION TO THE LOCAL ENVIRONMENT:

AN INTERZONAL ECOSYSTEM

The foregoing brief analysis of external factors affecting the community of Q'ero has cleared the way for an examination of the community in its local context. Although in regard to at least these factors Q'ero is not a closed social system, it is nevertheless an integral system, i.e., a community. In its sociological sense, the term community emphasizes a human group organized and integrated by regularized social relationships. This more focused point of view will be pursued in Part III. But the social organization of Q'ero cannot be understood apart from its adaptation to the local environment. Along with its local natural habitat the community of Q'ero can be seen to form a close organization of biotic populations and abiotic factors, or an ecosystem. The perspective at this point of explanation must be the ecosystem of Q'ero, i.e., the network of interrelationships of the human community, local plant and animal populations, topography, climate, and soil. The severity and overbearing influence of the physical environment alone in the culture of the Q'ero requires an ecological approach to the understanding of the community. Furthermore, the absence of a community in the localized or nucleated sense precludes facile assumption of a simplistic understanding of the concept of community, and directs attention to the more significant ecological parameters of the community as an integral social and economic system. I was initially attracted to the prospect of research in Q'ero because of its relative insulation from external influences, its close association with a diverse and demanding na-

tural habitat, and its small population, widely dispersed yet apparently closely integrated.

Some of the succeeding discussion is economics in an ordinary anthropological sense. From the point of view of the human community alone, adaptation involves a pattern of dispositions and strategic operations in the habitat, and could be analyzed simply as an economic system. However, in situations where the natural habitat is a prevailing influence, as is so frequently the case with Andean communities, the initiative in economic choice is often severely limited and usually conditioned. Much of the most revealing explanation lies in the nature of the limitations, conditions, and special opportunities inherent in the natural habitat. The conceptual models developed by ecology afford a better guide to analysis than those of economics, emphasizing mutual adaptation of the human community and domestic and wild biotic populations, both in response to one another and to the immanent physical features of the natural environment.

On the other hand, my primary concern is with the social organization of the Q'eros, and my competence to deal in detail with the flora, fauna, edaphic, geological, and climatic features of the ecosystem is limited. In ecological terms, the objective of the analysis is only to clarify the nature of the niche which the Q'ero community occupies in the ecosystem, i.e., the adaptive role of the human community, and other components of the habitat insofar as they critically bear on the human community. The discussion will approach the Q'ero niche analytically, with successive emphasis on form, content, and finally on function. First, the settlement pattern of the community will be examined as an adaptive spatial disposition of the population in the physical habitat. Secondly, each of the subsistence resources will be discussed in more detail, with special reference to the particular niches of the domestic herds, tubers, and subtropical crops of

the ecosystem. Finally, the subsistence strategy of the Q'eros will be viewed dynamically in terms of cycles in tempo and phase.

A brief review of the state of research in relevant aspects of Andean ethnography will put the discussion of the Q'ero mode of adaptation in clearer perspective. Altitudinal zones, systematic local mobility or transhumance, and pastoralism, are key aspects of the Q'ero ecosystem. Like the concept of the native community itself, none of these notions have served to guide more than a very few recent research projects in the Andes. This is surprising, because just as the native community is a fundamental segment of the highland plural society, altitude, transhumance, and pastoralism are all key components in the adaptation of many contemporary highland communities, and have undoubtedly always been crucial in their development.

J.V. Murra's research of the last few years has been especially concerned with the influence of altitudinal zones on the development of Andean culture; his inquiries have revealed that "verticality" has been an important determinant in early historic systems of trade, colonialization, and exploitation (Murra 1965; n.d.). T.F. Lynch's excavations in Ancash Department have begun to confirm that transhumance across such altitudinal zones characterized very early occupation of the highlands (Lynch 1971). In accordance with Murra's suspicions that "verticality" is a neglected yet highly productive approach to contemporary ethnography in the Andes, Meyer (1970), Custred (1971), and Burchard (1971) have recently concluded research projects revealing complex trade relations between communities in dispersed altitudinal zones. However, these projects have dealt with communities primarily as components in a wider interzonal system. There are apparently numerous peasant and native communities which, as is the case with Q'ero, in themselves span a complex system of altitudinal zones; as far as I know no such adaptive system has yet been described, although cursory mention of

them occurs. Nuñez del Prado (1968), the first investigator of the Q'ero community fifteen years ago, has brilliantly but briefly examined their mode of adaptation as a community highly mobilized in response to the physical environment, but aside from this unelaborated description, there is no specific appraisal of systematic mobility of an Andean community. This is not because such systems are rare in the Andes; on the contrary they are apparently numerous.

Closely associated with the issue of altitudinal zones and transhumance is pastoralism. Although early colonial chronicles imply the important role of alpaca and llama herds in the rise of the pre-contact Andean states, ethnography to the present usually maintains the dogma that pastoralism was nowhere a key adaptive mode in the aboriginal New World. Mishkin (1946:414) reported that many communities of the high south Central Andean puna were primarily herding groups, but until recently, the ethnographic question remained open. Just as Murra has revealed evidence of the crucial role of domestic herds in the Andean kingdoms (1965), recent ethnographic research of Jorge Flores (1968) and Horst Nachtigall (1966a; 1966b) has shown that the relatively independent pastoral community is probably a much more frequent Andean phenomenon than has been commonly supposed. It appears likely that such communities, usually practicing camelid husbandry (alpaca and llama) in a traditional and probably aboriginal manner, are numerous in the puna of the south Central Andes. Mixed pastoral economies such as that of Q'ero have either received no special attention in research, or the unwarranted assumption that all Andean adaptations are predominantly agricultural has biased research which might otherwise have revealed the pre-eminent role of pastoralism in such communities.¹

Chapter 4

Settlement Pattern

Although a few description from hacendados, farmers, and the reports of Nuñez del Prado had somewhat prepared me for my first exploration of Q'ero, the experience was nevertheless unforeseeable. Q'ero Llaqta ("Q'ero place," also known as Hatun Q'ero-"big Q'ero") is the central village towards which the naive outsider works his way, after crossing one of the several high passes separating the community from the surrounding region (see Maps 2 and 3). Fortuitously my companion and I had crossed one of the few passes which led, in the descent to Q'ero Llaqta, through one of the valley-head hamlets which are the actual homes of the inhabitants, but it was tiny and apparently unoccupied at the time. Further descent toward the montaña soon enveloped us in the fog which frequently sweeps up the valleys, and we wound blindly down gorges and through jumbled specters of boulders in the dense and shifting mist. When the main village was finally located, high on a mountain flank above two converging gorges descending in cascades toward the montaña below, we did not realize we were in it until the array of low stone and thatch buildings materialized all around us in a momentary thinning of the mists. A tentative exploration through the quiet network of paths and small hand-hewn plank doors locked with wooden latches showed the village to be deserted. With the valley far below and the mountains above all unseen in the mist, the silent houses and paths seemed to float around us. Finally we encountered one frightened woman and her dog, and after sitting down at a distance sufficient to reassure her, were able to find out that all the Q'eros were lomapi, in the high country down through which we had already traveled.

I had anticipated that this central village, the largest and most conveniently situated settlement in the several valleys occupied by the dispersed community, would be at least partly or periodically inhabited. But in fact it is nearly always deserted except for certain days of the annual cycle, when almost the entire community converges and meets for the celebration of a feast or a ritual. The houses here are much larger than those established as primary domiciles in the valley-heads, in order to accommodate the large groups entertained on such occasions. Aside from these short periods one or two transient Q'eros may occasionally "camp" in their houses in this village while enroute between the hamlets in the valley-heads above and their distant plots of tubers and maize. But they frequently remain in tiny family encampments only a few minutes walk outside the central village, finding its empty silence no more hospitable than the makeshift huts near their plots. Since the small elementary school was established in the central village the mestiza teacher and a handful of students are frequently present for a few days at a time through several months of the year, but this momentary activity is isolated in a few houses on the margin of the settlement.

The usual silence and vacancy of the village is traditional, and a concomitant of the nature of the Q'eros' ecological niche. The Q'eros themselves explain that the village is p"istallapah huñunapahpis ("just for festivals and gatherings") and otherwise occupied astanalla ("only as a temporary camp") usually remaining ch'usaq ch'inpis ("empty, silent, and tranquil"). The village exists because Q'ero is a highly integrated social, ritual, and political community with common public functions to discharge on a cyclic basis. It is located where it is because the community is necessarily dispersed throughout its ecological niche, and it remains usually unoccupied

due to the strategy of subsistence in that niche. In these fundamental respects it is comparable to the ritual center of the traditional Maya groups, who maintained similar settlement patterns for parallel reasons.

The Q'ero ritual center is composed of fifty-six rock and thatch buildings, all but five of which are private houses called hatun llaqta wasi ("main settlement house") or puxllay wasi ("entertainment house") and utilized on requisite occasions by a kingroup which holds common rights to it. These houses are larger than the usual native construction of the south Central Andes, measuring as large as ten by seven meters rectangularly, but constructed in the usual manner of walls of large stones chinked with mud, no windows and a small wooden door, and a thatch roof secured over a framework of poles the ridgeline of which descends in a semiconical "crow's foot" arrangement to the shorter side walls of the rectangle. The walls are sometimes two meters high, considerably higher than the usual native house, and the doorway is ample although in more usual native construction it is so small that even the slightly built Quechua must stoop to enter the house. (I frequently had to enter the hamlet homes on my knees with shoulders inclined.) Compared to the average native settlement, the vaulted headroom and ample dimensions of these houses impart an impression of grandness and opulence. This is both intentional and a practical necessity for accommodation of festival groups. Although not completely uniform, most houses have a small clearing or front yard in the approach to the doorway, and are oriented with the long axis of their rectangular plan parallel to the incline of the gentle slope on which they are located. The doors are always centered in the long side of the rectangle, and very frequently face the direction of the sunrise.² The sunrise occurs over the crest of a tremendous precipice called Anka Wachana ("incubator of the eagles") which con-

fronts the settlement from the opposite side of a deep gorge. Any visitor's approach to an occupied house must circumspectly pass across a front yard visible from the doorway, in such case always left open for light. The same area serves as a pleasant retreat from the frigid dimness of the early morning household interior into the warm sunshine that is usual only in the first hours of morning.

The household interior is invariably a single room with dirt floor strewn with some ichu grass and pelts of alpaca and llamas, which serve as beds and seats. There are no raised beds or chairs in Q'ero, and the few hand-fashioned tables are used only on special ritual occasions. The wall-side pata or bench of adobe or stone, used for sitting and sleeping in more acculturated native houses, is never encountered in Q'ero. An inclined rack for drying brush and sticks for fuel is constructed over the hearth, an adaptation uncommon outside Q'ero. The main furnishings are a q'onca (floor stove of dried clay) a maran and tonawa (flat stone slab and rocker grinding stone), and some manka (clay pots) and a few old metal pans. In the ritual center the clay pots are large, used in festival meal preparation, and usually include one or more of the huge urpu (water jars) used in processing axa, the maize beer produced for ritual occasions. Although some food, harvests, or seed may be stored for short times in the houses of the ritual center, it is not left for long, due to the threat of theft by occasional outsiders in the unoccupied village. Some field tools, however, such as foot-plows, cultivators, and axes, may be stored here to avoid carrying them down from the hamlets for each use.

The usual orientation of the rectangular floor plan parallel to the inevitable slight incline of the ground seems to be a custom which has developed in close association with the arrangement of the interior. The household is almost always functionally separated into a higher half for

guests, conversation and drinking on ritual occasions, and stowage of some food and gear, and a lower half for cooking, eating, and sleeping of all family members, and segregation of the women and children on ritual occasions. The difference in level is rarely absent, usually a few inches, and sometimes as much as a foot, but one wall of the house is dug in if the ground slope is steeper than this. The floor plan separation is physically marked by no more than the position of the doorway, or perhaps the position of the grinding slab (often opposite the doorway), and sometimes a small lip in the hard earth floor. This upper and lower functional distinction in houseplan is also usual in the hamlets, where a moderate incline is usually the most level ground available. The Q'eros themselves seem unaware of the pattern. Some practical advantage may accrue from the lower position of the hearth, which promotes more efficient warming of the air and locates cooking, eating, and other family activity, all of which take place near the floor on this lower side, in a relatively smoke-free area. On the other hand, the coldest air in the house, late at night when the fire has expired, collects in this same family sleeping area. The apparent reason for development of this custom is the dignified segregation and vantage point afforded visitors (and on ritual occasions, all adult males in the household) by the upper half of the floor. On the other hand, smoke from the hearth tends to thicken in this area.

The family houses of the ritual center are scattered without apparent plan across an inclined slope, divided by a shallow brook. The rather compact arrangement is interconnected by a network of vague or beaten paths between wild hedges of soft sawq'o bush and thorny but red-flowering llawlli, boulders and terraces, and the ruined walls of deserted houses. The slope ascends steeply to the rear of the village, where three tributary valleys cascade down in convergent directions from the several hamlets of the com-

munity and the peaks of the Ayakachi out of view behind the intervening mountain flanks and folds. To the front the alluvial slope drops rapidly from the village through a broad array of terraced fields and finally to the precipices of two converging gorges. These join at the foot of the alluvial fan (ch'ullu - also the name of the knitted native shaped similarly like a delta) to form the turbulent and deep torrents of the Q'ero River, milky with the rock-flour of its glacial origins. From any point in the ritual center one can see, in a moment clear of mist, down the Q'ero River valley where it disappears into the humid air of the montaña a hundred kilometers distant and 10,000' below. The Q'eros follow this river down about twenty-five kilometers to cultivate their subtropical crops, but no trail goes further. The river eventually disgorges from the tropical wilderness at a mission known by its name, and established to minister to the remnants of the Wachipayris, a tropical tribe.

The five community buildings of the ritual center are the iklesya (Spanish: iglesia) or church, three hacienda buildings, and a new school-house built by the Q'eros but never used. The three hacienda structures were built to store the hacienda harvests and to shelter the patrón in his occasional visits, but now serve as a small schoolroom and a house for the teacher. Only the church is located within the settlement margin, and constructed traditionally of stone, implying a more ancient origin, probably colonial. All these buildings, however, show their extraneous origin in an acculturated building design, employing peaked eaves (qawiña) rather than the conical crow's feet at each end of the roof-beam (rump'u), walls of adobe brick (except the church), and in the case of the school-house and former hacienda shelter, windows in the walls. All roofs are nevertheless of thatch. The church is large and dark, with interior walls that have at one time been plastered with mud and whitened with lime, but the dirt floor

is completely empty. The far dark end, opposite the colonial nave and doorway, shelters a rustic altar in colonial Catholic arrangement on which are placed the several bare wooden crucifixes and simple painted wooden icons which the natives probably accumulated in colonial times or during the hacienda regime.

The hamlets which are the primary domiciles of the Q'eros are distributed in the upper reaches of the four main valleys which converge above or in the vicinity of the ritual center (see Maps 2 and 3). The hamlets are usually simply called by name, but are also called wayq'o ("valley" or "gorge").³ They are generally two to three hours' walk or about ten kilometers from the ritual center, and situated about 800 vertical meters (2,600') higher. The main trails to the hamlets are very well-worn, but in places narrowly exposed to sheer precipices and often steep and strewn with rocks or running with water. Although the trails are usually restricted to one side of the valley by steep gorges, the rivers are occasionally crossed by insecure bridges of logs, brush, and earth. Outsiders and even the tough Andean ponies, unfamiliar with the rocky and wet terrain, find these trails very difficult to traverse; however, the natives travel them rapidly and continuously on foot with only their tire-tread sandals. Their ponies, although rarely mounted except for festivals, are capable of even galloping ascents and descents in what appear to be impossible conditions. The troops of llamas frequently driven along the trails move with a slow deliberation and stately grace that dramatizes the fineness of their attunement to the environment.

At about 4000 meters (13,000') altitude the trails finally break out of the steep and rocky terrain onto the broad and rolling alpine inclines of the valley-heads. At this point the trails are frequently numerous and closely braided, and cut a foot or more into the porous soils, due to the

frequent passage of llama troops which tend to move abreast in such open terrain. Although a few of the more prominent peaks may be glimpsed from lower in the tributary valleys, the full panorama of the Ayakachi crest is not visible until one gains this upper valley floor. On a clear day, this moment thrusts one across a threshold from the gallery of shadowy gorges into a tremendous expansion of the horizon. In two of the valleys this climax is a splendid array of snowy peaks and glaciers, and cascades descending the rocky buttresses to the alpine pastures below. This moment is noticed by the Q'eros too, who stop to sit and take coca leaf in silence, and if one of the community authorities bearing their conch trumpet is present, several blasts are blown in the direction of the valley-head and dominating peaks.

Eight hamlets, the primary domiciles of the Q'eros, are sometimes visible in the broad rolling folds of the four main valley-heads. But from a distance the hamlets are easily overlooked, and some are hidden unless viewed from certain perspectives. Their location is determined by access to water for the inhabitants and pastures for the herds, availability of an expanse of reasonably level ground, and by the relationship between the flanking high passes which connect each valley to adjacent valleys. These valley-head homes, in distinction from those of the ritual center, are called tiyana wasi ("living houses") or pagocha rikuh wasi ("alpaca-watching houses"). None of the hamlets is so compact an arrangement of houses as is the ritual center. Individual groups of houses, components of the hamlet, are closer together being associated with a single usually extended family. Several of these groups in turn are dispersed over a total area one to eight hundred meters in breadth, with fifty to a hundred meters usual between each family group. This dispersion is sometimes restricted by the closeness of steep terrain (Qolpa Pampa, T'antaña), but where there is ample room for expansion

over gentle inclines, the tendency of the family house groups to remain conveniently close to one another demonstrates the gregariousness and social expectations which are the bases of the hamlet formation. The hamlets vary in size also with regard to the number of families included, which range from four to twelve organizations usually extended by a generation of grandchildren, families of co-resident brothers or addition of sons-in-law. Besides these eight hamlets, in which about seventy of the eighty-two conjugal families of Q'ero live, there are nine individual family homesteads isolated in different parts of the community. Some of the reasons for these exceptions to the usual settlement pattern will be discussed as compensatory strategies (Chapter 6).

Family groups of houses (kuska wasi - "together houses") whether within a hamlet or in separate homesteads, are arranged with no particular plan, usually within a few meters of one another. Only a very few houses share a common wall; the result appears to be an unusually long house with two entrances, but there is never an inside doorway as in more acculturated building styles. The assemblage of family houses is usually adjoined by one or more k'ancha, stone-walled corrals a meter or so in height and five to thirty meters in diameter. These are used at night for protection of the herds of alpaca and llama when danger of predators is suspected, and at other times for supervision or care. The assemblage of family houses and corrals may occasionally form a regular enclosure or sort of "patio," used for weaving, spinning and other chores in better light than the house interior yet somewhat sheltered from weather. However, in Q'ero this enclosure is fortuitous and unrecognized, being a planned part of only more acculturated house plans. The main house of a family group is that in which the senior conjugal family resides, and in which the cooking, eating, socializing, and

sleeping takes place. It is the center of most activity and called the wayk'una wasi ("cooked-meal house") or occasionally hatun wasi ("main house"). Although as many as three closely related conjugal families may live in one such house, mature families (i.e. with children who can assist in herding) secondary to the senior one eventually move to a new location. If the relocation remains within the family group, an extra house is occupied or a new one is built. As economic independence increases, this household becomes a separate wayk'una wasi. The family group of houses is completed by one or more churana ("putting-places") for each wayk'una wasi, storage houses which are identical in all respects to the other sort, except usually smaller, not usually lived in, and always kept closed.⁴

The houses of the hamlets are constructed similarly in all respects to those of the ritual center, except that they are usually smaller in all dimensions, about three to six meters rectangularly. They nevertheless tend to be larger than native domiciles in many other parts of the south Central Andes, perhaps due to a prevalence of extended family household organization in Q'ero. The inside of the wayk'una wasi has a larger assortment of cooking and eating utensils of family size, and a plentiful supply of pelts, sleeping blankets, old clothing, and rags strewn about, ready to protect the sitter or sleeper from the chill air. Some clothing, woven sacks and rope, and hanks of shorn wool, along with quarters of meat and cobs of seed-corn needing the preserving affects of the warmer smoky air, may be hung from the rafters of the wayk'una rather than stored in the churana. Headroom is scarce, but one usually sits down on the floor. In the corners or behind the door are bundles of unfinished weaving or spinning, and various tools, sandals, carrying-cloths, and flutes, all the paraphernalia one carries on the trail or in the pastures, and casts off upon returning home. One or two nooks in the wall or small shelves hold a few leaves of puña (a ritually

"clean" plant of the high passes), some crucifixes fashioned from sticks, a few dusty scraps of paper, and a wick lamp. The maran has remnants of flour from the last grinding of dehydrated potatoes or corn for soup. One or two squat and rather pig-eyed dogs skulk at the doorway, repeatedly slink in to scavenge before being evicted by a punitive implosion of the lips (which sounds to westerners rather more like a blown kiss), and receive at the doorway a swill of meal-leavings which never includes more than the dregs and skins of boiled potatoes and bone fragments already polished by boiling, gnawing, and sucking.

The contents of the churana houses are rarely glimpsed by anyone but family members and intimates. They include the harvests of tubers and corn stored in shoulder-high graneries of split cane (t'age - from which the house is sometimes called a t'agewasi), small caches of other subtropical crops such as peppers, squashes, and certain roots, whatever sacks, rope tools, and utensils not left in the wayk'una, and perhaps some coveted items of outside origin such as lanterns, rustic tack for mounting the horse, articles of manufactured clothing, a rustic drum or two, and parts of the costume regalia for fotbol and the wayri, a festival dance also of outside origin. Also probably hidden in the churana are some bundles with items of supernatural significance which I will discuss later, and in all likelihood other similar objects about which I remain ignorant. Filling the corners of this or a separate store-house are large mounds of ucha, alpaca and llama dung, gathered as dry pellets in the dry season and stored as a fuel more efficient and more at hand than brush or wood, which are not available in the upper zone of Q'ero. Dried blocks of the peaty sod of nearby moors, or the resinous scaled trunks of achupala cactus, are also occasionally stored as fuel by families whose supply of dung does not surpass their need for crop fertilizer.

At the other extreme of the Q'ero settlement pattern, about twenty-five kilometers below the ritual center village, are the plots cleared for maize and other crops from the heavy subtropical overgrowth of the montaña at 2000 meters altitude (6,500'). This zone is usually called monte (Spanish: bush or forest) by the Q'eros, but occasionally they refer to it as yanqa wago ("unreasonable, irrational sanctum") which aptly describes their general attitude toward all regions below the alpine and subalpine zones of their habitat. The trail from the ritual center descends rapidly down the gorge of the Q'ero River, winding up and around steep headwalls on stairs worn in jumbled rock, and crossing tributaries (and in three cases the main torrent itself) on bridges fashioned from logs bound with vines and sometimes supported precariously on boulders in midstream. Where the trail is forced to penetrate the progressively denser vegetation it frequently deteriorates to bogs and extended tunnels through which one must crawl, detained by creeper vines and scoriated by cane leaves. Whereas the q'epina (streamlined back-packs of homespun tied about the shoulders of the Q'ero), passes easily through such a miasma, I and my framepack were frequently left behind. The route is conceptually marked for the Q'eros by the several river crossings and numerous rock outcroppings, some of which have traditional supernatural significance and serve as places for rest, snacks, and taking of coca leaf. The trip down from the ritual center, even heavily laden with tools and the rudimentary camping assemblage of food, blankets, and pots, requires only about six hours for the Q'eros; consequently many of them, even the elders and children, start in the early morning from their homes in the hamlets further above, only resting for a moment in the ritual center as they pass through. The return trip is longer and harder, requiring a total ascent of about 2200 meters (7,000'), and a night is usually passed in the ritual center.

The area of cultivation in the monte shifts slowly about every few years as the fertility of family plots is exhausted, but within the memory of the Q'eros has remained in a locality bounded by the confluence of the Q'ero and Kiku rivers, a generally more open space of low hilly flanks and valleys. The terrain is nevertheless difficult, with cornfields cultivated on slopes as steep as forty-five degrees. In Puskero, the area currently cultivated by most of the Q'eros, camps are set up in open shelters and maintained by each family during the periods of cultivation. These shelters, constructed of logs, shafts of palm fiber, and leaf thatch, are scattered throughout the area, rarely within view of one another between the intervening slopes and thickets of overgrowth, and located where the family plot can best be observed and defended from the ravages of predators.

Throughout the intermediate zones of the settlement pattern, between the ritual center and the hamlets of the several valley-heads, are numerous astana (camps, or "moving places") maintained or periodically reconstructed by the Q'ero families near their tuber plots. Significantly, the Q'eros also apply the term astana to the temporary households of the monte and even the ritual center, emphasizing their transient nature. The most extensive tuber cultivation areas are in the folds of benches between river gorges and the steep and rocky valley walls (e.g., Kurus Moqo, Oxo Pampa, Oxo Pata), and the long strips of river embankment which have developed in some localities (e.g., Washka Pampa, Palka Pampa, Wirakocha Pampa). However, the network of tiny paths connecting the astanas to main trails also climb far up to the steep rocky soils immediately below valley walls. The buildings vary greatly in size and elaboration from mere huts of sticks bowed and bound together and thatched, to somewhat more ample stone and thatch shelters, to houses with plank doors that appear to differ in no way from the permanent domiciles of the hamlets. These astanas are utilized during the more pro-

longed phases of cultivation, and serve for temporary storage of seed, fertilizer, and harvest. Although they may be no farther than an hour or two from the wayk'una wasi of the home hamlet or the hatun llaqta wasi of the ritual center, the Q'eros prefer to build a rough shelter or maintain a building inherited along with the adjacent plot, and remain close to the site of their work.

The place-names and directional terminology of the Q'ero reveal their own attitudes and orientation toward the habitat. Place-names are very numerous, reflecting an intimacy with details of the habitat that apparently extends to vague subdivisions of pastures, cultivation areas, trails, and living areas. Only a few important ones are noted on the community map (Map 3). The flavor of the place-names is often whimsical, anecdotal, picaresque, and endearing, belying aspects of native personality and humor which are not usually apparent to the mestizo or outsider.⁵ The encyclopedic inventory becomes familiar to children in proportion to their mobility throughout the community. Thorough knowledge of the local valley is established by age five or six, at which time the child is depended upon to conduct the family herds as he is directed and deliver messages as required. The routine conversation of adults continually reorients and focuses with reference to detailed place-name cues, a reflection of the extensive and diversified area of operations, i.e., the ecological niche of the community.

A special directional and relational terminology is similarly integral to ordinary conversation. At a deeper semantic level this might reflect a world-view based upon the primitive fundamentals of mountainous terrain, where unbroken horizontality is the rare relationship. A relative scheme of up-down and in-out underlies all reference to locality. The vertical dimension through which the settlement pattern is distributed is denoted by wichay and uray (up and down, e.g., wichaypi: "up in...;" wichayman: "up

toward...;" wichaymanta: "from above..."). Relative to one's position in a hamlet, for example, the intermediate valley, the ritual center, the monte and any lower location would be "down," and relative to any of these locations the hamlet would be "up." When the vertical dimension of locality reference seems to the Q'eros to be deficiently expressive, it is supplemented by relational terms which presuppose it. Perhaps the most common of these are: uxu (inside in the sense of "down inside," applying to any of the areas below the valley-heads, all of which become continually more restricted, and - especially to the Q'eros - oppressively enclosed monte); hawa (outside in the sense of "up outside," applying to the entire system of diverging valleys above the ritual center, any of the particular valleys as they progressively expand above the gorges into the broad valley-heads, and finally to the outside world beyond the passes which form the upper circumference of the community); ch'impa (across, in the sense of a "facing slope" across a valley); pata (crest, in the sense of high but relatively level ground); hana (higher ground, in the sense of being "above"); and q'epa (behind, in the sense of behind intervening high ground). Such usages for example in regard to informal and vague divisions of Q'ero settlements, all of which have more or less higher and lower parts, are hawapatanchis and urapatanchis ("our upper outside crest" and "our lower inside crest").⁶

The preceding description of the form of the Q'ero settlement pattern stimulates further questions regarding its antecedents and implications. For the sake of some temporal perspective, some of these questions can be considered before closer examination of the components of the Q'ero ecological niche and the subsistence strategy of the community. First, although no definitive conclusion can be drawn, some consideration must be given to the origin and stability of the Q'ero settlement pattern. The contemporary pattern involves (1) dispersion of the primary domiciles in several pastoral

hamlets located in the glacial headwaters of a system of converging valleys; (2) a shared village or ritual center only periodically occupied at the point of confluence of these tributaries, and (3) localities of cultivation and campsites throughout the intermediate zones as well as far on down the main river before it is finally engulfed in the subtropical rain forest. The settlement pattern is extended from alpine herding zones down through zones of tuber cultivation and finally to a zone of maize production, and it is obvious that this diversified enterprise at least partly accounts for the gross form of the pattern.

However, a comparison to similar settlement pattern types in the Q'ero cultural region can clarify the role of these and other determining factors. Specific appraisals of settlement pattern in the Andes have usually distinguished between nucleated and dispersed settlements, but rarely examine the relation between the two types or if they are part of a single integral system, and never note the existence of uninhabited "ritual centers."⁷ Settlement patterns of each community in the Q'ero cultural region are basically comparable to that of Q'ero itself, but with instructive variations. All involve regular relations between dispersed and nucleated settlements, and most include a central but generally uninhabited village or ritual center. In all cases, the dispersion of the primary domiciles of each community is (observably and according to the explanations of the inhabitants) in response to the requisites of alpaca herding. These are, briefly, high and rather extensive pastures and continuous care; consequently most continuous occupation tends to be near the pastures, and settlement size in these areas is definitely limited by the extent and quality of pasture locally available (Chapter 6). The associated centralized and nucleated settlement of each community functions (observably and according to the explanations of the inhabitants) as

the locus of activities shared in common by the dispersed hamlets of the community, primarily festivals and renewals of political organization.

One would expect that such ritual centers would be established, like Q'ero Llaqta and Hatun Hapu, at the most convenient confluence of communications between the dispersed hamlets of the community. This is not the case with Kiku, because a restricted valley without deep tributaries has precluded dispersion of hamlets, and a single village is established sufficiently high to serve as a base for both daily herding operations and tuber and maize cultivation. In this case there is in effect only one herding hamlet and a few homesteads, precluding the necessity of a centralized ritual center. However, the case of Totorani, adjacent to Q'ero on the west, suggests the importance of cultivation zones in determining the location of the ritual center in a dispersed community. Whereas the point most central and convenient to the three hamlets of Totorani is unoccupied, a ritual center is established further downriver in the vicinity of major localities of tuber cultivation, and midway to the zone of maize cultivation, as is the case with Q'ero Llaqta. The convenience of the ritual center for occasional shelter and stowage of tools, harvests, fertilizer and seed seems to be attested in these cases. On the other hand, although Hapu's ritual center is conveniently centralized to communication of its dispersed settlements and cultivation of major tuber zones, the zone of maize cultivation is in quite another direction; Hapu must share Kiku's maize production zone because the soil conditions below the ritual center in their own valley are not suitable.

It is likely that these factors together are necessary but insufficient explanation of the existence and location of the ritual center. Important historical factors may include (1) the necessity of some defensible retreat (prior to pacification of the region under the Inca or Spanish colonial regimes) central to the hamlets of the community, and (2) the local effects of

the Colonial programs of reducción and congregación civil, carried out to centralize dispersed native communities for more effective religious and civil control.

As far as the Q'ero natives are concerned, their current ecological niche and associated settlement pattern remains just as it always has been. Within the memory of the oldest inhabitants, kay pacha illiriymentarah ("since even the beginning dawn of this world"), the primary domiciles have always been in the valley-heads near the herds, the ritual center has always been established where it currently is, and maize has always been cultivated and transported with great difficulty from the monte. The repetition of this basic pattern in adjacent communities of the cultural region further attests to the stability of the adaptation. No knowledge of exceptions to the pattern is reported by the last survivors in the owning families of the old hacienda regime. Although this evidence does not establish that the present settlement pattern is in fact aboriginal, it does place the burden of proof on contentions to the contrary. Cases can be made either for the possibility that (1) the Q'ero settlement pattern was at one time more centralized, and that the population has since withdrawn to live primarily in the valley-heads or (2) Q'ero was at one time without a significant ritual center, and that Inca or Spanish colonial policies forced establishment of a more nucleated settlement.

The extent of ruins in the vicinity of the present ritual center indicate a past period of activity and perhaps greater population, apparently in Incaic times or soon thereafter. Three large areas of the tripartite valley convergence are laboriously terraced (Q'ero Llaqta Ch'ullu, Hatun Q'ero, and Pukara Moqo) with huge boulders built into retaining walls; although these are no longer maintained or irrigated they continue to be cultivated by rotation. Above each of these three areas there are ruined buttresses

and protective enclosures of fortress retreats, built on steep ridges and summits with very restricted access. Between the terraces of Hatun Q'ero and the fortified retreat up the sharp ridgeline of Anka Wachana there are the remains of a complex living community of approximately twenty-five foundations of compactly arranged houses and corrals. The small circular walls are of stonework more carefully constructed than contemporary houses, and represent an aboriginal type. It is likely that the present village of Q'ero Llaqta is constructed over such a site, because it is located in the same close association with the ruins of a fortified retreat, and the ruins of several apparent living houses of round-wall design survive in its upper reaches. One is spectacularly large (ten meters in diameter) compared to others of the same style, and has several interior trapezoidal niches and peripheral windows reminiscent of a much more sophisticated Incaic style.

Although there is not complete agreement, the Q'eros tend to believe that their own ancestors, rather than the ñawpa runa ("before-people" who inhabited the previous world), lived in the community across the valley at the foot of Anka Wachana; supporting this is the custom of calling that vicinity Hatun ("big") Q'ero, an adjective reserved for the central village in other communities of the cultural region. Q'ero Llaqta may have been a contemporary village, or one established subsequent to the desertion, for some reason, of Hatun Q'ero. The influence of the Inca regime is further evidenced by vague remains of Inca ñan (broad foot-road) construction in the saddles of Pulaniy mountain, and massive boulder stairways crossing the sheer faces of valley walls above the Q'ero River, still the route the Q'eros use in their access to the monte. Although the dense vegetation and periodic landslides have long since obscured further evidence of the road, Q'ero folklore contends that the ruins of a large Inka Llaqta, or Incaic town,

can be found at Papa Montón, two more difficult days into the selva below Puskero.

Although the extent and elaboration of these ruins admit the possibility that the current ritual center originated in some control policy of the native population under the Inca regime, it fairly precludes the possibility that the Spanish Colonial policies of reducción or congregación civil may have been the origin of settlement in this locality. Furthermore, some components of the community celebrations of seasonal cycle and leadership renewal conducted in the central village suggest that the hamlets of Q'ero shared the ritual expression of a cohesive tradition before the influence of Spain. On the other hand, the possibility remains that the central locality was once, beyond the memory of its inhabitants, the zone of primary habitation, and that subsequently the population has withdrawn to live primarily in the upper hamlets.⁸ This withdrawal might have occurred through a shift of economic emphasis to the alpaca herds, or in retreat from hostile forces such as the labor and produce conscriptions of the Inca or Spanish regimes, the silver and gold mines of the Colonial era or the recent lead mines, or the nineteenth century hacienda dominion.

The fortified retreats associated with the ruined and contemporary central villages suggest a permanent population in this locality at one time, when occupation of the herding hamlets rather than the ritual center may have been merely temporary. These would protect the population when surprised by raids from hostile forces, either of the suppressive regime or neighboring communities of the tribal region. Perhaps further supporting this hypothesis is the fact that the contemporary burial pattern appears centralized, with the more elaborate and prestigious burials, especially those of influential adult males, occurring in the ritual center, and all others restricted to the grounds of the hamlets and other peripheral locali-

ties. Furthermore, there is some evidence that although the more traditional burials adhere to this pattern, lapses tend to favor burial in the hamlet vicinity, implying increasing establishment of these as primary domiciles in the settlement pattern. Finally, it may be argued that the numerous ruins of modern (rectangular) houses in the ritual center may imply an increasing disuse of this settlement within the last several decades.

Several further considerations, however, neutralize the force of these arguments that the primary domiciles of the Q'eros were at one time established in the contemporary ritual center or its vicinity. Ancient ruins are not restricted to this vicinity, but are also to be found in the high pastures of Qocha Moqo, implying aboriginal settlement in the valley-heads. As will be discussed later, topography and contemporary patterns of regional communication suggest that earliest habitation was most probably in the valley-heads between passes. If this is so, the ritual center could be conceived as precipitated from the social integration of these earliest hamlets. The mines operated recently and in earlier centuries in the community were apparently very small operations and of little influence on the population; all of the small labor forces in the most recent mine were brought in from the outside in order to avoid dependence on the notoriously recalcitrant and lazy Q'eros, and only one Q'ero family is known to have traded goods with the operators of the mine. Furthermore, the mines were located in the very high passes, and, unlike the hacienda regime, any influence it may have had would not have provoked withdrawal to the valley-heads. On the other hand, the apparently moderate exploitation and frequently compromising hacienda regimes (Chapter 2) seem inadequate provocation for a withdrawal of primary domiciles, and in fact the Q'eros consider such a hypothesis ridiculous. However, the possibility that much earlier colonial taxation or conscription may have had this effect cannot be dismissed.

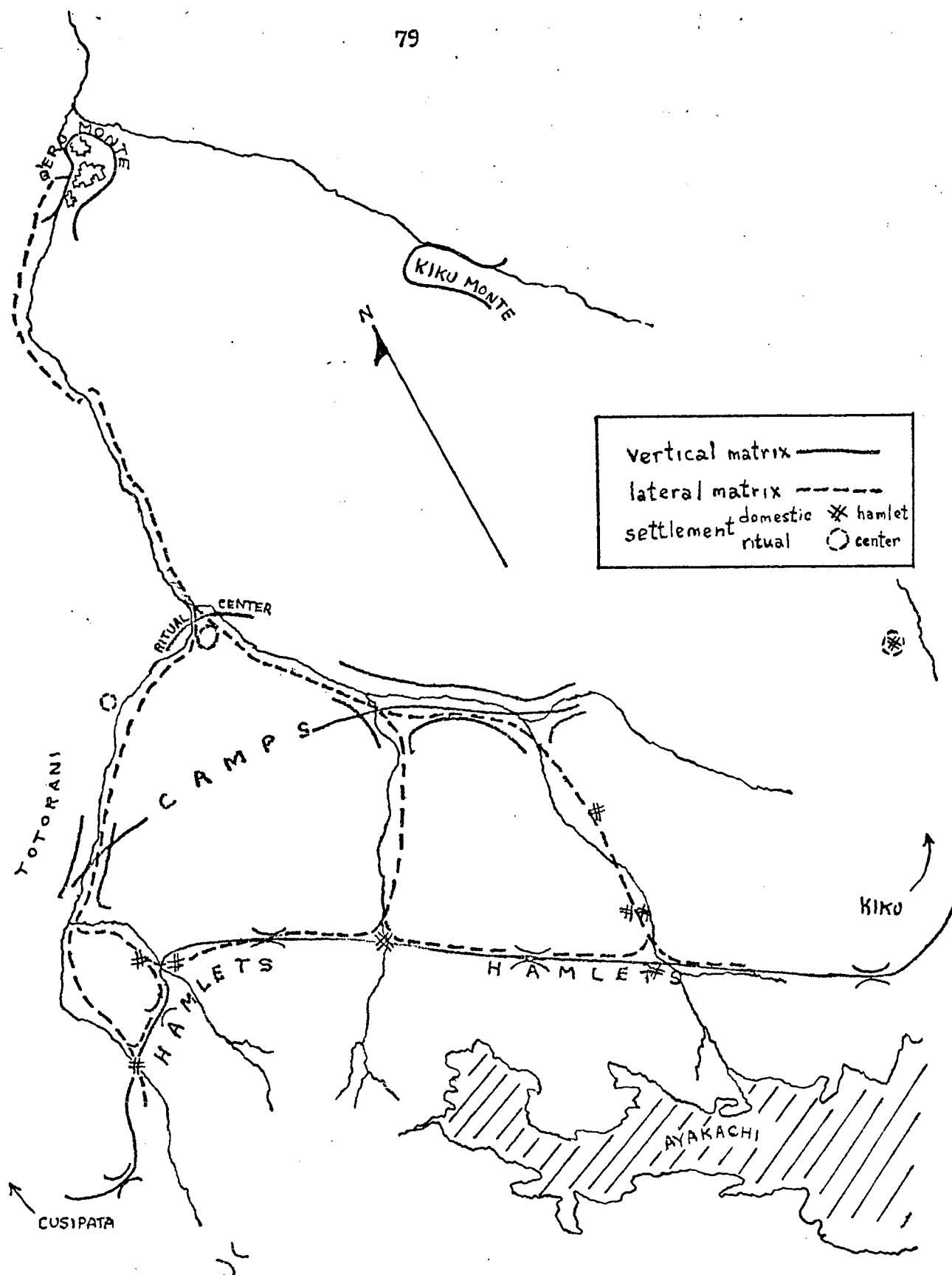
The possibility that a shift of major economic effort to alpaca herding required a transfer of primary domiciles to the vicinity of the high pastures is rendered unlikely by the current dominant role of the herds in the native economy, seasonal and life-cycle ritual, and system of social status. Such thorough integration in the native culture implies a herding emphasis of long standing, and probably precludes such a shift of economy at least within the last few centuries. The construction of fortified retreats above the central village and ruins of Q'ero is more difficult evidence to dismiss. However it is likely that the only resource vulnerable to hostile raids, and protected accordingly, were the relatively localized harvests of potatoes and maize, and their harvesters, tending to concentrate in this vicinity at certain times of the year. The dispersed herds and herding hamlets in the several broad and open valley-heads would have been much less vulnerable to surprise and attack.

The apparent absence in the ritual center or nearby ruins of churana storage houses and family clusters of houses, a developed domestic pattern in the herding hamlets, further implies that these settlements were never used as primary domiciles. The preference of the ritual center for the burials of individuals of superordinate status is simply commensurate with the central role of this location in all community ritual, and in fact celebrates prestige, wealth, and influence closely tied with the herding enterprise of the altitudes. The possibly increasing tendency for the Q'eros to bury their dead in the higher and hamlet locations remains ambiguous; burial customs in the cultural region seem to be rather diverse, with nearby Kiku burying prominent individuals in the crest of a high and difficult pass overlooking their entire valley. Finally, although the many house ruins in the ritual center may imply a slight decrease in community population, it implies no increasing disuse of the center. All but the poorest Q'ero families cur-

rently maintain or have access to a house here, and this requisite is considered crucial to the normal development of status in the community.

I am now in a position to discuss some of the ecological implications of the Q'ero settlement pattern. Insofar as this pattern appears relatively stable, it can be viewed as a concomitant of the matrix of ecological relationships which integrate the human community and its natural environment.

The prime determinant of the settlement pattern is its extension over three distinct altitudinal zones from which are derived the three key staples in the native economy: alpacas, Andean tubers (especially potatoes), and maize. The extremities of this extension are 4700 meters (15,400') and 1800 meters (5,900') respectively, and about 35 kilometers apart. The successively lower altitudinal levels of hamlets, camps, ritual center, and monte can be conceived as a vertical matrix of the community niche (Map 4). The continuous care required by the herds of alpaca and llama dictates the location of the primary domiciles in the high pastures; on the other hand, the periodic attentions required by the cultivation of tubers and corn require that the Q'eros extend their activities into lower and distant zones so difficult to reach from these settlements that regular routes and rudimentary camps must be established and maintained in several additional locations. The eight herding hamlets, although located on a variety of terrain in four different valleys, vary in altitude only between 4,000 and 4250 meters with a mean altitude of 4105 meters (13,500'). This reflects the consistency with which primary domiciles have been established with regard to pastures appropriate to the needs of the alpaca herds. These pastures in turn tend to be located at particular altitudes in soils of certain type, gradient, and distance from the permanent snow and ice of the Ayakachi summits, their primary source of water. The herding hamlets have been established along their lower extremities, where access to both pastures above and the broad



Map 4: Settlement pattern - vertical and lateral matrices

zone of tuber production below are optimized. Local variation in the pasture conditions mentioned above, and other factors such as natural shelter, water for the community, and similar contingencies probably account for the small variation in the altitude of hamlet location. It appears that co-optation of available sites by other hamlets is also a factor. The hamlets located at the extremes of altitude variation share their valleys with one or more other hamlets.

In the intermediate zones of tuber production, the largest and most carefully maintained astanas or campsite huts similarly reflect a close association with particular altitudinal zones. The broad zones of tuber production extend through 800 meters (2,600') altitude, from the lower reaches of the pasture zone down to the benches of Hatun Q'ero, across from and below the ritual center. However, the most heavily cultivated localities are in the vicinity of the four main valley convergences (Erba Kunka/Qolpa K'uchu; Qolpa K'uchu/Qocha Moqo; Yawarkanca/Chuwa Chuwa; Q'olpa K'uchu/Chuwa Chuwa) and the benches and banks along the valleys between these points. Lower and upper parts of this dendritic pattern tend to have few permanent campsites, although tubers are cultivated, because the shelters of the ritual center or the hamlets are conveniently close. On the other hand, throughout the middle range of the broad tuber zones, at an altitudinal belt between 3350 and 3700 meters (11-12,000') where tuber production is extensive and sustained but inconveniently distant from either the hamlets or the ritual center, most large astanas of the community are located. Some of the factors determining the location of the ritual center in the lower reaches of the tuber zones were considered in the previous discussion. It is apparent that major features of the settlement pattern are compromises between several related components of the ecosystem.

Although three major trails descend and converge in the vicinity of Q'ero Llaqta, beyond this lowest point of Andean tuber cultivation the settlement pattern is very constricted by terrain and overgrowth to a single trail leading ultimately to a narrow zone of subtropical cultivation. Although it is possible in optimum conditions to successfully cultivate consumer crops of Andean corn as high as 3200 meters (10,500'), this is precluded in Q'ero by the steep and heavily vegetated valley walls below Hatun Q'ero. Here the river penetrates a narrow defile (Kuchi Santa - "pig tooth") between huge subalpine masses on the east and west. Beginning at about 2700 meters (8,900') occasional small plots of corn cultivation have been established in the few restricted slopes and benches amenable to them, but the terrain does not open up until about 2100 meters (6,900'), below which the great majority of cultivation plots have been established. This area is nevertheless a cul-de-sac, with soil conditions and dense vegetation precluding cultivation on its lower and outer margins. All cultivation areas of the Q'eros (and of Totorani, Kiku, and Hapu communities as well, insofar as detectable in aerial photographs) are restricted to the inner banks of a triangle formed by the converging Q'ero and Kiku Rivers. Whereas below this convergence the full density of the subtropical forest, soil changes, and the difficulty of crossing the river have virtually precluded cultivation, above it the river can be crossed and inside it the dense forest has not dominated the vegetation. The scattered huts and subtropical cultivation plots of the Q'eros are located in this relatively restricted zone, constrained by topography, altitude, and lack of appropriate soil.

The niche of the Q'eros is bound in an ecological matrix with prominent lateral as well as vertical relationships (Map 4). The upper one-third of the niche, about 1000 meters (3280') in vertical relief and ten kilometers in length, is laterally divided into four major compartments (valleys) and

several minor ones separated from one another by very high ridgelines.⁹ The interrelations in the lateral dimension of the ecosystem are between zone segments of analogous altitude, climate, and biotic characteristics. Consequently these determinants of the settlement pattern are not so important as they are in interrelations through the vertical dimension. Topography and human community become more salient determinants of the ecosystem in lateral relations between compartments.

Three passes (q'asa) of about equal altitude (mean: 4413 meters; 14,500') penetrate the low points of the ridges which separate the four major compartments of Q'ero. A fourth, considerably higher, connects Q'ero with the adjacent compartment of Kiku. Apparently the radiating ridge crests to the north and west of the Ayakachi range have focused the eroding drainage of its snow-fields at similar locations and rates in each case, because from any one of three of these passes, two others are nearly in plain view. The symmetry of the gross features of the environment at this altitude creates another phenomenon: the major hamlet of each valley of Q'ero is located almost directly beneath each pass. Owing to the regularity of the location of each pass, this is just at the point through which one would cross the intervening valley floor traveling from one pass to the next. The limits of the pasture zones in each valley-head are, like the passes themselves, a function of the proximity of the Ayakachi ice-fields, and both factors have evidently been important in influencing the location of the herding hamlets.

It is likely that regional communication was antecedent to the hamlets. Present movement of itinerant cholo merchants and native regional traders passes along the eastern flanks of the Ayakachi in this high zone, traversing the long series of deep compartments and high passes. For example, movement from Cusipata on the west, to Kiku on the east (Map 3) invariably crosses through the high Q'ero passes rather than descend through Q'ero Llaqta, pre-

ferring the smoother more open puna paths and suffering even in the repeated ascents only an additional total climb of 240 meters more than would be encountered in the lower route. Similarly, movement of the Q'eros between hamlets of the several compartments, and even to lower parts of other compartments, almost invariably utilized the high passes in preference to the longer valley route. This is so even though the total eventual climb may be considerably more if more than one pass is crossed. In the days before settlement, choice of the open high route was probably motivated by the absence of trails in the rocky and brushy lower valleys. Presently, visiting among friends and relatives in adjacent valleys is clearly a key motive.

The congruence of the ecosystem components of pass, pasture, and hamlet begins to fall out of symmetry at the periphery of the Q'ero community. This is primarily because the passes and valley-heads on the east are too close to the swelling masses of the Ayakachi crest, and those on the west are too far. The very high Wallataniy Q'asa crosses from the easternmost hamlet of Q'ero to the valley of Kiku, but at a point far above settlement and even above the pasture zone of this community. The same situation obtains between Kiku and Hapu, which is at the foot of an even more northern extension of the Ayakachi. The drainage pattern and associated passes in the western part of Q'ero, lacking the dominant proximity of the Ayakachi, maintain similar altitudes but recede in a curve to the south. The optimum alpaca pastures in these compartments conform to a still tighter curve, adhering closely to the glacial ground-water that sustains them, and the herding hamlets tend to be somewhat below the most convenient access to these pastures. Finally, on the western margin of Q'ero, Pampa Q'asa and Walkayunka Q'asa open into the uninhabited valley-head of Cusipata. It seems likely that the congruence between settlement pattern and other gross features of the ecosystem in this upper zone is an important determinant of com-

munity integration itself. Exogamy preponderates between the valleys of the basin, but the community itself is largely endogamous. Whereas the integrity of Q'ero is clear throughout its constituent valleys, a substantial decrease of economic as well as social ties reflects the ecological discontinuities apparent on the boundaries of the community.¹⁰

The convergence of the lateral compartments of the ecosystem in the lower reaches of the natural dendritic pattern is similarly reflected in community cohesion. That is to say, in its intermediate and lower zones the compartmentalization of Q'ero becomes binding in a social as well as topographic sense. Kiku's compartment is an independent drainage which does not join with the Q'ero River until even below the zone of maize cultivation, and correspondingly the social organization of this community is largely independent of that of Q'ero. Similarly, the separate community of Hapu, on the eastern extremity of the cultural region, is segregated in the headwaters of a completely different Amazon basin valley system. On the other hand, within a descent of 4-500 meters every hamlet of Q'ero is tied to the valley mouth of an adjacent hamlet, in a tuber cultivation area which is shared in common. As the valleys converge, soil appropriate for cultivation becomes more extensive and fertile. Five locations in this intermediate valley zone are major tuber cultivation areas operated in concert in a system of rotation and fallow. Consequently during certain seasonal phases of each year virtually every Q'ero works in one of these localities in close association with the members of all other hamlets of the community. Joint utilization of these areas may have been a key influence in the precipitation of community integration among aboriginal valley-head hamlets.

The ritual center is established at the final point of convergence of all the compartments of the community ecosystem. Although one of the main trails traverses along the opposite valley wall below Q'ero Llaqta, and its

users need not necessarily pass through the ritual center, all traffic below Hatun Q'ero is funneled through the single narrow declivity of Kuchi Santa. Concourse of all the Q'eros through and below this point is frequent during the seasonal phases of plot preparation and cultivation in the monte. At the time of corn harvest most of the members of all Q'ero families are together in Puskero, separated only by the necessities of their tasks and intervening thickets of maize and brush. But communication with Kiku and Hapu, involved only some ten kilometers away in parallel phases of corn cultivation, is exceedingly difficult and rare. Lateral compression of topography in the intermediate and lower zones is echoed in the joint expression of community cohesion in tuber and corn cultivation and festivals in the ritual center. At the same time the community ecosystem of Q'ero is increasingly separated from those of adjacent analogous systems.

NOTES

1

In southeastern Peru, I suspect that other communities with unmixed pastoralism can be located in Canchis and Chumbivilcas provinces of the Department of Cuzco, and in various puna areas of the Departments of Puno, Apurímac, and Ayacucho. From what I have been able to gather from merchants and other travelers, such communities are dependent upon trade for staples not derivable from their herds, being situated on high plateaus no part of which is amenable to agriculture. Transhumance in such situations is probably usually required by the dispersion and seasonal variation of pasture, as is the case with Paratia of Puno (Flores 1968). I would further speculate that communities with mixed pastoral regimes predominate along the ceja de la montaña, and major intermontane valleys where they penetrate the ceja, in any situation where control has been maintained over the higher regions necessary for alpaca pasture. In such situations, as is the case with Q'ero, the management of agricultural regimes concurrently with herding probably often necessitates a transhumant pattern which is oriented around cultivation rather than pasturing.

2

Tschopik (1946:505) reports that ch'uillpa ("tomb" - now applied by the Quechua to all old ruins) doorways almost invariably faced east. I neglected to inquire about so many things such as this.

3

The term ayllu is frequently used in Peru to refer in some way to a native community, and has occasioned a great deal of discussion among scholars (Rowe 1946:253; Zuidema 1966). The term is rarely used in Q'ero, but when pressed for a definition the natives inconsistently identify it with the valley-head hamlet, the wayq'o or valley itself (in which several hamlets may be located), the entire community of Q'ero in distinction from other native communities of the cultural region, or a kingroup, sometimes with agnatic inclinations. Yabar (1922), in his discussion of Q'ero, uses the term in reference to the entire cultural region, calling each community within it an estancia ("farmstead"), and records in the provincial capital tend to use the term in this sense as well. The Q'ero kingroup will be analyzed in Chapter 8, but the term seems to have least applicability to this entity as far as the Q'eros are concerned. When the term is used it seems most usually to refer to the population of a locality the extent of which is clear in the context of the discussion. Endogamy of this population is contingent (here the case only in reference to the community), but locality is denotative.

4

Frequently, especially in the presence of outsiders, these buildings are called kusina and dipusitu, Spanish loan-words denoting kitchen and storage room respectively. The word cosina is not really appropriate in Q'ero, because the "cooked-meal house" is a great deal more than a kitchen in the sense of a meal-preparation room, being the center of all domestic group activity. Mestizo building styles segregate cooking from eating facilities, and women and children are similarly separated from men, even when eating. Although in Q'ero the family routinely carries out all these functions together, more acculturated native homes in other regions may have a separate "kitchen" following the mestizo custom.

5

Q'ero (the ritual center - a carved wooden goblet used for the ceremonial drinking of axa (maize beer)); Chuwa Chuwa (hamlet - "many vulvas"); Qocha Mogo (hamlet - "knee of the lake"); Yawarkancha (hamlet - "biscuit of blood and moraya"); Qolpa K'uchu (hamlet - "salt-peter corner"); Putu Mayo (hamlet and river - "axa drinking-gourd river"); T'antaña (hamlet - "now an old rag"); Chawpi Puñuna (hamlet - "middle sleeping-place"); Lawarqaniy (river - "my soup-taking"); Aka Mayo (river - "feces river"); Pulaniy (a major crest in the granitic complex east of Q'ero covered with barren grass that appears undulating and soft at a distance - "my mold"); Anka Wachana (the towering and shadowed cliff-face which confronts the ritual center - "eagle hatchery"); Marantoni (river and cultivation locality - "my grinding slab and rocker stone"); Puskero (spindle); Wallqa Kunka (valley-head - "throat of the necklace"); Wallataniy (high pass - "my wallata" denoting a graceful wild variety of goose inhabiting the alpine pastures and thought to be the spirits of dead alpacas); Okoruru (pass - seed of the oka tuber); Uri Kunka (pass - throat of a fast-maturing variety of potato plant); Wamanripa (the major titular peak of the community, mantled in glaciers - a rosette curative herb of the highest altitudes); Qolqe Punku (a major titular peak - "silver door"); Qawinayoh (highest peak of the Ayakachi - "gable-shaped"); Oxo Pampa ("muddy level area"); Isu Mogo (hill - "mangy knee").

6

Frequently, Andean communities are more or less formally divided into sectors, and these are often dual (saya) and termed hanan and urin (upper and lower) (Fuenzalida 1970:102). There may be some evidence of regular exogamic marriage relations between these divisions, or the ideal of it, at least in the past. Outside of the purely relative directional terminology in Q'ero, there is no evidence of formal locational divisions, and the Q'eros seem to find ludicrous any suggestion of marriage patterns relative to such divisions were they to exist.

7

Mishkin briefly describes the Andean settlement pattern (1946:439). The associated Hispanic terminology current in the south of Peru is furnished by Escobar (1967:2ff). In general, the mestizo pueblo with peripheral peasant villages bound in an integral economic and political hierarchy is a very common regional pattern. Dispersed herding hamlets with associated central villages characterized by small-scale commerce and social stratification have been described for some communities of the puna plateaus in Puno (Flores 1968), Moquegua (Nachtigall 1966), and Chumbivilcas (Custred 1971). Settlement patterns more similar to Q'ero are likely to be common outside this cultural region, probably occurring in similar situations of economic diversification over a broad altitudinal range on the outer flanks of the eastern cordilleras Urubamba, Vilcanota, Carabaya, and Aricoma (Map 1). Little or no ethnographic research has so far been done in these regions, although Chavez Ballon has reported briefly on one community on the flanks of the cordillera Carabaya which appears to pursue agricultural transhumance (Schaedel et al 1959). I would speculate that, as in the Q'ero cultural region, a central village in such situations would be primarily uninhabited and function in the ritual reunion of the associated social communities where the native economy has remained diversified and self-sufficient, and integration with area peasant networks is minimal. In the puna regions, on the other hand, the analogous central villages are populated by commercial and political specialists (and socially stratified accordingly) because integration in the surrounding society is necessary for acquisition of staples not locally available, promoting the development of specialized roles not directly dependent on agrarian enterprise.

8

Although the Q'eros specifically deny any such effects on their settlement pattern, I have been assured by some of them that they would much prefer to live in the ritual center due to its more temperate climate, but are unable to do so because of the constant care required by their alpaca herds in the valley-heads.

9

"Compartment" is used synonymously with "valley" in this discussion, being a term which better reflects the lateral relations between ecologically analogous zones.

10

Totorani has no such striking incongruity with the ecosystem of Q'ero, occupying the western margin of the Chuwa Chuwa River. However, its social segregation from Q'ero is similarly less distinct.

The community integrity of Q'ero in its ecological setting is dramatized each year when a contingent of Q'eros, comprised mainly by one chosen kin-group but representing the community as a whole, undertake the pilgrimage to Qollorit'i, a famous shrine of the area. The small group of devotees leaves the ritual center in the evening, and throughout the night traverses one or more of the valleys of Q'ero, being feasted in several houses and supplemented by additional pilgrims on their way to Q"ata Qocha or Okoruru Pass. On their way up onto the community, and as they approach the mouth and valley-head of each valley, they pause to play successive salutes on conch trumpets and cane flutes to the locality. A penultimate salute is played in the pass departing the final valley, and another, directed down toward all the valleys of the basin of Q'ero, and is played toward the ritual center far below before crossing the final crest of the community domain. In this way, the solidarity of one or more of the constituent valleys and the community as a whole, vis a vis the outside, appears to be celebrated. Similarly, the ritual solidarity of the Q'ero cultural region as a whole is dramatized in their behavior as they near the Qollorit'i shrine and gather about it with other "Q'eros" from adjacent communities, segregating themselves from other native and non-native groups.

Chapter 5

The Structure of the Community Niche

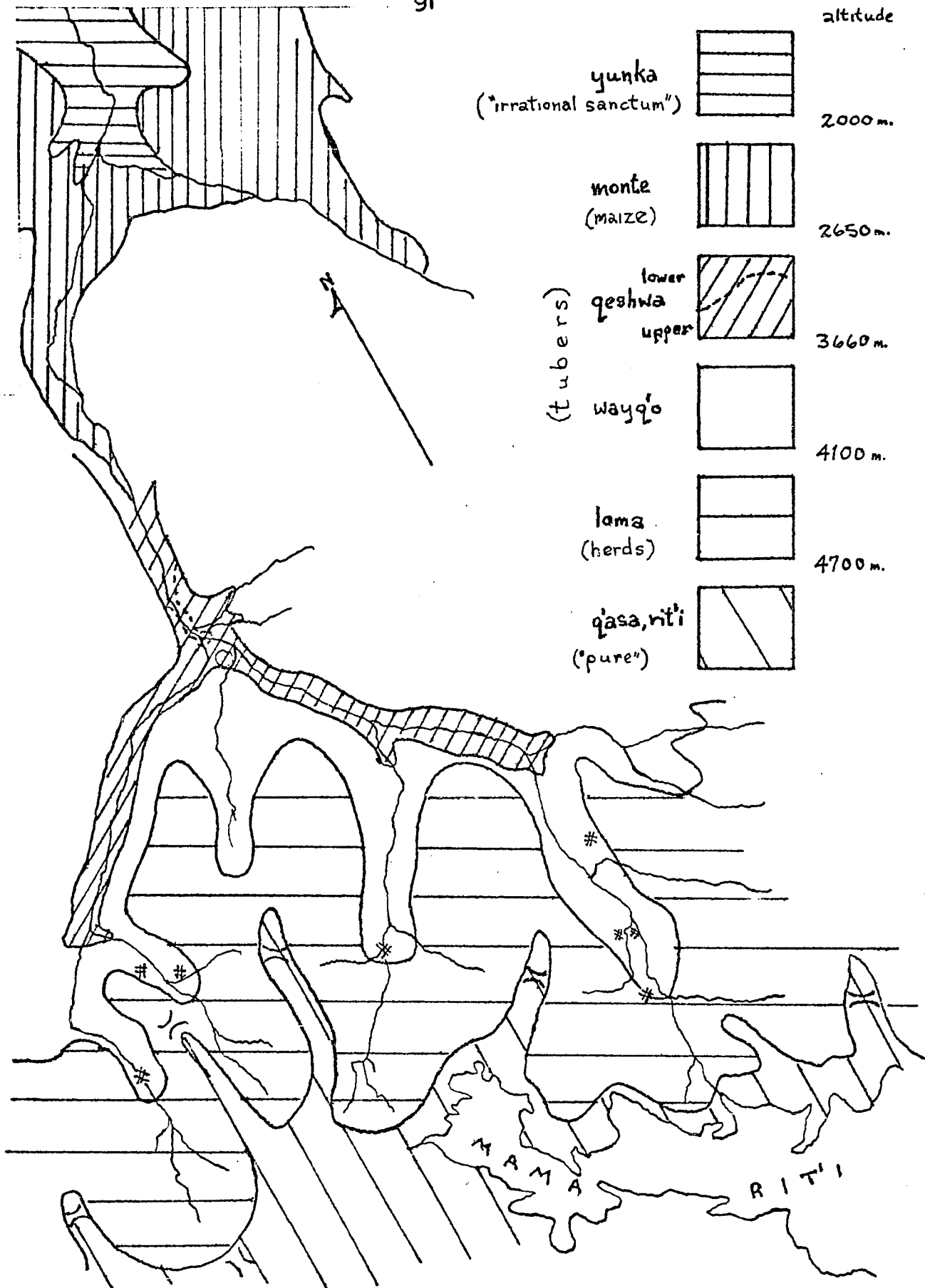
The general form of the Q'ero ecosystem as reflected in the settlement pattern, its possible antecedents, and some implications have been discussed. It remains to examine more closely the niche of the human community in terms of the specific characteristics and resources of each zone through which it is extended.

Associations in an ecosystem are analyzable as a chain, or web, of dependencies. Most biotic components are consumers with relation to some components, and producers for others; topographic, climatic, and soil conditions furnish origins and limitations of energy. A hierarchy of energy transfer, or trophic levels, is central to the system. In the case of the Q'eros, the human community occupies the most inclusive trophic level. Energy from this level recycles in the system, or, to some much smaller extent, is exchanged outside in relations with the highland mestizo society that could be loosely characterized as symbiotic. Within the context of topography and settlement pattern, the operation of the Q'ero community niche in the local ecosystem may be further analyzed by attention to the trophic level with which it is most directly associated: its herds and crops. These are domestic populations in the niche, which is to say the association between them and the human population is symbiotic. Just as the community is dependent for sustenance on the herds and crops, these in turn are dependent on the technology of the community for protection, direction, and propagation despite the rigors of the natural environment. On the other hand, these domesticates are nevertheless closely dependent upon natural conditions in different altitudinal sectors of the ecosystem. More clearly than is usual for an

ecosystem, each domesticate occupies a distinctive niche of its own with regard to the natural habitat. The intervention of the human community in each of the subsystems of its domesticates sustains their roles as dominant factors within the confines of their niche.

Consequently, from the point of view of the more inclusive niche of the human community, the ecosystem is seriated or interzonal (Map 5). It is divided into natural ecological zones characterized by radically different altitudes, distinctive biota, and diverse conditions of topography, climate, and soil. Upon this series of natural zones, and necessarily in close congruence with it, are superimposed the several domestic resources from which the Q'eros primarily derive their subsistence. The most striking feature of the Q'ero niche is that it involves management of domesticates and other resources spanning such a wide diversity of zones.

Pastoralism and domestic animals. The Q'eros are best characterized as pastoralists because their alpaca and llama herds are a crucial resource in the native economic organization and a central focus in the social organization. As discussed in the preceding section, the herds are a prime determinant of the settlement pattern; the manifold additional effects in social organization and ritual will be considered below and in Part III. Economically, alpacas (paqocha) and llama are a resource upon which most aspects of native subsistence are either directly or indirectly dependent. Virtually every family owns both alpaca and llama, with the total size of the herds ranging from ten to more than one hundred head, usually including about 25% llamas. These animals are the source of wool, food, hides and sinew, fertilizer, fuel, and burden transport for the Q'eros. These products are in turn resources for clothing, household, camp, and trail equipment, routine



Map 5: Major ecological zones

and ritual diet, exchange capital, cooking and warmth, and the logistics of managing the dispersed enterprises of the community niche.

The wool is dyed, spun, and woven into unku (men's tunic), common and dress ponchos and liqlla (female's short cape), and ch'ulu (men's cap), the whole of the native exterior dress. Alpaca wool is preferred for clothing, but llama wool is also woven or braided into the large number of blankets, carrying cloths (kana), transport sacks and ropes important in household and trail equipment. A small seasonal surplus of wool, varying with the wealth of the family, is reserved for exchange capital to acquire some services and goods from other Q'eros, and the few but crucial staples acquired from outside the cultural region. The finer alpaca wool is preferred by the natives for clothing, and in transactions is worth about two to four times the exchange value of llama wool, partly accounting for the preponderance of alpacas in the herds. Other sustained products of the living animals are dung and transport of burdens, but apparently never milk nor blood, resources which have probably never been exploited in the Andean pastoral tradition.¹ The dung of the alpaca and llama (ucha) is in small compact pellets and habitually deposited by the herds in certain restricted localities; consequently it can be swept up during the dry season and stored for cooking and house-heating fuel, and fertilizer for cultivation of the intermediate zones. An average Q'ero family gathers at least 25-50 bushels of dung for these purposes each year. Transport of loads is a capability of only the male llamas. However, this involves movement of large quantities of seed, fertilizer, and harvests, especially at crucial phases of the agricultural cycle, over the considerable distances and altitudes of the community niche.²

The hide of the slaughtered or dead animal may be shorn, but is frequently left on the hide; several luxuriant pelts furnish the bedding and seats of every household. Shorn hides are sewn into storage containers, or

along with sinews serve as binding for tools and the framework of house roofs. Finally, cuts of the meat of the animal are roasted fresh, or more often, fried and smoked in the roof-beams of the household and added daily in small parts to soups and stews over a period of time. Blood, viscera, and heads are cooked immediately into especially enjoyed broths and stews; for special occasions blood is also mixed with ground ch'uñu or moraya, which is then fried or baked into biscuits (kespiña; yawar kancha). Fat is saved for making such special biscuits, but is more often utilized for flavoring stews or frying and for burning as tallow in clay dishes for ritual offering or lighting. Bones are crushed for boiling. Usually nothing is left of the animal but these polished fragments, strewn about the floor and snatched away by the dogs.

The Q'eros call the tributary valleys of the basin, above about 3660 meters (the main upper junctions), wayq'o (valley or gorge) and loma ("open heights," "alps"). Wayq'o refers to the relatively closed and rocky zones of the valleys between 3660-4100 meters, but also includes reference to the hamlets, which are situated in their upper margins. Loma refers to the valley-heads where they open up into broad and rolling alpine pastures above the wayq'o (Map 5; Figure 1). Flora varieties decrease rapidly upward in these zones, with low shrubs and herbs of the wayq'o giving way to grasses and dwarfed "cushion" and rosette plants adhering closely to the surface of the loma. The prime determinant of climate is the high altitude. Mist is common, originating nearly every day in the montaña to the north, and drifting rapidly up through the steep valleys of the region. Overcast and precipitation is usual between November and April, at which time the daily temperature range at 4100 meters is between 50°F and 60°F. Throughout the region the mean temperature normally lowers at about the rate of 1°F for each 100 feet of greater altitude. Snow sometimes occurs during this season, but

94

WEBERBAUER (S.E. PERÚ)	ALTITUDE (meters) compartment open ground	Q'ERO	
		natural	domesticated
cold desert (rock oases)	5300 -17,000 ft-	q'asa, riti (limp"u)	none - "pure"
puna mat (Distichia moor, cushion, rosette) (grasses)	4700	} loma waylla (hamlets)	herds
	4400 (4700) -14,000 ft-		
	4100 (3800)		
tola heath (ichu mat)	4000 3660 -12,000 ft-	wayq'o	bitter papa
	3300 (3600) -9,000 ft-	upper (ritual center)	Andean tubers
		--- qeshwa ---	--- --- ---
ceja (ferns, sphagnum)	2650 (2800)	lower	(collecting only)
	2000 (2650) 1800 -6,000 ft-	monte	maize temperate and subtropical crops
montaña (palms) (subtropical selva forest)		yunka yanqa wako	none - "irrational sanctum"

Fig.1 : Major Ecological Zones

rapidly disappears; sleet is more frequent. Between May and October precipitation is very infrequent, and the daily ascent of mist is usually broken by periods of bright sunshine. Daily variation of temperature is much greater in this season (30°F to 85°F at 4100 meters) due to the effect of altitude, solation, and atmospheric clarity (a passing cloud can cause the temperature to drop 20°F). Humidity throughout the year is higher in the wayq'o and loma compared to similar highland altitudes not on the ceja de la montaña, but it is not so high as humidity in the lower zones of the region, the qeshwa and monte.

Whereas the community is dependent upon the herds of alpacas and llamas, the herds are in turn dependent upon a particular natural habitat, as well as the care of their owners. Of the two herd animals, the alpacas are the more decisive ecological factor for the community because they constitute the majority of the herd and have much more specific habitat requirements than the llama. Whereas the llama is pastured in either the wayq'o or loma zones, the alpaca cannot be long sustained in good health apart from a particular habitat system which is primarily within the loma zone. The primary aspect of this highly specialized adaptation is dependence for proper diet on a type of alpine moor called waylla by the Q'eros. Factors of ground texture and ambient temperature and humidity are apparently also involved.³ The Q'eros say that the alpaca is lomata munasqa ("endeared to the loma"), needs it wiñanampah ("for growth, life"), allin wilmapah ("for good wool"), and kiru kutanampah ("for grinding down of the teeth"). It is said that in lower zones tullun unqoshanpis sacha sacha k"utuspan hinaspa wañurgapun ("he thins and sickens, brush and forest cut him, and so he surely dies"). It is also recognized that garachiy (Cardozo: sarna, carachi), an epidermal infection caused by the scabies mite, becomes critical in the warmer temperatures of

lower altitudes. Ichu goro, interpreted by the Q'eros as a lung disease, is said to result from pasturing in certain ichu grasses of the lower zones.

Besides moderating the effects of dermal parasites (mites and lice), the cooler ambient of the loma also insures that most precipitation will be dense or frozen in snow and sleet, more easily shed by the fine thick pelt of the alpaca. The pelt under such conditions tends to form a saturated outer layer sealing off several centimeters of intermediate dry insulation. The alpaca, far more than the llama, seems susceptible to bronchial and pulmonary diseases; the higher humidity characteristic of Q'ero below the loma, as well as the more penetrating precipitation at lower altitudes, is likely to promote such problems. Similarly, the horny two-toed foot of the alpaca is apparently more tender than that of the llama, requiring (and probably adapted to) the softer, damper soils of the loma. The dry and rocky soils of the wayq'o upon which the llama can subsist indefinitely, are known to cause the disease saquaype in alpacas (Cardozo 1954). On the other hand, alpacas must pass the night or short periods on firm soil outside their pasture moors, or suffer a type of foot-rot from unrelieved dampness.

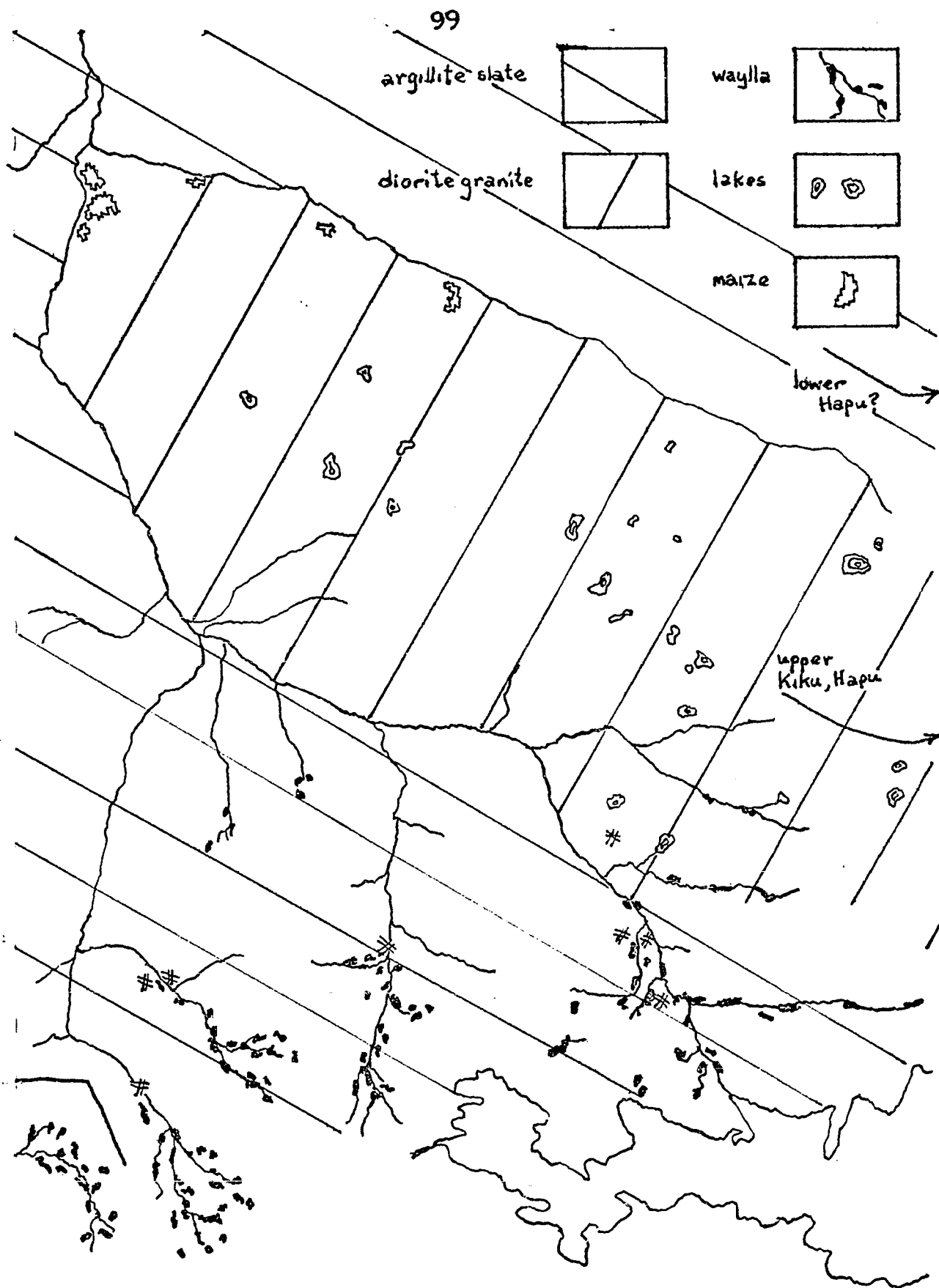
Within the loma zone are waylla (Spanish: bofedales), unique high altitude moors composed of a pasture complex that is evidently necessary for sustained diet, healthy wool, and requisite dental wear of the alpaca. The adaptation of the alpaca has apparently so closely tied it to such pasture that its incisor teeth will grow to occlusion inefficient for mastication if the animal is unable to find it in sufficient quantity. The ecological niche peculiar to waylla pasture is in turn the primary determinant of the alpaca niche, and consequently a key factor in the niche of the Q'ero community. It is a lower trophic level on which the Q'eros are indirectly dependent in the local ecosystem. The Q'eros term the flora characteristic of the waylla moor q'ara pastu ("husk" or "skin pasture") because it forms a

tough, dense mass of even growth that adheres closely to the ground, thriving in colonies of smooth plates and raised hummocks. The primary constituents are two sorts of k"unkuna (fino k"unkuna - Distichia muscoides; urgo k"unkuna - Plantago rigida).⁴ These "cushion plants" are highly adapted to the barren and seasonally dry altitudes of the Andean puna by a plant structure that is almost entirely subsurface, exposing only tiny closely-packed leaves to the light, and conserving moisture and the warmth of intense but brief periods of solar radiation in its peaty understructure.⁵ The waylla are Distichia moors restricted to the small, level compartments and gentle slopes between the folds of the loma expanses, where ground water is closest to the surface. Near glaciers and permanent snow, as is the case with Q'ero, they are usually numerous in valley-heads where springs and seepage from the ridges of morain are widespread. In the drier Andean regions of puna they are much more scattered and less permanent, being associated with springs and groundwater that have less dependable sources.

In the waylla of Q'ero, the most succulent kind of k"unkuna (Distichia muscoides) is restricted to the immediate locality of the numerous springs, tarns, and rivulets, and the other kind of k"unkuna (Plantago rigida) is extensive around the drier margins of such areas. Short ichu and k'achu grass (Stipa spp., Calamagrostis spp., Festuca spp.), and paja (Gramineae), and pako (Aciachne pulvinata) dominate the loma zone both above and below the waylla wherever there is insufficient groundwater. This plant succession clearly reflects increased tolerances of dryness. On the other hand, altitude is a secondary factor, because neither of the k"unkuna types are found even in appropriately damp localities below 3800 meters or above 4600 meters, and it extends to these limits only in protected compartments. Cold and dessication are clearly the upper limiting factors (very few plants grow above 5000 meters even in the damp southeastern Cordillera), and in the

lower extremities apparently the special adaptation at k"unkuna to exposure offers it no special advantage over a variety of grasses and herbs. On the western slopes of the Ayakachi, the Hacienda Ccapana has specialized its three main valley-heads according to pasture resources, with only those closest to the snowfields supporting waylla and consequently alpaca, and the northernmost, with little waylla, devoted exclusively to llamas. To the east of Q'ero, Kiku has very restricted localities of Distichia muscoides and only scattered Plantago rigida, and a relatively small population of alpaca; Hapu has virtually no waylla at all, scattered Plantago rigida, and only a very few alpaca sustained in a marginal state of health. These situations furnish further evidence that in areas where waylla are not present or dependable in sufficient quantity, alpaca cannot successfully be raised.

However, proximity to the glaciers of the Ayakachi and requisite altitude are evidently not sufficient conditions for the development of waylla pasture. Both Kiku and Hapu are close to the glacier fields of the Ayakachi, and their terrain is dotted with numerous lakes and tarns, implying sufficient ground water for sustenance of the waylla which are nonetheless rare. On the other Q'ero, with its numerous waylla, has very few lakes and tarns, and in fact in the valleys where lakes are closely associated (Aka Mayo, Marantony, Erba Kunka, Qomer Qocha), waylla are absent. A probable factor involved in these ecosystems of the Q'ero cultural region is geologic: whereas the four main drainages of Q'ero and those of Totorani are located in deep deposits of argillite slate, the several secondary valleys enumerated above, and all the valleys of Kiku and Hapu, are located in bedrock of diorite granite (Map 6). Apparently the waylla are dependent upon denser soil and subsurface groundwater associated with the compact decomposed argillite. It appears unable to develop in the porous sandy soils of decomposed diorite, where glacial water is either trapped in bedrock basins on the surface or



Map 6 : Regional substrates
and concordance of waylla, maize, and lakes

lost in deep seepage through fissures or coarse moraine. The Q'eros recognize the etiology between soil type and texture and viability for herds: they say that Kiku has few and Hapu no alpacas due to yurah ago allpa (white sandy soil, i.e., dioritic), and condemn their own sterile peripheral valleys with this soil type as soq'asqa ("cursed") or ichukamalla ("just entirely grass").

The forage requirements of the llama are considerably less specific, and the animal is tougher and less vulnerable to health problems. Llama components of the herds can be pastured extensively in the variety of sedges, herbs, and grasses of the wayq'o below the hamlets. They are even set out to forage for short periods in the lower geshwa and monte when their owners are in these vicinities and soon in need of their transport services. Furthermore, the Q'eros contend that the llama can forage effectively even higher than the alpaca, in drier and exposed localities up to 4700 meters where the waylla gives way to dwarf ichu and other grasses. In the narrow zone between this limit and the permanent snow, only the smaller and fleet wikuña, a wild camelid (Vicugna vicugna), can forage successfully. The llamas nevertheless simply tend to be herded with the alpacas, because they fare as well in and on the peripheries of the waylla, and constitute a smaller and somewhat less important component of the herd. The various resources which the llama and alpaca represent to the Q'eros are co-extensive and equivalent with the exception of burden transport (which the alpaca cannot do) and production of valuable wool (which the llama cannot do, having wool not much more valuable than that of the sheep and about one-quarter the worth of white alpaca wool). Furthermore, among burden-bearing animals it is said that only the llama is sufficiently sure-footed and dependable to transport the harvest of maize from the monte to the hamlets several thousand feet above. These distinctive resources are both valuable to the Q'eros, but not quite equivalent,

consequently somewhat more effort is usually devoted to increasing the alpaca herd. This is because alpaca herds produce a more valuable standard of exchange tradeable for the always insufficient staple goods or accepted luxuries of external origin, and goods and services from other Q'eros. The possession of a large alpaca herd is furthermore the most important criterion of high status. On the other hand, the transport capacity of the llama herd, although virtually indispensable in certain phases of the Q'ero ecosystem, can be usefully developed only up to a certain point (about ten llamas) beyond which the troop is larger than needed for efficient transport and easy management by the average family. As will later be discussed, some Q'ero families specialize in llamas for ecological reasons of a compensatory nature; still others have many more llamas than usual because they have developed advantageous exchange relations reciprocating the services of their excess llamas for labor or goods from families with an insufficient number of these animals for their own needs.

One aspect of the network of ecological relations between the camelid herds, their pasture, and the lower tuber plots reflects a good example of interrelated trophic levels. The chain of relations is mediated by the community which manages each of these components. The waylla is converted, primarily by the larger alpaca herd, into conveniently localized concentrations of dung. This dung is annually gathered, dried, and then either burned in the houses as fuel or transported on the llamas to levels 1000-1500 meters lower, where it is spread as the necessary wanu (fertilizer) on the rotated tuber plots. After being cultivated into the soil, the wanu minerals are subsequently converted into vegetable material through photosynthesis, and part of this is harvested as starchy tubers. The efforts of the human community are interposed in this energy chain at several points for the sake of deriving the ultimate benefit of the cooking and heating fuel and the har-

vest. Part of the energy so derived or conserved is returned to the same series of relations in the form of effort required to sustain it.

The care which the Q'eros devote to their herds is not usually intensive, but it is continual. Extra efforts are undertaken in disease curing and seasonally with regard to fertility, pregnancy, and vulnerable young. But it is the constant tending of the herd for protection against predation and straying which consumes a tremendous part of the family labor resources and effectively determines the nature of the settlement pattern. Essentially, the herd requires the pasture of a specific zone, and furthermore can be left unattended for no more than a few hours at a time. In a situation such as Q'ero where labor resources tend to be stretched to capacity, this chore is most efficiently allocated to women, children, or elders because their labor and travel potential is accepted to be somewhat less than that of mature men, who are primarily responsible for the periodic but heavier labor of the dispersed tuber and maize plots. It has apparently followed from this pragmatic division of labor that the primary domicile is established where the women and children most frequently remain, i.e., near the herds. The inefficient use of labor potential, enormous logistics problem, and household disruption which would be entailed by any other arrangement (e.g., primary domicile in the ritual center, women or children commuting to the herds above, or alternatively, women and children in primary charge of the fields and household established for this reason in the ritual center) strikes the Q'eros as an unworkable, even ludicrous, possibility. Furthermore when there is no immediate danger of predators, a woman, child, or elder in charge of the herd is able to return from the loma pastures to the hamlet household in the upper wayq'o for a few hours at a time, and prepare meals for the other members of the family who may be returning at the end of the day. In this way

the idle hours tending the herd can often be put to double use, whereas other arrangements may not effectively permit this.

Early every morning the herd is driven from the vicinity of the hamlet corrals to the pastures of the loma above, and every dusk they are returned, always in the wary, deliberate, and stately tempo characteristic of llama and alpaca movements. Virtually constant tending of the dispersed herd during the day is necessary to avoid a high rate of attrition from predation, straying, and occasional theft by outsiders. Predators are puma (mountain lion), atuh (fox), and gontur (condor); all of these are especially threats to young animals, but the puma and even the fox are able to kill and drag away mature animals, and the puma can slaughter a small herd if given sufficient opportunity. To guard against these predators the herdsman controls strays, keeps most the herd within sight, and shouts threats or utilizes a woven sling-shot (wark'u). Straying in bad weather, or leaving an animal behind in the loma at night, often results in death apparently from exposure and demoralization of the very gregarious animal. If the herd is not too dispersed, dominant males are sometimes able to protect the herd by initiating united escape or confrontation. At night the herd beds down in a compact group, unliable to stray, and in the immediate vicinity of the family house group where the one or more dogs give adequate alarm if a puma (the only nocturnal hunter) or thief is detected. The corral is utilized and an outside watch established only if such a threat is suspected. This is the case when it becomes generally known throughout the community that a particular puma is prowling, or during the rainy season when both the puma and fox are apt to hunt in support of a den of cubs or pups in the geshwa valley below. Small shelters are constructed overlooking the corrals for this purpose. In addition, flags of white material (napana - "salute") are flown near the corrals. High rock cairns (saywa - "sentinel" or marker) are built in the

surrounding passes or on high points of ground around the hamlet, and are felt to repel threatening predators or thieves. I was unable to be certain, but judging from ritual associations it is likely that these constructions are endowed with supernatural efficacy; it also appears that two sorts of supernatural being (ñawpa runa - "ancient men," and kukuchi - "spirits" or "ghosts") motivated by jealousy or revenge are considered threatening predators at night.

The corrals are used primarily for fertility ritual, curing, breeding, birth, shearing, and slaughter. All of these activities are best done with the whole herd gathered, because it is very difficult to separate individual animals. The dispatched spirit of the slaughtered alpaca is also in this way more liable to strengthen those of his companions, or reincarnate in a gestating animal. Twice during the annual cycle each family undertakes a special ceremony devoted to the salutation of the alpacas and llamas in separate rituals termed p'alchasqa and ahata uxuchichis (further discussed in Chapter 7). These rituals involve an exhortation of the fertility of the animals, mediated by t'inkasqa (libations of maize beer, or alcohol purchased from itinerant merchants). These t'inkasqa are made upon k'uya, small stones with extraordinary powers which are conserved by most families in Q'ero and entreated in these rituals to affect the fertility of the herds. These rituals also center around a ch'ampa, a piece of natural sod cut from the pasture, upon which libations are also lavished. This may imply a special regard at these times for the Pacha Mama ("Earth Mother") fertility deity. This is appropriate because both of these rituals are closely associated with the main harvests of Q'ero. The corrals themselves are attributed with sanctity, recognized during these rituals with scattered libations (challasqa) on their enclosed ground, and apparently through the herd are associated with the family itself.

Pulmonary diseases, often complications erupting in animals weakened by parasite infestation or digestive diseases account for a large part of the total herd attrition. For poor Q'ero families this sometimes equals birth rate, and in bad years may exceed it. Curing is carried out in the corrals on individual sick animals, or in the case of epidemic disease, on as many of the group as possible. None of the antibiotics and parasite purges used by some of the more sophisticated hacienda herding enterprises is available to the Q'eros, and most are not known to them. Native remedies include direct applications, fumes, and medicinal rubbing, and supplication to deities with the power to assist in a cure. Interestingly, almost all curing techniques applicable to llamas and alpacas are also applied to runa (people), but are generally thought to be ineffective with sheep and other animals of European origin. The folk diseases to which both camelids and runa are susceptible seems to be coextensive. These continuities reflect the close ties between herders and herds usual in pastoralism.

Infusions of maych'a, a highly resinous and odoriferous dwarf shrub, and wiyq'untu, a flowering leafy herb, are given orally for the treatment of diseases interpreted to be pulmonary. Epidermal and ear parasites of the camelids are also treated with direct applications of these infusions, and occasionally natives with severe infestations of lice will use the same plant. Several other herbs with which I am not familiar are probably used in similar direct applications for treatment. In addition, fumes are used to cure internal ailments. This usually involves performing a k'intusqa: burning a mixture of specially selected coca leaves (k'intu), sugar, native grains, llama or alpaca tallow (untu), and perhaps other highly valued materials, in a clay bowl with hot coals, and dispersing the fumes throughout the air of the sick-bed or corral. The fumes are directed at the left flank of the diseased person or animal, but are also offered with exhortations to certain deities iden-

tified with local hills and peaks (awki and apu, respectively). If favorably inclined, these deities will assist the cure. In the case of machu q'axa ("old man's lightning"), the disease is soq'a ("curse" or "affliction"), a general malaise received from association with ch'ullpa (ancient ruins) or encounters with the ñawpa runa ("ancient people") thought to inhabit them. The ñawpa runa are the malignant survivors of a previous world, and many afflictions of men and the herds are owed to their envy and malice. But fumes can also be directly effective: diseased sheep, at least, may be treated by application of smoke from a burning piece of rubber salvaged from an old sandal.

Many diseases are also treated with a lloq'esqa ("left-handed"), which consists in wrapping some parts of the body (person or camelid) with yarn which has been spun in a manner contrary to custom, applying the k'intusqa process, and disposing of the yarn in a nearby river. This kind of yarn may also be worn on ankles or wrists as a protective device against afflictions. Its contrary spun nature suggests an operation through ritual reversal; this interpretation may be supported by the prevalent conception that curing anything necessitates "reversing" or returning to a normal condition (kutikusqa). The golpasqa cure involves rubbing the afflicted person or animal with a mixture including saltpeter (golpa), and casting this into a river or sometimes burning it as part of a k'intusqa. The disease is apparently taken into the lloq'e yarn or the golpa granules, and is then probably neutralized by the purificatory powers of the river; this water issues from the altitudes and is seen to be ritually pure in virtue of this. The Q'eros tend to lapse into reticence when asked to elaborate on such curing rituals. It seems that this is motivated at least in part by an obligation to remain piously secretive or risk the loss of the cooperation supplicated from the awki and apu.

Both the alpacas and llamas rut with some regularity during the milder wet season months between January and April. Breeding may be supervised and assisted in the corral for increased efficacy, and for favoring the production of the much more valuable recessive white pelt in the offspring, but more usually mounting occurs at random in the pastures.⁶ Impregnation is exhorted in the fertility ritual (p"alchay) conducted in early February, and coitus before this time may even be interrupted. Pregnant alpaca seem somewhat more vulnerable to infection or abortion, and substantial loss occurs at this time. Llama and alpaca gestation is ten to eleven months, with most births occurring in January and February, and all by April. Apparently because pregnancy and lactation may interfere with the estrus cycle, a pregnant female alpaca sometimes misses the succeeding rutting season and cannot produce more than one offspring each two years. Only under optimal conditions can she produce four or five young before her fertility declines. The young are especially delicate and liable to contract a fatal case of diarrhea or pneumonia soon after birth. Birth occurs throughout this region in a season which is somewhat milder but with almost constant rains at lower altitudes and frequent precipitation and dampness in the loma. The Q'eros shelter the birth in the corral when they are able, and sometimes will protect the young from mud and even sew a sweater of rags around its body. Special care is taken of young that are accounted the offspring of the k"uya, recognized by their apparent similarity to these stones (see p.104).

Most family rituals of the Q'eros require the fresh slaughter of a llama or alpaca for the associated feast. Poorer families may suffice with a sheep but this is an acknowledgement of poverty and is usually avoided on ritual occasions. Slaughter of several animals is required of families in charge of community festivals, and the herds of poorer families are spared only because they usually are not assigned to these responsibilities until they are

in a condition to carry them out without embarrassment. All but the poorest families usually have sufficient annual augmentation of their herds to enable them to slaughter and consume two or three animals a year, at least sheep, for routine consumption outside of ritual occasions. All those which die naturally are eaten as well; the Q'ero diet is clearly not protein-deficient. Wealthy families kill more, even when they are without responsibility for community festivals; inclusion of plenty of meat in meals, and especially in hospitality, is a point of prestige. The slaughter is sometimes casual, but more often involves several members of the family, and is initiated by a t'inkasqa (libation) of maize beer or alcohol made to awki deities of the hills to the east. It invariably occurs in the morning, and the animal is sprawled with its head extended toward the ascending sun. The spinal cord is swiftly severed at the atlas, and the throat cut so that all the blood will be pumped from the carcass, into a held pot, by the still-beating heart. Often at this time some blood will be flicked with the finger toward awki in propitiation (yawar chalasqa). Apparently no such propitiation is deemed necessary for shearing, which is carried out rapidly and routinely with a steel blade sharpened on a rock, about once a year on healthy animals during the milder part of the wet season. Danger of exposure is thought to be lessened by leaving the chest of the china (female) and the stomach of the urqo (male) unshorn.

Sheep sometimes constitute a component of the family herd but, unlike alpacas and llamas, are an optional resource. Most families have a few sheep, but only the wealthier have sufficient labor resources to maintain a sizeable herd, in only a few cases as many as one hundred head. Sheep have a higher reproduction rate than the camelids, and unlike the latter are valued in the outside market for their meat as well as wool. But the wool is of much less value than that of the alpaca and even the llama, and sale of sheep

as meat through clever merchants to distant markets is not sufficiently profitable to off-set the disadvantages of the enterprise. Although sheep are less specific in their pasture requirements, they are less efficient in foraging and digesting, and fewer of them can be sustained on a given sector of loma than the even larger alpacas and llamas. Furthermore, they are more vulnerable to loma predators and liable to stray than the latter, and must be corralled each night regardless of season. Furthermore, during particularly cold and wet periods they must frequently be taken to the milder zones below the loma, away from the alpaca herds. Consequently a sheep herd, if a serious enterprise aimed at more than a mere variation of domestic diet, requires considerable additional labor resources even beyond those necessary to the traditional native herd. A further disadvantage is that sheep dung is much more difficult to gather and not so effective a fertilizer as the camelid dung.

Of the other European domesticated animals, only a few are maintained. Horses need little supervision and graze widely throughout the loma and wayq'o but their number is limited by the expense of their acquisition (they are worth three to five times more than alpacas or llamas) and the slowness of their reproduction in the difficult environment. Most families have one to four horses which serve occasionally to bear small burdens and in trading expeditions to distant mestizo pueblos. But they are more important as a sign of higher status and a mount for the dashing and splendid display of ritual costume during community ceremonies. Mules, frequently used around highland mestizo communities, are not found in Q'ero at all. Although they could bear a far greater burden than the llamas, they are even more expensive than horses and not much better on the rough trails of the qeshwa and wayq'o. Unlike the llamas, they are supposedly unable to transport the maize harvest across the dangerous bridges and precipitous trails of the monte. Some of the Q'ero

families have a few cows which are butchered for special feasts during the community ceremonies, occasionally furnish small quantities of milk and cheese, or sometimes are sold to merchants for cash. They wander freely without supervision in the vicinity of the ritual center and Hatun Q'ero, number no more than thirty or forty for the entire community, reproduce very poorly, and are rather frequently killed in falls. A few pigs are kept by some of the Q'ero families, foraging freely in the vicinity of the ritual center. However, this project not only requires some additional supervision; it also generates low esteem in the eyes of the Q'eros, because the animal is considered dirty and grotesque, and its meat is useless except for occasional sale to a merchant from the outside. Finally, one or two chickens are usually kept by each Q'ero family, housed in a small rock shelter near the primary domiciles, and furnishing occasional eggs for its duration with no upkeep other than foraging about the household and vicinity. They are apparently always purchased, rarely reproducing successfully in this environment. It is likely that the altitude and the usually cold and damp ambient also militate against raising the native household domesticate gowiy (guinea pig, also cuy), tried with limited success by only one or two families in the community.

Besides the wicuña, other prominent wild animals of the remote upper altitudes include the wiskacha (Lagidium, spp.) and Andean chinchilla, and the wallata, a large white and black goose. Neither are hunted or trapped by the natives, who rather stand in awe of these mysterious dwellers of the uppermost altitudes (as they do of the condor) and compose flute songs about them. The wallata can be seen at a great distance as a white mark on the green expanses of the waylla, but cannot be approached closely, and is said to be the spirit of a dead white alpaca.

There are several wild plant resources which are gathered at certain times of the year in the uppermost reaches of the loma and in the passes,

and seem to be ritually integrated in the pastoral life of the Q'eros. P'alcha (Gentianella campanuliformis) bears profuse and wondrous red and yellow flowers close to the shale soils of passes as high as 4700 meters especially between January and March; the blooms are gathered in February for the family P'alchasqa ceremony, exhorting fertility of the alpacas. Puña (Culcitium spp.) grows long soft, furry leaves throughout the year between 4500 and 4700 meters, and is used continually to decorate hats and the rustic wooden shelves and crucifixes of households, as well as serving as a medicinal herb and, when p'alcha is unavailable, is used similarly to salute the herd animals. Wiyq'untuy (Gentianella sp.?) is a succulent herb of similar altitudes flowering in bright green leaves and yellowish blooms in October, when it is used for similar decoration of clothing. Like puña, it is thought to be a special offering to the deities, left at the crest of passes or in the household in bowls of axa, or simply loose in a corner. As previously mentioned, maych'a (unidentified rosette) as well as wiyq'untuy are used in infusions as a medicine for human and camelid illnesses. Wamanripa (Senecio tephroides), a leafy herb which grows under sheltering boulders as high as the snow-line, is used as a medicinal herb for humans and perhaps the camelids as well. Pupusa (unidentif.), a short grain-headed grass that grows higher than any other is gathered in small bits and kept in the bundle with the k'uya stones (pp.104,107). Pupusa, tarwi (a native bean), and axa are considered to be the most proper foods for these stones. The k'uya themselves originate from the extraordinary forces of the high mountains, encountered exposed on some slope of the various revered summits, and are passed on from ancestors. All of the wild plants are considered sanctified or pure (limp'u or mana q'ellichu) by virtue of their origin in the highest altitudes and in close association with the mountains, snow, and clouds of mist and rain, all ritually chaste and unsullied in these remote regions. The pure

water of the snow itself is considered a medicine effective in countering infections, and the graceful and ephemeral wicuña which subsists in these altitudes is appreciated as a symbol of their sanctity. The elaborate symbolism of these wild animals and plant resources, and their integration in the ritual of the Q'eros, suggest a long-established association between the natural habitat of this uppermost zone, the human community, and the herds.

Wayq'o and qeshwa resources. Below the alpine loma, the Q'ero ecosystem is stratified into two more natural zones with distinctive topography, altitude, climate, and biota (Map 5; Figure 1). The wayq'o extends from about 4100 meters down to the upper valley junctions at 3660 meters, through generally steep and rocky valley walls, compressing the tributaries into cascades and the trails into abrupt descents. A variety of ichu and other grasses, low herbs, and the spiny achupalla (Puya sp.) are the dominant natural flora of this zone. Above the rocky escarpments where the wayq'o merges with the loma, this gives way to the dwarf plants and grasses of the puna mat. Below 3660 meters the two converging valleys of the Chuwa Chuwa and Qolpa K'uchu broaden somewhat into wider and less precipitous riverbeds, banks, and higher benches, composed of accumulated glacial till and river deposits. These rocky soil beds are flanked by the steeply rising ridges of rock, gravel, or boulders which culminate in the high crests dividing the valleys of the community. This intermediate area is usually called the qeshwa ("braided" or "twisted"), connoting the greater amplitude of the valley compared to the wayq'o above, the more temperate climate, and the much higher and closed nature of the vegetation. This is composed primarily of shrubs and high herbs, often bearing colorful flowers (especially, Llawlli-Barnadesia sp.; K'antu - Cantua buxifolia). The term qeshwa is generally applied to the valley floor down to the vicinity of the ritual center (3350 meters) and beyond as far as

Qamara (2650 meters), through which area the density of the vegetation increases steadily. The profuse and verdant flora of the ceja, especially ferns, sphagnum moss, and thickets of perennial bushes, begins at about 3200 meters, below which point the Q'ero River is once again restricted in a gorge between precipitous valley walls.

This rapid transformation of vegetation from the xerophytes of the upper wayq'o to the chaparral, and finally the temperate rain-thicket of the qeshwa below, is in response to a steadily increasing mean temperature, precipitation, and humidity. Diurnal temperature range in the ritual center (3350 meters) is about 55-70°F during the wet season, and 45-80°F during the dry season. These climatic factors are in turn a function of the altitude and proximity to the upper Amazon basin. The heavy masses of humid jungle air gather during the night far below, depressed by the cold quiet air above in the alpine cordillera. They are visible at dawn lying tranquilly like a sea, perhaps 100 kilometers distant and 10,000 feet below, but very soon they begin to boil up, drawn into the vacuum left by the rapidly heated and rising air over the cordillera. The movement creates prevailing daily winds from the north. Sometime during the day these humid masses of air, now cool clouds, sweep up the valleys of the Q'ero region, spilling over crests and surging into corners, and during the long wet season bringing rain as well as mist. The heaviest humidity and precipitation, however, are forced out of the clouds in the monte and qeshwa by the rapidly decreasing temperature gradient of the higher altitudes. The wayq'o and loma are left only misty dampness and the moderate precipitation which sustains its less exuberant vegetation and the perpetual snows of the Ayakachi.

Coterminous except in the lower portion with the natural zones of wayq'o and qeshwa are the cultivated intermediate zones between 4100 and 3100 meters of altitude. Here the activities of the community sustain the niches

in which are grown several dozen varieties of domesticated Andean tubers, and in very restricted quantity, perhaps two or three varieties of surface-bearing plants. The almost entirely subterranean nature of these Andean crops reflects the high altitude, particularly the fact that higher mean temperatures and smaller momentary variations in temperature range are conserved in the subsurface soils under these conditions. In a very few small plots, protected within ruined house foundations or unused corral walls, some of the Q'ero families may devote limited attention to the cultivation of tarwi (Lupinus mutabilis - a native legume tolerant of high altitudes), kañiwa (Chenopodium pallidicaule - a native seed crop), ayxira (Amaranth sp. also a tiny seed), and kulis (unidentified - a leafy herb eaten in soups).⁷ Small amounts of the first three grains are utilized primarily as offerings in curing and fertility ritual respectively, and these small local gardens appear to be established in an effort to avoid purchase of these requisites from outside the region. Wild resources in these zones include several natural dyes still used for basic tints in the weaving, derived from roots and blossoms (k'uchu k'uchu - dark green; chapi - magenta; cheqchiy - yellow); a wide variety of medicinal herbs; a wild spinach (nabo, a Spanish word, is used by the Q'eros) which grows profusely about the ritual center in November; achupalla (Puya sp. - a resinous xerophyte gathered for tinder and fuel); and kisu, a stinging nettle used to dispatch the spirits of the family dead.

Throughout the intermediate zones the tubers grow in a series of habitats to which they have become adapted through symbiosis with the human community here or elsewhere in the Andes. Again, the community itself is primarily not an occupant of these zones, but usually enters them only for the purpose of cultivation phases. In the localities of heaviest contemporary tuber production (Q'ero Ch'ullu, Pukara Pampa, Hatun Q'ero) between about 3100 and 3300 meters, the cultivation regime was intensive at one time long

ago, developing a system of terraced plots apparently supported by irrigation. This regime was probably established under the closer supervision and tribute system of the Inca, and fell into disuse during the colonial era and since, when native subsistence needs and direct effective control once again resumed dominant influence. The terraces are still heavily cultivated, but not as continuously as would be possible with irrigation and maintenance. Even with fertilization, soil exhaustion requires fallowing for at least three years after two or three years of use, and usually for five years after only one year of use. Unlike in the higher localities, constant cultivation is required to hold weeds at bay. As the efforts of the human community have diminished, the limitations of soil, gradient, and natural vegetation have apparently reclaimed much of the locality to its natural qeshwa habitat. Below 3100 meters the increasingly aggressive wild vegetation, liability to disease, and scarcity of arable soil have apparently always precluded further cultivation of the qeshwa. Above, in the intermediate valley banks and benches between 3300 and 3660 meters, no planned terracing has ever been done, but clearing of stones and ancient cycles of tilling have established a network of small plots, stone pilings, and bush hedges; the rocks and hedges serve naturally to control water drainage and soil erosion, and are occasionally altered to improve this function. Fertilization is practiced in these localities, but soil poverty generally requires fallowing for five years after just one season of cultivation.

Above the main upper junctions at 3660 meters, the available benches of soil beds associated with the valley rapidly diminish. However, cultivation of other tuber crops is sustained on the shallow mantles of glacial till overlying the steep wayq'o walls, wherever promising soil and moisture is available. On the uppermost margins of the wayq'o, where it merges with the loma, successful cultivation is continued as high as 4200 meters with altitude-

tolerant varieties of bitter potato. Beyond this altitude success tends to be limited by excessive aridity, soil poverty, and cold, and the effort is motivated only by convenient proximity to the hamlets and ready availability of tillable soil. However, sparse returns on the labor expended render this area poqochata sageypun ("property left to the alpaca"). Ownership of specific localities in the upper wayq'o is apparently less well-defined, merging with the common community property of the loma pastures. Almost all traces of previous cultivation are obscured by the reclaiming vegetation of the puna mat within a few years, and if the former cultivator does not choose to renew his efforts on a plot after six or eight years, it can be planted by another. Reclaimable plots are much scarcer in the restricted localities of arable soil of the qeshwa and lower wayq'o. However, plots abandoned by diminishing or emigrant families (wixch'usqa - "thrown out") are occasionally available, and rocky or steeper slopes (ranra, q'ata) can be laboriously cleared. Families without established claims or expanding in membership must undertake such labor insofar as they cannot acquire excess land from other families, but otherwise overextension of strained labor resources discourages such enterprise.

The crops of cultivated tubers in the intermediate zones are threatened by browsers, disease, and extremes of weather, as well as soil exhaustion and the restrictions of terrain, vegetation, and climate associated with altitude. Browsers are principally the luychu and taruka (two varieties of native Andean deer numerous in the region), but also the few horses and cows which are pastured in the vicinity of the cultivated zones threaten the plants. These animals are restricted from access during the season of tuber maturation by brush and branch gates constructed at strategic points along the trail where no easy detour is possible. Key bridges are also allowed to deteriorate so that no such hoofed animal will dare to cross them.

A variety of blights, rots, and parasites can afflict the plants or tubers, and greatly decrease or even destroy the harvest. The native technology in protection of crops from these threats is highly developed in the Andes, but my knowledge of the methods involved remains superficial. However it is clear that the natives associate afflicted crops with improper habitat, rotation technique, storage, and seed selection; malevolent intervention of awkis and the curse of ñawpa runa, or the soq'asqa localities they have infected, are also considered culpable. Modern potato-growing technology has determined that crop rotation of four- or five-year cycles controls soil infestation of several fungi and nematodes. Likewise, careful seed selection from healthy-appearing tubers and plants, and storage of seed and harvest in dry and undisturbed conditions, can further prevent the spread of infections and rots borne by bacteria, viruses, and nematodes (Dystra 1962). The Q'eros restrict different varieties of tuber to certain minimum altitudes; this reflects the fact that strains with a high tolerance for cold and soil poverty often have a low resistance to rot diseases that are promoted by warmer mean temperatures and higher soil moisture content in the lower localities. The majority of their tuber crops are planted in a rotational scheme which leaves each plot fallow for about five years, and consequently many parasitic fungi and nematodes are eliminated from the soil. Seed for the succeeding crop is selected carefully from the smaller q'ali ("healthy") tubers of apparently healthy plants. Storage of harvest in the drier altitudes, and care not to unnecessarily disturb the collection, reduces the liability to humid and dry rots, respectively. Finally, seed tubers selected for the succeeding crop are stored in layers of dry ichu grass, which limits the spread of overlooked infection and through ventilation inhibits the development of disease. It is possible that some variations of seed storage procedure, e.g., temporary caching in astana or the ritual cen-

ter, may be a response to the different dormancy phase requirements of some tuber strains.

Further techniques appear to operate against the afflictions of malevolent awki or the malignant soq'a curse. These afflictions are manifested through infection or outright destruction of the crop by hail storms, or the communication of diseases by other extremes of weather, especially lightning. The awki are consulted in divinatory rituals concerning proper procedures, and their good will and cooperation against the threat of soq'a is enlisted through exhortations and propitiatory offerings. Any Q'ero can propose a routine injunction with a k'intu p'ukukuy, which involves blowing through a few specially selected coca leaves and so offering them to interested deities. A special petition can be arranged with the assistance of a Q'ero specialist empowered by direct communication with these forces. Tarpuy and yapuy, the planting and sod-hilling of the tubers respectively, can be accompanied by an interment of a k'intu of coca leaves along with a selected seed or young plant; this procedure appears to address itself specifically to the Pacha Mama ("earth mother"), the soil's benevolent power of fertility, although the Q'eros generally seem to be more preoccupied with the awki. A k'intusqa may be burned at the time of harvest to show gratitude and sustain the proper relations for future crops. Not all Q'eros perform these precautionary rituals, but the more careful do, and misfortune is explained in retrospect by such carelessness. A more elaborate propitiation is prepared by hiding, in a small covered cavity dug in the ground and preferably in a prominent place above the crops from where harm is most likely to come, several tiny pots of maize beer. This ch'uya puñusqa ("resting of ripe maize beer") is especially intended for propitiation of the dangerous awki Ch'ixchiy (hail) and Q'axa (lightning). Apparently it may be carried out voluntarily by an appropriately empowered individual (papa hamp'ih - "potato shaman")

in behalf of the community in general. A priest's performance of an allpa misa, a folk Catholic Mass directed to the ritual cleansing of the fields, is also believed to be an effective precaution against any such threats. Finally, particularly severe and widespread crop afflictions may be interpreted as caused by the displeasure of an apu or major deity, or a grave moral transgression, and are atoned for by rectification of wrongs or the ascent of Wamanripa. This 5140 meter (16,850') snow-crested peak is considered the dominant Apu of the region. A small delegation of Q'eros, led usually by the current year's kamichikuh (leader or chief), makes this climb at such rare times of general crisis, and are said to supplicate a k'intusqa on the summit.

The variety of tubers cultivated throughout the intermediate zones reflects a spectrum of domesticate adaptations sustained by the Q'eros in order to fully exploit the potential of their diverse niche.⁸ In the lower intermediate zone of the qeshwa between 3100 and 3400 meters the better soils and more temperate climate allow the cultivation of several dozen varieties of papa (Solanum tuberosum, most predominantly the strains termed maxtillu, qompis, kusi, and uri), and several varieties each of oca (Oxalis crenata), añu (Tropaeolum tuberosum), and ullucu (Ullucus tuberosus, also called by its Spanish name lisa). Maturation in this vicinity may be as rapid as six to seven months and yield is substantial considering the lack of modern fertilizers, seed, protective chemicals, and tools. Higher than this, up to and including the vicinity of the upper valley junctions at 3660 meters, production is progressively limited to fewer varieties of papa, and one or two of añu; oca and ullucu cannot be successfully cultivated. On the other hand, a few varieties of the bitter potato adapted to yet higher elevations (sogo, mandado: Solanum curtilobum?) are cultivated here if a specially processed product rather than a fresh tuber is desired. Generally, in the wayq'o above

3700 meters only the bitter potato types can be cultivated. These types are processed for consumption only through frost dehydration proceeded by leaching (producing moraya) and natural fermentation (producing ch'uñu). On the other hand, only the tough bitter varieties of potato can withstand the leaching process necessary to remove bitterness and prepare the pulp for freeze-drying.⁹ The variety of bitter potato cultivated in the wayq'o is wide, including prominently ruk'i, warmi ruk'i, and winku, strains of an aboriginal hybrid (probably Solanum juzepczukii) which has high tolerance for frost, cold, and poor soil, a maturation not too prolonged (about nine months), but a low yield.

The intermediate cultivation zones of comestible and bitter tubers, then, manifest considerable congruence with the stratified ecological zones of geshwa and wayq'o. While the primary attributes of the natural zones are distinctive topography, climate, and wild biota, the correlative zones of cultivation reveal a series of several genera and numerous species and varieties of domesticated tuber crops with a spectrum of different niche requirements, maintained in efficient response to the continuum of habitats. The transition between geshwa and wayq'o is reflected in a transition from the cultivation of comestible tubers of papa, oca, anu, and ullucu to the exclusive cultivation of a variety of bitter potatoes. These represent one or more distinct species of Solanum, tolerant of the more severe habitat and apparently intolerant of lower habitats, and requiring distinctive procedures of cultivation and processing. The upper extremity of the wayq'o is approximately coterminous with the highest cultivation of the alpine bitter potato, ruk'i. Although the same locality may occasionally be used alternately for ruk'i cultivation and temporary alpaca pasture, it is more usual that these niches are mutually exclusive. The lowest locality of temperate tuber cultivation is devoted to the production of the heaviest yielding strains of Solanum tuber-

osum, and although not coterminous with the qeshwa, does coincide with the division between its upper and lower portions. Here the cessation of tuber cultivation reflects a major transition of qeshwa topography into precipitous declivities and the advent of the ceja biota; no cultivation at all is attempted in the remainder of this zone until well into the monte where the terrain again opens up.

Monte resources. The Q'eros apply the Spanish term monte (bush or forest) to the zone which merges with the lower margin of the qeshwa at about 2700 meters altitude. This natural zone spans the transition between here and the final domination of subtropical vegetation in the yunka (Spanish: montaña - subtropical forest) at about 1800 meters (refer to Map 5). The cultivation of maize and some subtropical crops is carried on in the lower parts of the monte where terrain opens, but few Q'eros ever venture into the yunka below the convergence of the Q'ero and Kiku Rivers. The general description uxupi ("inside") is still used, and probably sufficed to designate the monte before the adoption of the Spanish term. Andean maize was probably originally adapted to more temperate valley floors of the intermontane basin, but in Q'ero it must be cultivated in a lower zone which is fundamentally alien and unpleasant to the natives. The Q'eros are not concerned to make distinctions within it, and furthermore regard the monte and especially the yunka on its lower margins with horror, calling it sacha-sacha ("endless trees"), tuta ("darkness"), and yanqa wago ("unreasonable, irrational sanctum"). The Q'eros fear an unknown multitude of spirits which dwell here, and abhor the mites and flies (ch'uspi) which afflict them in this zone, often causing welts which subsequently bleed from furious scratching. However, ulcers from these lacerations rarely develop, probably because the Q'eros do not remain in the subtropical zone for very long.

The descent from the ritual center to Puskeru, the current primary locality of cultivation, is tortuous and exhausting. The last cultivable area in the intermediate zone is just outside the maximum practical altitude tolerance for Andean maize. Below the outlet of the Marant² tributary the single trail is swallowed in the precipitous Kuchisanta declivity, and cultivation is precluded by the severe topography. When the terrain again begins gradually to open at about 2700 meters altitude, the dense foliage of the monte replaces it to again engulf the trail. At this point the lush ferns and sphagnum of the lower qeshwa are supplemented, near the river bed, by thickets of arching ip²a cane, a variety of small trees and shrubs, and a twining begonia which produces one tongue-shaped pink petal through most of the year. At 2650 meters the trail confronts impassable buttresses on the eastern side of the river and crosses over the torrent on a narrow bridge of logs, vines, and brush which, on each side of its support by boulders in mid-current, springs tremulously beneath the feet of the traveler or llama troop. Immediately below this Chawpi Chaka ("middle bridge") the Qamara tributary is crossed, and the trail plunges into a low canopied forest of broad-leaved trees, vines, and cane thickets. This vegetation represents the uppermost extension of the yunka on a distinct shale substrate restricted here to the western side of the river.

If one does not continue the descent of the trail at this point, but rather climbs upward into the tributary valleys on either side to the upper margin of the monte vegetation, stands of cedar trees are encountered which are the primary source of supply for the roof beams and poles used by the Q'eros in construction of their houses. These are of considerable value due to the labor necessary to extract them; in fact such poles are considered the only valuable component of a house, and claim may be made to them throughout successive generations. Natives living in the puna and high valleys of

the geshwa to the south and west outside the Q'ero region occasionally travel in more than a hundred kilometers to stay a short while with one or another Q'ero family, and extract a few cedar timbers from the monte, property of no one and unavailable in their own region. Other wild resources available to the Q'eros in this zone include thick varieties of cane used for ground loom braces, split and tied into circular fence storage bins, and hollowed and drilled for flutes, several of which are found in any house. These canes are occasionally gathered for small sales to adjacent communities of Cusipata, who have no ready access to this item. Certain broad leaves of the monte are used in the preparation of an important condiment. Although sawq'o leaves from the vicinity of the ritual center may also be used, the higher calcium content of certain broad leaves of the monte is favored for reduction to vegetable ashes which are mixed with water and formed into small balls termed llipta. When chewed with coca leaf this substance furnishes the calcium carbonate needed to liberate by catalysis the minute quantities of cocaine available in the leaf. A variety of medicinal and dye plants with which I gained no familiarity are also gathered in the monte.

Below Qamara the trail winds through the foliage and along the flanks of steep river walls until about 650 meters lower and 10 kilometers distant, it recrosses the Q'ero River to Puskero and the vicinity of cultivation, at 2000 meters altitude. The terrain in this locality opens into lower hills and gentler flanks, anticipating the major junction below with the Kiku River, at about 1800 meters. Small stands of a short variety of palm tree and, on the western side of the river thick-trunked hardwood trees reaching a height of over 100 feet, are scattered throughout the monte vegetation. Here they represent the upper margins of the yunka vegetation, which dominates the growth below the river junction. The climate of the monte reflects the lower altitude and greater proximity to the upper Amazon basin, with uniformly mod-

erate temperatures and high humidity. Heavy clouds forming throughout the year in the basin and montaña below move upward through the monte daily, depositing large amounts of precipitation in rain or mist as the temperature gradient drops. Whereas in the wet season the clouds and mist are generally unbroken throughout the day, in the dry season they usually pass above Pus- kero by early morning, leaving this area in bright sunshine. The upward surging clouds also pass, at successive intervals of two to four hours, the ritual center and the valley-head hamlets of Q'ero, and in the dry season similarly expend themselves and usually give way to unbroken sunshine in these alpine altitudes. Precipitation, extremely heavy in the montana below, and decreasing only gradually upward in the monte and qeshwa, is reflected in the decreasing gradient of vegetation density and height.

Secondarily, the vegetation appears to reflect a major change of soil substrate that occurs between the east and west banks of the Q'ero River. The high complex of massive rocky and dry peaks which extends along the eastern border of Q'ero from Pulaniy and Anka Wachana to Maych'a Q'asa above Kiku is composed of a granite bedrock horst and its decomposed mantle of sandy di- oritic soils, (termed ago allpa "sand earth") by the Qeros.¹⁰ On the other hand, all of the major Q'ero headwaters and the western bank of the Q'ero River through Totoraniy and apparently Markach'ea are formed on a substrate of shale and slate, largely ferruginous argyllite, and its decomposed soils. These distinct substrate associations are those which apparently give rise, respectively, to inadequate and adequate alpaca pasture in the loma zones of Q'ero and adjacent communities (see discussion pp.96-100; also Map 6). In the monte zones of the communities of the Q'ero cultural region (at least those of Q'ero, Totoraniy, Kiku, and Hapu), the same geologic differentiation of soils seems to be the basis of fertility and impotency for the cultivation of corn. All cultivation plots of the Q'eros and Totorani, and all those of the Kiku

drainage in aerial photos, are restricted to the inside banks of these two converging rivers which form the margins of the granite horst of Pulaniy; that is to say, all are formed in the sandy soils of granitic substrate. Hapu, on the other hand, is unable to raise maize in the lower reaches of its own drainage system, but must cross the intervening compartments to share the corn cultivation zone of Kiku (just as Totorani shared the maize zone of Q'ero before they ceased its cultivation altogether). The Hapu describe the impotent (for the purposes of maize) soils of their own monte as yana alpa (black soil). This same term is applied by the Q'eros to their best geshwa soils for the production of Andean tuber crops, and apparently constitutes the substrate most propitious for the formation of waylla, pastures important for their success with alpacas. On the basis of this evidence I suspect that the same granite massif which deprives Kiku and Hapu of waylla in their loma zones gives way again to a slate substrate on the east side of the lower Kiku River and the entire monte zone of Hapu. In these areas it may account for, as it does on the lower west bank of the Q'ero River, the impotency of soil for the purposes of maize cultivation.

I lack samples of seed and soil and more precise data on the technology involved, and consequently the precise soil characteristics which limit maize cultivation on the one hand, and enable it on the other, are difficult to analyze. However, there is sufficient information for some deductions. The Q'eros do not clear their maize plots by slash and burn (as is done generally throughout the Peruvian montaña and Amazon basin), although this would save them the enormous amount of labor expended in felling and dragging aside the trees and brush. According to the Q'eros, if this foliage is burned after drying, maize will not mature. This claim is important evidence in the determination of soil characteristics, because it indicates a marginal tolerance in the normal routine on the sandy granitic substrate. On the other hand,

although burning of the slashed vegetation on the black slate soil outside the granitic area promotes cultivation of various subtropical crops, it does not alleviate the impotency of this soil for maize cultivation. One exceptional Q'ero penetrated the yunka to about 1500 meters altitude several years ago and determined this, experimenting with several montaña crops (coffee, coca, peanuts) as well as their traditional tuber and curcubit crops of the monte. His failure with the montaña crops and the maize resulted in his eventual desertion of the effort, although his success with the other traditional crops was exceptional. On the basis of this evidence, (but without the benefit of soil sample analysis or further tests) I would speculate that the sandy granitic soils accommodate maize cultivation in virtue of a moderate level of acidity comparable to the Andean intermontane soils of its earlier adaptation. However, addition of mineral salts in the ash of the burning technique probably increases soil alkalinity beyond the narrow tolerance of this variety of maize. On the other hand, the acidity of the argyllic slate soils is apparently too high to be moderated by the addition of ash, is consequently inhospitable to the Andean strains of corn, and may even have toxic levels of soluble minerals such as aluminum and iron, locally present to an extraordinary degree in this substrate. This kind of limitation must be expected, for example in the failure of the Q'eros' effort to grow coca in the yunka, because this plant can otherwise be grown at altitudes up to 2150 meters (Gade 1971).

Within the confines of granitic soils outlined above, the niche amenable to maize cultivation is further restricted by the scarcity and shallowness of tillable pockets of soil. In the increasingly steep and rocky topography above the vicinity of Puskerro these are so restricted that only a few small corn plots are attempted, the highest of which seems to be established at about 2700 meters. The soils in the vicinity of the river junction are less

steep and shallow. Here the Q'eros practice a simple digging-stick horticulture, clearing the trees and heavy undergrowth, leaving detritus to decompose for fertilizer, planting in holes pried between stumps and boulders, and periodically, slashing back weeds until the crop is established. The soil, apparently due to a deficiency of minerals and not because of competition from weeds, becomes increasingly impotent after two or three years of cultivation, and must be fallowed for at least three years, left to the rapidly re-established overgrowth while a rested field is cultivated (Chapter 6). The Q'eros cultivate a strain of sara (maize or corn, Zea mays) peculiar to the uppermost regions of the montaña in the southeastern Andes, and known outside the Q'ero region as chaminko. This strain is highly prized for its flavor and special qualities for the making of axa, maize beer. The stalk is much taller (3-4 meters), cobs longer, and grains smaller than the strain cultivated in the intermontane valleys. The Q'eros distinguish several varieties in the strain they cultivate and apparently have never, within memory and recount, used any corn but their own for seed. This they collect at harvest by selecting the largest and most aesthetically pleasing ears from the healthiest plants, braiding their leaves to make groups of four ears, and carrying them to the hamlets above for drying and protection from mold and rot, hung in the roof beams of their houses. It is likely that besides having achieved some tolerance for slightly acid soils, the selective inbreeding of this strain has also favored the production of a flinty grain resistant to the rots promoted by the warm, humid, and frequently overcast climate of the monte.

Interplanted between the rough rows of corn and around the family huts are several supplementary crops, all similarly native to the New World, some of which are now rather rare even in native cultivation elsewhere. Root crops of tropical provenience include apichu (Ipomoea batatas - sweet potato)

and unkucha (Xanthosoma sagittifolium - a New World taro). Of more temperate provenience are achira (Canna edulis, a rhizome root crop; cf. Gade 1966); laxun (Polymuria sonchifolia, also called yacon; a sweet pithy root with white watery flesh flecked with red, eaten raw); rakachu (Arraccacia xanthorrhiza, also called arrachacha; a root crop like yuca, which is a major staple in the Northern Andes); sapallu and lakawete, two varieties of curcubit squash; uchu (Capsicum pubescens, a bush growing hot pepper of extraordinary vitamin content); achuq (a fleshy green fruit borne on vines, unidentified); and a cape gooseberry or husk tomato (local name uncertain - Physalis peruviana).¹¹ Whereas maize, a necessity in native ritual, is grown by almost every Q'ero family, the interplanted crops are grown optionally and in small quantities, for diversity in the diet, and consumed entirely by the family which grows it. Maturation of most occurs somewhat before the harvest of corn, so that they furnish a local food supply in the monte while guarding the corn from predators and while harvesting, and are carried up to the primary domiciles for special enjoyment at a time when the routine diet consists mainly of the dregs of last year's potato harvests. Some Q'eros specialize somewhat in the production of sara or uchu, aiming to produce a small surplus to be used in exchange with other Q'eros or with the outside.

Predation upon the corn by animals of the monte and yunka accounts for tremendous attrition of the crop and is the source of anxiety and disappointment for the Q'eros, who devote a large part of their available labor resources to its production. The predation in effect amounts to systematic parasitism, with most Q'eros assuming that twenty to fifty percent of the crop will be lost; if precautions are not thorough, all of it can be lost. Families unable to withstand the pressures of this parasitism withdraw from the monte and devote their efforts elsewhere. Threats or plans to do this are frequently made. But this involves at least the difficulty of procuring

elsewhere the corn necessary for ritual, and the few Q'ero families in any one year who abandon the effort in the monte soon return to it, resigning themselves to the losses.¹² The predators are loros, the small green parrot of the montaña; ch'allu, a large member of the raccoon family), and ukukumari (Tremarctos ornatus; the South American bear). With regard to the loros and ch'allu, at least, the Q'eros are convinced that a large population of them is sustained in the locality by the corn crop as it reaches maturity. The loros attack the plots by day in flocks, and in a short time can do a great deal of damage, tearing into the ears with their beaks and even flattening the tall stalks with their combined weight. The ch'allu also feeds in groups, but enters the corn more stealthily at night. He is a large enough animal to push the stalks to the ground. The less frequent ukukumari feeds alone by night or day but is much quieter and can remain unseen for some time in a mature thicket of corn. In the final two months before harvest the crop has to be guarded almost constantly, because a few days of neglect can mean its decimation. This is largely a responsibility of each family. Although some individuals try to care for the plot of their neighbor or kin as well, this is not usually effective because the visibility in dense thickets and uneven terrain is very limited. Most families have an observation platform constructed at a strategic point projecting out over the steep slope of their plot to facilitate observation day and night. Shouts are sounded to warn of a bear, flock of loros, or herd of ch'allu, and the people nearest the threat attack with shouts and clubs. (The Q'eros have neither firearms nor fireworks but wish they did for this purpose at least.) Occasionally a predator will be clubbed down, even at night.

As in the cultivation of the temperate tubers, maintenance of the proper relations with the awkis, and perhaps with Pacha Mama, is an integral part of the maize cultivation technique. Furthermore, spirits unique to the monte

must be dealt with, and occasionally a "monte Roal," or paramount deity of this alien habitat, is mentioned. Matters for divination include fertile locations and propitious times of plot rotation, preparation, and planting; matters for propitiation are sufficient but not excessive sun and rain, and the threat of hail or wind storms. Insofar as I was able to ascertain, these purposes are served through frequent invocations with p"ukukusqa of coca leaves during labor, the offering of a k'intusqa during planting carried out by each family, and nothing more until harvest time. Harvest is climaxed by the laborious transport of the maize (sara apay - "maize carry") on the troop of male llamas from the monte to the hamlets, a process involving two days with a layover at the ritual center for each trip. (The transport of peppers, squash, and roots usually occurs separately, either before or after the sara apay.) The arrival of each family's laden llamas to the ritual center has an air of restrained triumph, and the deposit of the maize in the family storehouse at the hamlet is even festive. Each family carries out the formal ritual of Axata Uxuchicis within a few weeks (Chapter 7). Often this cannot immediately be done due to the pressing chores of processing ch'uñu and moraya and planting the lowest tuber fields of the qeshwa; both of these tasks must be gotten underway even while the maize harvest is in process.

NOTES

1

Although there are occasional reports of native consumption of cow's milk and I have seen Q'eros drink small amounts of it as a refreshment, I suspect that native Andean consumption is limited to very small quantities generally not raw but rather processed into cheese, which has a reduced quantity of lactose sugar content. There is some quantitative data indicating that Andean natives in high altitudes have an adverse reaction to milk fats (Acurio n.d.), and this might be a symptom of genetically determined lactase deficiency (on this topic see McCracken). I have also seen Q'ero infants unable

to digest their mother's milk, and die as a consequence. The absence of milk-utilization in the Andean pastoral tradition I would attribute to the particularly high content of lactose characteristic of camelid milk and the probable high frequency of adverse reaction to it among adults especially. A further circumstance militating against its customary use is likely to be the delicate vulnerability of camelid offspring while nursing (especially alpacas), rendering them unlikely to survive the rigors of damp and cold altitudes, bacterial infections, and the rustic native husbandry if the milk supply of the mother must be shared. On the other hand, the young animals are precocious in maturation, and consequently the lactation period is relatively short and difficult to prolong. The skittishness of the alpaca and aggressive independence of the llama may also be a factor discouraging the development of dairying in the native tradition, and would likewise apply to blood-letting of the animals for food. Baker (1965:21) has reported the native utilization of quantities of milk and cheese from "llama, alpaca, and sheep" in Nuñoa, Peru, but I suspect this is a mistake based on misinformation.

2

The transport usefulness of the llama is sufficiently important in this area of Peru so that it is worth about the same as an alpaca, although its wool is worth only about 25% as much.

3

Standard sources on the alpaca are Cardozo (1954) and Moro (1964); I also benefited by information from Eduardo DeBary of the Hacienda Ccapana, Quispicanchis, Cuzco Department. Most of the conclusions regarding pasture requirements have resulted from my own research.

4

For identification of the waylla flora I am indebted to Dr. P.D.L. Guilbride of the Instituto Veterinario de Investigaciones Tropicales y de Altura (University of San Marcos, Lima) and the Dr. Ramon Ferreyra of the Museo de Historia Natural, Lima.

5

Insofar as I was able to determine, Weberbauer (1936) has written one of the few functional descriptions, technical or not, of the Andean cushion plant dwarf rushes. The well-delineated high altitude ecological community in which these plants grow appears to offer opportunity for interesting and original botanical research.

6

The Q'eros seem fully knowledgeable to carry out more sophisticated breeding control through segregation and selection of crosses, as is done in some hacienda herding enterprises. They take few measures of this sort, however, because they are unable to muster the greatly increased labor resources needed at each family level. This also, of course, is probably the fundamental reason why they suffer a greater herd attrition from disease, being unable to devote much special care to young and sick animals.

7

These are uncertain identifications. My few encounters with these plots were in localities at that time unoccupied, and I failed to pursue the question. What I suspect (due to bright blue blossom and tall plant) was tarwi

was being grown at 3400 meters, and the possible plot of kañiwa was at 4200 meters, both within the altitude tolerances suggested by Gade (1969,1970).

8

Generally in the Andes cultivated varieties of tuber are numerous, but modern selective technology, commercial specialization, and reintroduction of the potato from Europe in highly productive and resistant strains has resulted in a continual impoverishment of variation in the native genus (correl 1962:xi;3ff). It is likely that the maintenance of a generalized agriculture dispersed over varied ecological zones, and isolation of the Q'eros from the commercial economy, have promoted the survival of aboriginal strains closely adapted to their respective niches. Nuñez del Prado (1958:15; 1968:245), utilizing the data of the previous land-owner who was an amateur botanist, and required the Q'eros to supply him with samples of all the tubers known to them, has reported 88 varieties (15 bitter potatoes as well as 12 types of ruk'i, 53 comestible potatoes, 8 oca, 8 ullucu, and 3 añu). Although I did not investigate this subject, casual identifications confirm that native distinctions and nomenclature are enormous, and that this data is probably not an exaggeration of verifiable and stable taxonomic differences. This diversification probably reflects in part the indifference of the native technology to careful segregation of the varieties, but is nevertheless much wider than would be expected from previous taxonomies of Solanus spp. (Sauer 1950:513; Correl 1962; 1967). Dodds (in Correl 1962) expeditiously synthesized what still remains a very confusing taxonomy, concluding with only 32 cultivated varieties of potatoes in three species. The probable intimate relationship of tuber variety, soil, altitude, rotation sequence, and native tastes is a further problem I did not broach which offers fascinating potential for investigation in Q'ero, and other Andean sites.

9

Moraya is processed from certain varieties of bitter potato by soaking from several days to two weeks in the cold rivulets of the loma, and so leaching away the bitterness, leaving a bleached and starchy mass within the tough sack of tuber skin. This can be cooked and eaten in this state, but is usually spread out in corrals or depressions for two or three weeks where the night frost of the loma can settle upon it undisturbed by air movement (allin hap'isga q'asapi - "well grasped by the frost"), but carefully covered with wet ichu grass each day so that the heat of the sun will not begin fermentation ("so that the sun cannot see it"). The product is ideally hard and white inside the shriveled skin, storeable almost indefinitely, and can be reconstituted by soaking and steaming to a mealy dumpling-like consistency with a unique bland flavor. Ch'uñu is processed (with less labor expenditure) from certain other varieties of bitter potato, principally ruk'i, by leaching and spreading the small tubers out where the alternate frost and hot sun of the diurnal cycle in the loma can, by turns, dessicate and ferment the pulp. The process may be hastened by trompling the product beneath the bare feet, and final dehydration can be effected by exposing the ch'uñu only to the sun not the frost. The product is soaked and then steamed, boiled in stews, or ground into a flour which is added to soups, and imparts a fresh pungent flavor and crispy texture to the food. Oca is also frost-dehydrated to gaya in a similar process, and produces a highly prized soup with a nutty flavor.

10

Escobar (1958) reports briefly on the geology and soils of Q'ero, and I have benefited by his descriptions. He accompanied Nuñez del Prado and several others in the expedition of 1955.

11

Warren Roberts, a botanist with wide experience in Peru, assisted me in making many of these identifications on the basis of descriptions and native names only. He is currently teaching at U.C.L.A.

12

Approximate yields for the Q'eros- when reasonable success in achieved- I very roughly estimate to be about one arroba (25 lbs.) of unshelled maize per 20 sq. meters cultivated.

Chapter 6

Subsistence Strategy

The previous section discussed the structure of the Q'ero niche in terms of its natural zones and domesticated resources, and briefly described the technique employed by the Q'eros to respond to, control, and utilize each of the niche components. The result is only a fragmentary analysis, reflecting the seriated fragmentation of the ecosystem. But of course from the Q'eros' point of view the system is coherent; their efforts follow a smooth and thoroughly familiar, if often harried, sequence of necessities given the conditions of their developed ecosystem. The integral coherence of the ecosystem as an ongoing process can be clarified by an examination of the various subsistence strategies operating in concert.¹ Many of these strategies can be viewed as cyclic, operating in regular and repetitive patterns of mobility, timing, or exchange. Some irregular and interrupting patterns can be considered as compensatory strategies; these will be subsequently discussed. Finally, aspects of community demography which appear to be a function of compensatory strategies will be analyzed.

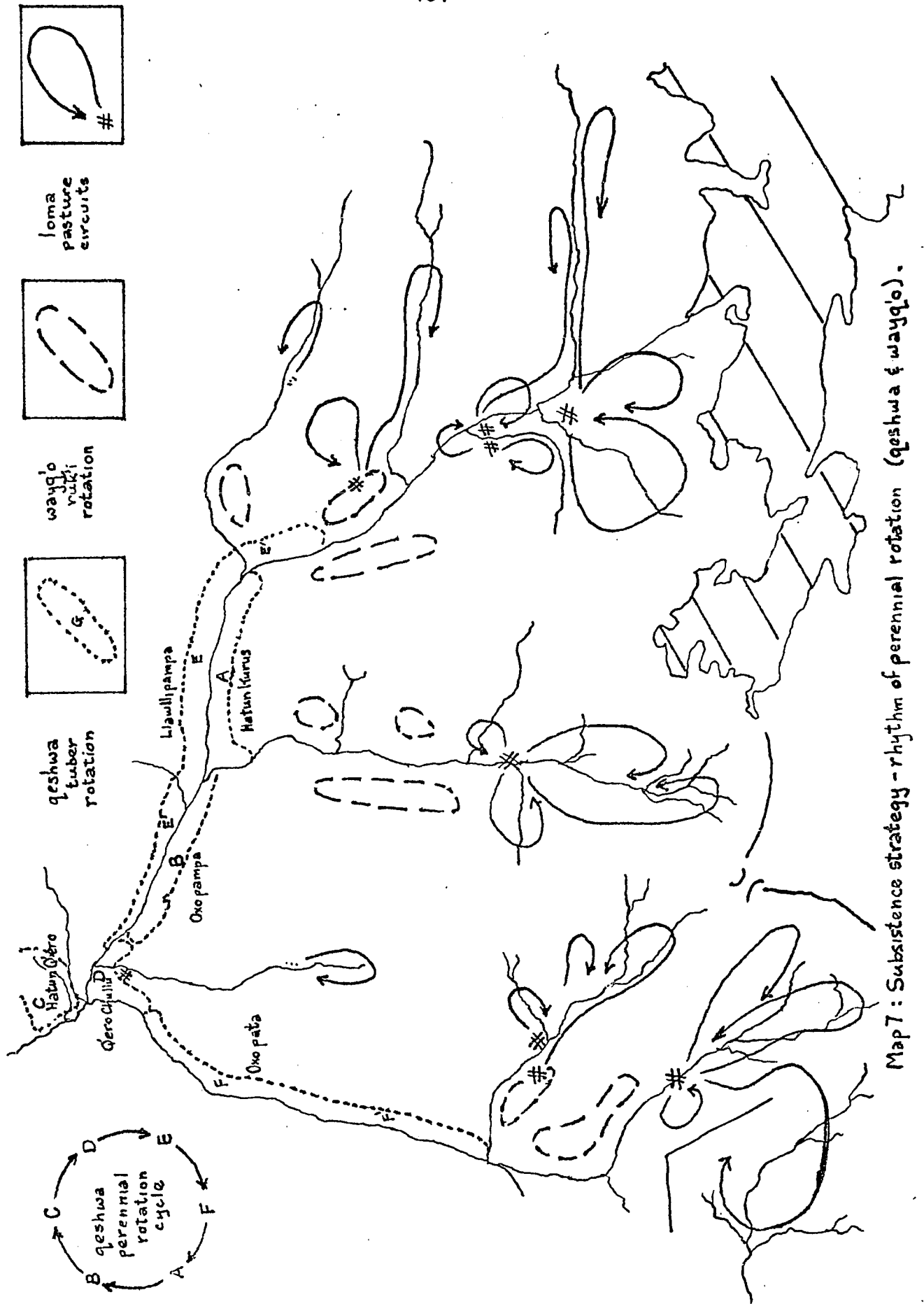
Cyclic strategies. Mixed pastoral regimes familiar from Old World ethnography typically involve a sedentary agricultural aspect and a more or less transhumant herding aspect, with wide movements and temporary campsites determined by season and other factors of local ecology. This is usually a result of relatively focused and productive arable land and dispersed and seasonally unproductive pasture lands. The mixed pastoral communities of the Q'ero cultural region, and others in ecologically analogous situations in this area of Peru, operate in a situation which is reversed. Alpine pas-

tures nurtured by abundant glacial ground-water are focused and productive throughout the year, and arable land is dispersed, seasonally unproductive, and exploited in a broad "transhumant" pattern. As in the Old World, this system implicates characteristic settlement patterns, subsistence strategies, and labor arrangements. The transhumant agriculture and sedentary pastoralism of the Q'eros involves several complex patterns of mobility and timing that must be carefully operated in concert. The strategy of operation pursues regular and repeated cycles that can be analyzed, for the sake of better understanding, into phase, tempo, and rhythm (Figure 2; Map 7). Crops and herds develop in an annual series of phases characteristic of each in its respective niche. Care and exploitation of each resource involve a tempo dove-tailing the movements and efforts required in each of the several series of phases, and transhumance is a concomitant of this tempo. A further cycle of transhumant mobility and timing is superimposed on this annual pattern of phase and tempo by the productive limitations of each ecological zone. Restoration of the agricultural niches involves a rotating rhythm of several years. Integral to this entire subsistence strategy are cycles of labor and transport management, and regular reciprocal and redistributive exchanges.

The annual phases of herd care and land preparation, insemination and planting, gestation and cultivation, and reproduction, shearing, and harvests are closely determined by the seasonal climatic cycle as well as differential altitude. Aside from the continuous effort required for herd care, shearing and supervision of birth and rutting make extra demands on labor resources during the wet temperate season (Figure 2). These cycles are adaptations of the herders and the herded species, respectively; the strains of shearing and reproduction have been restricted to a season of more moderate temperature extremes and a habitat with less constant and penetrating pre-

[illegible]

Fig. 2: Subsistence strategy - annual phases and tempo of integration



Map 7: Subsistence strategy - rhythm of perennial rotation (qeshwa & wayq'o).

cipitation than that characteristic of lower zones at this time of year. The Q'ero agricultural cycle similarly responds to the annual alternation of wet-temperate and cold-dry seasons. The prolonged cycle of phases in tuber cultivation must avoid the months of most aridity and frost danger, plant in earliest anticipation of the onset of the rainy season, and harvest well into the cold-dry season nine and even ten months later. The series of tuber crops in successive altitudinal niches develop in staggered phases which follow the gradually ascending increase of temperature and moisture in the onset of the wet-temperate season. Because the dry season is nevertheless somewhat humid, and ends earlier, both the planting and harvesting of tubers can begin somewhat earlier than in the more arid intermontane basins of comparable altitude in this area of southeastern Peru. Consequently some time is left for the management of a maize crop.

The maize is cultivated in a zone which benefits by a more continually temperate and damp climate, and its planting and harvest phases follow those of the Andean tubers. Compared to the maize cycle practiced in the drier intermontane basins (see, for example, Mishkin on Kauri, 1946:411 ff.), the Q'ero cycle is somewhat later. This enables the Q'ero crop to avail itself fully of the sparse periods of dry season sunshine so crucial to its maturation, and to minimize exposure of the maturing fruits to the threat of rot in high humidity. In Q'ero, the later maize cycle and the earlier tuber cycle accommodate one another in labor requirements. In the adjacent intermontane basin areas specialization in one or the other, or labor-rich hacienda regimes, preclude the need for such division of labor, and the cycles overlap to a greater degree.

The several phases in the cycle of tuber production in the intermediate zones appear to correspond well with the agricultural cycle celebrated in the Inca calendar (Valcarcel 1946; Zuidema 1966). This calendar notes

ground-breaking (yapuy) in August, maturation (pogoy) in February and March, harvest (aymoray) in May, and plowing preparatory to the following crop (kuski) in May and June. These particular phases were probably of ritual importance, and still frequently occasion ritual in Q'ero. The full cycle of phases, however, is more complex (see Figure 2). Preliminary preparation of the tuber plots for the following year is sometimes undertaken in wanuchay (spreading dung fertilizer) and kuskiy (turning sod with the foot-plow, also called barwichu, from Spanish barbecho) while harvest of the current year is still underway. This preparation aerates the soil, allows the fertilizer and sod to rot into nutrients, and exposes the hard clods to the decimating effects of the coming frosts. The few level plots are plowed without orderly lines (llunlluh), but slopping ground is plowed in regular furrowed patterns (wachuh) which control the distribution of rain water. In plots prepared by kuskiy the tuber seed is planted (tarpuy) toward the end of the dry-cold season and the young plants (mishka maway) are cultivated and hilled (hallmay), more intensively in the lower zone where the aggression of weeds is a threat.

Maturation and harvest, like planting, progress in staggered phases up through the series of several tuber niches. The very earliest harvest is under optimum conditions near the ritual center, small, and largely of only ritual importance as first fruits. As the cycle of each niche develops, the corresponding phases are seen to proceed from the intermediate qeshwa up through the diverging valleys and finally into the extremities of the several wayq'o. An alternative cycle of tuber production dispenses with the preliminary plowing, simply planting in unbroken ground with the foot-plow used as a digging-stick to open a pocket in the sod (ch'ukiy). Then the appearance of the mishka maway is followed by yapuy, the turning of the sod from furrows on each side onto the flanks of the line of young plants along which

dung fertilizer has been spread. Ch'ukiy and yapuy is more frequent in the upper zones than the lower, and little or no weeding or cultivation is necessary. This method is less productive due to inferior aeration and fertilization, but is often favored by the Q'ero. They contend that the method puts less strain on the soil (probably by the minimization of nutrient loss through leaching) and are clearly appreciative of the substantially decreased labor expenditure required.

The several phases of the cycle of maize and other subtropical crop productions begin with the felling of large timbers on the plot planned for next use. This is undertaken during and immediately after the maize harvest of the current year. The brush is then left to dry and the monte deserted during the planting and cultivation of the tuber crops in the intermediate zones. When the highest and latest bitter potato planting and yapuy is completed, the maize plots are cleared of the dried timber and heavy brush, which are dragged aside and burned in restricted piles. The underbrush is then slashed and left to decompose into fertilizer, and the maize and other subtropical crops are planted by digging-stick horticulture in the unbroken ground. The young plants are protected from the aggressive weeds by monthly slashing, and later the maturing fruits are guarded from predators until harvest. The first squashes and root crops mature in April, at which time some choqllu or young corn, as well as the sugary young stalks, are also eaten. Shucking (t'ipiy), drying the exposed ears, and transport of the harvest up to the hamlets (sara apay) progresses throughout July, and completes the monte cycle.

The integration of these several phases in tuber and maize cycles with the continuous care and climactic phases of herding, along with a variety of lesser annual tasks of the family and community, involves a tremendous expenditure of labor. The deployment of this labor furthermore requires careful

coordination of resources, timing, and mobilization in dispersal and reunion. The strategy is based in the primary domiciles of the hamlets, and pursues a transhumant pattern into the intermediate and lower agricultural zones. With the exception of aspects of the tribute economy (see p. 39), the pattern is carried out by each family independently, in a tempo approximately harmonized with the parallel routines of other families of the community. Absences from the primary domiciles of one to several family members may be for only a day, but more usually varies from several days to three or four weeks. During this time temporary households are established in the campsites of the lower or intermediate zones. Besides tools and rudimentary household equipment, provisions must be carried to the campsites sufficient for support throughout the anticipated period. This logistics problem is lessened in phases near harvest, when some of the local produce can be eaten. Transport of loads too large for the family groups or individuals, such as seed, fertilizer, and the harvests, requires deployment and coordination of the troop of male llamas with supervisory drivers. If either human or llama labor resources within the family are insufficient, exchange agreements with other families must be negotiated. This must be done in such a way that contemporary phases can nevertheless be carried out by both parties, but disadvantages are invariably involved. Communication and coordination between subgroups of the family are necessary to affect efficient redirection of efforts at crucial phases. This is carried out, not always effectively, through family members or another Q'ero traveling (usually also for labor transfer) between the separated campsites and households. Usually in ignorance of any calendar except the moon and stars, the harmony of interlocking cycles of phases is maintained by each family observing development of its crops and measuring its progress through that of others in the community.

A gross perspective of the tempo of phase integration can be abstracted from Figure 2. Annually, development of the agricultural, horticultural, and herding cycles results in two active schedules in the intermediate zones alternated with two active schedules in the upper and lower zones. Attentions to crops in the intermediate zones are especially concentrated from August to November (planting and cultivation) and again from February to June (harvest). Efficient labor deployment through the several tuber niches is enabled by the successive cycles of seeding, maturation, and harvest appropriate to the successively higher altitudinal zones. Planting and cultivation rapidly, even frantically, progresses up through the several niches in a relatively short period between late July and early September (note diagonals in Figure 2). The higher plantings must not be delayed or the family risks harvesting these slow maturing tubers too late for their necessary processing by leaching and frost-dehydration. Due to the longer maturation time needed by the higher tuber crops, the harvest phases are staggered through a longer period, but this is fortunate because the task is much more laborious and must be accompanied by whatever preliminary plowing the family hopes to accomplish for the next year's crop.

On the other hand, between the periods noted above, labor resources must be dispersed to tasks in both the upper and lower zones almost simultaneously. Between November and February shearing and reproductive phases of the herds coincide with maize plot preparation and planting; between June and August the processing of tubers by frost dehydration in the uppermost zone coincides with the harvest and transport of maize from the lower zone. These concurrent tasks are possible because they are slightly staggered in time, and because those in the loma and hamlet vicinity rarely require more than one adult from each family. But throughout the annual strategy, concentration of family labor resources in one zone is never complete, due to the

constant care required by the herds in the loma. Even during the phases of planting, cultivation, and harvest in the intermediate zones, some labor resources are usually left in the upper zone for herd supervision, special care or curing, weaving, and maintenance of the primary household, and some may be further dispersed to the lower zone for weeding and guarding of the sub-tropical crops.

With the exception of a few tasks such as plowing, yapuy, shearing, curing and butchering, most can be undertaken by a single individual. However, the quantity of labor required for such tasks as loading llamas with fertilizer or crops, seeding and harvest, reroofing, felling and slashing the mon-te vegetation, and driving the llama troop long distances, require the coordinated effort of several family members for expedient completion within the tight schedule of the subsistence strategy. Labor resources are most painfully taxed by dispersion in the months of May and June, when the tuber harvest is in its climax in the upper intermediate zone, when ch'uñu and moraya must be processed in the loma during this short season of dependable frosts, and when the mature maize must be carefully guarded in the lower zone or be lost to predators. In this intersection of several production cycles the members of a family may not see one another for more than a few moments throughout several weeks; coordination is an exceedingly difficult task due to tenuous communication by hearsay, and poorer families with insufficient labor resources risk losses on all fronts. On the other hand, an unusual concentration of the majority of each family, and representatives of all the families of the community, is occasioned by the shucking, drying, and transport of the maize harvest in July. This task must be undertaken and completed with the utmost expedience in the short period between the final tuber harvest in the wayq'o and the first tuber planting in the geshwa. The concentrated effort is possible only because it must sacrifice just one rep-

representative from each family for supervision of the herds and the frost-dehydration of tubers in the loma.

Superimposed upon the annual tempo of phases sketched above are perennial rhythms of fallow rotation peculiar to each zone of the community (Map 7). These cycles are broader in both time and space. They are consciously operated by the Q'eros to preserve the productive capacity of the zones, and have apparently become regularized in traditional patterns that maintain the ecosystem in relative homeostasis in this regard. Deviation from the normal cycle entails working out of unison and spatially isolated from the rest of the community, and eventually results in inadequate harvests. These expressions of ecological imbalance tend to encourage conformity. The broad extension of localities necessary for the optimum cycle of fallow and production are an aspect of the ecological matrix within which the hamlets and community are socially integrated. Virtually all annual production is focused in one locality while others are restored in fallow by cooperative consent. Just as the most efficient tempo of annual phase integration is judged by harmony with the community mean, harmonization of the rotational rhythm perennially puts the community in spatial proximity and social consensus.

Insofar as I was able to determine, the rotational cycle was most systematized in the qeshwa tuber production strategy, and least systematic in the pasture use of the loma. The several localities of appropriate pasture to which each hamlet has access are jurally held in common by the families of that hamlet, each of which supposedly has rights to use of any that they wish at any time. The perpetual glacial seepage maintains certain expanses of pasture (i.e., the waylla) in steady production despite seasonal variations in climate, and perennial use apparently has no cyclic pattern. In practice however, daily claims made on a first arrival basis in each locality are respected, and over-grazed localities are allowed to recover. This

is especially so during the dry season when peripheries of the perennial waylla reduce in growth rate. The result of this loose consensus is a system of several pasture circuits associated with each hamlet, over which the family herds are daily conducted in such a way that usually some localities are allowed to rest for a few weeks at a time. At the lower margins of the loma, throughout the mantles of shallow soil on the crests of each wayq'o, a somewhat more systematic rotation cycle is followed for cultivation of the several varieties of bitter ruk'i potatoes. The families of each wayq'o maintain claim to areas within which plots are fallowed for six to ten years after a season of use. The expanses of terrain with more or less recognized claim are consequently extensive for each family, and through the complications of inheritance and residence (discussed below) may not be limited to the valley of current domicile.

The more systematized cycle of rotation in the geshwa is similar, and its elaboration has more thoroughly integrated the community on an intervalley basis (Map 7). In this more fertile zone the normal cycle has become equilibrated at six years, with one year's crop being followed by five years of fallowing. Fallowing is supplemented insofar as necessary and possible by addition of wanu fertilizer. In this system the families of the community tend to harmonize their rhythm of rotation, and in any given year almost all members may be found working their plots in the same locality. The terrain involved is termed muyuy allpa ("rotation grounds"), and in any of the several localities the individual family plots are called wark'iy in general, chakra if being worked, purun if in fallow, and maway if growing a crop. In 1970 nearly the entire community was pursuing the phases of tuber production at Kurus Moqo or its immediate vicinity, and the perennial rotation is so regular that one can predict where they were or will be in any given year. The main movement throughout the six-year cycle is from (A) Kurus Moqo to (B) the

same side but lower banks and benches of the Qolpa K'uchu River centered at Oxo Pampa, to (C) the granitic alluvial fans of Hatun Q'ero, the lowest arable terrain in the zone, to (D) the more fertile medial moraine soils of Q'ero Ch'uullu, in the immediate vicinity of the ritual center, to (E) dispersed along the entire narrow strip of sandy and rocky soils on the eastern side of the Qolpa K'uchu River, to (F) dispersed along the entire southern bank of the Chuwa Chuwa River. Because of variation in soils and altitude, the productive potential of each of these localities is approximately equal despite wide variation in extension of terrain. Insofar as I was able to determine, within the shared vicissitudes of weather and disease, the produce which each family can anticipate in each year's location is relatively constant, varying primarily in proportion to the relative wealth of the family in land and labor resources. According to a sample of family rotation strategies which represented about one-third of the community, deviations from the normal rotation regime are minor, restricted to closely adjacent localities in three years of the cycle, and return to the main localities in the other three years.

The form of this rotation system suggests an interesting genesis. As far as the Q'eros are concerned, the muyuy allpa remains just as it has always been and the dispersion of localities throughout the community is unremarkable. Their rotation in harmony seems to them only a matter of common sense, given that they generally like to be with one another, and the scattering of family plots throughout each locality is simply an implication of divided inheritance among several offspring. However, it is likely that at one time at least, when the local population was incipient and original, the necessary cycle of rotation was carried out in the one qeshwa locality most convenient to the hamlets of each valley. There is no obvious reason why this same system could not have persisted to the present, with the population of each val-

ley saving considerable time, movement, and labor by rotating cultivation and fallow within the same convenient locality. The total area and productive potential in the community cycle would be the same and able to support a similar climax population density. Nor would divided inheritance change the situation insofar as the valley population remained stable. But if this were the case it is problematic whether Q'ero would now be one social community or several. It is apparent that the present inter-valley system of muyuy allpa developed from inter-valley changes of residence, probably mediated by marriage. The consequent dispersed rights in geshwa land, carried or inherited, were often unrelinquished due to limited availability of comparable rights in the geshwa locality more convenient to the new residence. But the dispersion of rights between valleys is much less extensive in wayq'o plots for bitter potatoes, and the system of rotation remains intra-valley. This is simply because in the relatively uncrowded expanses of this zone more distant claims could be relinquished in favor of localities convenient to the new residence. Regarding the more restricted geshwa, strategies accompanying marriage, new residence, and inheritance would soon respond to the relative scarcity or plenty of family and valley resources, just as they continue to do.² Consequent compromises would often result in rights split between localities, just as they now do (Chapter 7).

Recurrences of such intermarriage between valleys in any particular family history would result in claims to plots within each of the several geshwa localities. Nearby claims in the same vicinities would be maintained by more or less distantly related kin, scattered in rough proportion to the degree of consanguinity and course of family development. This in fact appears to be the present case. The number of such localities in the rotation cycle of each descendent family would tend to equilibrate at six, insofar as this is the optimal pattern given the number of localities available with sufficient annual

productive potential to support the community, and the most efficient adjustment of fallowing and fertilization. A further factor encouraging such congruence of plot distribution as is now in evidence is the rhythm of rotation shared by the community, unable to accommodate families harmoniously with more or less than the requisite number of plots. Currently, individuals with claim to less than six plots in appropriate locations attempt to acquire others through inheritance, marriage arrangements, reclaiming abandoned plots, or expending additional effort in clearing and fertilizing unfavorable terrain. Families with a surfeit of plots amalgamate them in the community cycle of rotation, or soon transfer surplus through marriage. The development of harmony among the six locations is itself probably best explained by the ties of kinship left behind, along with the plots, in each successive translocation of residence and unrelinquished rights to land. Reciprocal assistance necessary in the annual phases of cultivation tends to be based on ties of kinship and affinity, and it is this pragmatic cohesion which explains the coordinated cycle better than the diffuse and often whimsical community spirit of aggregation.

Q'ero Ch'u'llu, with more fertile and level terrain than any other qesh-wa locality, is itself subjected to an additional scheme of rotation within the wider rotation strategy. The Q'eros have found that two and even three annual crops can be extracted from this soil during the six year regime, if fallow and some fertilization is continued during the balance of the cycle. But since this locality is one of the six comprising the wider rotational scheme, it must be cultivated in its entirety during one of the six years. Most of the Q'eros utilize its additional productive potential by cultivating a small garden of oca and ullucu each year on a different segment of their land in this locality, insuring that no segment is used more than two or three times during the six-year cycle. Evidently the segments of this

internal rotation scheme have been dispersed through family histories and unrelinquished claims in a process parallel to the other qeshwa localities. The current result is a proliferation of small parcels of land distinguished by a maze of markers and agreements obscure to anyone not a Q'ero. Consequently, a family may in successive years cultivate parcels in opposite extremities of the locality, adjacent to neighbors who bear no known relationship, and once each six years unite a harvest from several parcels so widely separated.

An integral part of the regime in this locality, and similarly favorable sites nearby, has been the special care of small gardens, heavily fertilized and often enclosed in corrals of stone. Under these optimal conditions such plots (nawpa maway - "early planting" or wisq'a chakra - "fenced plots") are usually used to produce the earliest potato crop and may do so successively with only alternate years in fallow. These are the only plots on which herd animals may be kept during fallow periods, the common method of fertilization elsewhere in the Andes. In Q'ero the herds are rarely in the vicinity, but when inclement weather forces the descent of the sheep herd, or local use necessitates temporary local pasturing of the llama troop, they are corralled for the night in such areas. Patches and ruined foundations in the immediate vicinity of the family house in Q'ero Llaqta are usually used in this manner, and a wealthy family may have claim to several such gardens.

The tribute plots (asinta alpa "hacienda ground" pp.39-40) parallel in form and distribution those of the Q'eros themselves, and are operated in the same rotational cycle except where they have fallen into disuse since expropriation. In the qeshwa their total extent appears only somewhat greater than that of the average Q'ero family, and they are located on only average and sometimes even mediocre soils in each locality, many exceptionally fertile and level alluviums apparently remaining under control of wealthy native

families. Furthermore, in several qeshwa localities the tribute plots are not unitary but instead segmented into sometimes widely separated fractions. This clearly would not be due to the process of dispersion of residence and inheritance which functions with the native lands. As earlier suggested, the situation rather implies that original establishment of the tribute plots was by allocation within the pre-existing native system, compromised by conflicting native interests, and perhaps mediated since by offices which allowed some further gerrymandering. However, since expropriation, almost the entire emphasis of tribute effort has been shifted to the production of bitter varieties of potato processed into moraya, which enjoys a stable and lucrative position in the outside market. Meanwhile some of the lower qeshwa tribute plots have fallen into disuse, but each wayq'o maintains rather extensive localities devoted to this goal. In this zone the families of each valley are responsible for the production phases of the nearby tribute plots, operated in a local regime of rotation which is comparable to that undertaken by each family on its own local wayq'o plots for bitter potatoes. Because there are four such tribute areas distributed in the four major wayq'o, and because the entire tribute plot in the qeshwa locality currently under cultivation is devoted to varieties of bitter potato for processing, the annual production of moraya for tribute is several times more than that produced by the average Q'ero family.

The perennial system of fallow rotation in the monte seems to have two concurrent cycles operated by each family in no developed harmony with other Q'eros. My understanding of the system is insufficient, but the routine appears to be as attuned to the local ecological situation as the more developed qeshwa strategy, given a technology limited by inadequate tools, greater difficulty of access, and necessary subordination to the labor requirements of

the more crucial tuber crops and herds. The accommodation of the monte cultivation regime to particular factors of soil, topography and climate have already been discussed (p.121 ff). Due to the difficulty of transport and the requirements of wanu fertilizer in the geshwa, the only fertilizer used to restore the monte plots are the maize plants and small brush which is left to rot on ground, a fairly rapid process in such a humid situation. But the limited fertility and instability of the sandy soil requires frequent fallowing, and extraction of a crop from the same plot for more than about three successive years results in rapid decrease in yields and a degeneration of the substrate which is difficult to restore in the succeeding fallow period. The same degeneration occurs if the usual alternation of three years' planting and three years' fallow is pursued for more than a few cycles. Consequently every Q'ero family must devote some time each year to felling trees and heavy brush on a plot anticipated for future use, when yields on the circuit of plots currently in use indicate that despite regular fallowing, returns on labor invested are not recompensed and all potential for recovery of fertility is being destroyed. Before this occurs, the family should have the heavy clearing work done on a new location for a new cycle of crops and fallows. The currently exhausted locality may be returned to only after several years of rest, during which time the subtropical vegetation takes complete control and rather thick trees grow.

Both the longer and shorter rotation cycles in the past have been hampered by scarcity of axes and sickles, still in great demand among the Q'eros, who have been limited primarily to a crude brush hook made by lashing a strap of scrap steel in a slotted club. The few fortunate families with an axe have been able to clear more virgin land, and resort less frequently to old rotation localities.³ The result of the community regime so far has been to cycle slowly through the hills and flanks above the junction of the Kiku and

Q'ero Rivers, never having more than a small irregular sector of it in the short rhythm of rotation, and managing to retain most of it from the full advent of subtropical vegetation. The outlines of the wider rotation, and managing to retain most of it from the full advent of subtropical vegetation. The outlines of the wider rotation zone can be detected on the aerial photos of May 1963 (Map 2). From this evidence and the brief reports of Nuñez del Prado (1957,1968) and Escobar (1958) for 1955, it is apparent that within the most recent fifteen-year period the Q'eros have twice moved the emphasis of their cultivation. The natives further report a variety of named locations within the zone which are samashanrah uñayna ("now still resting for a long time"). Individual family cycles, however, show no tendency to harmonize with one another, and only a moderate tendency to aggregate locally. This probably reflects the ready availability of assistance from kin when all of the community plots are focused in a single relatively restricted area, and similar phases of cultivation, if not similar stages of rotation, are contemporaneous.

Regular cycles of exchange, just as management of labor and transport resources, are operations integral to the more general cycles of phase, tempo, and rhythm in the subsistence strategy. Some of these can now be briefly discussed. Exchange cycles are compensatory insofar as they tend to adjust inequalities or strains inherent in the subsistence strategy. But unlike the compensatory strategies which will be subsequently discussed, they are formally instituted - often ritualized - forms of compensation, and occur regularly in response to regularly repeated shortcomings or discontinuities in the subsistence strategy. These cycles of exchange can be distinguished into forms which are predominantly redistributive, on the one hand, and reciprocal, on the other. A variety of reciprocal exchange cycles between individuals and families operate in the lubrication of strains in the

subsistence strategy. Regular needs and shortcomings are met by contracting or continuing exchange relationships with other Q'eros and, less frequently, with visiting natives of the region and cholo merchants and mestizos contacted outside the cultural region. Among the Q'eros themselves, these cycles in reciprocity sometimes form the framework for maintenance and development of status inequalities. Reciprocal patterns are analyzable into instituted types of exchange which ritualize social equality or inequality. However, my data on these patterns is shallow, and no further discussion will be undertaken here. More can be said regarding redistributive cycles, which also have such sociological implications.

The festival cycle and the tributary cycle are exchanges of redistributive form which accommodate, respectively, a season of relative dearth in the native economy and an annual requirement imposed by the external economy. As previously described (Chapter 2), the Q'eros apparently accommodated a demand from the succession of external regimes for tribute in labor or produce. They achieved this by allocating small segments of time within their annual tempo and parcels of land within their perennial rotational scheme, and revolving the additional labor requirements among the members of each family and the community. The special purpose surplus eked out of the native economy in this way is under the organizational purview of a native leader selected by the landowner or representative of the provincial government (subject to veto by the community), who supervises the centralization of efforts and finally of harvests and produce. This is delivered over once each year, in kind or converted into cash, to the representative of the external regime. In a formal sense, the redistributive cycle is completed each year when in return for their tribute, the Q'eros receive renewal of legitimate status in the state, of their nominally usufruct claim on their lands, or of their con-

tract or repurchase, depending on the form of the regime to which they have been subjected.

Ritualization of aspects of this cycle is not lacking. The gathering of Q'eros at predetermined times and locations for one or two days in the months of key agricultural phases is accompanied by alternation of furious cooperative labor and somber pauses during which coca leaf is taken and food and conversation is exchanged. One such gathering of adult males during the ruk'i hasp'iy (bitter-potato harvest) in early June is also the occasion for the axllay ("choice"): the proposal, discussion, and selection of new official leadership each year. While under hacienda dominion, the transport on llamas and arrival of the tribute harvest to the distant home of the patrón was an occasion for ritual display of the fecundity and independent organizational power of the community. The family of the patrón awaited this with undisguised wonder, as well as some condescension.

The annual festival cycle has family and community aspects, celebrated in the hamlets of each wayq'o and in the ritual center, respectively. Whereas the family feasts are carried out by each family concurrently at requisite times of the year, the four community feasts are each put in the charge of one to several karguyoh ("he who bears the cargo or burden"), selected anew at the conclusion of each festival for the responsibility of the succeeding year. For Chayampuy and Carnival these roles are fulfilled by the four to six varayoh, the officials elected to formal community leadership each year. In Paskwa a separate group of karguyoh, sometimes more numerous than the varayoh, discharge their obligation. These persons are held responsible for the production of a feast to be served and celebrated for the entire community in the coming year. Each karguyoh prepares for this by organizing a strategy in consultation with his kin and affines, and marshalling on call from them

the necessary array of resources (primarily in food, labor, and entertainment) for the anticipated occasion.

The community feasts each involve a tremendous gorge of food and maize beer over a period of two to five days in the ritual center. Of the three largest ones (Chayampuy, Carnival, and Paskwa), two occur only as the very earliest ñawpa waway are harvested, a small potato crop mainly of ritual significance as first fruits (Figure 2). These feasts, and even that of Paskwa soon to follow, occur well before the main tuber harvest is under way, and all four of the community festivals occur before the maize harvest. This time of year culminates a period of generally increasing dearth for all families of the community, whose reserves from the previous year's harvests have been progressively depleted. Complaints that the ocas are now exhausted commence in each family by October, and the depletion of each more recent harvest is lamented in the following months. Especially the depletion of the maize harvest is anticipated with concern, because it is both relatively small and a necessity for most ritual undertakings.

Consequently, the prime motivation of each new karguyoh is to conserve his marshalled resources through the annual period of plenty, holding them in reserve for the discharge of this obligation at just the time when the scarce goods are most appreciated. He is assisted in this by his relatives, who likewise conserve for him portions of their resources when more abundant, and are subsequently repaid through participation in the bounty and prestige of the feast, or when a similar obligation falls due to them. The quantity of food withheld in this manner from the normal routine of exchange and consumption is considerable, because it is intended to feed the entire community to the point of satisfaction, lliw llaqtata haywasunchis ("we will fulfill (the wants of) the whole community"). Furthermore, it is pooled through the efforts of a group of families which together may constitute almost half the

community, if there are several karguyoh. Although the part of the year through which most of the community festivals occur (January through March) is a period of increasing dearth, it also coincides with the agricultural phases requiring least intensive labor. The time and effort necessary for the festivals conflict only with the shearing and reproductive phases of the herds, matters which require attention of only a few supervisory persons from each family.

Although the karguyoh are nominally responsible, each actually symbolizes his kin and affines, all of whom are held more or less to account for the quality of the festivities served up to the balance of the community, and are motivated accordingly. This is first apparent in the planning meetings of dispersed kin, each representing one or more families often in separate valleys, which are arranged several times throughout the year by the karguyoh. These gain momentum until, a few days prior to the feast, key members of each family involved move to the ritual center. Here they begin final preparation for the occasion. The climax feasts, of which there may be several during each festival, are a spectacle of symmetric serving and gorging, carried out across the yard of a house or the church, or the floor of a house, along which a length of banded cloth of llama wool has been spread for the deposit of mounds of cooked food. Behind this cloth are ranged and ranked all the adult and elder males of the community who are being hosted; before it, serving or scurrying back and forth to the area of the cooking pots, are all the adult and elder males who comprise the hosting families of the karguyoh. The hosts punctuate the serving with shrill cries of "Kayta!" ("Here!"), calling for replenishment, and the guests respond with rhymes of gratitude or disdain as they return their empty q'ero (wooden goblets for the maize beer) into the outstretched ponchos of their hosts. Scattered less formally through this bilateral symmetry are one or two groups of the women and

younger people, who serve and consume according to which side they represent, but with much less ceremony. The host families themselves eat and drink to capacity, but only after their guests have been satisfied.

The flow of goods and services in such an annual cycle is redistributive, first converging by way of commitments of kin and affines on a central role symbolic of them all, and subsequently distributed formally among one part of the community and informally among all of it. The pattern is congruent with the routine household economics of each family. It is formally duplicated on smaller scale in the ritual family feasts of P'alchasqa, Ahata Uxuchichis, and Santus, when in each hamlet family wealth is marshalled and lavished upon guests as well as family members. In the community feasts, a new center of redistribution is assigned and organized each year with attention to a just rotation of the burden, so that from the point of view of a perennial cycle, the pattern of exchange is reciprocating. This perennial reciprocation echoes, over an extended period of time, the exchange symbolized in the symmetric arrangement of hosts and hosted in each feast. Generalized reciprocity (Sahlins 1965) is an apt term for this dimension of the exchange, because generosity rather than equity is the professed norm, although expenditure is accounted and recompense is awaited. This aspect of the community pattern is also duplicated each year in the family feasts, which tend to reciprocate between neighbors in the hamlets or relatives and friends in other valleys, and share ritual family redistributions among consortiums in this way. This is most striking at Santus, when during one day several relatives and neighbors will exchange invitations, and then visit one another in turn. In each visit, furthermore, there is a reciprocation of cooked food from the host and appeals to his ancestors by the guests in the host's behalf.

The symmetrical relationships of successive reciprocity in community feasts sustain such exchanges on an annual or perennial basis, just as invitations are returned on Santus. This is sometimes expressed in such terms as "I feed him now, but he will feed me another time." More importantly, such reciprocity seems to be the focus of ritualization, as in the spectacle of serving and gorging in community feasts at the ritual center, and in the hamlet consortium organized for Santus. Furthermore, the redistributive form to which the flow of goods and services tends to conform at any given point in the cycle is the theater of prestige competition, and generation of asymmetric relationships. The center which marshalls, controls, and redistributes the scarce goods is honored in proportion to its expenditure and style of dispensation, which represent influence and resources appropriately paraded. This prestige devolves most directly upon the senior members of the family from which the karguyoh is named, but extends as well among the network of kin and affines.

Compensatory strategies. Individual family subsistence cycles are subject to a variety of disruptions or imbalances too idiosyncratic for regular resolution in the routine of cyclic strategies. Special compensatory strategies must be initiated by the family as tactics suited to the particular subsistence problem. These problems arise more or less unpredictably in the perennial routine of every family, the fortunes of which vary greatly with the vicissitudes of illness and health, death and birth, predation, disease, blight, and fecundity, weather and the quality of relationships with supernatural powers, unanticipated expenses, demography, and a multitude of other factors. A sampling of the kinds of solutions often adopted by the Q'eros is discussed below, ranging from merely stop-gap measures to the precipitation to more radical attempts to re-establish subsistence equilibrium.

Short-cut tactics to temporarily compensate for irregularities in the annual routine include telescoping or suspending phases of cultivation or herding. The alternate cycle of tuber cultivation termed ch'ukiy ("thrown" or "cast") replaces the more optimum preparation of the plots prior to planting with a procedure that allows last-minute seeding in unprepared ground. This tactic is frequently used to reduce the time necessary to gain a harvest, required if the family has fallen behind in any phase of the annual cycle, and advantageous if such difficulties are anticipated. The hurried series of tasks set for the months of May and June (most importantly harvest, processing or storage of the tuber crops, and guarding the ripening maize) must be terminated in time for the maize harvest, and this frequently necessitates leaving incomplete the fertilization and plowing optimum in preparation for the next tuber planting. If this is not completed prior to the frosts it is not done at all. Yet seeding cannot be foregone if a harvest is desired; and it cannot be delayed if the harvest is to come in sufficient time for processing in the frosts of the next year, and harvesting the following maize crop. In ch'ukiy the seed is hastily "cast" into the sod, as if in digging-stick horticulture, as soon as the new plants will not be threatened by frost. Within about a month the nascent field is plowed in the special manner termed yapuy (pp.139-140), which combines in one process fertilization, aeration, hilling, and cultivation, although all four processes are left short of optimum. This alternate procedure is used mostly in the higher tuber plots, least likely to be plowed in preparation, least liable to the threat of weeds, and into which will be planted the hardier strains most able to produce a fair crop despite such summary care.

Comparable to the compensatory tactic of ch'ukiy is the delay of maize plot rotation in the monte, saving the time usually expended in clearing new plots. The maize harvest declines rapidly, but does not cease entirely for

a few years, furnishing a buffer for recovery. Similarly, annual fertilization of fallow tuber plots may be foregone, or mere disease prevention techniques may be substituted for regular disease prevention in the care of the herd. A similar kind of interim neglect substitutes treatment for prevention in relationships with the extraordinary powers of awki and apu that affect the well-being of family, herds, and crops. Compensatory divination and entreaty is undertaken only as needed in response to developed problems, rather than the regular pious consultation and exhortation necessary to prevent the deterioration of such relationships and the emergence of problems. Losses or smaller returns are likely to accrue from any of these short-cuts, but this may be a sacrifice necessary to regain harmony with the annual subsistence cycle in other respects, and amends in the neglected routine can be made later.

More radical short-cuts in the annual subsistence cycle include the temporary suspension of all efforts on one front, the produce of which is more or less dispensable for a short time. In this way a family may abandon the monte for a season or two, forego the planting of oca or ullucu, or neglect the breeding of their herd entirely, devoting their efforts to recovery in other quarters currently threatened, such as fertilization of their muyuy allpa. Assumed in such tactics is the sacrifice of ability to undertake feasts requiring maize beer, monotony of diet, or a decrease of the herd. But these hardships may be borne for a season or two with the assistance of relatives, until the family subsistence strategy is brought back into a more equilibrated cycle. However, if such stop-gap measures must be maintained for much longer than this, the family lapses into demise in the social organization of Q'ero (waxchakun - "makes itself an orphan"), becomes vassal to more powerful families, and may disappear (usp'aparin - "turn entirely to ashes").

Another stop-gap measure taken in an effort to recover from a misfortune or poverty is the refusal of a community office which would require expenditures as a karguyoh. When refusals occur, this is the usual reason, and it is usually accepted. In the past when the entire community was suffering difficult times, due apparently to lost crops or severe predation, a few traditional feasts were cancelled for lack of support, and never resumed. (On the other hand, at least one new feast has been instituted in response to a general community well-being.) If offered a community office when in moderate difficulties, the much more frequent tactic is to accept the obligation, and compensate for the ensuing extraordinary strain on family resources by undertaking one or several of the short-cuts possible in the annual subsistence cycle. Karguyoh incumbents frequently abandon their efforts in the monte, even though their need for maize is far greater than normal. Temporarily at least, they become manan sarayohchu, "one who is characterized as having no maize." The special ritual requirement of maize is arranged for by one's kin and affines, and along with the rest of the debt incurred, repaid when able and as needed over a long period of time. The same tactics enable a family to withstand the drain on consumable and labor resources entailed in the crises of birth, illness, marriage, or death; if the family alone is not able to absorb the expenses, help is recruited from relatives. Families with few relatives have no such recourse and are hastened in their economic and social demise.

There are several indications that the niche potential of each valley, as a natural habitat for the hamlets and herds, has definite limits in the current ecosystem. Optimum pasture in each loma zone is dependable but restricted to definite localities, and recovers more slowly during the dry season. Some families respond to the increased pressure on locally available pasture by conducting all or a portion of their herd to alternate pastures

for a few weeks at this time. Some of the localities in Totorani serve as alternate pasture for those in the adjacent parts of Q'ero who can claim some right to use of it through relatives who are residents of that community. (No such claim is made in the more limited pastures of Kiku to the southeast, which are more distant and fully exploited by the residents.) The excellent upper pastures and waylla of Cusipata to the west are rarely utilized by the people of that hacienda, and furnish alternative pasture from which the Q'eros of Chuwa Chuwa hamlet have long benefited. However, with these exception, alternate pastures are usually located in secondary valleys within Q'ero that include no waylla but only ichu and k'achu grasses. Only llamas and sheep can be pastured in these localities for an extended time, and they remain without permanent habitation. Small, dry basins such as these are located in the folds of the high granitic complex east of Q'ero (Anchalea, Qawachaniy, Akamayo, Wallqa Kunka) and among the crests of the ridgelines which separate the main Q'ero valleys. The tough llama and sheep can subsist on this pasture, and during the earliest rains may even thrive on the first tender shoots of grass, relieving the alpaca herd from competition for the scarce forage in their usual pasture nearer the hamlets. Although some of these alternate pastures may be visited daily from the hamlets, most require establishment of a temporary campsite. In either case, the family which resorts to this procedure must split its labor resources for supervision of both components of the herd.

It appears that families with least long-established residence in a valley are first obliged to avail themselves of such inconvenient alternate pastures. This priority seems simply to be a logical extension of the 'first come, first served' custom that casually controls daily use of local pasture sites. However, any general privileged precedence is denied by all the local residents, and the tactic of alternative pasturing is rationalized as only

family idiosyncrasy. Some relatively wealthy families who lack local seniority of residence do in fact regularly resort to inconvenient alternate pastures, and absorb the impracticality of splitting their labor. One such group of relatives leaves their combined llama troops under the care of one constituent family in Akamayo for extended periods of time, and cares for their alpacas, which remain in Qocha Moqo near waylla. Another wealthy family formerly in Lawarkancha, with limited longevity in this wayq'o, had to make arrangements with the Hacienda Ccapana to the south for temporary accommodation of its large alpaca herd in the ample waylla of this territory. Furthermore, some families who do not lack seniority in right to the local pasture resources sometimes utilize the strategy simply to relieve their alpaca herd from competition for the seasonally scarcer pasture by removing the other portion of the family herd to a locality where it can nevertheless subsist.

Poorer families with weakened claim to pasture precedence, and insufficient labor resources to absorb the impracticality entailed by this compensatory strategy, face a complex dilemma. Poverty in Q'ero, according to the Q'eros themselves, indicated by few or no herd animals, especially alpaca, but also by a paucity of claims to cultivable land, limited bonds of kinship and affinity, and a small domestic group. A poor herd, if not regenerated, leads rapidly to meager life-style, dependency on others for the many derived resources, increased attrition to herd and family due to illness and mortality, unpropitious marriage bargains, and piecemeal sacrifice of land claims to affines (Chapter 7). A family in such a plight may continue the same local routine which had failed to stem its decline. But this is done on the sufferance of hamlet neighbors among whom the family may enjoy no residential priority, or among whom pasture precedence is soon effectively lost due to their subordination in dependency relationships. Although

more firmly established neighbors will not usually press their advantage in such cases of helplessness, the gradual attrition of family resources continues. A small herd is particularly vulnerable to the hazards of predation, exposure, and disease, and whereas increase can only be very gradual, complete loss can be suffered in a single season. Because labor resources cannot afford to be split, conducting the herd to alternate pastures less heavily foraged in the dry season entails either subjecting the alpacas to inferior conditions which will soon impair their health and productivity, or leaving them with intermittent and inadequate care in the vicinity of the hamlet. Such a situation eventually leads to the annihilation of the alpaca herd, and of any further reason to live in the ecological niche where all the hamlets are located. Several of the isolated homesteads scattered in the less satisfactory locations of Q'ero have had their origin or rehabilitation based on such circumstances.

The nine homesteads currently inhabited in various parts of the community each appear to represent a compensatory strategy. Only two (Erba Kunka and Ch'uñuna K'uchu) occupy ecological niches comparable to that of the hamlets. These are located in two small tributary valleys that are soq'asqa ("cursed") or sterile and dry from the point of view of most hamlet residents, but which offer small patches of waylla sufficient to support the alpaca herds of one or two small families in each case. A group of related Q'eros has occupied each of these homesteads for as long as can be remembered, and the peripheral location of Erba K'unka, at least, suggests that it may have first been occupied by native immigrants from Kiku or Hapu. Other natives from the cultural region of Q'ero are usually permitted to settle in the community if they request, but in the few instances that this has occurred they have usually settled in an isolated homestead, tacitly accepting

inferior status although they are usually invited to build near one of the hamlets.

The other immigrant homestead, in Wallqa K'unka, was recently settled by an outcast from Kiku, and like the rest of the small valleys in the middle of the granitic massif, completely without waylla. To settle in such a locality is to forego all possibility of developing a healthy herd of alpaca, and improving on this basis one's status in the community. A poor but fairly stable life-style may be maintained in such a location by raising llama and sheep, but evidently one's ability to parley the resources of these animals alone into wealth and influence is extremely limited. The nearby valley of Akamayo is the site of a frequently inhabited camp of one family, but only llamas are kept in this sterile locality, while the family herd of alpaca are maintained in the home hamlet by relatives. Oxopata, Pawsipata, Ch'arka Pampa, and Machay Pampa are all permanent homesteads out of practical reach of the lomo waylla, and are occupied by small families which have within the last few generations accepted an inability to succeed in the herding enterprise of the hamlets. Liriyuh Pampa, like Machay Pampa in the adjacent valley, is a homestead occupied by an elder who has left the task of herding to his grown children. However, whereas Liriyuh Pampa is a retirement retreat in this sense, the children who grew up in Machay Pampa had to leave this homestead if they wished to prosper, and all did leave it.

Homestead sites outside the hamlet zone have been established either in the comparatively sterile valleys of ichu and k'achu grass, or in campsites near the potato fields. This suggests that the compensatory strategy is not simply an acceptance of poverty, but an attempt to specialize in other aspects of herding or in cultivation. All these homesteads are in fact conveniently close to both cultivation localities and dry valley pockets adequate

for grazing of sheep and llamas. In some cases it is clear that the families have concentrated their efforts on success in raising corn, sheep or llamas, or a few cows in the locality of the ritual center. Migrant labor in distant mestizo communities, undertaken erratically but repeatedly by four or five Q'eros, appears to be a compensatory strategy often associated with such homestead specialization. Two or three families specialize in llama herding, and attempt to capitalize on the demand for burden transport at peak cultivation phases by trading the use of portions of this herd for commodities and labor. In each of these cases it appears that migrant labor is also undertaken with some frequency, in virtue of the reduced labor requirements and increased flexibility of this specialization. However, the causal relationship is ambiguous; it could as well be the case (and this is the explanation offered) that migrant labor is a result of relative poverty owing to the absence of a substantial alpaca herd.

As previously described (pp.44-45), the result of most strategies involving specialization is no improvement to the well-being of the family, but rather a stabilization of moderate poverty. Any surplus resources gained in the specialized effort are lost in exchange for the resources over which control has been given up, especially the manifold resources derived from the alpaca herd. If some success can be managed with a herd of llama or sheep despite the handicap of poverty, such specialization apparently has limited future because their products are of limited value in exchange and weaving, and their dung difficult to gather for fertilizer and fuel in the brush and grass of the pastures below the lomo. The burden-carrying potential of the llamas is a valuable commodity only in certain annual phases; usually the owner himself needs all his animals at this time. The very absence per se of a herd of alpaca appears to relegate the homesteader to the category of wax-

cha, implying the low social status of an orphan as well as poverty. However, the same term is applied to Q'eros who cannot maintain a maize plot, whether or not they have a few alpaca, and it seems to apply to anyone who fails to maintain the traditional breadth of subsistence diversification. The same stigma usually attaches to the purih, who repeatedly undertakes migrant labor and consequently must neglect his family as well as the native economy. These impediments are not satisfactory explanation of the fact that all homesteads in Q'ero remain relatively poor and of low status. Why specialization in crops, llamas and sheep, or other cattle cannot be successfully parlayed into relative wealth and social well-being is a question that requires further research for a complete answer.

Demographic processes. Certain other aspects of community demography seem to reflect much more widespread compensatory strategies, and demonstrate disequilibrium in a fluid population. Although I was able to drive some quantitative data from genealogies, fuller demographic figures were difficult to obtain. No reports at all are made to the state or collected by the state with even reasonable accuracy. The current population does not remain in one place long enough for a dependable census, even if taken in person. If representatives can be retained in such a position that hospitality or civility requires their momentary cooperation, the information obtained is only fragmentary. No dates are used, and lapse of time is not carefully attended. Infant dead are rapidly forgotten and the names of adult dead often will not be uttered. Most family members are absent at any given moment; some present may hide, and absences may be concealed. Because families with numerous descendents are reported or encountered more frequently, and those with few or none are often overlooked (by both native and genealogist), no accurate birth rates are obtainable. Birth rate appears to be very high in some fami-

lies (seven or eight living children were reported in a few cases) but is probably balanced by an infant mortality rate of 40-60% that winnows most families down to two or three children who will themselves bear offspring; numerous families are reduced to childlessness.⁴ Death of older children and young adults appears to be very frequent: in 1969 there had been about ten cases of death of young married men within the last five years, affecting about 12% of the conjugal couples of the community.

The hacienda regimes never concerned themselves with accurate censuses, but only with the number of families mature enough to be accountable for labor contribution. This number was about sixty between 1945 and 1960, but reports are likely to have concealed some membership. Using a similar criterion but probably with less motivation to conceal, the Q'eros reported sixty-nine such families to the Reforma Agraria in 1970. My own census in 1970, based on fairly complete genealogical data, tallies 376 inhabitants in eighty-two conjugal families, disposed in fifty-two domestic groups. Nuñez del Prado took a careful census of population and herds in 1955, tallying 240 inhabitants in sixty-six conjugal families, disposed in forty-six households (1958:19). A 57% increase in total population seems unlikely in a scant fifteen years, and the accuracy of the 1955 figures appears questionable on other grounds.⁵ However, most evidence indicates that there was at least some increase in population between 1955 and 1970.

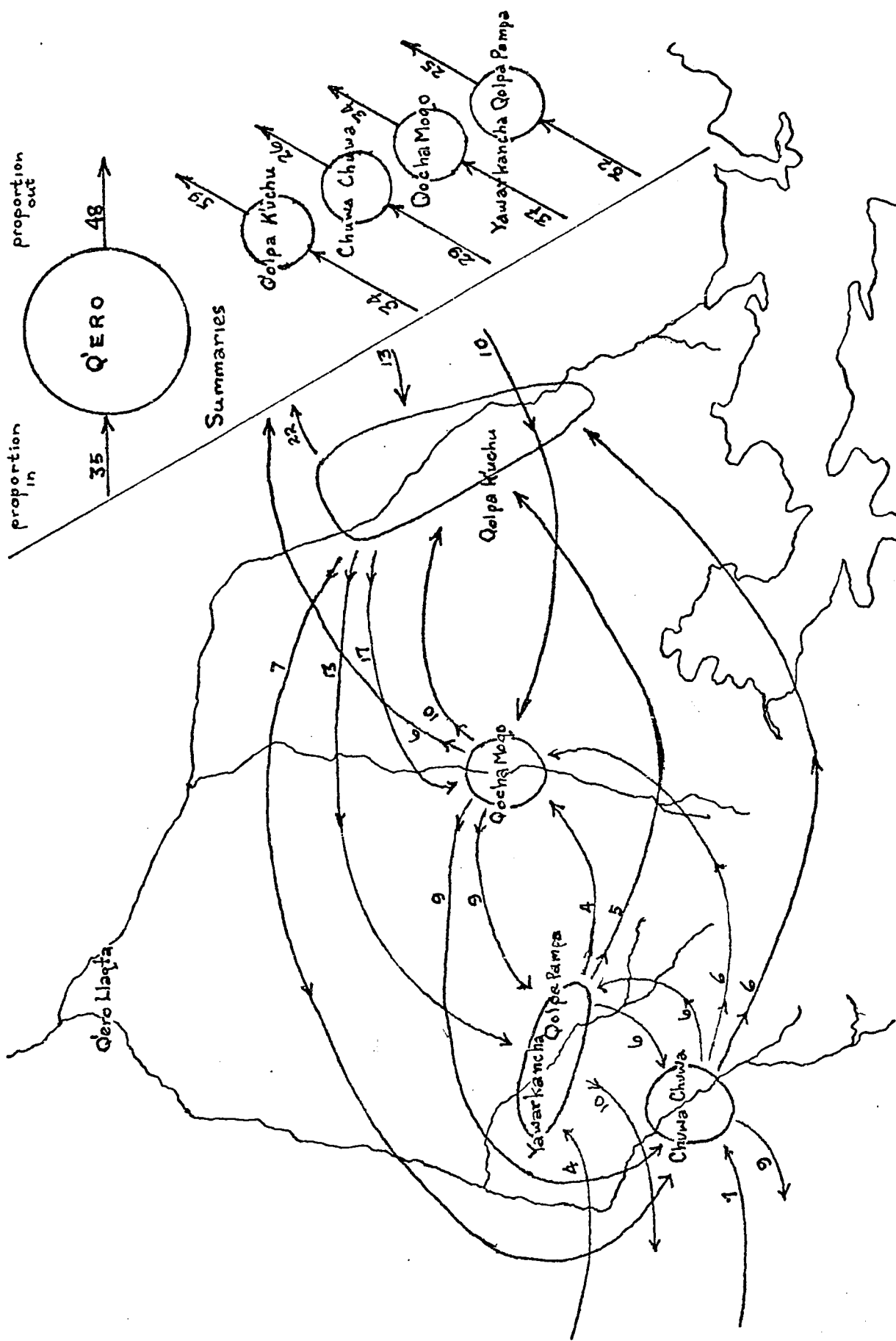
Other evidence indicates indirectly that there was some depopulation of the community prior to 1955, and repopulation subsequent to that time. At that time Nuñez del Prado observed a high proportion of ruins and abandoned houses in the central village, and deduced that formerly the community had had a much denser population (1958:15; also Escobar 1958:178). The proportion of ruins in 1955 was about 47%, but by 1970 had decreased to 30%, with about 16% of the old foundations disappearing, and about 25% of them being

rebuilt into new festival houses. But settlement in this village, as a ritual center, does not reflect in any straight-forward way the population of the community. Houses are built or maintained for the performance of community obligations, and the acquisition or maintenance of status in the social organization. In 1970 several Q'eros of low status owned no llagta wasi and had no clear access to one, and about 30% used a house which belonged to a relative. Furthermore, at least a part of the ruins simply represent the extinction of families once influential, and their eventual replacement by other families who built new festival houses but not on the foundations of ruins. In 1970 this was the case in several instances. Although at least one new festival has been recently added, the number of community celebrations has evidently decreased somewhat in this century. The possibility of status acquisition in this cycle is likely to have decreased accordingly, reducing the need for houses in the ritual center, at least for an increasing number of Q'eros who chose to compete less ambitiously in this arena. The high proportion of Q'eros presently maintaining only secondary rights to the use of festival houses may reflect this trend.

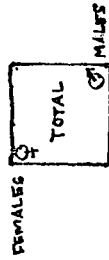
With these further considerations in mind, it is reasonable to assume that not more than a part of the 47% abandoned houses evident in 1955 were indicative of depopulation. On the other hand, the vigor of the present festival cycle, and its importance in the organization of status in the community, render it doubtful that any great demise of this cycle has occurred. Furthermore, judging from the eight reconstructions of festival houses since 1955 and information on other houses, the usual procedure if in need of a llagta wasi is to purchase or inherit an old ruin and rebuild upon it, rather than build in a previously unoccupied plot. Consequently it seems apparent that at least a portion, perhaps one-half, of the ruins evident in 1955 indeed represents depopulation prior to that time, and an earlier community popula-

tion larger by perhaps as much as 25%. The relatively whole condition of most of the abandoned foundations indicates that the period of expansion was not too long in the past, and that the decline began perhaps no longer than fifty years ago. The rebuilding between 1955 and 1970 of eight new houses, each for at least a conjugal family and many for larger households, suggests a regeneration of the population since its low ebb in 1955 or before. This supports the previously considered evidence of population increase in recent decades.

A partial explanation of the apparent depression prior to 1955 may lie in emigration. Reasonably accurate information on migration was available to me in genealogies and these reflect very frequent re-establishments of residence. Such movement is integral to most family histories. Although much of the movement into and out of the community or its constituent valleys balances out within this century, some disparities are revealing. Map 8 schematizes movement into (immigration) and out of (emigration) the community, and movement between the major valleys of the community (translocation), since about the beginning of this century. Translocations are quite frequent, but outnumber moves into and out of the community by only 3:2, indicating a rather large number of migrations between the community and the outside in the last century. Figure 3 breaks this movement down by approximate generations into rough decade components, further distinguished by the sex of the person who made the move. Judging from the most complete parts of the data (and extrapolating from my conclusions) the total number of individuals involved in migration in or out of the community in any given generation during this time may have been 25-40, or on the order of 16-29% of the adult population (about 7-12% of the total population).⁶ From the figures it can be deduced that at least during the last sixty years or so emigration has exceeded immigration about



Map 8: Migration incidences and proportions (ca. 1910-1970)



Q'ero

Chura Chuwa

Yawarkancha
Qolpa Pampa

Qocha Mogo

Qolpa K'uchu

immigration
established by:

T R A N S L O C A T I O N

	in		out		in		out		in		out		in		out	
1900-10	1	4	2	3	4	4	1	0	3	7	5	5	3	5	2	
1920-30	9	16	6	11	5	9	4	8	13	19	6	11	10	23	11	
1940-50	11	13	6	10	6	9	7	13	8	10	2	13	10	15	24	
1960-70	2	2	4	5	3	4	0	0	3	3	3	5	3	6	7	
totals	23	35	18	29	22	32	15	25	25	37	34	18	34	56	59	

Figure 3 : Migration sex and approximate decade

4:3, and that this is due largely to a period of peak emigration between about 1930 and 1950, when the ratio apparently increased to more than 2:1.

Preponderant emigration from the community might have been motivated by population pressure and the limited capacity of the community ecosystem. Emigration so motivated would be a compensatory strategy analogous to the establishment of isolated homesteads in the community, but considerably more radical, involving abandonment of most economic rights in the community and usually acceptance of very low and dependent status in the new native community. This move is especially difficult for men who comprise one-third of the immigrants and one-half of the emigrants. Escape from the hacienda regime may have also been a frequent motive, at least during the apparent peak of emigration. This peak coincides with the period when the last and most distasteful hacienda owner was occasionally tormenting the natives and even evicting a few of them by force of threat and unpredictable violence. Most of the movement at this time was apparently undertaken by males, who emigrated in the proportion of 6:2, probably indicating economic and social crises rather than routine marriage exchanges with adjacent native communities. A few male Q'eros now in the community report that they left the community during the regime of the yanqa asintayoh ("crazy hacienda owner") to evade his torments, but subsequently returned. During the period 1900-1950, at least twelve males entered Q'ero, but apparently twice this number left the community. A disparity of only fifteen adult males, lost to the normal population of the community, could account for the abandonment of those festival houses not otherwise accounted for in the previous discussion.

On balance, I am inclined to suspect that the fundamental motivation of the preponderant emigration climaxed between 1930 and 1950 was a saturation of the carrying capacity of the community ecosystem. This may have followed what is reputed in Q'ero folklore to have been a particularly beneficent and

productive era during one of the hacienda dominions of the early twentieth century.⁷ The precipitation from the consequent population pressure may have coincided with the oppressive regime, which began in the early 1940s. If half the ruins observable in 1955 reflect an earlier saturation of the ecosystem potential, then it was at this time about 25% below capacity. Following this reasoning, the population resurgence apparent since 1955 reflects a recovery toward full utilization of the ecosystem potential.⁸ If the rebuilding of eight festival houses between 1955 and 1970 reflects this recovery, about one-half of the unexploited capacity has been regained. The high proportion of Q'ero families with only limited access to the houses of the ritual center suggests that the recovery is even greater, and the carrying capacity of the ecosystem may now again be nearly maximized. I would speculate that the population of the community oscillates, primarily through processes of migration and mortality rate equilibrated by the ecosystem carrying capacity, in a long cycle which is glimpsed in this evidence. The evidence for such processes is clearer with regard to each constituent valley and translocation between them, now to be discussed.

At least partly as a result of a definitely limited carrying capacity of the habitat in each major valley, a great deal of translocation between the hamlets of different valleys occurs. Such a move entails a far less radical adjustment for the family involved than either the establishment of an isolated homestead within the community or emigration out of the community. In translocation, the ecological niche of the primary domicile remains essentially the same and the general social matrix remains continuous. On the other hand, the homesteader must accept a radical change in his subsistence strategy and the emigrant must at least abandon his accustomed social matrix and most of the associated economic privileges. The compensatory strategy of translocation is nevertheless a long range tactic rather than merely a short-

cut necessitated by temporary difficulties. Because such translocation is so frequent, the ecological and social implications for the community are profound.

Every family in the community has some evidence of translocation in its history. Some of the more extensive translocations reveal the implications and suggest the variety of this process. One family originated, insofar as memory substantiates, in the valley of Qolpa K'uchu, but in the span of three generations has extended male members to Chuwa Chuwa, across two intervening valleys and on the opposite side of the community, and one member back again to Qolpa K'uchu, not too far from the old family home. Another family resided in Chuwa Chuwa at about the same time three generations ago, but has since lost all traces there, and all its survivors are scattered in Qolpa K'uchu. The possibility that these movements affected one another is intriguing. A third family originated, insofar as memory serves, in Chuwa Chuwa, but in three generations has moved across one intervening valley into Qocha Moqo valley and back again to the hamlet of Qolpa Pampa, leaving descendents in all three valleys and even one in Kiku, thirty kilometers further to the east. Another family originated from the east in Hapu and Kiku, settled in Qocha Moqo three generations ago, and has since distributed descendents to all the valleys of Q'ero but one. These particular patterns of translocation represent movements by males and are reflected in surnames; those traced by females over repeated generations are much more complex and dispersed, because the usual and normative form of marriage residence is patrilocal, and most marriages (65%) occur between Q'eros living in separate valleys. Men, however, undertake at least one-third of the translocations, also usually mediated by marriage exogamous to the valley in which they were born.

Ostensible reasons offered by the Q'eros for their own or their ancestors' moves are diverse, but tend to adhere to a few conventional categories.

In the case of women, virtually all translocations are mediated by marriage, and because patrilocality is the expected norm if no other considerations override it, sufficient reason is simply q'osapun ("she married (to another person or place)"). In the case of men, the most frequent reason (36%) offered is also marriage (warmiyta tarispa - "while meeting a wife;" swigruywan tiyahpah - "to be one who lives with my wife's father;" warmin pusapun - "his wife carried him there"). Further reasons given in this regard indicate that the man felt socially drawn to the people of his wife's hamlet, and even express some contempt or enmity regarding relations in his original hamlet. Almost as frequent (34%) is a derogatory remark about the poor living conditions or habitat potential of the valley departed (t'inkulla wayq'o - "a small valley good only for a meeting-place;" manan kahtinchu uywa... - "when there are no herds...;" manan kahtinchu pampa... - "when there is no room...;" unqollaspa... - "just being sick...;" tawqanakunku... - "they are crowded together;" ch'usaq... - "it is deserted"). These locutions indicate failure with herds, crowded pastures and perhaps unwelcomeness (rarely expressed), relative sterility of habitat ("deserted"), and ill health in the valley formerly occupied. Additional reasons given involve enmity (16%), frequently between the family involved and the former hacienda regime, and reported only by hearsay if between natives themselves. Finally, some reasons (14%) consider a family disruption, most frequently the death of the wife, as the cause for translocation. Although the various sociological reasons expressed (i.e., marriage, enmity, and family disruption) have important implications some of which will later be discussed, my concern here is to emphasize the prevailing influence of habitat limitations, expressed directly in only one-third of the reasons.

Many of the other reasons offered are frequently seen to be merely causes which precipitate underlying problems. These basic problems are more clearly ecological than the professed cause. Marriage, particularly if it

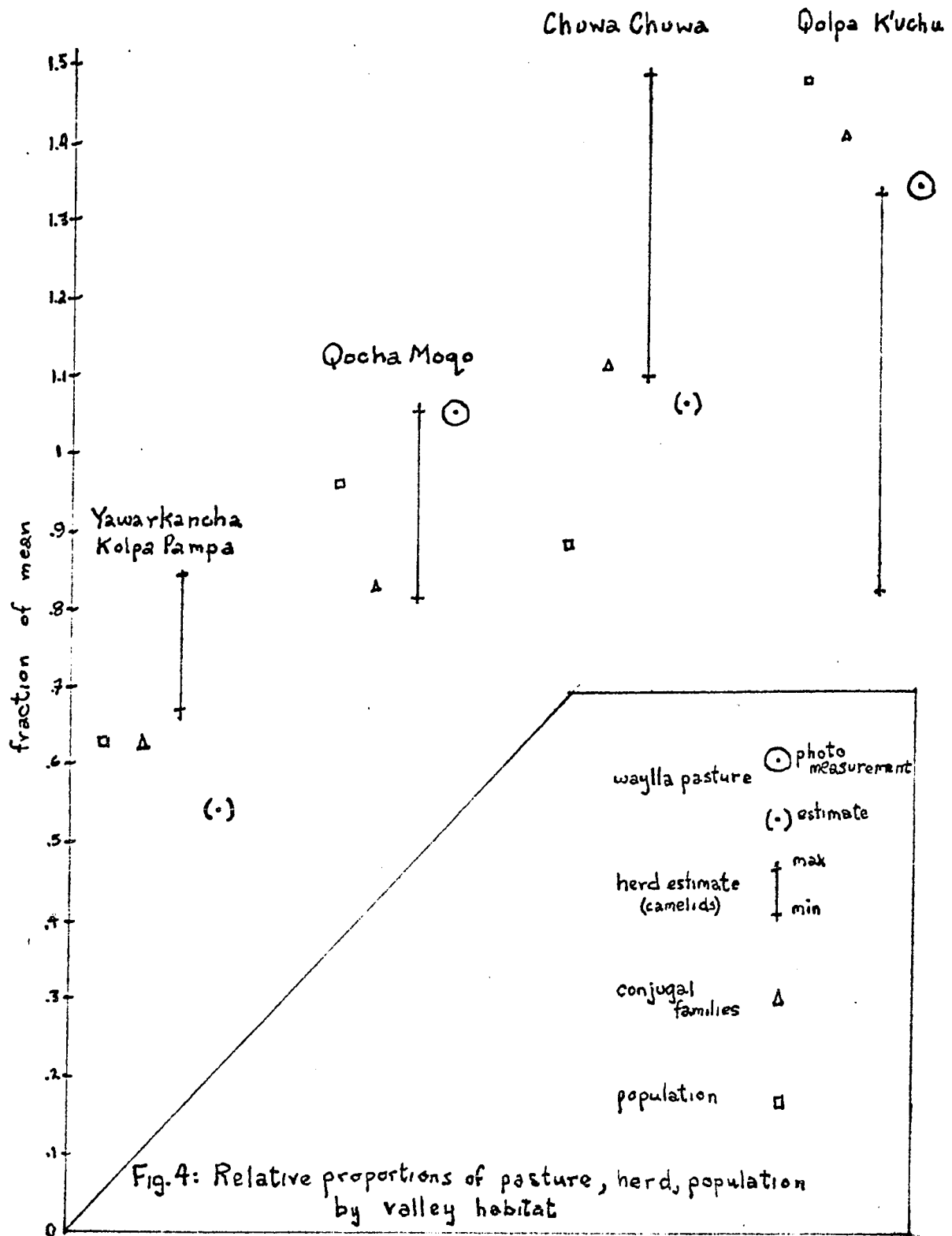
involves the translocation of the male spouse, is an arrangement predicated on calculations of relative economic and social advantage (Chapter 7). Central in this calculation is the relative potential of the two valley habitats involved, along with social situations that may reflect conditions of the habitat. Consequently, reasons for marriage arrangement frequently mask considerations of demographic pressure and economic potential. If pressed, conventional reasoning expressed in terms of marriage is usually buttressed by reasons appealing to economic pragmatics. Similarly, translocation motivated by enmity is at least sometimes the precipitate of anxiety based on resource competition and contested claims to precedence in pasture access. The death of one's wife frequently marks the crisis of a general decline in economic well-being. It is often interpreted as an omen of disfavor among prevailing local deities and still worse fortune to come if one remains in the locality.

Relative ecosystem potential at any given time in each valley is primarily a function of appropriate pasture available and resident population and herd. Cultivation zones are of much less relevance because claims to them remain unchanged if translocation is within the community, or lapse in the higher localities where access is not competitive. I have emphasized that outside of slight seasonal alternations of over-all pasture capacity, the waylla available in each valley is sustained at a constant rate of pasture production by glacial groundwater. I furthermore stressed that the long term maintenance of the alpaca herds is very largely dependent on this. I have also argued that the resident population in the hamlets of each valley is in turn primarily dependent upon the alpaca herds pastured there. If relative habitat potential of each valley is indeed a prevailing determinant of translocation between valleys of the community, then on the basis of these conten-

tions the demographic processes in each wayq'o would be expected to equilibrate generally in proportion to the pasture locally available. Moves would tend to be made out of valleys where the herding potential was saturated, and into valleys where it was not. As many of the Q'eros' explanations indicate, saturation is perceived in terms of relative overpopulation or small and unhealthy family herds, and a more promising herding potential is perceived in terms of relative underpopulation or thriving herds.

Figure 4 depicts the relative proportion of pasture, herds, and population in each of the four major valleys of the community. I was able to accurately estimate areas of the scattered and irregular waylla pasture from aerial photographs covering two valleys, but very rough estimates have had to serve for the other two. Size of family herds is the most undependable information one can expect from the Q'eros, but my estimates for each valley are based on head-counts taken on repeated occasions in the early morning or late evening when the herds are concentrated in the vicinity of the hamlets.⁹ Total valley herd size is represented in Figure 4 between minimum and maximum number, taking into consideration varying counts and temporarily absent families, and including llamas (usually in a proportion of about 1:3 with alpacas). Population is expressed in terms of both number of conjugal families and total census. The former measure is probably more relevant, because a household may have numerous children too young to contribute to the herding effort and consequently be unable to raise or maintain a large herd due to dispersion of labor resources. On the other hand a household with grown children, especially with spouses, usually can promote a relatively large herd in virtue of its labor flexibility.

Correlation between the proportions of the four variables in each valley is substantial. It appears likely that covariation is usual, although intervening variables disrupt more complete equilibration. The proportion of avail-



able pasture in the two valleys accurately measured appears to somewhat exceed the proportion of herds feeding on it, but this disparity would be reduced if the estimates for the pasture of the other two valleys were deficient. This is likely to be the case, because my estimate was conservative regarding the waylla I located, and I probably missed many in the folds of the loma expanses. The proportion of population in each valley is also closely correlated with the proportion of herd there, although the disparities in this case are more difficult to reconcile.

Disparities evident in Map 8, however, tend to corroborate the disparities evident between population and herd size in Figure 4. The herd proportions in Yawarkancha and Chuwa Chuwa valleys seem to be large compared to the populations in each of these valleys, and translocation data for each valley indicate a slightly preponderant movement in for each case (4:3 in the former and 9:8 in the latter). On the other hand, in Qolpa Kuchu valley the proportion of population has apparently outstripped both the herd and the pasture available, and translocation data show a preponderant emigration by 2:1. In the case of Chuwa Chuwa, recent high child mortality and an apparently low fertility have resulted in a misleadingly low population proportion. The relatively numerous conjugal families there furthermore avail themselves of a large area of pasture to which they have no legal claim in the eyes of the state, and this fact probably helps to explain both the high proportion of herd there and the restraint of movement into this hamlet. In Yawarkancha the figures may slightly exaggerate the facts, because at least one immigrant family arranged for the use of pastures in the hacienda to the south while it was settled there. The situation in Qocha Moqo appears to be closer to the expected equilibrium.

Although recent frequencies represent a generation only now making such decisions of translocation and migration, it appears from Figure 3 that

trends may be of long duration, or may have reversed within the last few decades. Cases sufficiently clear to speculate upon are Qolpa K'uchu, where the preponderance of movement out has apparently been sustained for most of this century, and Qocha Moqo, where the presently apparent equilibrium may be only the result of a preponderant movement in before 1930 and a preponderant movement out thereafter. Although a large part of the emigration out of the community in this century originated in Qolpa K'uchu, much of it also came from the other valleys, while Qolpa K'uchu apparently dispersed its burgeoning population over these valleys as well. Some of the reasons for these differences in valley demographic processes are attributable to processes in kinship and affinity, and will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Although the disparities of translocation into and out of each valley habitat may be revealing, it is nevertheless clear that the greater part of translocation balances out, with many movements out of a habitat probably being matched by movements into it. Several family histories in translocational perspective clearly dovetail in this fashion. In such cases it may seem that relative herding potential of the habitat could have little to do with the translocations. But to the contrary, such a domino effect is likely to be the result when the location which one family deserts as unpromising is perceived by a second family as offering an opportunity, especially in view of the vacancy. Demographic imbalance is a relative matter and furthermore culturally interpreted; on the other hand, the carrying capacity of an ecosystem is rarely exhausted, but rather only more or less exploited relative to another locality (see Kelly 1968). The general tendency toward equilibration of pasture, herd, and population precludes the possibility that much translocation takes place without regard for these factors. The bases for assessment of relative habitat potential, however, are sufficiently ambiguous to account for oscillation rather than closer equilibration at

optimal habitat capacity. Inertia is undoubtedly a factor; the Q'eros are, after all, not really nomadic. As previously discussed, conscious motives for translocation include marriage opportunities, conviviality, and animosity, as well as elbow room and fertility of locale. The waylla pasture is apparently subject to no major fluctuations in production, but rather only to localized climaxes and slight seasonal insufficiencies; valley population apparently never suffers radical changes but rather only oscillation between relative depletion and saturation. Consequently, herd density in each valley is unlikely to fall very far short of available pasture for very long, and unexploited herding potential is perceived in terms of relatively prolific expansion of herds and relatively larger size of herds per resident family.

Wealth and good fortune are key subjects of native judgment, and reflect credit on the locality in which they are established. Although recent dis-occupancy in a valley implies declining habitat potential to one family relatively well-off where it is, it signals an opportunity to another family to improve its lot. Access to the reopened habitat is a jural right for any resident of the community. To the extent that residence can be established and developed without social or moral disadvantage, the disproportionately large or expanding herds of previous residents can be made to make room for another's ambitions. The next part of the study considers social organization in more detail, and it becomes apparent that some processes of family, kinship, and affinity are in harmony or disharmony appropriate to their situation in the ecosystem of the Q'ero valleys.

NOTES

1

Oscar Nuñez del Prado briefly outlined this strategy in the latter part of his second paper on the Q'eros (1968). This paper presents the material previously covered (1958) with interesting augmentation, and Nuñez del Prado's appreciation of the Q'eros' agricultural "nomadism" must be credited as one of the first examinations of an interzonal native economy. His data and mine, however, are not in agreement on several points.

2

Needless to say, this hypothetical reconstruction would not explain the current situation if patrilineal inheritance and patrilocal residence were the invariable rule, or even only infrequently contravened. The social mechanisms in the current process will be examined in Chapter 7.

3

Axes and sickles are very much in demand among the Q'eros for use in their struggle with the monte. I would not have been able to acquire fine examples of their weaving without carrying these items in for trade, as reasonable amounts of cash could not tempt the natives to part with them. The implications of this demand for cutting tools are the basically optimistic attitude maintained by the Q'eros despite the difficulties of maize cultivation, and their intention to expand and accelerate the rotation system for the sake of better yields. On the basis of pessimistic verbal reports on maize yield and problems with predators, Nuñez del Prado suspected that the Q'eros are on the verge of abandoning this effort. However, aerial photos taken in 1963 and the area cultivated in 1970 indicate no appreciable difference in extent, and almost the entire community participates in the effort currently. The Q'eros are prone to portray their situation pessimistically and oversimplified if asked general questions in a direct manner.

4

Escobar (1958:178) and Nuñez del Prado (1968:248) contend that the Q'eros practice infanticide to limit their families to five members, deemed supportable on their meager resources. On this matter I have no direct information, but never encountered any evidence that would support this contention. On the other hand, many facts render it doubtful. I have seen parents (poor as well as prosperous) struggle to restore health to a sick infant with several older siblings, and grieve profoundly at its death. Assistance of children in the household and the harried subsistence strategy is of great value to the parents, and it is a commonplace that numerous progeny lead to prosperity whereas infertility leads to poverty and demise. Large families are the object of respect, and old couples beyond childbearing age lament their infertility no matter how many children they have had. The children of poor parents may frequently die from complications of malnutrition, but this could not reasonably be considered infanticide. In 1970 I witnessed an epidemic, apparently of influenza complicated by bronchitis, which killed fifteen children and two adults in a few weeks. The Q'eros have clearly not yet overcome a vulnerability to such diseases. The occasionally reported 40-60% normal infant mortality rate probably leaves little reason to limit family size purposely.

5

With no evident change in native economy and immigration, and only limited change evident in the tribute economy, it seems unlikely that the local popu-

lation might increase 57% in fifteen years, and still less likely that any possible increase in birth rate could have so soon resulted in a 25% increase of conjugal families. Nuñez del Prado's figures are rendered somewhat questionable, moreover, by the contradictory report of his expedition colleague Escobar (211 inhabitants; 52 families-1958:170), presumably drawn from the same data gathered at the same time. The census was taken only through consultation with native leaders and is likely to have been subject to their numerous if innocent oversights.

6

Ancestral and most recent generations are very thinly represented in these figures, because of increasing genealogical obscurity in cases of generation 1 and 2, and still infrequent establishment of new conjugal households among the young of generation 5. Consequently no deductions of gross numbers can be made without assuming (circularly) some variables. My assumption is only that these thin data nevertheless fairly reflect relative proportions of moves in or out, male or female.

7

Escobar (1958:178) briefly describes the era of Benigno Yabar, a deacon of the Paucartambo church. I am dubious of the value of this recollection, likely to simply reflect a "good old times" attitude common to the folklore of many people, as well as a special effort to enlist the sympathies of the expedition against the current oppressive regime. The mythical well-being of this era may also be belied by Luis Yabar's report (1922) that only forty families (domestic groups?) populated the community in 1922. He also reports some fifty houses in the ritual center at this time. If these figures are accurate, they imply that some population florescence was even earlier, and a decline well underway at this time.

8

The total community ecosystem capacity cannot be considered so exclusively in terms of pasture, which appears to suffer no large changes in production. The oscillation of community population that I suggest might be responsive to some critical aspect of cultivation such as rotation. The build-up of population pressure might produce a general depression of native economy through the too frequent use of the various short cut compensatory strategies previously discussed. This question would be amenable to further research: investigation of recent and ancestral migration histories and recurrent production problems might reveal the basis of such patterns. I pursue my data no further than the intra-community aspect of translocation.

9

The Q'eros characteristically report only a fraction of their herd, or of any given harvest. They even deny ownership of a herd which is bedded down near their house and tended by their children. This is quite understandable if one appreciates the value of their herd to them, and the threatening role suspected of all outsiders. Nuñez del Prado's figures for the Q'ero herd animals in 1955 are widely at variance with my own in 1970, and insofar as such radical changes in fifteen years are both unlikely and without other evidence, this probably reflects such customary misinformation. His report tallies twice as many sheep, one-third more llamas, and less than one-half as many alpacas as mine. Nuñez del Prado certainly appreciated the equivocality of his data, which was derived from reports by native leaders who were probably quite trustful of him personally but saw no use to him of the information he

sought. It is interesting that the disparity of our figures is roughly proportional to the value of the animals: sheep, worth less than half as much as alpacas, were apparently reported in exaggerated quantity, and alpacas, keystone of the native economy, appear to have been reported only in part. The reduction by one-half was similar to what I generally received in verbal reports of alpaca head.

PART III

SOCIAL SYSTEM AND ECOSYSTEM

The Q'ero ecosystem is the setting of a social organization now clear in its broader outlines. In Part I of the study I briefly examined the encompassing ecosystem of the south Central Andes, in which the native community of Q'ero must be understood as accommodated in several respects to a plural society context with geographic, historical, and cultural dimensions. The second part focused on the local ecosystem. In this setting, more fundamental sectors of the community social organization are not merely accommodated to, but rather entirely integrated with, the habitat. Their form is defined by the physical, climatic, and biotic environment. In Steward's terms, the cultural core of settlement pattern, resources, and subsistence economy are closely adapted to the opportunities and limitations of the natural habitat. At this level of social organization in Q'ero, ecosystem and social system are two analytic aspects of one integral whole.

In many further respects, comprehension of the local ecosystem is prerequisite to understanding the community social organization. But as the outermost layers of social organization are penetrated by analysis, the community again appears less an ecosystematic reflex, and increasingly takes the form of a social system responding primarily to a cultural heritage and a social context. Implicit in the foregoing discussions is a social system which is adapted to the habitat through opposite structural tendencies. On the one hand, the ecosystem in general requires the fragmentation and dispersion of the community in space, and social organization is congruent with this requirement. Primary domiciles are separated into numerous isolated

hamlets and homesteads; subsistence requires continuous mobility, transhumance, and frequent translocation between hamlets; and all community reunions must be organized in a ritual center that is usually unoccupied. On the other hand, adaptation of the social organization to the habitat also clearly involves a countervailing tendency to cohere despite the centripetal influences of the ecosystem. The original coalescence of the community as an integral social organization was probably precipitated by the few aspects of the ecosystem which nevertheless tend to focus the population: the system of intervalley passes, the converging topography, and the increasingly restricted and isolated areas amenable to Andean tuber and maize cultivation. Expressions of this coherence are a shared political and ritual tradition socially separate from adjacent native communities, and prevalent exogamy between the constituent valleys of the community that reverses to prevalent endogamy at its borders. Congruence with the dominant divisive structure of the ecosystem obscures the community as a physical whole, but cohesion despite it thrusts the social system into a prominence perhaps not so clear in a less varied and extensive habitat.

Chapter 7

Family Organization and the Domestic Group

Seasonal cycle ritual in the family. The Q'eros distinguish between seasonal rituals for the whole community and those carried out independently by each family. The distinction is sometimes phrased as llagta puxllay ("village festival," i.e., in the ritual center) and wayq'o or p'amilla puxllay ("family festival"), and the separate locations are assumed in the meaning. Both rituals are frequently recognized to serve the function of bringing the community together (huñuchikuyku - "causes us (exclusive plural) to reunite ourselves"), as families or as a whole. Both kinds of ritual promote extraordinary gatherings, because the community and the family are normally dispersed in the subsistence strategy, and even the pragmatic reunions necessitated for cultivation of the lower tuber crops and maize enable only fragmentary socializing between the scattered work groups. Furthermore, whereas the festivals in the ritual center are the scene of wide reunion among kin and affines, only the family rituals in the hamlets can be attended by the entire family without exception, because care of the herd can be concurrent and no member need be excluded for this purpose. Here the three ritual moments of the annual cycle display and reconfirm, for the family itself and for the other members of the hamlet, the constituency of the household. This is at no other time clearly visible to the onlooker.

All three family rituals in the annual cycle are organized around exhortations, of fertility of the herd in two instances, and of safe and expedient conduct of the recently dead to the afterworld, in the last case. These are P'alchasqa (alpacas' fertility), Axata Uxuchichis (llamas' fertility), and Santus or Almata Manasqa ("All Saints" or "petitioning of the spirits"), res-

pectively. All of these rituals have become sybcretized with celebrations of the Colonial and contemporary Catholic calendar, but predominant aspects are distinguishable which apparently have no antecedents in this exogenous influence. The structure of the Almata Mañasqa ritual will be considered in later contexts; the fertility rituals best adumbrate the family as a herding household.

Both P'alchasqa and Axata Uxuchichis occur at crucial interfaces of the cultivation cycle, the former soon after the planting of maize and just before the harvest of Andean tubers begins, and the latter just after the maize harvest and before the planting of Andean tubers begins (Figure 2). Concern with crop fertility is consequently an undercurrent in both rituals, with special regard to first fruits of the tubers in P'alchasqa and the completed maize harvest in Axata Uxuchichis. But the predominant symbolism in both, as well as the native explanations, are directly concerned with the family herd. P'alchasqa ("flowered," denoting the casting of the lovely scarlet and yellow high altitude p'alcha blossoms at the alpacas) is "our saluting of the alpacas" (pagochataqa napanakuyku). The ritual is woven with exhortations and ablutions made in behalf of the alpaca herd, and a special song named after the ritual. It precedes the onset of the rutting season, and copulation among the herd may even be interrupted if the ritual is not completed. It also coincides with the season of births in the herd, and with the completion of the phases of shearing and the dyeing, spinning, and weaving of fresh new clothing from part of the wool. This intensive symbolism of renewal is continuous with the ritual initiated in the community feast of Chayampuy the previous week, in which the earliest harvest of potatoes and the rejuvenation of community leadership is celebrated. The implicit theme of renewal continues through Carnival, the community festival immediately succeeding P'alchasqa.

In the case of Axata Uxuchichis ("our causing to drink maize beer," i.e., denoting the force-feeding of axa to the male llamas), the celebration of the maize harvest is completely integrated with the exhortation of llama fertility. The triumphant completion of the difficult transport of maize from the monte to the hamlets nearly 7,000' above is perceived as a demonstration of the potency of the male llamas, and a special opportunity to promote the fertility of this part of the herd. This done through exhortations and ablutions comparable to those of P'alchasqa, but involving a special song (machu llamata - "to the mature male llama"), decoration of the male llamas (orqota munaychachishanku - "the male is being made beautiful"), and sharing with them the ritual drink axa, fruit of their joint labors. Wiyk'intu, the large high altitude gentian in bloom at this time of year, and the velvety p'uña leaves also gathered in the high passes, are cast affectionately at the llama herd, just as the p'alcha blossoms are used for the alpaca in the earlier ritual.

The form of both herd fertility rituals is similar. Stages of preparation (allichay - "making right") exhortation (variously k'intusqa - a burned offering; rimakuy - "talking;" watuy - "divining"), salutation (napanakuy), and a denouement (ch'akiypariychis - "our final drying out," i.e., finishing the pots of maize beer and cooked food) proceed in sequence. The family gathers and makes the necessary arrangements; together establishes contact with the extraordinary powers, entreating their assistance; carries their procedures directly to the family herd; and finally returns to the household to celebrate and repeat key ablutions until no food or axa are left. The procedure is intended to reestablish rapport between the components of a triad comprised of family, herd, and a pantheon of extraordinary powers that affect the well-being of both. A failure to carry out the ritual properly can cause

the demise of the herd and ill health or death in the family. In P'alchasqa the basic form is sequential in the duration of a single day, and concurrent for all families, because it must immediately precede the descent of the family to the ritual center for the community festival of Carnival. Axata Uxuchichis is carried out any time between late July and October that is most convenient for the family. Delays beyond the end of the maize harvest are frequent because the family is faced with the pressing necessities of tuber planting, transport of fertilizer and yapuy, and the cutting of heavy timber in the monte. When the ritual is finally begun, the stages of its development may extend intermittently over several days but nevertheless tend to conform to the same sequence.

The preparatory stage is initiated by convergence of all household members on the house and corral complex of the senior male, who organizes the group for the ritual by informally assigning duties. His wife and other senior members are active in these preliminaries as well. P'alchasqa, because it is concurrent for all families of Q'ero, involves most clearly the household as a corporate group, gathered about central symbols of household solidarity. Axata Uxuchichis on the other hand, because it need not occur on a certain day, may involve a variety of relatives and friends who have no claim to these symbols, and have already carried out or have yet to carry out a separate ritual in their own household. This is especially the case with wealthy Q'eros, who make a more public occasion of their Axata Uxuchichis. However, the corporate household is evident in both rituals, distinguished by a clear shared claim or interest in a herd jointly cared for, and in ritual components that are focused on the well-being of the herd at this time. These components are evident in the assemblage that accumulates during preparation in the middle of the floor of the senior house. This assemblage usually includes a waylla ch'ampa (a rectangle of sod cut from pasture near-

by), p"ukucha and wallaga of coca (skin and woven bags for holding coca leaves), pololu or q'ero (gourds or carved goblets for drinking axa), and togana, palawata, or pingollu (varieties of vertical cane flutes). Also in the assemblage for P"alchasqa is a cloth full of p"alcha blossoms gathered by the children in the high passes. In Ahata Uxuchichis this component is replaced by clumps of brightly dyed alpaca wool, puskero (spindles), and q'urunta (maize cobs), with which the pendants that decorate the male llamas' ears are spun, braided, and wrapped until use. Blossoms and leaves of wiyk'untu and p"uña may also be present. All of these items are located on a misa, a spread-out sack of woven llama wool with a banded pattern of alternate whites and browns.¹ The household gathers around these items and reads pendants or blossoms, prepared and cooks food, and chews coca leaf; meanwhile the maize beer, which has been prepared in a process involving several days, ferments in one or more large urpu pots.

Exhortation follows by midmorning in P"alchasqa, but often a day or so later in Axata Uxuchichis, and is intended to convene the attentions of and lay petitions before several powers which affect the well-being of herd and family. Awki are local deities of varying power and personality identified with high ground in the vicinity, and whose attention is convened (as in curing, divining, and other rituals concerned with them) by the burning of a k'intusqa (p.105) in the house. K"uya (p.104) are spirit powers usually specifically concerned with the herd animals, embodied in small stones inherited from ancestors encountered on the high flanks of mountains. These are kept wrapped in an old cloth and concealed in the house or storage hut, and at climactic points in the ritual are taken out and placed on the verdant piece of sod. Special k'intusqa are burned for these spirit powers, composed of a ritually pure high altitude grass and native grains (pupusa and tarwi, cf. pp.111,114) saved for this occasion. T'inka, libations of

axa or alcohol (sometimes called ch'uyay, denoting the use of settled axa), are also made directly on the stones or into small holes in their surface. T'inka are also made upon the portion of pasture sod, representing the bountiful alpine sustenance of the herd transposed to the profane and sullied earth of the house floor. In the denouement of the ritual the rectangular sod is returned to the pasture from which it was taken.

Throughout these ablutions, carried out by the senior male, the attention of the entire household is fixed on the assemblage of symbols. Pauses and delays are frequent, and just as in the preparatory phase, adult household members gather casually about their coca bags for a hallpay, or social chew. The bags are normally carried in the waistband of each adult, but during the ritual their central location on the floor serves frequently to focus exchange by promoting general recesses and conversation. An extra wal-lega of coca accompanies the other bags, and is left for the awki throughout the ritual, by now convened with the family. The flutes are played singly and together, and the appropriate song is sung, usually by several female members in harmonious counterpoint (Cohen 1966). The music serves also to gain the attention and favor of the several powers invoked. Petitions regarding the future of the herd and the family accompany each k'in-tusqa and t'inka, as well as the p"ukukuy, routine wafting and blowing of a select group of coca leaves before they are inserted in the mouth. Drinking of the mature axa proceeds, accompanied by libations on the waylla ch'ampa, and t'inka samasqa ("libation's resting"), petitions spoken into the gourds or goblets emptied of the maize beer.

In the napanakuy (salutation), the propitious forces are carried directly to the herd which is usually corralled for the occasion. Corralling is preferably on a high knoll, apparently identified with a local awki. In P"al-chasqa the entire household approaches the herd slowly, t'akispa tukuspapis

("while singing and dancing"), and gently throws the blossoms on the alpaca "so that their young may be as numerous and as lovely." A k'intusqa is usually burned in the corral, and the smoke is wafted among the animals. In Ahata Uxuchichis, the male llamas are grasped and held in control while pendants are pierced through the ears and bottles of axa are emptied down the animal's throat. The decoration and gorging with maize beer is extensive with the llamas termed kamichikuh (leader, or "the one who causes things to be done"), qollana ("exemplar"), and k'uya wiñah ("one grown by the k'uya stone"). Napanakuy may be repeated during the development of the ritual, and a few animals of nearby relatives in separate households may be grabbed and saluted similarly as those of the family herd. This is done, however, in a conscious spirit of mutual exchange and well-wishing, because herds and households are distinct and separate responsibility is clear. Finally, exhortation and salutation is relaxed, and the household indulges in ch'akiy-pariychis, unrestrained eating and drinking until none of the preparations remain, a process that may involve two or three days more in the case of wealthy families.

A review of the evidence and comparison with the scant data available on contemporary Andean herding ritual (Nachtigall 1966b; Nuñez del Prado, O., 1968; Nuñez del Prado, J., 1970; Custred 1971) suggests that Q'ero has developed a distinctive regional expression of more widespread Andean patterns. Like other Andean patterns aboriginal components are closely syncretized with Catholic symbolism, but Q'ero appears to have retained a native emphasis.² Nachtigall's careful study of rituals in Moquegua (1966b) concludes that Pan-Andean herding ritual is based fundamentally on agrarian symbolism, indicating that pastoralism never played a dominant or independent role in Andean economy. The family rituals still carried out in Q'ero seem to suggest that, to the contrary, herding symbolism may be the primary focus and conscious con-

cern of some native rituals. These include central symbolic representations of the pasture niche on which family and herd are dependent, and are concerned to re-establish harmony between the family, its herd, and the extraordinary powers which sustain the well-being of both. On the other hand, although agrarian symbolism is not so salient, the integral nature of the two enterprises in Q'ero is manifest in the seasonal timing and formal congruence of these celebrations with community rituals concerning harvest and renewal.

Structure and variations in the domestic group. The ritual moments described above best expose the constituency of a household, or domestic group, normally dispersed in the subsistence strategy. Grouping with regard to routine domestic functions appears rather fluid in Q'ero, and analysis is not assisted by native terminology, which tends to be particularistic or casually descriptive in this domain. Pressing to discover clearer native terminology for family and kingroup, I was able only to reveal ambiguously plastic use of the word p'amilla (Familia - Spanish: "family") and irritation at my dissatisfaction with this word, which is Quechua as far as the Q'eros are concerned. General terms employed in dictionaries or Andean ethnography such as ayllu (variously translated as family, kingroup, place, community, etc., cf. Chapter 4, footnote 3) and yawarmasi ("blood-sharer") were either apprehended as strange usage, or accepted with an alacrity and inconsistency that betrayed their inappropriateness, at least in the contexts which arose in these discussions. As far as I could determine, the only general native terms used were wasimasi ("house sharer" or "neighbor"), purihmasi ("walk-sharer" or "companion"), llaqtamasi ("place-sharer" or "citizen"), and other descriptives with such flexible meaning depending on context that they were not useful for analysis of the domestic group or kingroup. The term p'amilla

is also used loosely to apply to any group sharing ties of kinship or affinity, or to any individual with whom such bonds are shared, and is metaphorically extended to groups and individuals with whom one momentarily wishes to associate on such terms.

Within this wide and dispersed array of persons, observation and accounting of routine activity detects more exclusive groupings based on relatively more extensive social and economic interdependence. The term kuska (also kushka, "together") was sometimes used loosely to designate such a grouping. These bonds of interdependence are of course manifold among members of the monogamous conjugal family, the basic unit of social organization in Q'ero. But a much more pivotal analytic grouping is a domestic group which usually involves one to several conjugal families, or lesser social fragments, organized always by actual or expressed ties of kinship and affinity. Bonds of interdependence are only somewhat less intensive than in the conjugal family itself. This domestic group is a household in the economic sense, but may operate out of several tiyana wasikuna ("living houses"). The houses included in the organization are usually close to one another, at most within a moment's walk, and never in separate valleys. The parameters of interaction which define the domestic group lessen considerably in intensity and jural priority, but do not change qualitatively, among the wider circle of kin and affines. Any of these may on occasion be temporarily recruited to act as part of the household. Furthermore, the domestic group is not constant in structure, but continually loses segments into the wider organization of relatives, or gains segments from this group.

The domestic group is the basic corporate group of the community, most apparent in the rituals discussed above. Its members normally share in the fulfillment of labor and food needs, and usually cook and eat together as well. Herding responsibilities are rotated within this group, and the parts

of a slaughter are shared among it; cultivation tasks are undertaken jointly, and harvests are divided among the same group. Whether in the hamlet or encamped elsewhere in the community, cooking tasks are rotated among members of the domestic group not occupied in priority labor, frequently but not always females, elders, or children. Eating of the main daily meals occurs together in the earliest hours before dawn or the latest hours before sleep. On these occasions all members of the domestic group not occupied elsewhere in the community encircle one hearth, usually that of the senior conjugal family. On the other hand, although the joint herd of the domestic group is pastured together by one of its members, it may be jurally divided into identifiable components belonging to constituent members. Similarly, the warq"iy cultivated jointly by the domestic group may be jurally distinguished into separately owned components. These nominal rights to components of the herd and land of the domestic group may be held by individual members, male or female, but are more usually held by constituent conjugal families. The distinction of these claims from those of the inclusive domestic group, however, is a function of social recognition rather than actual patterns in behavior and the environment.

Within the conjugal family, claim to the herd or land component is usually undivided jurally as well as in practical routine. This still more intensive level of social and economic union may be relected in household arrangements, which might include a separate domicile or storehouse. Although the subgroup will usually sleep separately if it has a separate domicile, separate cooking and eating there is not frequent. Furthermore, although the subgroup's share of the joint harvest may be stored separately in its storehouse, its claim to this share is not exclusive of the rest of the domestic group, in virtue of the fact that it is the product of their joint effort in cultivation and transport. On the other hand, non-consumable property kept

in a separate storehouse of the subgroup, such as wool from its herd component, tools, or purchased items may be exclusively owned by its members, and items such as weavings or other clothing, and private purchases, may be owned by individuals. The hamlet houses insofar as built or definitively inherited by the subgroup, are also its exclusive property. A herd or land component socially recognized as separate, and a separate domicile or storehouse, are measures of limited social and economic independence within the domestic group. Primary claim to a feast house in the ritual center, however, is rarely maintained by any subgroup, but only by the domestic group itself.

Distinguishing the domestic group from other such groups in the wider circle of relatives and non-relatives of the community is: (1) jural sovereignty prior to any other grouping, in routine situations; (2) sharing of labor and food needs without special arrangement (such as in response to unusual difficulties or community feast); (3) commensality rather than patterns of visiting and hospitality; (4) independent ownership and management of separate herds; and (5) independent ownership and cultivation of separate war-q"iy (domestic group plots). Domestic groups also usually maintain exclusive claim to separate feast houses in the ritual center, and in the hamlets there is frequently considerable distance between their domiciles and those of other domestic groups.

The domestic group is the basic corporate group in terms of authority as well as property. The structure of authority is centralized in the role of the senior member of the domestic group (kamachikuh - "he who causes it to be done"), usually its elder male, whose jurisdiction includes all routine matters such as labor allocation and subsistence strategy, division of slaughter and harvest, marriage arrangements and residence of members, division and inheritance of joint property in herd, land, or houses, and fault and sanc-

tion. Routine decision making is shared among all senior members of the domestic group, (usually both spouses of its constituent conjugal families), but its leader is vested with paramount authority. Resolution of such routine matters is also considered no concern of other domestic groups of the wider circle of relatives, nor of the community political system. The central authority of the domestic group leader is based on numerous factors including seniority power, and influence, but also includes superordinate ritual skills and responsibilities. These are manifested in routine divining and curing and in the family and community rituals. In the herd fertility celebrations the corporate property of the domestic group is symbolized in the ritual assemblage, in the central domicile and corral, and in the ablutions and exhortations executed in this setting, all under the direct control of its leader. The festival house in the ritual center is maintained by most domestic groups and in community rituals is exclusively controlled by their leaders. The festival house symbolizes, to the community at large, the domestic group that operates it. In the more fluid organization of power and prestige integrating the community, paramount authority in a domestic group is the basis of a leader's reputation and also of his ability to change it for better or for worse. Community prestige of subordinate leaders within a domestic group, on the other hand, is primarily a function of their membership. Their initiatives tend to be credited to the paramount authority, whether leading to improvement or demise of the influence of the group. Finally, processes of role development of domestic group members are carried out primarily in rituals of status elevation under the direction of the domestic group leader.

Using these parameters of social, economic, and ritual interaction I was able to discern fifty-two domestic groups organized in arbitrary, because the domestic group is not rigidly defined at any moment and continu-

ally subject to change as well. Extrapolating from the data discussed in Part II, the community population can be judged to vacillate, at least through the last several decades, between about forty-five and fifty-five domestic groups. Of the fifty-two domestic groups which I accounted in 1970, twenty-seven were ambiguous enough to consider as marginal cases, with evidence implying either a tendency toward fission (14) or toward coalescence with other such groups (13). Furthermore, my information was largely impressionistic, although based on observation and information regarding all families and generally adequate to the problem. Based on the estimate of fifty-two domestic groups and special consideration of marginal cases, structural representations of all Q'ero families were tallied using the notation devised by Romney (see Buchler and Selby 1968:48,289). These in turn were reduced to what appeared to be, upon analysis, the most frequent and important components of domestic group structure; these condensed data are reported in Figure 5.

The most fundamental component of the domestic group structure is the conjugal bond (=), present at least once in all cases, and frequently multiple, rendering the domestic group an extended family either lineally or collaterally. In all domestic groups there were a total of eighty-five closed conjugal bonds (i.e., both spouses alive and cohabiting), distributed so that twenty-three domestic groups (44%) are extended families. In the opinion of the Q'eros, conjugal status is the prelude to adulthood and prerequisite to any degree of economic independence, and a developed family based upon it is necessary for social and economic development in the community. Divorce is exceedingly rare and apparently occurs only between young couples without children. The social and economic role of the spouse is so crucial to status development and maintenance that only a very few elders, mainly widows, remain unsuccessful or uninterested in remarriage. If an elder widow

=	-	conjugal bond	A-	male authority - virilocal	M, n - retired elder male, female	(ⁿ) last child of n offspring
o	-	sibling (in order of birth)	E-	male authority - matrilocal	J, k - subordinate male, female	(^y) - senior child of n "
+	-	ascending generation	b-	wife or widow of	m, N - spouses of subordinate male, female	
-	-	descending generation	Y, y	deceased male, female	L - junior male sibling of "	" "
a	-	male or female	X, x	nonresident "	p - wife of "	" "

Fig 5: Domestic group structure - component frequency and distribution

or widower remains unmarried, this is tantamount to delegating a position of central authority in practical matters and becoming a dependent in the domestic group. Remarriage is virtually always between a widow and widower of comparable age and consequently between adults whose roles in the community are incomplete apart and complementary together. This is considered only appropriate, and the few exceptions to this rule (3) are significantly between widows and previously unmarried men of low status, lowest in the cases of the older widows.³ Of the eighty-five closed conjugal bonds, at least thirteen (15%) represent remarriage of a widow and widower. On the other hand, the mortality rate among spouses is sufficiently high to maintain a considerable proportion of unremarried widows (13) and even widowers (8). Several of these are young and in a merely transitory status. Economic retirement or difficulty of finding a mate complementary in social role and not excluded by consanguinity account for most of the elders remaining in this position. However, the numerical disparity between unremarried males and females reflects the greater motivation of males to continue paramount social and economic role.

The proportion of domestic groups including more than one closed conjugal bond is substantial (44%) and warrants special attention.⁴ Furthermore, if open conjugal bonds (i.e., deceased or absent spouses, regardless of remarriage) are considered, about half of the twenty-nine domestic groups with only one closed conjugal bond are extended in this sense. The Q'eros continue frequent interaction with affinal relations sustained through open conjugal bonds, if not stigmatized by divorce or culpably premature death, and consequently the function of these ties is analogous and only somewhat less important in the social organization. From this point of view only twelve of the fifty-two domestic groups in the community (23%) are completely unextended beyond a single basic conjugal bond. Of these twelve minimal domes-

tic groups, nine are among the poorest and least influential families in the community; the other three are not accounted such low status and manifest only limited independence from other domestic groups.⁵ With only one exception, all the other families of extremely limited resources are domestic groups extended only by an open conjugal bond. (The exception has acquired an in-law from outside the community who is accounted a waxcha or "orphan" and said to be even poorer than the family into which he has married.) Four of the permanent homesteads earlier discussed (p.164) and concluded to be marginal in the ecosystem and native economy are occupied by completely unextended families, and the balance are occupied by families extended only by an open conjugal bond. On the other hand, all of the families accounted by the community as rich and influential are domestic groups extended by one or more closed conjugal bonds. (One moderately wealthy family is extended by only a widow, but close cooperation between her and her father's brother's son effectively extends this domestic group in its subsistence strategy activities.) This high correlation between relative wealth and the multiplication of conjugal bonds in the domestic group is not in itself surprising, but its causes and effects are worth closer examination.

The frequency of closed conjugal bonds is not evenly distributed throughout the community area with regard to domestic groups. Expressed in terms of conjugal bonds per domestic group, the average degree of extension declines from a highest ratio in Chuwa Chuwa (2.33 closed bonds per domestic group) to a lowest ratio in Qocha Moqo (1.38). Regarding the other two valleys, Yawarkancha/Qolpa Pampa has a relatively high ratio (1.62) and Qolpa K'uchu nearly the lowest (1.47). This disproportional distribution of conjugal bonds reflects the ecosystematic relationship between the demography, herds, and available pasture of each valley discussed in Part II (177ff; Figure 4). The highest ratios of multiplication of the conjugal

bond in the domestic group appear in the valleys having the least fully exploited herd potentials, judging from the disproportionately large fraction of herd sustained and the slight preponderance of immigration (Chuwa Chuwa, 2.33, and Yawarkancha/Qolpa Pampa, 1.62). The valley with the most saturated herding potential, and a steady preponderance of emigration, has nearly the lowest ratio of conjugal bonds (Qolpa K'uchu, 1.47). Furthermore, among the several hamlets scattered in this valley, the ratio of family extension radically declines from the hamlet with optimal access to waylla pasture (T"antana, 1.8) through those with moderate access to such pasture (Chawpi Pununa and Putu Mayu, 1.66) to those with least access to such pasture (Ch'arkapata and Machay Pampa, 1.12). The valley with the lowest overall ratio of conjugal bonds per domestic group (Qocha Moqo, 1.38), appeared to be closest to demographic equilibrium; but it was also noted that migration, although preponderantly inward during this century, has manifested a recent trend toward emigration. The reasons for this are probably sociological and not yet reflected in ecological disproportions; they will be discussed in the following chapter.

In the previous discussion (Chapter 6), an explanation of preponderant patterns of translocation implicated altering strategies of subsistence responding to relative herding potentials of the several valleys. Families resident in valleys judged to have currently favorable herding conditions emphasize this enterprise in their subsistence strategy, whereas those resident in valleys with saturated herding potential seek to relieve the attendant strains by moving to a more favorable location, or occasionally, shifting emphasis away from herding and accepting the consequent decline of economic and social status. Emphasis on herding is optimized in large families of adults and grown children because the routine pasturing and supervision role can be rotated widely among the members, leaving the rest of the family

available for sustained and maximum attention to cultivation and other herd care requirements. As far as the Q'eros are concerned, the most usual reason for poverty in general and lack of success in herding in particular, aside from an infertile or unpromising household location, is a paucity of family members sufficiently mature (6-10 years old) to pasture and supervise the herd alone. Conversely, children who can fulfill this role are considered the prerequisite of a family's achievement of economic independence. By the same token, from the point of view of the leader of an extended family with ample resources, his best interest lies in the expansion and continued cooperation of the domestic group in the subsistence strategy. If emphasis on herding is successful in a habitat currently favorable to it, returns are more than doubled because increase in herd size requires no additional labor investment for pasturing and supervision (up to about fifty head, a herd of moderate wealth in Q'ero). Yet wealth is increased in direct proportion to the size of the herd and a still greater rate of reproduction is promoted. A similar point of view motivates subordinate conjugal couples to remain operating in the domestic group with access to a favorable herding locality. Although autonomy and prestige in this situation are limited, the development and maintenance of herd and land portions allocated toward eventual inheritance is greatly facilitated.

Wealth and power based on economic success furthermore wields the advantage in marriage arrangements, whereby the domestic group tends to be augmented by spouses and occasionally by portions of land or herds which accompany spouses as allocated inheritance. Success with one's herd and ample land are invariably concomitants according to the Q'eros. On the other hand, a fatefully dwindling herd, or the local strains on hamlet social relations which portend this problem, deters augmentation of the domestic group, encouraging departure rather than addition of new spouses. The dwindling herd increas-

ingly becomes a poor labor investment in a family with limited labor resources, just as a growing herd is increasingly a propitious investment. In such a situation some divided inheritance among departed offspring nevertheless tends to disperse holdings, and the remainder can be efficiently cultivated by only a limited number of family members.

It appears that these divergent tendencies in subsistence strategy, responding primarily to local herding success or failure, are an important basis for the disproportional distribution of conjugal bonds among the domestic groups in the several valleys. Greater herding potential, multiplication of conjugal bonds, and wealth are closely covariant with one another, even in the seriated habitat of Qolpa K'uchu. The largely synchronic data on which my conclusions are based could conceivably admit a different causal relationship than that which I have assumed. For example, disproportionately large valley herds may be primarily a result of the increased herding efficiency of larger domestic groups, rather than vice versa. However, it seems unlikely that domestic group size and total valley population could be primary causes, rather than results, in their interrelationship with herd and pasture. The great differences in the extent of pasture in each valley, and the distribution of herd and population in general proportion to these differences (Figure 4), appears to preclude this possibility.

Domestic group structures manifest important component patterns in addition to those associated with the fundamental conjugal bond. Most of the more important components in domestic group structure can be preserved for graphic representation by ranging superordinate generations against subordinate generations in a rectangular matrix (Figure 5). It must be borne in mind that this is only an expedient, obscuring, for example, some lesser authority relationships within each division. However, this arrangement of

forms most clearly reveals varying patterns of the conjugal bond, sibling-hood, and filiation. Reduction of infrequent and intuitively minor forms to more inclusive expressions, and rearrangement of the resulting forms on rough descending order of frequency, produce an array of components which can be productively analyzed.

Some further generalizations can be derived from this data regarding the conjugal bond. First of all, the frequencies of unambiguous forms in the superordinate generations (columns 1-20) break down into thirty-five instances (68% - columns 1,2,5,6) each of which represents a single closed conjugal bond; six instances (12% - columns 7-9) each of which represents at least two closed conjugal bonds joined by siblings; and ten instances (20% - columns 13-20) each of which represents a single closed conjugal bond joined in the ascending generation to an open conjugal bond (i.e., a parent deceased and the other unremarried). If alternate or ambiguous instances are considered, the proportion of domestic groups with two or more conjugal bonds connected by siblings in the superordinate generation would be somewhat increased. In subordinate generations (rows 1'-11'), the frequencies of unambiguous forms break down into twenty-two instances (42% - row 1') with resident offspring but no conjugal bonds developed; fifteen instances (29% - rows 2' and 3') with resident offspring one of which is married; and fifteen instances (29% - rows 4' - 10') with two or more offspring in established conjugal bonds, one or two of which remain resident. In most of the latter class (4' - 10') at least one of the resident conjugal couples has produced a succeeding generation of children.

A further implication of the distribution of frequencies in the matrix is that domestic groups which are extended in their superordinate aspect tend not to be in their subordinate aspect, and vice versa; this is represented in the relative vacancy of the lower right quadrant. This distribution is en-

tailed in the fact that no more than three generations are usually represented in the domestic group. Consequently, where two generations are superordinate the subordinate one will usually be immature, and where two or more siblings of the subordinate generation are in established conjugal families they will rarely have surviving grandparents. The paucity of conjugal bonds in the subordinate generation of the domestic groups headed by two or more siblings and their families (columns 7-9) reflects the fact that such senior collaterals are generally not past middle age. Some of the previously discussed implications of deceased spouse and remarriage are also reflected in the matrix: the locus of paramount authority in the superordinate generations remains with the senior conjugal bond in ten to fifteen instances of remarriage after death of spouses (columns 5-6), but in ten or more instances where there has been no remarriage (columns 3-4, 14-17), authority has been retained in less than half the cases. Maintenance of paramount authority under both conditions is clearly most frequent with widowers (columns 5,3).

One further tendency with particularly important implications is apparent in the distribution and frequency of domestic group forms. In fifty instances of the superordinate generation forms there are thirty-eight cases of exclusively virilocal residence but twelve unambiguous cases including matrilocal marriage. That is to say, at least 24% of the domestic groups include at least one marriage settled permanently in a residence originating from the wife's side of the family and occupying or succeeding to the dominant role in the wife's natal domestic group. This is in contrast to the 76% settled in a residence originating in the husband's side of the family or built anew by him. This proportion increases to 30% (9:21) in the subordinate generations of the domestic groups, and may be as high as 42% if ambiguous, alternate, and duplicate forms are considered.

Although there is no obvious stigma attached to matrilocality in Q'ero, patrilocal or virilocal residence is enjoined by the general marriage residence rule, and usually preferred. Insofar as information is available, these latter norms tend to be stronger and more fully realized in other Andean communities.⁶ The census data from Q'ero furnishes more quantitative information and confirms the relatively high proportion of matrilocal marriages. This includes thirty-five confirmed instances of matrilocal marriage, and eighty-six instances of virilocal marriage (of which forty-two are patrilocal). Judging from the matrix data (which discriminates between successive generations), this 29% matrilocality can be taken as the mean of this residence choice. The figure mediates between early matrilocal choices which are probably even more frequent, and final residence options, in which the frequency of matrilocality is probably decreased by some shift to a new virilocal residence upon establishing economic independence from the father-in-law.

Closer examination of the matrilocal forms in the matrix supports this interpretation. In the subordinate generation the highest frequency of matrilocality is associated with younger unmarried siblings (row 3'). However, it is never associated with older resident brothers-in-law of the matrilocal (row 4'). Status derived from a prior marriage to a senior sister apparently encourages some maintenance of matrilocality, even when her younger brother marries patrilocally (row 6'); matrilocal marriage to a younger sister occurs if her older brother has himself married matrilocally elsewhere (row 10'). Although in low frequencies, the distribution of these forms nevertheless demonstrates that the status of a matrilocally married male is subject to pressures tolerable only in certain contexts. Furthermore these favorable contexts appear to become increasingly restricted as the domestic group matures. In the superordinate generation

matrilocal conjugal bonds are almost confined to situations where no other conjugal bond is associated (column 2). Outside of this context it is sustained only where the surviving parent-in-law is the mother of the wife, but not when it is the father of the wife (columns 16 - 17), and in only one instance where a younger brother-in-law has married patrilocally (column 8).

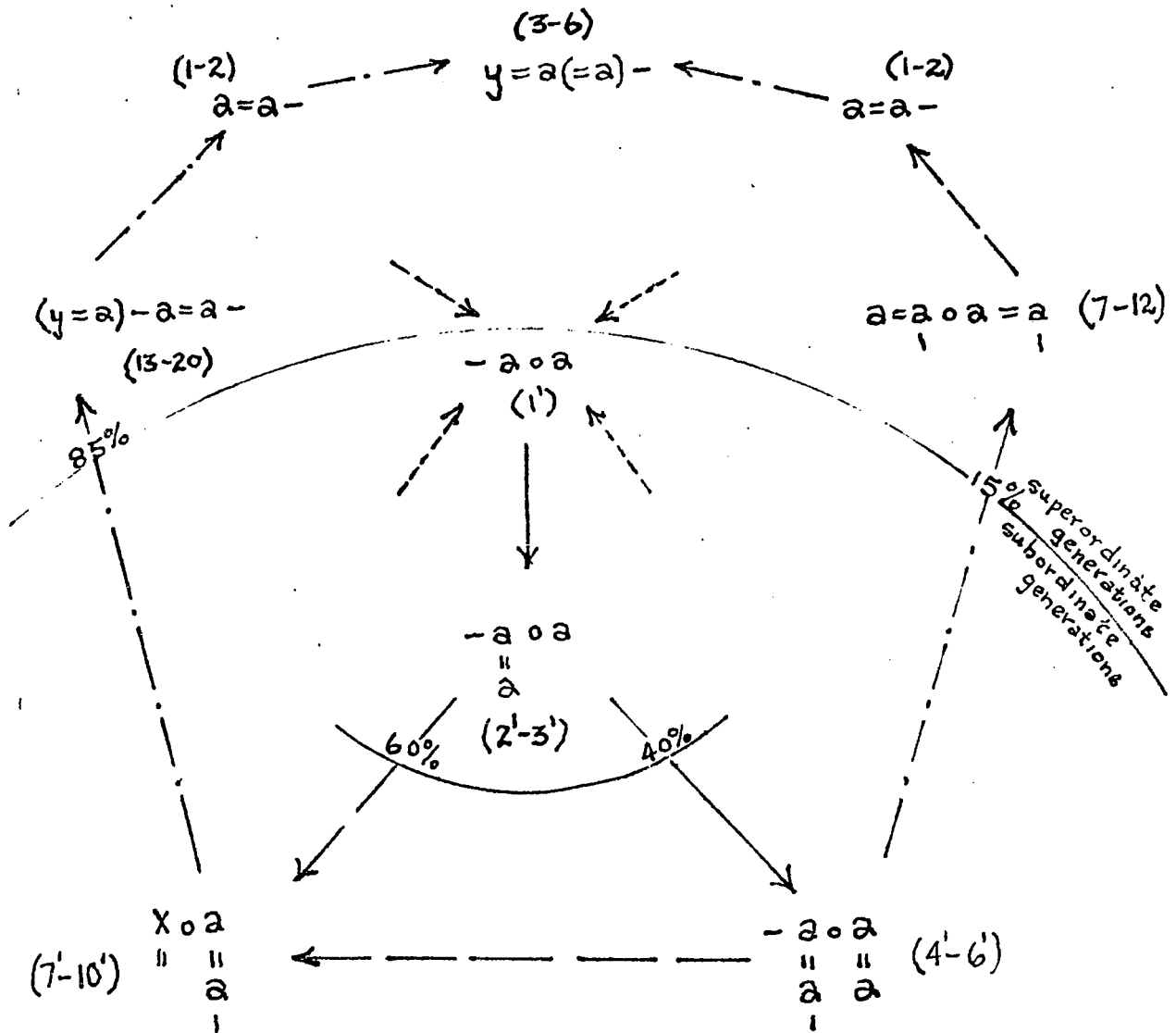
This latter case of matrilocal marriage is a counterexample which in fact confirms some of the principles discussed above, as well as revealing several other variables. The domestic group is nominally headed by a crippled widow whose husband died in maturity, but practical authority in fact falls to her matrilocally residing son-in-law. He is an orphan but married into the family fully a decade ago with the only claim to land now available to it. (Consequently the domestic group has an alternate form in column 16.) A younger brother-in-law of the male head of the family has recently married and tends to operate with his natal domestic group, accepting in his subordination the social and economic seniority, even "fatherhood," of his much older brother-in-law. It appears, however, that this situation will eventually be resolved in the direction of two independent instances of the matrilocal domestic group (column 2). The younger brother-in-law favors an opportunity to consolidate his services to his wife's father by taking up permanent residence with him, because there are no sons, even junior ones, to impede his eventual succession to paramount authority of this established household. In his own domestic group, on the other hand, his chances of ever doing this are impeded by both a young "father" and a younger brother.

Several of the factors which operate in the dynamics of the domestic group have surfaced in this last discussion. Before more closely examining these principles and their operation in developmental cycles, further rudiments of this process can be extrapolated from the domestic group matrix.

These extrapolations tend to be confirmed in a review of most family histories in the genealogical data. Strictly speaking, no developmental stages at all are depicted in the matrix (being derived from a synchronic census), but parts of each series more or less clearly represent successive, or alternative, major forms of domestic group development. These have been depicted in Figure 6.

In the broader perspective now established, the series of expressions representing the superordinate generations appears to reflect most generally the dominance, demise, and reconstruction of the central conjugal bond of the domestic group (columns 1-6); its collateral replication through siblings (columns 7-12); or its replacement in a succeeding generation (columns 13-20). Similarly, the series of expressions representing the subordinate generations appears to reflect most generally descendent siblings, either yet without conjugal ties (row 1'); co-resident with one (rows 2'-3') and finally two or more (rows 4'-6') siblings established in a constituent conjugal family; or with only the junior or a senior sibling remaining resident in a constituent conjugal family with siblings having departed in marriage (rows 7'-10'). The precipitous decline in frequency evident in both series of forms represents developments thinned out by alternative domestic group structures as well as mortality.

It is intuitively likely that domestic groups headed by some form of collateral conjugal families of siblings (7-12) are an alternative pattern succeeding the demise of the previous conjugal bond. In most of these cases both the parents have in fact died before all the children have matured, and the paramount authority has devolved upon the eldest brother. In many respects this individual has become the social father of the domestic group and maintained the allegiance of one or more junior siblings and their conjugal families. The balance of these collateral forms involves fosterage of



a - person, male or female
 x - non-resident " "
 y - deceased " "
 $=$ - conjugal bond
 o - siblinghood, in birth order
 $- , i$ - descending generation
 $(3-4)$ - denotes row or column code, Figure 4.

phase of expansion $\longrightarrow$
 phase of dispersion $\longrightarrow$
 phase of replacement $\longrightarrow$
 regeneration $\longrightarrow$

subsumed variations (not expressed)

$A=b, T=m$ (patrilocal or virilocal)
 $b=E, k=N$ (matrilocal)
 $a(-y)-a$ (adoption in orphanage)
 $a(-a+a)$ (adoption in infertility)
 $a(o y=a)-a$ (merger or fosterage)

Fig. 6 : Developmental model of domestic group forms

orphaned families, an analogous process. (Both these processes will be discussed more fully later.) The alternative to collateral conjugal bonds appears to occur if the parental conjugal bond lingers (usually open), in which case only the conjugal couple which has or will succeed to the role of paramount authority remains in the domestic group (columns 13-20). The alternatives of lineal and collateral modes of extension constitute about 85% and 15% of the superordinate generations, respectively (Figure 6). Expressed social norms parallel this structural distribution. In both of these alternatives of maturation in the superordinate generations, the explicit norm which retains the two conjugal bonds within the domestic group is allegiance, filial in the lineal cases and fraternal in the collateral cases. The reason given for the usual departure of conjugal families in excess of this pair is the limited potential of the domestic group subsistence resources.

The series representing subordinate generations appears to reflect a progression with structurally analogous alternatives, but composed primarily through marriage and dispersion, rather than demise and dispersion, of its constituents. Early establishment of conjugal families in the subordinate generation is likely to be followed by either co-residence of married siblings or by departure of all but one of them, usually with the youngest couple remaining in the domestic group. These alternatives, precipitated by the maturation of the subordinate generation, appear to respond on the one hand to the advantages of ample labor resources in a large domestic group, and on the other to the limitation of subsistence resources to which it has claim. Marriage of children properly proceeds in the order of their; subsequently, the obligation to establish new and independent residence also follows this sequence insofar as the subsistence resources of the natal conjugal group are insufficient to retain more than the paternal conjugal cou-

ple and their successors. On the other hand, if these resources are sufficient, continued co-residence and cooperation of the siblings is enjoined and expected within their limits. These alternatives and the forms they generate in turn constitute the basis for developments in the successive superordinate generation. As the several forms of the subordinate generation mature and succeed to the forms of the superordinate pattern, offspring in turn replenish the subordinate generation.

The developmental model (Figure 6) represents the gross tendencies suggested in the matrix of domestic group structures, and is confirmed in the data of genealogical histories. The processes evolve, in Fortes' terms, through phases of expansion, dispersion and replacement (Goody 1958). The model can serve as a guide in the fuller examination of developmental processes in domestic group structure which follows below. Progression through major forms tends to proceed in accord with expressed norms celebrated in family rituals of status elevation. Progression through minor forms, on the other hand, tends to be rationalized by circumstance and exigency. I will devote considerable attention to these latter forms because they reveal the raw material of social organization where it stands out in contrast to community norms rather than being blurred by conformity with them. In these circumstances the dialectic relationship of social ideals and social pragmatics is most obvious.

Domestic group development. The directions of domestic group development are formed by the interaction of a series of jural prescriptions and restraints often focused by life-cycle ritual, the ideal and practical quality of ongoing social relationships, and the pragmatic requisites of the environment. The unfolding domestic group in turn forms the core of an expanding array of consanguinal and affinal relationships, dispersed from

it and drawn to it. These latter patterns will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

The life-cycle rituals of status elevation mark stages in the individual cycle of development that from a broader perspective are seen to be the elements in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. The stages of individual development in Q'ero are not formally instituted or ritualized to an equal extent; some receive more specific attention than others. Attention to them in any case serves as an occasion publicly to confirm the expectations of others toward a person, that is, the modification of his rights and obligations in an elevated status. This new status in turn re-constructs to some degree the domestic group of which he is a member. In Q'ero several stages from paqariy (birth, "beginning of new light") to pusachanin ("his guiding," of the spirit of the dead from this world) are more or less clearly marked in this function. Paqariy initiates a transitional period of eight days, during which time the newborn is neither chichuna (pregnancy) nor fully a person, and pusachanin terminates a transitional period of eight days, during which time the recently dead is neither alive nor fully a spirit.

The paqariy often catches the family off guard, with the consequence that some individuals are remembered to have been born somewhere astanapilla ("just in camp") in the monte, potato fields, or even while traversing the high passes. In these circumstances, as well as in more routine births, the ritual moment is publicly marked by asking the assistance of a woman, preferably an elder with such skills developed, from outside the domestic group. Serving as a midwife during birth or immediately after, this person assists by massaging (qaquy) the body of the mother and the infant, and in return is given cooked food, coca leaf, or another gratuity. I once stayed with an old couple who had just lost their youngest child and an adopted

baby in an epidemic; the old lady returned from her hastily bidden services as a pagarichiq ("one who causes the beginning of new light"), her restrained sobs of the last several days interrupted by a beaming announcement: "Noqaga q'arimuniy!" ("I have produced a man," i.e., a new male infant). A first birth in particular but subsequent births as well are socially an elevation of the status of the parents rather than the newborn, and in this sense mark the progressive entry of the couple into a role that is increasingly independent and mature. Ideally, the occasion is recognized by seclusion of the parents and newborn in the household for eight days, during which time their health is specially attended to, k'intusqa burned in exhortation, and a herd animal slaughtered for food. The dominant couple of the domestic group, usually the grandparents of the newborn, organize these ablutions, and in so overseeing this status elevation within a status elevation, actually attend their own as well.

When the rituals of seclusion are organized, a respected individual is sought to become ritual father to the newborn. This subsequent ritual of status elevation, termed marq'ay ("carrying," in the sense of bearing in the arms) or unuta churasqa ("putting of the water"), is done during or soon after the period of seclusion. The marq'ay involves naming the child, applying water to its body, and establishing a formal bond of ritual kinship that parallels that within the domestic group but extends outside it. Marq'ay is considered by the Q'eros to be distinct from the rite of bawtiso (Spanish: bautiso, baptism), which is seen rather vaguely as an analogous occasion involving no naming but an important sakramintu (Spanish: sacramento). This adopted ritual is usually carried out within a few years after birth (but often as long as twenty years later) when a priest is encountered.

Ch'uxcha rutusqa ("mowing of the hair"), generally considered a precolonial custom, confirms the status of the child as a contributing member of

the domestic group. This ritual occurs to both sexes between about three and six years of age, by which time small household and herding duties are being undertaken. Prior to this ritual little distinction is made between sexes in either clothing or terminology; both wear wrapped skirts and knitted caps (among adults, exclusive items of female and male wear, respectively), and are referred to as wawa (if a sex distinction is required, churiy wawa "son-child" and ususiy wawa "daughter-child"). Subsequently, clothing and terminology (irqe - boy; p'asna - girl) distinguish the sexes, and the loose specialization of labor apparent among adults is developed. Both sexes learn the manifold techniques of herding, agriculture, household management, driving, and transporting, but some emphasis eventually develops on the heavier tasks for males, and on the lighter tasks, especially herding and household, for females.⁷ The ch'uxcha rutusqa occasions the selection of a second (or, if baptism has been done, a third) set of ritual kin outside the domestic group, and in this way makes public the status elevation within the group. If the child is one of the earlier births of his parents (who consequently have not yet gained substantial independence from a larger domestic group) this ritual, like those previous, is primarily organized and initiated by the senior couple of the domestic group, usually the grandparents. However, because it functions to confirm the increasing economic influence of the parents in virtue of their growing family, it also usually signals the demise of the grandparents' hegemony in such matters.

The elevation of irqe or p'asna status to maqt'a or sipas (adolescent male and female, respectively) is marked by the menarche for the female, and by the appropriate use of coca leaf by the male. The menarche of the female, so far as I am aware, is not ritually emphasized, but casually becomes general public knowledge. The ostensible reason for accepted use of coca by the young man is his ability to undertake most of the difficult

chores thought to require the strength and endurance of an adult male, beginning at about age fifteen. Like male puberty, this ability is not clearly marked physiologically, nor is the proper use of coca clearly marked socially. However, the adolescent Q'ero male appears to overcome self-consciousness and accepts coca leaf (p'ixchay) and chews it (hallp'ay or akul-liy) casually by the time he is about sixteen years old. At about this time the domestic group of the youth insures his service in one or more minor roles of the annual community festivals, as standard-bearer or dancer, specifically allocated to maqt'a approaching marriageability. Powerful domestic groups may furthermore sponsor, nominally in behalf of a son even as young as ten to twelve years old, a major cargo or expensive role in a community festival. This is an accepted method of asserting the boy's imminent rise to power and succession to leadership. An opulent display of pageant and plenty in either a minor or major role for the boy reflects favorably on the influence of his domestic group. His official role is submerged in a spectacle of preparations and lavish hospitality, over which one or two ancient elders preside in calm dignity.

By the time he is eighteen or twenty a young man carries his own walleqa (woven coca bag), and produces it at the appropriate social moments. This bag has often been presented to him by a girl with whom he has developed a courting relationship based on elaborate flirting, innuendo, subterfuge, and the casual sexuality of adolescence. The young Q'ero deliberates over a long mental (or actual) list of potential mates, ranges widely in scouting while on ostensible errands, and agonizes through infatuated dreams between arranged meetings with his lover in private. During these he lolls in feigned repose or wrestles in open sincerity. As these relationships develop, the families of both the young man and young woman keep account of them, carefully balancing the extenuating circumstances of consanguinity and affinity,

relative economic resources, prestige, and power. On these bases the parents, who in turn are guided by judgments from the wider circle of relatives, encourage the attachments, retaining paramount authority in the choice of a spouse. Contravention of the parents' guidance requires rejection of their authority and readiness to establish an autonomous household and economic independence, not practically feasible without children old enough to help. On the other hand, a domestic group favorable to the match cannot take the couple in against the wishes of the other party. Both the rebellious youth and the complicit family of the lover would be ostracized in the community, and its attempts to operate socially would be crippled. As the maqt'a or sipas matures, social pressure mounts to find and settle with a spouse acceptable to all parties. Wayna and warmi are the terms applied to young males and females, respectively, in this status of mature readiness for marriage.

Marriage (warmichakuy for males - "to establish oneself with a woman" or to take a wife; q'osapukuy for females - "to benefit oneself with a man") is usually established in the early twenties for both spouses, sometimes earlier. The network of gossip and allegiances is extensive in a community where there are relatives and affines in every valley and fluid communications are crucial to the subsistence enterprise. When by this informal medium all parties are reasonably assured that the next step can be taken without ungraceful contingencies, the wayna approaches the domestic group of the warmi with a hurq'a (a gift the acceptance of which entails cooperation) of cooked food, a substantial amount of coca leaf, and a drink of axa or cane alcohol. If the results of this first formal move are favorable, arrangements are made for the parents of both to meet formally, in the house of one or the other. Although I was not able to witness or obtain many candid details regarding the form of this meeting, there is evidence that it is ri-

tualized.⁸ The meeting sometimes concludes short of agreement, and grudges are usually harbored as a result until the offense is absolved. If agreement is reached the marriage becomes a social fact. Separation of the spouses thereafter is rare but termed ch'eqtay ("splitting in halves") or wixch'unakuy (a mutual casting-off). Adultery (ayuy for the female - to deny the husband's sexual rights or the child's rights to nurse; wachuy for the male - "to plow" or "screw" outside the bounds of propriety) is possible and quite common but strongly stigmatized. Children born prior to this union are manan tatayohchu ("fatherless") or t'inkulla wawan ("just-in-meeting child"), but apparently suffer little stigma as illegitimate.

The arrangements which form the basis of the marriage agreement are extensive in their implications, because they importantly effect the development of both domestic groups in the alliance for some time to come. Matters of residence of the new couple, services to be rendered, and property to be eventually inherited must be settled to the satisfaction of both parties. Usually the wife is expected to live with her husband in his father's domestic group, and both the new husband and wife are expected to extend services and labor generously to the parents of their spouse. Inheritance is normally divided among male offspring with the preponderance to the youngest, and brides are expected to benefit by property through their husbands. However, inheritance is said to be most justly allocated to the couple according to the respective capacity of the domestic groups involved. No immediate presentation of goods is usually made beyond the small gifts and hospitality initiating the transaction, but occasionally a few herd animals may be given by the parents of one spouse to the young couple. As far as the Q'eros are concerned, the formalities of the situation are as simple as this. However, the practical circumstances and implications are extensive. Central among these is the issue of residence for the new couple, because essentially this

means either the loss or addition of an adult member, and most of the ensuing offspring, to the domestic groups concerned. Usually the settlement of this issue involves promises of compensatory services, inheritance, or temporary residence arrangements. Normal guidelines of residence, inheritance, and service are very flexible in practice. Some of these important implications will be further considered in later contexts.

Assuming for the sake of continuity that residence in the early stages of marriage is patrilocal (which it is in the majority of cases), the couple continues under the paramount authority of the husband's father. Subsequent rituals of status elevation as a married couple continue for some time to be dictated by the leader of the domestic group, although the initiative of the young couple in all matters of the domestic group can now begin to develop. This new status begins to be consolidated with the birth of their first children, but the grandfather nevertheless undertakes and organizes the earliest rituals focusing this new series of status elevations. He also assures the availability of the young husband for warachakuy ("establishing oneself with a staff of office"), marking his entry into community politics.⁹ This occurs when the elected kamachikuh (community leader; *alcalde* - Spanish: "mayor") appoints him to one of the three or four subordinate roles which directly serve his office, and contribute to the organization and expenditure of Chayampuy and Carnival, two major community festivals. This service reflects directly upon the prestige and influence of his domestic group, and until substantial economic independence has been developed, contributes primarily to the influence of its leader in the community. Indirectly, the entire network of kin and affines is affected, because such joint community rituals invariably involve the majority of them.

By about the time an eldest resident son has children ready for the hair-cutting, the form of the domestic group has stabilized insofar as it is

determined by his younger siblings. The procreative capacity of the elder parents has usually by this time ceased (but youngest and oldest siblings may occasionally be separated by as much as twenty-five or thirty years in Q'ero). If there are younger siblings in the domestic group, it may be incumbent upon the eldest (kuraq) son to begin preparations for separation into an independent domestic group. In public opinion and that of their domestic group, this is a move that they are capable of making in proportion to the capacity of their children to the herd, and so liberate the parents for other tasks in a subsistence strategy. It is simply said that kuraq kaspā anchurichikun ("being the eldest, one begins to separate himself") or kuraqa ñawpah ("the eldest goes on ahead"). The expectation and the motivation to realize this potentially independent status increases in proportion to the number of younger siblings remaining in residence, particularly male siblings. The assumption is that although most female siblings will marry into other domestic groups, most males will not, and the resources controlled by the original domestic group can be extended to support only a limited number of constituent conjugal families. This same principle also motivates the marrying out of male siblings matrilocally. Ideally, resident siblings marry, develop conjugal families, and finally remove themselves in strict order of seniority (kuraqmanta sulkaman - "from the eldest to the youngest") according to the pressure upon these domestic group resources. The preponderance of the resources in this way eventually devolve upon the youngest son (chanako) at the death of his father. This ideally occurs at about the time that the chanako himself appends the young conjugal family of his oldest son or daughter to his nascent domestic group. An orderly departure of offspring and their conjugal families in this way is said to insure both that the resources of the domestic group will not be overextended, and that the progenitor conjugal couple will not remain deserted in their old age.

With an eye on these future developments insofar as reflected in resident offspring and their respective children, the leader of the domestic group, with increasing initiatives on the part of his kuraq churin (eldest son) begins to prepare for any necessary fission of his constituency. Insofar as there is a prospective surplus of resources available in herd, land, houses, or household equipment, portions may be designated as the inheritance of the kuraq or elder siblings. Some of such surplus may have been added to the estate of the domestic group along with the spouse of the kuraq, in which case this, ipso facto, becomes his inheritance. Under the supervision of the father, the elder son begins the acquisition of additional land, generally through clearing but also through arrangements with kin or affines, insofar as needed to support his family. He also builds a separate living house and eventually a separate storage house, sometimes only somewhat removed from that of his parent domestic group, but often in a separate valley, again through arrangements with kin or affines. The successive establishment of these visible symbols of independence over a period of a few years, and the gradually increasing frequency of their use in intensive cultivation, household, and storage of harvests, serve as public notification of the structural changes within the original domestic group. These changes reflect credit on both the leader of the original domestic group, as procreative of a new domestic group, and the emergent domestic group, as significant participants in the society and polity of the community. The head of the emerging domestic group is by now termed a q'ari (man) rather than a wayna. The process in general is termed runachakuy ("establishing oneself as a person"), with specific reference to the capacity of the children to care for the herd independently, a pivotal evolution in the family subsistence strategy.

Finally, the designated portion of the herd is separated and henceforth managed independently, and one or more k"uya stones are received from an elder, usually the leader of the original domestic group, for ritual in the propagation of this new herd. A new corporate group has been formed, and relative sovereignty (sapah kawsayqa "a separate existence," or waq maki - "another hand") is claimed by the new leader and, to a large extent, accepted by the community at large. However, the continuity of original authority and dependency relationships is apparent in residual subordination. This is manifest when support is required for unusual expenditures such as community service roles, or when an issue arises requiring the allocation of culpability between domestic groups. Until the new domestic group leader has served the paramount official role of community leadership (usually not until some ten years after initial independence) he remains a jural subordinate in the sense that he can press claims on other domestic groups only through a senior kinsman who has achieved this status. Furthermore, matters involving his own culpability remain to some degree the responsibility of his original domestic group leader, or in default of him, an elder brother.

The specific ritual associated with the process of runachakuy is kasaray (Spanish casar, "to marry," plus the inflection rga, connoting some urgency), or matrimony conducted by a Catholic priest.¹⁰ Ideally, this ritual has come to signify the allocation of inheritance and the readiness for paramount political office. Practically, because matrimony can only be carried out on the rare opportunities that both priest and family are prepared, willing, and in the same place (at least ninety kilometers normally separates the Q'ero family and the priest with proper jurisdiction), the native process of runachakuy in fact proceeds independently. There are often young conjugal couples with no degree of independence established who have never-

had the opportunity to undergo matrimony, and there are also independent domestic groups whose leader has gone far in the hierarchy of community offices but who lack this augmenting ritual. However, by the time a Q'ero is appointed to alcalde ("mayor"), which is a penultimate community service role, he either has managed to undertake matrimony, or hastily manages to before assuming office.

The subsequent period of adulthood is devoted to achieving, consolidating, or extending the power (qapah) and influence (yupaychah - "one who is established as counting") of the domestic group. In the original domestic group this task is ultimately continued by the patriarch and his spouse, perhaps widowed and remarried, with the assistance of the chanako and his developing conjugal family. The chanako's children become the resident hawalay (grandchildren) of the old couple, easing their aging as the chanako progressively succeeds to the active role of leader in the domestic group. The original domestic group estate in property and authority has been split, conserving both aspects with considerable integrity. The preponderance of the property devolves in ultimogeniture to the chanako, while the balance helps to establish the other siblings (primarily the males) in separate households. The chanako is often called gonchu puchu ("sediment leftover," or "dregs") by his elder brothers, who in this way joke about the declining potency of the old man's semen and the apparently opportune dispersion of the sibling group, but also betray their dissatisfaction with residual roles in inheritance. The preponderance of legitimate authority, on the other hand, devolves in primogeniture upon the kuraq churin (eldest son). The kuraq in his seniority always retains this jural prerogative, and after him each sullka (junior sibling) in declining order of seniority, regardless of sex. However, this ideal order of authority increasingly loses practical influence with the economic independence of the siblings from one

another. For the same reason female siblings are soonest precluded from the order, usually joining a separate domestic group with their husbands.

The process of building power and influence is parallel in both the original group and in those seceded from it. Although the chanako may enjoy some advantage in virtue of his preponderant inheritance, his elder siblings are usually able to develop comparable economic stability in virtue of their earlier establishment of independence. This is in large part due to earlier maturation of their children, approximately in the order established by the birth (and marriage) sequence of the siblings. With maturation of his constituents comes the opportunity of each domestic group leader to benefit by their contribution to his subsistence strategy, and supervise their successive rituals of status elevation, the strategy of their marriages, the induction of their children, and finally their entry in turn into the community at large. Meanwhile, the domestic group leader undertakes the expenses of community festivals and the major roles of community leadership. His ability to marshall the necessary resources, organize such occasions, and lead with assurance and wisdom are the foundation of his prestige. An ambitious attitude in this regard is publicly signaled by the construction or establishment of a separate festival house in the ritual center, even if access to the festival house of his original domestic group continues. If this access must be shared with other siblings or brothers-in-law, an independent political career cannot be assured. Finally, the leader undertakes a series of strategies for the advantageous marriage of his children. This is the pivotal ritual of status elevation in the development of the domestic group. His relative success or failure in this series of alliances and agreements with other domestic groups determines the proliferation of his offspring and influence in the community, and the amplitude of the subsistence resources which he can divide among them.

An elder couple in the denouement of this process, whether successful or not, are no longer known as q"ari and warmi, but as machu and paya ("old man" and "old woman," respectively). Paramount authority in matters of the subsistence strategy is gradually shifted to the next most senior conjugal couple of the domestic group, but the final decision regarding all less routine matters remains with the elder couple until mental alacrity is lost. In the event of death of either spouse, paramount authority and control of the corporate estate falls to the survivor, although this is rapidly lost to a senior subordinate if there is no remarriage. Even the elders of sixty or seventy years move with relative ease throughout the extremities of the community, so influence in most affairs wanes slowly. As direct influence in practical matters recedes, authority in ritual and political operations increases. Old men who have not lost their acumen generally can develop their reputation for influence with the extraordinary powers of the awki and apu, and are called upon to intercede by divination, petition, or curing in special circumstances. The more prominent of them must always be sought out by the official leaders of the community for consultation on matters of community interest. All elders, whether of high prestige or humble accomplishments, are ritually deferred to in some manner in any public situation. Death is followed by penultimate and ultimate rituals of status elevation. The first involves burial, and reflects the social and supernatural status of the deceased in the associated ceremony and location of interment. The second ritual is termed Pusachaynin, ("his guiding"), or, in Spanish, ocho dias ("eight days;" Quechua: pusah p'unchay), and is probably influenced by this comparable Catholic ritual.¹¹ The appeal made to ancestral spirits, however, is apparently an aboriginal aspect. This ritual will be discussed in the context of kinship and affinity in Chapter 8.

The changes of status focused by the rituals of marriage, maturation of the conjugal family, and establishment of independent households are central to the development of domestic group structure, and can be summarized here for clarity. The general structures of domestic group resulting from these stages of status development can be followed in the developmental model (Figure 6), which in its predominating alternatives (left side) reflects the principle social norms involved.

The principle norms bearing on this developmental process deal with authority and subordination, post-marital residence and inheritance, and succession to aspects of the domestic group estate in status and property. Paramount authority should remain unchallenged in the role of the domestic group leader, but subordinate initiative is expected to develop gradually with the growth of constituent conjugal families (2'-3') and finally to emerge in relative autonomy with their establishment as independent households (7'-10'). Residence changes of the domestic group as a whole are decided by its leader, or if involving change of residence between domestic groups (almost always in marriage), are decided by consultation between them. Marriages of subordinates in the domestic group must proceed in the sequence established by their birth order, so that seniority remains clear (2'-10'). Unless other considerations intervene, new residence in marriage is expected to be in the domestic group of the husband, usually along with his father and mother. Principle norms bearing on these arrangements prescribe that the new conjugal couple serve the domestic group needs of both their natal domestic group and new affinal relatives, and be allocated inheritance in proportion to the relative capacity of their respective domestic groups, and their own development of a family. The domestic group of the husband is normally expected to contribute more or everything toward the future estate of the couple.

Subsequently, the stages of runachakuy, and eventual succession of the constituent conjugal family to the status of independent domestic group, should proceed in the order of seniority established by birth and confirmed by marriage. This order should also relieve the resources of the original domestic group of members excessive to an efficient subsistence strategy. To these same ends, the youngest son as chanako has rights to the preponderance of his father's property, contingent upon his continued residence, while the senior siblings are expected to enlarge their estate in herds, land, and houses through independent work or arrangements (1-2). Succession to paramount authority of an independent domestic group consequently follows in sequence; but is mediated by surviving parents, widowed or remarried, in the case of those offspring remaining in the natal domestic group (3-6; 13-20). At the death of the leader, the original estate in authority, contrary to that in property devolves upon the senior son, with his junior siblings enjoying proportionally less authority. However, this order is rapidly supplanted by the assertion of independence in each descendent domestic group in proportion to their capacity to build or maintain influence in the community at large.

The normative developments of the domestic group, as focused in the family rituals of status elevation, are reflected in the predominant developments of domestic group form derived from the census. But within this ideal jural system flexible auxiliary rules operate to legitimize alternative forms of the domestic group, and accommodate the shifting exigencies of social relationships and environment. Some of the more important of these rules also deal with authority, residence, inheritance, and succession, but in the special contexts of (1) collateral extension of the domestic group, (2) analogues to extension through adoption or fosterage, and (3) matrilocal residence. (Collateral extension is represented in the right

hand processes of the developmental model (Figure 6), but matrilocality and adoption have for the sake of clarity been subsumed in forms which are their closest structural analogue.) These alternative forms are statistically of minor frequency, but they are revealing in terms of the structure and dynamics of social organization. Closer examination of these situations reveals that when reconstruction of domestic group relations are necessitated, the priority of filiation which males appear to enjoy in ordinary situations of authority, residence, inheritance, and succession may easily be abrogated. Death of key members, or insufficient resources to support the usual patrilocal residence arrangements, appears to call matrilateral filiation into play as readily as patrilateral principles of reorganization, and with no appreciable disadvantage. The conclusion which must be drawn from the organizational rules revealed is that filiation is actually neutral or balanced in the Q'ero domestic group, with maternal or paternal aspect gaining salience only in response to contingencies outside the domain of filiation.

Collateral extension of the domestic group, apparent in 40% of the subordinate generations and in 15% of the superordinate generations, presumably reflects ample subsistence resources in the domestic group estate, as does multiplication of conjugal bonds in general. This is clearly the case when the extension is in subordinate generations, because this implies that there are at least three conjugal families in a domestic group which originated with only one. Continued co-residence in these cases is explained in terms of sufficient resources, just as sequential departure of constituent families is justified by their scarcity. Besides resource availability, authority and the control of these resources is a crucial variable in the development of collateral extensions in the domestic group. Parental authority maintains such extension in subordinate generations for the sake

of optimum flexibility in labor resources and maximum influence in the system of community prestige. Unlike lineal extension through grandchildren, this tactic provides a developed nexus of adult contributors to the cooperative effort. Impediment of the process of runachakuy, especially delay of the delivery of allocated inheritance, usually suffices to retain one or more senior sons or sons-in-law in co-residence. The motivation of the domestic group leader to pursue this strategy presupposes ample domestic group resources to support the several conjugal families; the motivation of the senior siblings to continue cooperation presupposes reasonable assurance that their eventual inheritance will not be insignificant, even though that of the chanako may preponderate. However, there is a 60% decrease of the initially high incidence of collateral extension between the subordinate and superordinate generations. This decrease reflects the fact that co-residence is often somewhat coercive against the fissive inclinations of constituent conjugal families anxious for autonomy. Generally, death of the patriarch in such a situation is proceeded by a final disposition of inheritance, succession of the chanako to household leadership and principal heir, and dispersion of any other siblings then or soon thereafter.

However, there are several cases in Q'ero (Figure 5, column 7) in which the kuraq churin (eldest son), by disposition or its default, succeeded to role of paramount jural authority of the domestic group, also gaining virtual control of its corporate property. This had occurred because the death was early in maturation of the domestic group, and only the eldest son was prepared for such a status. This situation momentarily stabilized a revealing structural disposition of the domestic group which is normally either avoided by sequential fission or merely transitory. The results are clearest in two domestic groups left without any parents, but are also discernible in two others with a surviving widow, and a fifth in which the

parents are rapidly being retired. A surviving widow is jurally the executor of the domestic group estate. But if the seniority of her eldest son is developed and if she does not remarry, practical authority in all routine matters tends to be delegated to the kuraq, and with it the same power of ultimate disposition which his father wielded. Apparently if this role is actively pursued, the community tends to accept it, i.e., the pre-empted status becomes legitimate. Sequential status elevation among siblings is an extremely strong norm with virtually no exceptions and reflects as well as generates a rigid sequence of authority. When this is supplemented by succession of the kuraq to leadership of the domestic group, the influence which devolves upon him is tantamount to that of his father, and thereafter his siblings and their families may even address him as "father." In the cases where no widow of the patriarch has survived, it even appears that the role of chanako, rightful inheritor of most of the domestic group property, is abrogated. The rule adhered to in such cases is only that the kuraqa churin sumahta rakinakunga ("the senior son will divide justly"), requiring no special recognition of the chanako and even admitting the possibility of the transfer of this role to an eldest son of the kuraq. This relegates the chanako in the preceding domestic group organization to the role of a kuraq in the new organization, still subordinate in authority but now also without special precedence in inheritance.

The situation in general exposes a strain of antipathy in relations between brothers. This is otherwise apparent only in the great decrease of collateral extension between subordinate and superordinate generations, and the avowed sovereignty of seceded domestic groups. It also suggests that the institution of the chanako role is a concomitant of restricted resources and retiring elders, in that it tends to be ignored when neither of these conditions prevail. In normal domestic group development, the recog-

nition of the chanako role insures that a limited estate in domestic group resources will not be decimated in inheritance. On the other hand, maintenance of a jural order of authority based on primogeniture insures that siblings slighted or left without inheritance will not be left in a status tantamount to that of a waxcha (orphan), without either means or influence. In normal domestic group development these inverted priorities in the jural division of an original estate seem to result in a functional balance of power, but also probably propel the dispersion of siblings even in cases where a cooperative utilization of joint resources would be more efficient for all concerned. A complete incongruity between priority in control over property and priority in authority and group decisions, progressively realized as the original group leader approaches his demise, is probably the spring-board of instability and dispersion in the more usual developmental cycle of the domestic group. The situational contingency of the chanako role and the structural inconsistencies inherent in it are exposed in an impasse: the chanako usually admits a residual right on the part of his siblings to claim a share in his inheritance if most of it devolved upon him; but a ku-raq rarely if ever exercises such a residual claim because it would imply his poverty and abjection before a jural subordinate.

The coincidence of authority in decisions and control over domestic group property that is evident in the lineally extended domestic group is optimally suited to efficient utilization of the ecosystem; this is implied in the statistical predominance of this organization as well as the reasons given for its maintenance. Collateral extension in subordinate generations reflects the same optimization but more ample resources. This is clear in the correlation of wealth and multiplication of conjugal bonds previously discussed. Normally the coincidence of these two sources of power (authority and property) is disrupted as the domestic group matures, and the result

is division among siblings leaving no party incapacitated, but an asymmetry that militates against further cohesion. On the other hand, the maintenance of 15% instances of collateral extension in superordinate generations demonstrates the durability of siblingship in conditions of ample joint resources. In such a situation joint residence may be maintained despite the early death of a previous superordinate leader and the radical reorientation of succession and strains attendant to this, and despite the equivocal status of the paramount authority which emerges. Although usually from the biased point of view of a kuraq, this is sometimes expressed: kuska kawsaykurah; sapahta waxchakapuykupas ("together we can still survive, but apart we would become orphans").

A less frequent but also structurally revealing mode of extending the domestic group is through various forms of adoption and fosterage. Virtually all such adoption is rationalized by bonds of kinship, but these ramify throughout the community in any case. Analogous to the precipitous succession of the senior son to father's role, the father's accession to his son's role may be precipitated by the son's premature death. In each case jural relationships overflow their usual generational boundaries, responding to a death which is disruptive of normal patterns of development. Structural antecedents to this form of adoption are even discernible in the domestic group which has suffered no such extraordinary death. With early children of a resident son, the authority of the grandfather in organization and execution of the rituals of status elevation is so decisively paramount that he in effect pre-empts the role of father with regard to his grandchild. The inclination to do this appears particularly strong with senior sons, whose children are usually born as the procreative powers of the grandfather begin to dwindle. In this pre-empting role the leader of the domestic group simply sees himself as continuing his own obligations

in the supervision of his constituents' status development, and not yet as a retiring benefactor. The situation is apposite also in the sense that whereas his youngest son will be his subordinate until his death and his grandchildren through him a relief from this relationship, his eldest sons will before this time establish some degree of independent authority that progressively replaces his own. Furthermore, in the vagaries of mortality among young adults in Q'ero, this potentially adoptive attitude toward his senior grandchildren often becomes actualized; that is to say, the father dies and the grandchild becomes socially accepted as the adopted son of the grandparents.

Such a case of premature death of a father still subordinate in the patrilocal domestic group usually precipitates a reorganization of household social structure analogous to that which occurs in the succession of a resident senior sibling to his deceased father's role. The partly orphaned children become uywasqa wawakuna ("raised children," a term also applied to illegitimate or orphaned children if adopted) of the grandparents, to be brought up with their own children. Among their parents' collaterals the children often come to bear full status as additional siblings. The adoption may be institutionalized even to the extent that subsequent remarriage of the widow may affect no change in this reorganization of statuses, and further generational distinctions become blurred. If the early death occurs after the young father's achievement of independence in a separate domestic group, and there is no son able to succeed to his role, fosterage rather than adoption restores the domestic group. It is usually undertaken by a male collateral relative of the deceased and results in the interim reconstruction of a collateral form in a domestic group. On the other hand, premature death of a mother in either of these situations is almost always

followed by rapid remarriage of the widower to a widow, who subsequently becomes jurally a mother to the children. Such immediate remarriage precludes the interim reorganization of affiliations in the domestic group. There were, however, several cases of virilocally residing widows with children in situations that had remained unobscured by remarriage. Examination of some specific cases and their implications will clarify the circumstances of this mode of adoption.

In 1970, of the eight virilocally residing widows with children, four who had been patrilocally married elected to remain with their father-in-law's domestic group, and two who had been independently established joined in the domestic group of a patrilateral relative of their deceased husband. A seventh, virilocally married, had delegated most authority to an elder son who has become jurally the father of his younger siblings. Whenever patrilocal residence was continued, the children were adopted by their deceased father's father; in the two cases where residence was taken up with a patrilateral relative of the deceased, the interim relationship established was the practical equivalent of adoption. On the basis of this evidence alone, adoption in such situations appears to be the prerogative of patrilateral relatives senior or equivalent to the deceased. However, in one case the widow left patrilocal residence and returned with her child to her natal domestic group, giving some cause to doubt this assumption. Closer inspection of the options actually open to the widows suggest that priority in affiliation is not an important determinant, and that other considerations, especially residence, are decisive.

According to the jural rule in Q'ero, a widow with legitimate children has incontestable rights to those children as her offspring. Furthermore, she has incontestable rights to her deceased husband's property until allocation to their children is appropriate. This is said to apply equally to

inheritance due them through their deceased father or through herself, and equally no matter where she resides. The economic motivation of patrilocal-ly residing widows to return with their children to their own natal domestic group would normally be slight. Whereas matrilocal marriages frequently involve a substantial inheritance allocated through the female, her contribution toward her descendants' estate is usually much less in patrilocal or virilocal marriages, and is frequently precluded altogether in deference to her brothers. On the other hand, patrilocal residence implies at least a potential disposition of inheritance from the father-in-law to the husband, and rights to this inheritance are maintained by his widow if she has borne children by him. In any event, no augmentation of the maternal portion of the estate can be expected if the widow returns to her natal domestic group, whereas the impeachment of her childrens' rights of inheritance in the domestic group of her deceased husband is a highly likely consequence of her desertion of it, regardless of her usual jural rights.

In three cases of patrilocal residence of a widow the motivation to maintain this residence was clear, because the children of the widows were candidates as adopted chanako for the father-in-law. In the fourth case at least some inheritance was assured. Of the three cases of possible chanako adoption, in one case this succession was unlikely because the deceased father was the eldest son, with least right to this role. A youngest legitimate son had returned from matrilocal residence elsewhere to reclaim the role of chanako. In two cases the widow's spouse had been chanako, and succession of a grandson to this role was considered only natural. In one of these cases, however, it was contested by a resident son-in-law who occupied an influential position in the domestic group, his father-in-law having died shortly before the death of the chanako.

One such case, now history, fairly clearly establishes the eventual form of such jural reorganization. At the premature death of a patrilocal-ly residing son his surviving father was left with an older son-in-law residing matrilocally, a youngest son who was deemed retarded (sonso) and never married, and his recently widowed daughter-in-law with his two young grandsons. Although the widow promptly remarried, her new husband was a waxcha (also previously unmarried), and she continued residence with him in the same domestic group. Her calculations were wise. Eventually, although the older son-in-law inherited nearly half of the estate through raising a large family and operating as an important subordinate leader, the incompetent youngest son was given only nominal inheritance, and her own eldest son became the chanako of her previous father-in-law, succeeding to half of the estate, the preponderance of the herd, and all the household equipment and ritual property.

The right of the mother to the property eventually due her children is ideally inalienable. But in the practical circumstances of patrilocal residence this right is in fact difficult to sustain if the terms of the original marriage arrangement are not continued. These arrangements usually include the co-residence of the wife and her offspring in the husband's domestic group for a substantial period of time until social and economic independence is achieved. In two such cases of a widow claiming the property due her children from her husband's family, the actual contingency of this right is clear. In one case the young widow, returning with her child to her parents' home, had secretly taken equipment, wool, and seed to which her husband had claim as a senior son of the domestic group. In another case, brothers and the father of the deceased, who had been recently established in an independent household, repossessed such materials and the small herd as well. Conflict arose immediately in the first case, and resolution

involved dividing the contested goods equitably, on the grounds that the widow had left her father-in-law without any settlement. The widow's right to the child, however, was uncontested. Conflict did not arise in the second case until the widow's children had grown up, and a newly independent household had been established in remarriage. In this case as well, the contested goods were divided equitably, but this time on the grounds that, during the interim, the widow and her children had usually remained a contributing part of the domestic group of her dead husband's older brother. The widow and her new husband had claimed all of the contested goods on the grounds that they were the due of her children, and furthermore the initial marriage arrangements had not been violated. But it was judged by a community leader in arbitration that they had not been fully completed either.

In some cases of patrilocal marriage to senior sons, the chances of significant inheritance are slight, and on occasion further prejudiced by adoptions of still younger children. In still other cases the establishment of independent virilocal residence can preclude further inheritance, and fail to prosper. In the event of the husband's death in such cases the most provident thing a widow can do is return with her children to her natal domestic group and seek remarriage. There are at least three cases of such moves in Q'ero, one involving departure from the community and return to another of the cultural region; those within the community resulted in remarriage to a widower in one case and to a slightly demented older bachelor in the last case. Although such a maneuver can result in a new marriage, it can rarely be lucrative in the case of a widow, whose stigmatization restricts choice to widowers with complementary status or to men of very low status for other reasons (see pp.201-2). On the other hand, continued residence of a widow with her father-in-law or other patrilateral relative of her husband in defense of her children's inheritance precludes possibility

of contracting a patrilocal or virilocal marriage elsewhere, her only way to augment their inheritance. Remarriage in such cases must usually be uxorilocal (i.e., in her previous residence with or near her previous father-in-law) and consequently usually involves a husband who himself can expect negligible inheritance from his own natal domestic group, perhaps doubly of impeached status in that he himself is usually a widower.

These difficulties probably account for the relatively high proportion of virilocally residing widows remaining unmarried. Significantly, the cause is not a matter of patrilineal filiation of a widow's children, but rather a function of patrilocal marriage arrangement and inheritance. There are three cases of which I am aware where such a dilemma was partly solved by remarriage with a locally residing relative of the deceased spouse, thereby continuing the initial marriage arrangement and even reinforcing it. This obvious solution is probably not more frequent simply because of the rarity that a widow and widower of furthermore complementary status will find themselves residing in proximity and appropriately unrelated. In one of these cases it is significant that the new husband, previously married patrilocally in another valley, moved to live uxorilocally with his new wife (a daughter of the paternal uncle of his former wife), in so doing confirming for her children's eventual inheritance the estate of his own paternal uncle's son (her deceased husband). Originally, both of the sisters were with negligible inheritance, and so was the surviving husband, but the remarriage could benefit mutually from the estate of the deceased husband, who was the sole survivor and furnished the only descendants among three brothers. Another case of such strategic remarriage involved a widower who married his previous wife's sister upon the death of her husband. The case is strictly parallel to those discussed above concerning widows, because the residence in both marriages was matrilocal and because the wi-

dower's initial as well as final economic future lay in the hands of his father-in-law. Further parallels apparent in the matrilocal situation will be analyzed after examination of some further modes of adoption.

Adoption in Q'ero is an analogue to extension of the domestic group in normal development. But adoption can also be used to construct affiliations outside the domestic group, extending its control of resources beyond that previously held. This involves the reconstitution of paternal and child relationships, but also the merger of two previously independent domestic groups precipitated by the incapacitation of one of them. The merger, like the adoption which legitimizes it, is initiated by the viable domestic group in behalf of the compliant incapacitated one, both with a view to the maintenance or extension of joint resources in membership or property. Five cases of domestic group organization which reflected such arrangements were detectable in Q'ero in 1970.

In two cases the procreative ability of a domestic group had ceased without insuring its perpetuation through heirs. In each case an uywasqa wawa was adopted from among the several children of another domestic group to serve in the role of chanako. In both cases the donor domestic group extended its own legitimate chanako into the vacant role, and its next most junior offspring succeeded to this role in his own domestic group. Effectively, each arrangement provided for the merger of the estates of two domestic groups and its allocation among a single set of siblings. As with adoption in general, the arrangement was legitimized in the idiom of kinship: one merger was between half-siblings who had long been independently utilizing halves of their deceased mother's estate; the other was effected by the remarriage of a widow to a neighboring widower in conjunction with the adoption of her youngest son by him. The domestic groups adopting chanakos had been reduced by infertility and death of offspring leaving no

children in the first case and only an elder daughter in the second. In this latter case the full status of the adopted son as chanako was impaired, because the old man favored his surviving daughter's husband, well-established in matrilocal residence and services of long standing. Furthermore, his new wife's son seemed to lack respect and to contribute less labor to the joint effort. The inviable domestic group in this case was extremely wealthy in herds, and its aging leader suspected opportunism on the part of his third wife. However, at least a minor but still substantial inheritance to the adopted chanako seemed unavoidable, while the two senior sons of this woman were left the only heirs of her previous husband's estate. In the other case of chanako adoption, the leader of the donor domestic group had assured the eventual reunification for his children of a substantial estate in herds and land originating from his mother. This furthermore enabled him to allocate all the minor property in land from his father to his eldest son.

In three other cases of adoptive merger between domestic groups previously independent, economic rather than procreative inviability precipitated the reorganization. In each case death of the leader of a virilocal domestic group left heirs to the estate but no males sufficiently mature to succeed to its management. Consequently, in each case a nearby patrilineal relative of the deceased fostered the fragmentary domestic group, its children becoming his uywasqa wawan ("raised sister"), or some similar appropriate status. As with extension of chanakos in adoption, the new arrangement requires a compromise on the part of the inviable domestic group, usually involving compliance in the eventual if not immediate advantage of its merging partner. As in the continuation of patrilocal residence by a widow, virilocally residing widows can, through such arrangements, continue contact with the group of kin from whom the inheritance of her children origi-

nates, assure its optimal management, and avoid impeaching their rights to it. On the other hand, the domestic group which fosters the inviable fragment can benefit for some time to come from the augmentation of labor resources it enjoys, but suffer no further division of its estate among heirs. However, such mergers appear to break up with their separate inheritance when the immature sons of the widow mature, or when she remarries.

One case of adoptive merger between domestic groups was somewhat diffuse and unstable in 1970, but spectacular in the multiplicity and rearrangement of statuses which it appeared to involve. An old patriarch residing in T'antana hamlet survived two wives and did not remarry a third time, being left with two daughters by his first wife and one son by his second. His daughters married men from Q'ero, one from lower in the valley and the other from an adjacent valley, both coming to reside matrilocally with their father-in-law. The son married a woman from outside the community, and also continued to reside with his father, as the ostensible chanako (A). Meanwhile, in his father's brother's son's domestic group nearby, the senior son and later daughter established residence elsewhere in the community, the middle son followed suit in his turn, marrying matrilocally, and the chanako (B) married patrilocally, finally succeeding to his father's role when the latter died. However, soon thereafter his eldest brother died as well, and the widow and only child moved up the valley to live with the chanako B, (leaving her poor homestead to her even poorer younger brother). This momentarily augmented the chanako B's undeveloped domestic group, but abruptly he himself died, leaving two inviable fragments of domestic groups, with one male child each, in the household.

In the valley of this household, next likely to succeed to the charge of these two widows of an oldest and youngest brother were the middle brother, a son of the father's brother, and the son of the father's father's brother.

The latter was the patriarch in the hamlet with the chanako A and two sons-in-law in residence. The ultimate seniority of the latter might have given him precedence, but the fact that he was an old widower whereas the other two potential foster families were enitre was probably more relevant. The death of his resident daughter-in-law, wife of his chanako A, soon resolved the situation: an obvious complementarity of status had developed between two domestic groups, one with two widows and the other with two widowers, living in close proximity, related by previous affinity, and each needing the labor resources enjoyed in surfeit by the other. The young widower chanako A of the old patriarch was remarried to the young widow of his distant cousin (chanako B), and moved into the decimated household. There he gained control of the estate inherited by his new wife and her young son, and the preponderance of this property will most likely devolve upon his own youngest son, as yet unborn. His vacated role of chanako A in his father's family was apparently occupied by the youngest resident son-in-law. However, in the best long-term interest of the patriarch and an orderly allocation of his estate, this role of chanako did not appear to have yet come to rest; the child of the elder widow is now the youngest male member of the patriarch's domestic group and potentially able to fulfill that role.

The jural readjustments of affiliation have been so thoroughgoing that the patriarch now calls this child his "raised son" and his former chanako A considers himself a "chanako" (B's role) among the surviving siblings of his wife's previous husband. Despite the complementarity of statuses in all other respects, the disparity of age between the patriarch and the elder widow apparently precludes their marriage, although they operate in the household and the subsistence strategy as would spouses. In closest approximation to the new arrangement of domestic group roles, the patriarch considers the widow his uywasga panay ("raised sister"), a status which allows for the age

differential yet lends some legitimacy to both their co-residence and the potential role of her child as his youngest son.

Matrilocal residence. The preceding discussions pursue the implications of some alternative forms in the domestic group, emphasizing the practical bases of variations within these alternatives. However, the perspective throughout generally assumes patrilocal or virilocal residence (the most usual situations), and necessarily biases the discussion in favor of practical determinants originating in this form of residence. But matrilocal residence, a special form of conjugal extension of the domestic group, results from marriage arrangements in about 29% or nearly one-third of the cases recorded in the 1970 census. The extensive implications of this minor marriage form have already been mentioned. In the discussion of migration and translocation (pp. 175ff.), I noted the importance of marriage in general as an ostensible motive for such movement. More than one-third of these extensive movements within Q'ero are undertaken by men, usually in matrilocal marriage. The role of matrilocality in the proliferation of property and kinship throughout the community can be glimpsed in review of one representative case.

One kingroup whose descendants are now dispersed through three valleys in the community traces both its ancestry and the oldest part of its property back to a grandfather of the contemporary elders. This ancestor was kurag among several siblings and, being due no inheritance, married matrilocally in Chuwa Chuwa, probably prior to 1880. His wife evidently had no siblings, and received ample inheritance; this property in herd, land, houses, equipment, and ritual objects subsequently became the inheritance of the father of the contemporary elders, whose sole sibling, a sister, married out of the community. The offspring of this man, through marriage in Chuwa Chuwa to a woman

from Qocha Moqo (apparently without inheritance), were numerous. But several died without offspring, and the children of the eldest son returned to another community of the cultural region with his widow. The surviving oldest son (the contemporary senior elder) next moved to Qocha Moqo, and there (through the good offices of his mother) married matrilocally to the youngest daughter of two, the only offspring of a family with considerable property. When the eldest daughter married patrilocally to Qolpa K'uchu this property was allocated as the inheritance of his wife, ultimately to devolve upon his children. Meanwhile, of his two younger siblings remaining in Chuwa Chuwa, one had died leaving two children with his widow in patrilocal residence, and the chanako had inherited the preponderance of his father's (originally his father's mother's) property, with a portion of it going to this widow for her children. (The widow subsequently remarried into Yawarkancha, taking her children and these property rights with her.) The chanako is now an elder, and the preponderance of his property will apparently go to his son, with perhaps a portion of it designated for the children of an older daughter married patrilocally to a neighbor. Another daughter has married the chanako of a wealthy family in Qolpa Pampa. Meanwhile, the older brother of this elder had begot a large family in Qocha Moqo, and three sons had married patrilocally there while two daughters had married patrilocally into different families in Yawarkancha/Qolpa Pampa valley. Upon the death of his wife this senior elder allocated substantial portions of his wife's property to his three older sons in Qocha Moqo, and moved out of the valley with his chanako, who was marrying the youngest daughter of a wealthy family in Qolpa Pampa (the same one into which his elder daughter and son, as well as his younger brother's daughter, had married). This elder was living there in close cooperation with the domestic group from which three of his children's spouses had come, with his chanako residing patrilocally. How-

ever, his chanako was liable to receive some inheritance from his father-in-law, because his wife is his youngest child, because his elder brothers in Qocha Moqo (one of which was another son-in-law) already received most of his mother's property, and because his father was technically without property (although astute!).

This partial genealogical history is an atypical success story only in that survivors of some groups of offspring were sometimes more prolific than usual. The interesting feature is that many of the contemporary descendants trace their property to one or more female ancestors and their origins to her residence, because two matrilocal marriages of the patrilineal line have been essentially without inheritance, and to a woman who has subsequently received all or most of her parents' property. In such cases the role of the male progenitor is frequently overshadowed in the memory of the Q'eros, having contributed only a more enduring name to his offspring. Many of the genealogical histories of the community have at least one such salient matrilineal filiation in their development, and most have several matrilineal ancestors who have contributed a substantial part of ensuing estates, as well as a paqarina ("birthplace").

A matrilocally marrying husband, like the patrilocally marrying wife, is usually undertaking an arrangement predicated on insufficiency of resources in the natal domestic group. Depending on the insufficiency of these resources and their prognosis in fertility and reproduction, grown children are expected to seek accommodation elsewhere in order of seniority regardless of sex. This expectation is stronger with regard to females if seniority is proximate. Males are thought to contribute somewhat more and more flexibly to the subsistence strategy, but more importantly they are the potential bearers of focal roles in politics and prestige. On the other hand, at the point where available resources are optimally managed by the

membership of the domestic group, its leader usually reverses his strategy and detains his children, with preference for the males.

A domestic group which, through the eventualities of infertility, mortality, or advantageous marriage arrangements, comes to have more resources than membership for their most efficient management, attempts to incorporate new members through birth or marriage, with preference for males. Many marriage arrangements involve a domestic group with a surfeit of resources and one with an insufficiency, because the one can hope to increase the efficiency of its resource usage and the other can hope to decrease the strain on them. In such cases little transfer of property occurs, and, in accord with the expressed norm, the parents with most resources contribute the most toward the eventual inheritance of the new couple. This is seen as just, because the domestic group which stands to benefit by the addition of a new conjugal group and all its offspring must also eventually make the greatest sacrifice of its estate in their behalf. These equilibrations frequently result in the transfer of a son, and the establishment of matrilocal residence. On the other hand, the exigencies of expulsion of offspring based on insufficient resources tend toward indifference with regard to sex (until the last son), whereas on the other hand, inclusion of spouses based on surfeit of resources is somewhat partial to males.

Arrangements are frequently unable to achieve such equitability because needs and strategies are neither so clearly defined nor complementary, and the affective attachments within the domestic group are not so amenable to pragma. Implied in the expression chaytaqa warmin pusapun and warmin apemun ("his wife guided/carried him there") are reciprocal sentiments of the wife and her natal domestic group, unbreached in a final arrangement involving matrilocal residence. Being an only or youngest daughter usually generates such strong affection, and may entail such arrangements, apparently regard-

less of the practical consequences. One domestic group had lost its only son, and another had won a young son-in-law to nearby residence in addition to a superfluity of older resident sons, both owing to supposedly unbreachable affection for a youngest daughter. However, the matrilocal husbands in each instance had left poor domestic groups to reside in or near relatively affluent ones of their new father-in-law. Such sentiments, further complicated by ambiguities in relative resources and their most equitable allocation, frequently result in portions of inheritance following a spouse marrying elsewhere, male or female.

Relatively wealthy domestic groups often allocate a substantial portion of property to a daughter, and occasionally to a son, who marries elsewhere; similarly, poor domestic groups will sacrifice most of their property to an only child who marries elsewhere. Although such arrangements are explained in terms of sentiment, they are usually motivated by pragmatic calculations as well. Sacrifice of both property and an adult member, with his or her future offspring, usually reflects an asymmetric alliance of power and dependency beneficial for both domestic groups involved. Perceived inequities regarding residence and inheritance are usually worked out in terms of a reverse imbalance of promised services which justifies the arrangement for the time being, whether or not complied with. Both parties to the arrangement recognize that residence of the young couple will actually determine the direction of the preponderance of their services in labor, and the benefits of their social and political contributions to the community as well, and nearly all of these benefits which eventually accrue in virtue of their offspring. This is true more or less in direct proportion to the distance separating the domiciles of donor and recipient domestic groups. These inequities in marriage arrangements, usually vague and marginal, are a major constituent in the tactics of differential power and prestige.

The structure of a domestic group is changed substantially by the incorporation of a matrilocally residing husband. Although such reorganization is also entailed by the addition of a wife to a group, the adjustment of roles attendant to matrilocal residence is more radical because the male role tends to be more focal economically and politically, and because the male jurally bears a subordinate status as husband with regard to his in-laws. This status is especially pronounced when he lives among them. The consequent rearrangement of statuses in the group is ambivalent, ranging from instability and emergent autonomy to jural integration which is analogous to filiation. Any assurance of patrilineal inheritance widens the options of the matrilocally residing husband, and in such cases the male role of initiative and dominance tends to be asserted sooner against the countervailing restraints of deference toward his affines. The assertion usually results in the establishment of an independent domestic group, but it can also result in increased integration among key male roles in the wife's domestic group, and even eventual succession to a status analogous in all practical ways to that of chanako of the father-in-law. On the other hand, complete economic dependence on the wife's parents, or lack of a forceful personality, can stabilize integration and prolong subordination. Waxcha residing matrilocally, because their options are extremely limited, cooperate closely with their affines. In cases of extreme indigence they may even perform many aspects of their wife's usual household role, utterly subordinated to her parents and foregoing assertion of many aspects of the male role.

In cases where the natal domestic group of the husband is influential and wealthy, and has contributed toward the new estate, considerable influence is retained by his father in the rituals of status elevation subsequent to his marriage. Warachakuy, early community festival roles, and the pro-

cesses of runachakuy may be supervised by the husband's father, although often indirectly and ineffectively if a valley or two separates the two domestic groups. Eventually, in any case, and very soon if the matrilocal husband is from a family of limited means and influence, these rituals and their consequences for both the husband and his offspring come to be dominated by the wife's parents as long as the son remains under their influence. The role of the wife's parents may in such cases come to approximate in practical and ritual respects that of his own parents were the son residing patrilocally.

In cases of integration to this degree, the son-in-law tends to participate in the relative authority and precedence in inheritance of his wife among her siblings. The possibilities of this are foreseen, and the calculations are central in the determination of matrilocal residence just as is the husband's correlative status among siblings in the natal household. However, the jural subordination of his role as q"atay ("male affine") obtrudes on the residual status he may hold in virtue of his wife. The wife's parents, and almost to an equivalent extent her siblings, are dweñu (Spanish: dueño - owner), kamichikuh ("bosses") or qatayniyoh ("one having a male affine") in jural status with regard to the son-in-law, and this is especially evident if he is co-resident. The consequences of this jural status in matrilocal residence were previously discussed: although the incidence of matrilocal conjugal bonds is 30-40% among subordinate generations, it occurs primarily as the sole resident subordinate bond, sometimes with married junior brothers of the wife co-resident, and never with married senior brothers co-resident. Although authority in virtue of a senior wife and an earlier marriage appears to enable some continuity of co-residence with patrilocally married younger brothers-in-law, their prior right of succession set the conditions for the ensuing developments. In superordinate genera-

tions the incidence of matrilocal conjugal bonds is reduced to 24%, and these occur only where no other conjugal bond is co-resident, or where only a mother-in-law survives. On the other hand, not reflected in Figure 5 are several cases of neighboring residence of brothers-in-law, originating in co-residence and subsequently developing into independent domestic groups nevertheless bound by close cooperation. These are also a few domestic groups whose authority structure is or was recently dominated by two co-resident sons-in-law (qataymasiy - "male affine-partners") who had supplemented each other in roles which alone would have suffered much more disadvantage.

Finally, there are in matrilocal situations several interesting parallels to the structure of adoption previously discussed regarding patrilocal situations. The matrilocal father's role in the supervision of his children's status changes tends to be preempted by his wife's parents practically if not jurally, just as it does in the patrilocal situation. This influence may be balanced or overridden by the husband's parents if their status in the community is greater than that of the wife's parents, but in any case the husband's parents are usually disadvantaged by residence at a distance. The quasi-jural tendencies in the situation find their most unimpeded expression in illegitimacy, which is analogous to matrilocality but without a husband.

Children born to an unmarried daughter are apparently uncommon, but in the five cases of which I was aware, the child was adopted by its maternal grandfather (in one case, by its mother's husband) as an uywasqa churin ("raised son") to be raised along with his other children. In all these cases, at least, the status of the adopted as an uywasqa is remembered, but incorporation among the mother's siblings (in the one case, among her legitimate children) is otherwise complete, with no apparent stigma arising from

illegitimacy.¹² The maternal surname is used, and rights of inheritance among adoptive siblings appears unimpeded. Such rights may be realized even to the extent that one daughter's illegitimate son, as the youngest among his adoptive siblings, became the chanako of his grandfather and fell heir to the preponderance of the domestic group estate including houses and ritual property. In this particular case the putative genitor subsequently married the mother and raised a family, but the illegitimate son nevertheless remained the chanako of his maternal grandfather, even becoming known by a surname in which his grandfather's name is patronym and his mother's (grandfather's daughter's) name is matronym. (However, this individual is also known by his adoptive siblings', and his biological father's surnames.) In another case which has developed sufficiently to expose the full potential role of the illegitimate son, the adoptee was the son of an elder daughter, and too old even among his mother's siblings to become chanako of his grandfather. He married matrilocally and raised a successful family before being killed in the collapse of a bridge. His mother died without further offspring, and his grown children now deny that he was adopted at all, accounting him a sibling among survivors who are in fact his mother's siblings. It is likely that many more cases of illegitimacy and adoption, obscured by such thorough jural incorporation, escaped my attention and are furthermore often ignored by the Q'eros themselves.

There are few cases of early death among parents still residing matrilocally, and consequently scant data with which to trace the ensuing adjustments of status in the domestic group. Judging from one case, unlike the converse patrilocal situation, death of a matrilocally residing father seems not to result in succession of his son to full jural status among his wife's siblings. But in this one case there is a legitimate chanako of the old patriarch of about the same age as the older sister's son, and consequently

this crucial role was not vacant or ambiguous. However, the potential role of a resident daughter's son is likely to be an extension of his father's role in situations where the prior right of other successors is not so clear. The strength of the matrilocal father's role in such situations is clear in examples previously described (pp. 237-38; 245-47). In these cases succession to all or most of the father-in-law's estate occurs along with the wife and in default of any brothers-in-law or their children; succession to half of it seems assured if the only alternatives for the father-in-law are adopted sons of a deceased son (these being practical subordinates of the surviving son-in-law); and succession to at least a portion of it is usually assured even if brothers-in-law inherit the preponderance. So far as these cases imply, agnatic filiation seems to have little inherent priority over uterine filiation when both enjoy the practical advantages of residence.

There are five cases which came to my knowledge of death of the mother while residing matrilocally with her husband and parents. In none of these cases was the child or children of the deceased daughter taken away from their maternal grandfather's domestic group, although in three cases it appears that the matrilocal husband departed. Jurally, the surviving father has incontestable right to his offspring (as does a surviving mother), but it is likely that he is usually in a position comparable to the patrilocally residing widow. That is, insofar as his inheritance is usually only in virtue of his wife and the matrilocal marriage arrangements, he cannot practically hope to defend these rights if he does not maintain residence with his father-in-law. However, without a wife as mediator in this situation his jurally subordinate role as q"atay is probably untenable, and a likely compromise is desertion of the child as a possible residual heir, returning to his natal domestic group as a widower seeking remarriage. An alternative tactic usually difficult to accomplish (also for reasons parallel to

the widow's situation) is remarriage to a local relative of the dead wife; this was accomplished by two widowers as previously described (pp.240-41), although in one case the first residence had been patrilocal and the widower improved his chances of significant inheritance by remarrying matrilocally among his affines.

The importance of residence in determining priority of succession and inheritance, even matrilocally, is graphic in one case from Hapu (another community in the cultural region) where alternate contenders were few.¹³ The mother died in childbirth whereupon the patrilocally residing husband departed, returning to his family in Q'ero. The wealthy father-in-law had no other children, and raised the son of his daughter as a chanako; however this grandson also died as a youth. When news of the death reached Q'ero, the son-in-law promptly returned, and presented himself to his former father-in-law as heir-apparent, i.e., as the father exercising his jural right to custody of the son, and by reversion in default of more appropriate successors, succession to his son's role as adopted chanako. It is revealing that this claim warranted sufficient recognition to require resolution by the kamichikuh of the community (who, because the patriarch was himself the paramount community authority, was the mestizo hacienda owner). It is also significant that the resolution finally accepted gave decisive weight to the fact that the son-in-law had broken off matrilocal residence, and only in view of this was his claim rejected. The implication of the claim and its resolution is that an affine, as father of a matrilateral grandson who nevertheless does not survive, would have priority of succession to his father-in-law's estate, wealthy as it may be, over the rights of collaterals outside this line of filiation, were he only to sustain his matrilocal residence.

Two final cases adumbrate the interplay of agnatic and uterine filiation in practical situations not complicated by issues of succession or inheritance. Two extremely poor domestic groups in Q'ero account themselves a usp"ayasqa ("turned to ashes" - extinguished) because they have no sons to perpetuate the domestic group, but only daughters. However, in both cases further investigation revealed that either the daughters had not yet married or had taken up patrilocal residence elsewhere; furthermore, both families in fact had sons, but these had married matrilocally out of the community. The offspring of these sons were not considered descendents of their patrilineal grandparents because their residence was not local. (Were the residences of the sons to be matrilocal but within the community filiation would apparently not be truncated.) However, by the same token, matrilocally marrying daughters could renew the charters of these families through uterine filiation of grandchildren.

Emerging repeatedly in the foregoing discussion of rules and statuses in permutations of the domestic group structure is the pre-eminence of residence in the determination of priorities in authority, inheritance, succession and filiation. Although the predominance of patrilocal residence and the prominence of male leadership obscure the balanced nature of filiation, the practical resolution of contingencies tends to demonstrate that patrilineal filiation has little special priority in itself. Authority is clearly patrilineal only if residence is patrilocal, declines considerably when independent residence is established, and is strongly matrilineal in matrilocal residence. Inheritance and succession likewise are not fixed rules, but rather functions of residence choice; residence is decided with their maximization in mind, among other considerations. Filiation in perpetuity of group membership also tends to atrophy outside of common residence, although this appears definitive only when residence is taken up outside the

community. The influence of habitat potential on translocation of community residence was previously discussed (pp.174ff), and its effect upon the distribution of co-resident conjugal bonds was also analyzed (pp.202ff). The effects of the ecosystem can again be detected in the social organization of matrilocal residence, further clarifying the central importance of residence as partly an ecosystematic response.

Of the thirty-five cases of matrilocal marriage in the 1970 census, thirty-two occur in one of the four main valley habitats and are accompanied by sufficient data to draw some further conclusions regarding the strategy of marriage arrangement. As previously discussed, both the matrilocally marrying husband and the patrilocally marrying wife are undertaking arrangements which are predicated in part on insufficiency of resources in the natal domestic group. However, whereas the arrangement with regard to patrilocality conforms to an explicit (if weak) cultural norm, the matrilocal arrangement is actually contrary to the norm, and consequently better illuminates social organizational and ecosystematic contingencies. Twenty of thirty-one matrilocal marriages were undertaken by a man who was kuraq among half of his siblings (i.e., older than half of them), and proportionally disenfranchised as potential heir in his natal domestic group. Seven more were actually undertaken by chanako, but in five of these cases he was a waxcha, orphaned by the death or departure of both parents and left with negligible estate. One other chanako moved with his father into what was functionally a matrilocal situation, and the other had left his home in a fight with an ambitious older brother but had settled in a situation where some inheritance from the mother-in-law was likely. (There are insufficient data by which to interpret these situations in the remaining five cases.) These matrilocal marriages were usually with a daughter who was kuraq to

half her siblings, responding to the difficulties of the son-in-law in the structure of matrilocal statuses previously discussed. Chances of the husband improving his eventual lot tended to be increased even though he married a rather senior sibling because marriage was usually into a domestic group wealthier than the natal domestic group. There is sufficient data on the relative wealth of the two domestic groups involved to assert that of twenty-eight matrilocal marriages, seventeen were made into a wealthier domestic group, eight into one of approximately equal economic status, and only three into a poorer domestic group. Two of the matrilocal marriages into an apparently poorer domestic group (and three of those into groups of equal status) were contracted in Chuwa Chuwa, which, if my previous conclusions have not been mistaken, has more promising herding potential than the other valleys. These two cases illuminate ecosystematic calculations of the matrilocally marrying husband, here unobscured by the more immediate considerations of possible inheritance.

An unequal distribution of matrilocal marriage through the four major valleys of the community implies that such ecosystematic calculations play an important part in the strategy of matrilocal husbands. The incidence of inter-valley matrilocal marriage declines as would be predicted from the relative herding potentials previously deduced. Chuwa Chuwa, with apparently the least fully exploited herding potential, has the highest incidence of matrilocal marriage (28%). Qolpa K'uchu, with apparently the most saturated herding potential has the lowest incidence of inter-valley matrilocal marriage (15.5%). In between these extremes, and in accord with previous conclusions, Yawarkancha/Qolpa Pampa has 19% and Qocha Moqo 17% of the incidences of inter-valley matrilocal marriage. The low proportion of intra-valley matrilocal marriage (9 of 32) probably reflects resistance to abrogating the cultural norm of patrilocal residence where the domestic

groups are near one another, and where no more advantageous access to pasture is to be gained. All but one of these cases occur in Qolpa K'uchu and involve a move between the several dispersed hamlets of this valley. Of the eight cases of intra-valley matrilocal marriage in Qolpa K'uchu, six accord with the tendencies apparent in inter-valley marriage; that is, they have been contracted from less to more propitious herding habitats, also from lower to higher altitudes. The two exceptions married from Tantaña down into Putu Mayu and Chawpi Puñuna, only somewhat below and not precluded from access to the same pastures. A poor elder residing near the bottom of this valley in the homestead of Machay Pampa, with very limited and difficult access to alpaca pastures, has been left by his three sons and two daughters with only one young daughter remaining. All moved in preference for more promising herding locations, some remarking that Machay Pampa was ch'usag ("deserted" - i.e., an unpropitious living site).

The preceding examination of family organization began with a description of key ritual moments in the seasonal cycle which reveal the constituency of the domestic group, proceeded to an analysis of the frequency and distribution of its component forms, and concluded with a discussion of central processes in its development. Emerging from this examination is the basic corporate structure of the community, composed of one or more conjugal families and peripheral components variously organized. This basic social structure is the locus of cycles of status elevation that in turn form the foundation of social and political organization of the community. As the seasonal ritual moments express the ideal trinity of family, herd, and the extraordinary forces which supervene upon them, the life-cycle rituals of status elevation display and legitimize the development of the domestic

group. Community rituals actually intercalate the seasonal and status cycles, maintaining the hierarchy of community polity and prestige in a structure that is annually renewed and replenished. Some contingent situations in the development of the domestic group, and their pragmatic resolution, have been examined more closely to expose the interplay of alternative rules of status process, especially regarding residence, authority, inheritance, and succession.

The centrifugal forces of social organization in the domestic group are focused most clearly in the processes of marriage, remarriage, lineal or collateral extension, analogous permutations of adoption, and fosterage. Divisive forces of the ecosystem against which these predominant structures countervail are accommodated in the institutions of chanako and kuraq roles among siblings, and matrilocal marriage. These sub rosa rules of social organization regularize the perpetuation of corporate estates in property and authority by dispersion of family members or integration of non-family members, according to the exigency of current circumstance. The institutions focus on the key male roles which overburden if in surfeit, and starve if insufficient, the domestic group resources. They abrogate, insofar as necessary, normal patrilocal rules of residence, and reorient role functions of authority and inheritance in accord with accommodations in independent or matrilocal residence. Opposing priorities in succession to property and to authority rank the sibling group complementarily, and constitute a potential basis upon which the estate can be divided without decimation and incapacitation. The same order distributes persons to other domestic groups where they can fill role vacancies. Both the opposing rank order among siblings and the integration of male spouses among their wife's kin entail uneasy structural postures in the domestic group, but fluidity and equity are optimized in an ecosystem of strictly limited resources.

NOTES

1

This sort of cloth, although rustic and plain compared to the spectacular decorative weavings of the Q'eros, is used as a ground or table cover in almost all ritual situations (ritual meals or drinking of maize beer, sharing of coca, divining, curing, and such situations as here described). The term misa denotes "banded with two colors" and connotes alternation or opposition (as between players of a game), and it seems likely that some symbolism of supernatural interaction or tension is implicated. This same term is also the Quechuzation of the Spanish term mesa (table), and identical with the Spanish term misa (priest's mass). From the native point of view, semantic consonance with the Spanish "table" is likely, and in fact the homemade tables in Q'ero are used only for ritual occasions. The triple homonymy may also explain the native tendency (much to the distress of mes-tizos as well as the Colonial Crown inquisitors) to describe their own specialists in dealing with extraordinary powers as cura (Spanish: priest). A common native term for these practitioners is misayoq, a term which can be taken to mean a person having a "table," but which originally probably denoted a person who operates (supernaturally) upon the banded misa cloth, perhaps facilitated by its symbolic properties. There are pampa misayoq as well as altu misayoq ("flat" or "ordinary" in contrast to "high" misayoq), and these may popularly be glossed as operating without and with "tables," respectively. Another semantic fortuity which may be relevant to Quechua syncretism is the Spanish verb for cure (curar), the root of which is homonymous with the Spanish word for priest.

2

The native family rituals of P'alchasqa and Ahata Uxuchichis are integrated to some extent with the traditional feasts of the Colonial Church calendar Carnival and Santiago, respectively. These festivals are widely celebrated throughout the Andes, and were probably early emphasized and syncretized with approximately concurrent native rituals by the more wisely accommodating phases of the Colonial Church under Toledo. The Q'eros frequently use the church calendric titles for their own family rituals, especially in the presence of outsiders. P'alchasqa is seen as a separate prelude to Carnival, a community festival carried out immediately thereafter in the ritual center, and Ahata Uxuchichis is seen as the Q'ero "Santiago," although it may be carried out as late as two months after the church calendar date of July 25. In the latter case, there appears to be some conflict between the proper date of the celebration according to the church calendar and the appropriate time of native celebration. In Q'ero it is assumed that only the Kastyanu (Castellano) or misti do it on July 25, whereas all runa ("people," i.e., natives) do Santiago at a later date. More acculturated natives may celebrate tardy Santiago, but tend to conceal this fact through shame or feel that apology is necessary. The Q'eros, on the other hand, find it curious that the ritual should be associated with a calendar date rather than the triumph of the male llamas and the conclusion of the maize harvest. The pre-eminent concern for the native herd animals, the focal symbolism of the pasture, ch'ampa, and the special ritual role of the k'uya stones have no parallels in other Andean ritual insofar as I am aware.

3

A myth recounted by Luis Yabar (1923) implies that during an era of oppression under the Incas all young widows and widowers were considered mal-ditos (Spanish: damned or cursed), and exiled to a settlement in the monte (and eventually to the lower jungle), where they became the present-day tropical tribe of Wachipayris). Aspects of the widow's and widower's role in contemporary Q'ero clearly imply low status, and it seems likely that the Q'eros have assimilated the beliefs of the Incas in this regard.

4

Little data are available on domestic group structure in the highlands. Fuenzalida, in his summary of indigenous social organization, contends that typical indigenous family organization is extended patrilocally (1970:103-4). Mishkin also considered patrilocality to be the practical rule, but independent residence to be established as soon as possible (1946:449). Tschopik reported the Aymara family to be patrilocally extended (1946:542). However, of nine community ethnographies with some specific descriptions, only four reported usual patrilocal or bilocal residence, and neolocal residence either soon followed or was the tendency in changing patterns (Vazquez and Holmberg 1966:286,293-4; Stein 1961:122; Flores 1968:80; Matos 1964:69). Others (Bourricaud 1967:106; Doughty 1968:30; Morris 1968:9; Andrews 1965:41; Korb 1966:12) report the nuclear family as the usual form predominating except in a few (8-10%) cases where married children remained with a parent temporarily due to insufficient means for independence. This information implies that patrilocal (or bilocal) residence may be normative (rather than merely expedient) only in communities of more unacculturated native social organization. But because little research has been done in native communities, the information available is still equivocal.

5

My data on differential wealth clearly demarks a relatively poor minority and a relatively rich minority. Distinctions among the families of about average means are more ambiguous. Methods involved a poll of public opinion ranking a sample of one-third of the community, an account of approximate herd size, and consideration of various less direct evidence. I refrain from devoting any extended consideration of social stratification in this study of Q'ero.

6

Most ethnographies reporting postmarital residence with parents remark that matrilocality occurs (e.g., Vazquez and Holmberg 1966:286,295; Bourricaud 1967:106; Flores 1968:79), but the neglect of its examination in these or any other sources known to me seems to imply that its incidence is minor. On the other hand, matrilocality appears to be an at least sub rosa institution of ancient precedent in Peru; Zuidema reports several seventeenth century chronicles which attest to it (1964:16-17).

7

Apparently the only rigid division of labor recognized in Q'ero is between loom-weaving (usually restricted to females) and strip-weaving of men's scarves and knitting of men's caps (usually restricted to males). Both of these distinctions are for ritual purposes, as are most sex-role distinctions in Q'ero. Furthermore they seem to not be taken very seriously; some older men have been known to do loom-weaving, although probably not in the complex decorative technique perfected by most women; and some few women are known to have been specialists in dealing with extraordinary powers.

8

Nuñez del Prado (1958:23) reports in some detail on the ritual of warmi-chakuy, and is one of the first authorities to recognize it as a socially legitimate marriage. I am sure that some ritual is involved, but it appears to vary somewhat and this description may not represent a necessary form. Perhaps because the Q'eros know that mestizos denigrate the native marriage as merely concubinage, they will not readily discuss it. It seems clear (contrary to Nuñez del Prado's observations) that parents retain considerable influence: several Q'eros told me that marriage was "always" undertaken in accord with the parents' preferences, and one recounted his patient persistence, winning his future father-in-law's permission only at the latter's death-bed, and in return for a promise to organize and bear the expense of his wake and burial.

9

These office holders are termed warayoc or varayoc (vara - Spanish: staff; "staff-holders"), and it is assumed that this term is of colonial origin. Decrees under Toledo in the sixteenth century legally instituted the organization, although some authorities contend that it at least had aboriginal antecedents (Mishkin 1946:443; Vazquez 1963:27; Nuñez del Prado 1958:30). It is interesting to note that wara is both the Quechuization of the Spanish vara (staff) and a Quechua word denoting a sash (since Colonial times, short trousers) worn by men and acquired in a formal ritual of status elevation for boys (warachikuy) at least in early colonial times; Kubler 1946:402; Murra 1962 cite several sources. Rituals of status elevation into political office as assistant warayoc occur at a relatively early age (20-25) and ultimate offices are also usually served by "young" men (from the elders' point of view). Consequently, the adoption of the Spanish root term (vara) to designate an aboriginal local polity (kamichikuh) may have been facilitated by equivocation with the analogous native ritual of status elevation among adolescents.

10

Incas apparently conducted a state ritual in group marriage, added to local native rites, which is generally comparable in form to that carried out by the Colonial Church. For a description and other insights, refer to Price (1965).

11

Syncretization of native and Colonial Church wake ritual was probably facilitated by the fortuitous homonymy of Quechua "guide" and "eight" (pu-sah). Furthermore, various chroniclers noted that the aboriginal annual ritual for the dead coincided approximately with the All Souls' Church celebration, and the month of November was also termed Aya Mark'a ("procession of the dead") in Inca Quechua (Valcarcel 1946:474). The early Colonial Church probably capitalized on these fortuities, just as they often tried to accommodate their flexible ritual calendar to that of the natives.

12

Nuñez del Prado reports that the child conceived before marriage (warmi-chakuy) is an object of great shame and usually killed by exposure after birth; if it survives it cannot live with its parents but is usually adopted by the paternal grandfather and remains partially without inheritance (1958:24). Although I may have remained unaware of many cases which conform

to this pattern, the several cases which I did know of contradict it in most respects.

13

This case and other interesting information was recounted to me by Señora Betty Yabar de Zuñiga, daughter of the earliest writer on Q'ero, Luis Yabar Palacio. Like her father, Señora Yabar is an astute observer and lyrical writer on the subject of folklore throughout this region of Paucartambo province. She has recently published a fascinating folkloric novel the setting of which is the Q'ero cultural region in the province of Paucartambo (Yabar 1970).

Chapter 8

Kinship and Affinity

In the preceding chapter I discussed the domestic group as the fundamental corporate group of the community and the focus of various developmental processes, especially marriage and dispersion. These activities are the foundation of an array of consanguineal and affinal ties which extend throughout the community, and constitute the framework of its social organization. The Q'eros were often unready to reveal details of this important network to me, but my slowly accumulating knowledge gratified them as well as aroused anxiety. Increasingly it became apparent to me that most Q'eros could concur on a relationship with any other Q'ero whenever they found it appropriate. The relationship would be based on recent or distant consanguinity, current intermarriage of their kingroups, or the implicit assumption that a future intermarriage might be mutually advantageous. Although less fully aware of such relationships than adults, children were less likely to guard their responses in the interest of anonymity. Queries about their possible relationship to other Q'eros of the community would occasionally reveal a conceptual framework of kinship and affinity which categorized in some conventional term anyone I was able to recall to their mind. This expansive system attenuated rapidly at the boundaries of the community, but potential vinctuations probably extended into all surrounding native communities, based on the few intermarriages of the remembered past. Even Luy-chu, the native from the Hacienda Ccapana across the Ayakachi who accompanied me on several occasions, was soon able to find a family of Q'ero with whom he was related as a descendent of a distant "mother's brother." Within

several months I had been included in a few family rituals of status elevation, in this way becoming ritually a co-parent or co-sibling to several dozen Q'eros.

The native system of kinship and affinity tends, however, to be opaque to the outsider. Even mestizos fluent in Quechua fail to grasp its principles and implications, although these are of daily practical concern to the Q'eros. Part of the inaccessibility of the native system is due to customary evasiveness and reticence, effective in preserving the diffuseness of the community and anonymity of its members. This behavior was probably also an effective response to the inquisitions of the Church, concerned since the seventeenth century with the rites of passage and ensuing form of social relationships, as well as the redirection of supernatural beliefs.¹ Although Q'ero has apparently had only sporadic and indirect influences in these matters, the responses of the natives nevertheless tend to reflect their perception of what the interlocutor wishes to hear, and what will most expediently quell his interest. Consequently, for the benefit of outsiders, native categories of kinship and affinity are frequently glossed with a Spanish term, obscuring meanings more through expedience than intention. These glosses are readily accepted by the bilingual mestizo visitor because they reconfirm his assumptions of the simplicity of the native system. Confusions that arise tend to be interpreted as the native's rather than the mestizo's and, in the interests of breaking off contact that is for him uncomfortable, the native does not elaborate.

Such Spanish glosses of native kin and affine categories have gained much currency in more acculturated native communities, probably facilitated by changes in the native behavioral as well as terminological system. In Q'ero and the other less acculturated communities of the cultural region, and probably in several comparable native regions of the south Central Andes,

native terminology and behavior is still apparent in native contexts. When the outsider becomes background, or the object of boredom and indifference, he can witness the routine employment of native terms and the routine assumption of native roles. This behavior, however, is only translucent to a structure of kinship and affinity. The Q'eros apparently do not perceive or care to contemplate this system in its abstract entirety, and summarily deny, for the sake of avoiding elaboration, any facile generalization about it. I left the field with an impression that my perspective, slowly confirmed in the interplay of elicited response and observation, was nonetheless fragile and liable to disruption by a further discovery just around the corner. The balance of evidence and its implications, however, remain clear.

As in the preceding chapter on the domestic group, I ground the discussion of kinship and affinity in the description of appropriate ritual occasions. Social organization is a dialectic of norms and practice which seems best revealed by such occasions. For the sake of clarity, the following discussions of kinship and affinity are separate, although these domains can be distinguished only analytically. The ways in which the Q'eros perceive kinship and affinity to be integral functions of one another can become clear only as the discussion proceeds. The question of kinship and affinity has not often been dealt with in the study of Central Andean social organization. Where it has been approached it has either been interpreted as patrilineal or as bilateral, with little analysis or care in the justification of these labels.² Positing an ideology of patrilineal descent (Nuñez del Prado 1958) might simplify explanation of some aspects of Q'ero social organization, but it would create more problems than it would resolve. More importantly, the assumption of patrilineal descent would obscure distinctive characteristics of the actual system. The Q'ero system of kinship is bi-

lateral, or, to use the currently more widely accepted term, cognatic (Murdock 1960). My intention in this chapter is to analyze the principles of an apparently unusual sort of cognatic system, and contribute to the increasing body of information on this still poorly understood subject in kinship studies.

I am also concerned to balance the evidence for a patrilineal or "quasi-unilineal" interpretation of the Q'ero system, but I have concluded that such an interpretation would be misleading. In the foregoing analysis of developmental processes in the domestic group, I concluded that authority, succession, and inheritance were usually practical matters determined by residence, leaving little basis for the gratuitous assumption of patrilineal descent.³ On the other hand, patrilineal filiation could be considered salient, at least in default of any intervening considerations of greater practical importance. But it appears that this salience is derived from the prominence of the male role in ritual, economic, and political domains, and has no jural basis as such in the system of kinship. In the following discussions, I analyze the kingroup in Q'ero as a parallel kindred, cognitically structured by continued consanguinity among parallel (of the same sex) collaterals, and divergent consanguinity among cross (of opposite sex) collaterals. The role of the sex of parents of these collateral kin is not entirely clear, but it is quite clear that both sexes transmit kinship, apparently equally. Kinship is reckoned cognatically, not unilineally. The kingroup is, furthermore, defined jurally by a framework of affinal relationships, expressed in rights and obligations between two sorts of affinal statuses.

Ideal and practical patterns of kinship. Korpus (Spanish: Corpus Cristo) is annually celebrated in the ritual center of Q'ero through the conjunction of traditional pilgrimages to Qollurit'i (a peak on the opposite

side of the Ayakachi: "star-snow") and Qamara. These pilgrimages are undertaken in opposite directions by separate contingents of Q'eros, crossing the passes and occasionally the glaciers to the south toward Qollurit'i, and descending the gorge of the Q'ero River north toward the monte to Qamara. The return of each contingent is carefully timed to occur at sunrise on Korpus in the ritual center, where karguyoh ("cargo-holders" or sponsors) assigned responsibility for the community feast have prepared a reception a reception of food, drink, dancing, and singing that continues for about three days and nights.

A week before this feast I happened upon one of these sponsors who was organizing his assistants and marshalling his supplies for the coming occasion. The ritual center had been deserted with all doors closed earlier the same day, but by noon several families had appeared, most of them related in some way to the three sponsors sharing responsibility for the feast. One was seated on an alpaca pelt on the higher side of his feast house floor, facing a ring of six men seated at the hearth, doorway, and central floor of the large room, lit only by the open doorway and obscured periodically by the mist drifting by outside. My entry was followed by an uncomfortable silence that had clearly not obtained before my appearance, but this was soon broken by jokes at my expense and finally normalcy seemed to return. A huge pile of freshly chopped branches was stacked in one corner for firewood, and a fresh slaughter of alpaca was hung in another for seasoning. Although it was not yet apparent to me, more than a dozen individuals, some dead and others not present, connected this group with ties of kinship or affinity. I recognized two of the sponsor's younger brothers who were present, but others whom I knew appeared unrelated, and one was unfamiliar to me. Explanations of their relationship were in terms of wayqey and q'atay ("brother" and "brother-in-law") but were cursory, impatient, or difficult for me

to understand. All presently resumed conversation, which regarded arrangements, anticipated trips, and contributions in support of the sponsor, in a counterpoint of suggestion, offer, and acknowledgement. As particular agreements were reached the individuals pledging support departed one by one. Each bade good-bye to the sponsor with a conventionalized utterance urpiy, songoy, tatay ("my bird, my heart, my father") in a pitched nasal falsetto, while the latter remained calmly seated in silent dignity.⁴

Subsequent examination of my genealogies showed that, besides the two younger brothers (both married with families), there were also present in the house the husbands of two sisters, the husband of a distant ipay ("aunt" - here a father's father's brother's brother's daughter); and this latter husband's son by her. Outside, working with the wife of the sponsor by an adjacent house loaned from her dead uterine half-sister's widower, (i.e., her q"atay, "brother-in-law") was his son-in-law. Probable extenuating circumstances were that an elder brother of the husband of the distant ipay had married her sister. The grown son of this husband, also present, was furthermore about to embark upon a year's service as kamachikuh ("leader") for the community, and was prudently laying the groundwork for reciprocity of assistance in the future.

Although it was not apparent to me at the time, the terms wayqey ("male's brother") and q"atay ("brother-in-law"), used to describe the varied gathering but only increasing my confusion, did summarize all the diverse bonds activated by the situation. But the resulting assemblage had two ambivalent aspects. From the point of view of relationships through marriage, all present (excepting his brothers) represented men whom the sponsor could call upon as husbands of sisters, daughters, or other female relatives of his kingroup. Even the widower's wife had been the sponsor's distant panay (male's "sister") through her father's side. Significantly, perhaps, none

of these affines was related to the sponsor through a female of their family, but rather as (or through) males who had married females of the sponsor's family. The respect generally accorded the sponsor in agreements and leave-taking seemed to support an affinal interpretation, which admits a structural asymmetry not inherent in the aspect of kinship. It also explains the reserved but deferential behavior of the "step-uncle" and his son, who were both older than the sponsor and superordinate to him in the political system of the community. However, these differentials of status were equivocal, and were never directly admitted by the Q'eros, who adhere always to a rhetoric of virtual equality among themselves. The assemblage could also be viewed from the perspective of kinship. In an effort to explain to me the kind of relationships represented, the Q'eros had dropped the term q'atay ("in-law") and substituted the terms wayqey ("brother") and primu (Spanish: "cousin"), implying that their native viewpoint includes a consanguineal connotation. An interpretation in terms of kinship may also be supported by native explanation: when asked whom they call upon for assistance and attendance at their feasts, the Q'eros respond "famillallayku," ("just our family" - from Spanish familia).

The community feasts toward which such plans are directed are a spectacle of activity and excitement and involve almost the entire community in the ritual center (see previous descriptions pp.154ff). Although I could not identify all the guests, most of those present at any given time in a festival house were either close cognatic relatives or affines of the domestic group in charge. As in most ritual occasions, women were separated from men and grouped together, although often singing in chorus to the fluting and dancing of the men. I was unable to recognize on sight most women even late in my research, but it was eventually apparent that spouses were frequently in different festival households. As far as the Q'eros were con-

cerned, sufficient explanation was that the other spouse "liked it there;" but pursuing the question usually revealed that both spouses were with groups to whom they were related, often in a complementary manner which equably divided their attentions and assistance among affinal relatives. No matter who is official sponsor, the senior member of his domestic group actually presides over the festival household and all its guests. Consequently, the array of kin and affines potentially in attendance is extensive. Such occasions draw together the proliferated fragments of past domestic groups in a manner apparent in no other place nor time of year. The residual hierarchy of obligations and authority between kin, obscured by the jural sovereignty of autonomous residence, is also revealed most clearly at such times. The presiding senior usually remains seated on the floor behind the small ritual table at the upper end of the house, senior visitors seating themselves on each side of him in order of their rank. All are served maize beer by junior kin and affines, who press this drink upon them in pairs of q'ero goblets and respectfully insist that their contents be entirely gulped down.

Some rituals practiced by the Q'eros appear to delimit the array of kin and affines by their exclusion rather than inclusion. In a community where all other members can be categorized either as kin and affines or as unrelated people with whom one has no such useful relationship and who furthermore are prospective affines, the utility of such ritual is clear. Assistance in the organization of feasts and attendance at them is sometimes undertaken by mere wasi masi ("neighbors") or sunqo masi ("heart-companions" or dear friends), but this is a residual category invoked in default of relationship. On the other hand, individuals who are specifically unrelated are often sought as mañasqa ("loaned"), or entreated assistants, in the rituals of status elevation undertaken by the domestic group. This is es-

pecially apparent at death, and also at birth, where the assistance of a pagarichiq outside the family may be sought. At death, the preparation of the corpse, divining, bearing of the bier, and burial are usually assigned to non-relatives entreated for assistance, and ritually repaid with hospitality and cooked food to take back home.

In these ritual moments routine status differentials appear to be suspended for the time being: whether or not of higher status, mañasqa perform as mere servants for the host, while the host observes and directs in quiet dignity. The suspension of normal status relationships may even be manifested, at this time of crisis, in ritual reversal. A dignified and ancient gapah ("powerful one") humbly prepares food in the house of his host, while the host's daughters sit idle, and his sons, although not yet of appropriate age, are offered coca leaf. The kingroup undertaking the ritual of status elevation is in this way symbolically unified in contraposition to non-relatives who attend them, without regard to profane status differentials of everyday relationship.

The ritual moments sketched above offer little evidence to support a contention of unilineal kinship organization. Rather it appears that the diffuse familla (Spanish: "family") acknowledged by the Q'eros embraces both matrilineal, patrilineal kin, and affines as well. Although complicated by acculturation, the surname system affords some further insight into Q'ero kinship. This evidence tends to support the interpretation that it is a cognatic, not unilineal system.

Arriaga (1967:57), writing in 1618 regarding the inquisition into native idolatry, was disturbed that the Quechua tended to give precedence to native rather than Christian names. The remarks imply that contemporary native surnames aboriginally sufficed for identification, perhaps without personal names. Christian personal names and Spanish surnames were simply

appended to the native names in the first processes of acculturation. Nuñez del Prado (1958:20) surveyed parochial records of matrimonies between 1679-1778, and found that the Q'eros (or at least residents of the cultural region) of this time never used more than one surname, and in the majority of cases (58%) the surname used bore no relation to that of their parents. Since the eighteenth century the Q'eros have come to use the Hispanic surname system which mechanically perpetuates an agnatic patronym.⁵ In accord with the Hispanic system, the Q'eros presently carry two consecutive surnames, a patronym and matronym, preceded by one or more personal or baptismal names. Also in accord with the Hispanic tradition, the matryms of both mother and father (their grandmothers' patronyms) are dropped from surnames, with the consequence that only one ancestral patronym survives through generations, i.e., the name which descends in an agnatic line. Although mestizos tend to assume the native loses track of his parents' matryms and his own as well, this is surely not the case, as even small children could accurately tell me their matryms and even those of their parents and some grandparents (and furthermore occasionally be capable of misleading me with pretended matryms). Ancestral matryms tend to be forgotten by the adult Q'ero at a similar remove (two or three generations) both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, and with those passed on through female ancestors lost (ch'inkasqa - "sunken") on the average only a little sooner than those through male ancestors.

This marginal precedence in the remembering of patrilateral surnames appears to reflect the relative importance of ancestral domestic groups in terms of residence, authority, and inheritance, rather than any patrilineal bias in descent. Although my data on residence and residual surnames are sparse beyond two or three generations, they tend to support the implication that matrilateral matryms would survive patrilateral matryms about one-

third of the time at the point where both tend to obscure. This is consistent with the current incidence of matrilocal residence. In other words, a marginal patrilateral bias in the memory of surnames appears to be sufficiently explained by the prevalence of patrilocal residence and the agnatic mechanics of the Hispanic surname system, warranting no appeal to a patrilineal principle of descent. All surnames except the surviving patronym (and attendant kinship associations with other families) appear to be lost beyond five or six generations. The origins of the surviving agnatic surname are also sufficiently obscure at this remove so that only ambiguous consanguineal connections remain with other bearers of the same surname not traceable to kinship originating since this hazy past.

Kinship, like the adopted system of surnames, is traced cognatically in Q'ero. This is clearly reflected in responses given by Q'eros when asked if they are related to certain other Q'eros; their explanation of relationships shows no precedence of agnation other than that made convenient by their patronym as a mnemonic device. The prescriptions of exogamy and the incest taboo also outline an expansive array of cognatic kin as extensive matrilaterally as it is patrilaterally. The common maxim is ama sutiypura tiyan- ("one must not cohabit with another of the same name"), but this implies any previous ancestral surnames as well as the one which devolves agnatically. Marriage is prohibited, and sexual intercourse deemed incestuous, with any person deemed related through a common ancestor, no matter how distantly and no matter whether through males or females. The exhaustiveness of this incest taboo appears to reflect the native principles of kinship. Centuries of inquisition by the Colonial Church, concerned that the idolatrous practices of the natives were in part a result of incest, was probably misdirected by ignorance of the native system of kinship; the efforts were spent on an aboriginal system of exogamy considerably more puritanical than that

currently practiced by highland mestizos under official Church aegis. The Q'eros are in full knowledge that the mestizos frequently marry close cousins without reprisal from their local priest, yet consider the practice immoral and even incomprehensible.⁶

In a cognatic system, as few as twenty generations can relate several million people consanguineally (Freeman 1961). Incredulous about the exhaustiveness of the taboo, I pointed out to one man that in such a small community it effectively precluded most other Q'eros as possible mates for any given person. He wryly responded that of course it was permissible to live with a distant relative if no one at all knew the relationship existed. Although theoretically no number of generations patrilaterally and matrilaterally was sufficient to render descendants unrelated and marriageable, in practice few could remember very far back, and even persons with the same surname could marry if they were from different localities and "known" to be unrelated. Given that the Q'eros' memory of antecedents appears to obscure beyond five or six generations at most, this consideration admits some members of the community to a small class of potential spouses for any other member.⁷ As is generally the case in such systems, a certain genealogical amnesia is also promoted by socially or economically insignificant marriages: Q'ero family histories tend to obscure where they involve mergers with propertyless families. However, certain structural principles, as well as the obscurity of time and low status, thin out the potential array of kin. These will be discussed after the more general characteristics of the Q'ero kindred are outlined.

The kindred is a cognatic kingroup in which consanguinity is typically considered inconsequential, and marriage permissible, beyond relationship in the third or fourth degree, i.e., mediated by a common ancestor three or four generations removed (Freeman 1961). In some ways the Q'ero kingroup

is similar to a kindred, but in important respects it is distinctive. Like the kindred, it is not a corporate group; the only truly corporate groupings in Q'ero are the domestic groups and the community itself (pp.196ff). The Q'ero kingroup has no discrete membership in perpetuity because each marriage unites two kingroups and its offspring are related to both of them, but the members of each antecedent kingroup are not thereby all related consanguineally to each other. That is to say, the kingroup is ego-centered; some of the individuals which ego accounts as kin will not account other members of his kingroup their kin as well, but only their relatives by marriage (i.e., of ego's mother and father). As with other kindreds, consanguineal proximity may be roughly quantified in the Q'ero kingroup with the use of modifiers sispa ("close") and karu ("distant") prefixed to kinterms (regarding the Inca system, cf. Zuidema 1964:74 and Cunow 1929:23-4). The Spanish locutions legitimu and manan legitimuchu - "legitimate" and "not legitimate" - are also used to distinguish descriptive from classificatory uses of kinterms.

Rather than existing in perpetuity independent of any one of its members, the Q'ero kingroup is "occasional" (Murdock 1960). It is exogamous only in the sense that anyone who marries into one's kingroup must be determined to be unrelated consanguineally. At such occasions of juncture in marriage, and in the ensuing relationships of affinity, each kingroup is determined as corporate, but only in regard to the other. Nor is there any kingroup property held in common; rights of the constituent domestic groups to their property is without lien to the kingroup, and, if it is deserted or without inheritors, other kin have no more right to it than unrelated Q'eros. The appropriate domain for ritual obligations, political decisions, and resolution of conflict is most usually the domestic group or the community represented by its leaders. A residual order of kingroup authority, defer-

ence, rights, and obligations emerges when neither of these domains routinely suffices, as when unusual support is needed in economic crisis, community ritual, political faction, or determination of culpability. The kingroup of a person is frequently, but not necessarily, called into play in such situations. I described examples of such "corporate occasions" with regard to community ritual. In the recent past, the issue of expropriation precipitated a political crisis in the community which resulted in the alignment of most domestic groups into two opposing factions. The kingroups coalesced in this situation were, significantly, affines and kindreds originated in previous marriages, usually in preference to patrilineal kingroups. In native terminology the Q'ero kindred is apparently nameless, although if pressed for a word which encompasses all the relatives he may call upon in such situations, the Q'ero offers the term p'amilyayku ("our family" from the Spanish familia). This term applies equally well, however, to the conjugal family, the domestic group, and even to ritual kin, as well as to the consanguineal kingroup.

On the other hand, the structure of the Q'ero kingroup differs in important ways from that typical of the kindred and most other cognatic structures. These differences first become apparent, superficially, in the kinship terminology (Figures 7a, 7b). Terminology in the first ascending generation is bifurcate merging, with distinctive terms applied to FZ and MB, but with FF merged terminologically with F and MZ merged terminologically with M. In ego's own generation, terminology for siblings and cousins is primarily Iroquois, but with ambiguities that suggest Hawaiian, Omaha, and even Crow terminological similarities. In concrete situations involving reference, cross-cousins are not termed the same as siblings, but parallel cousins are. On the other hand, when addressing cross-cousins the Q'eros frequently use sibling terminology, and in abstract description of kinship they may even

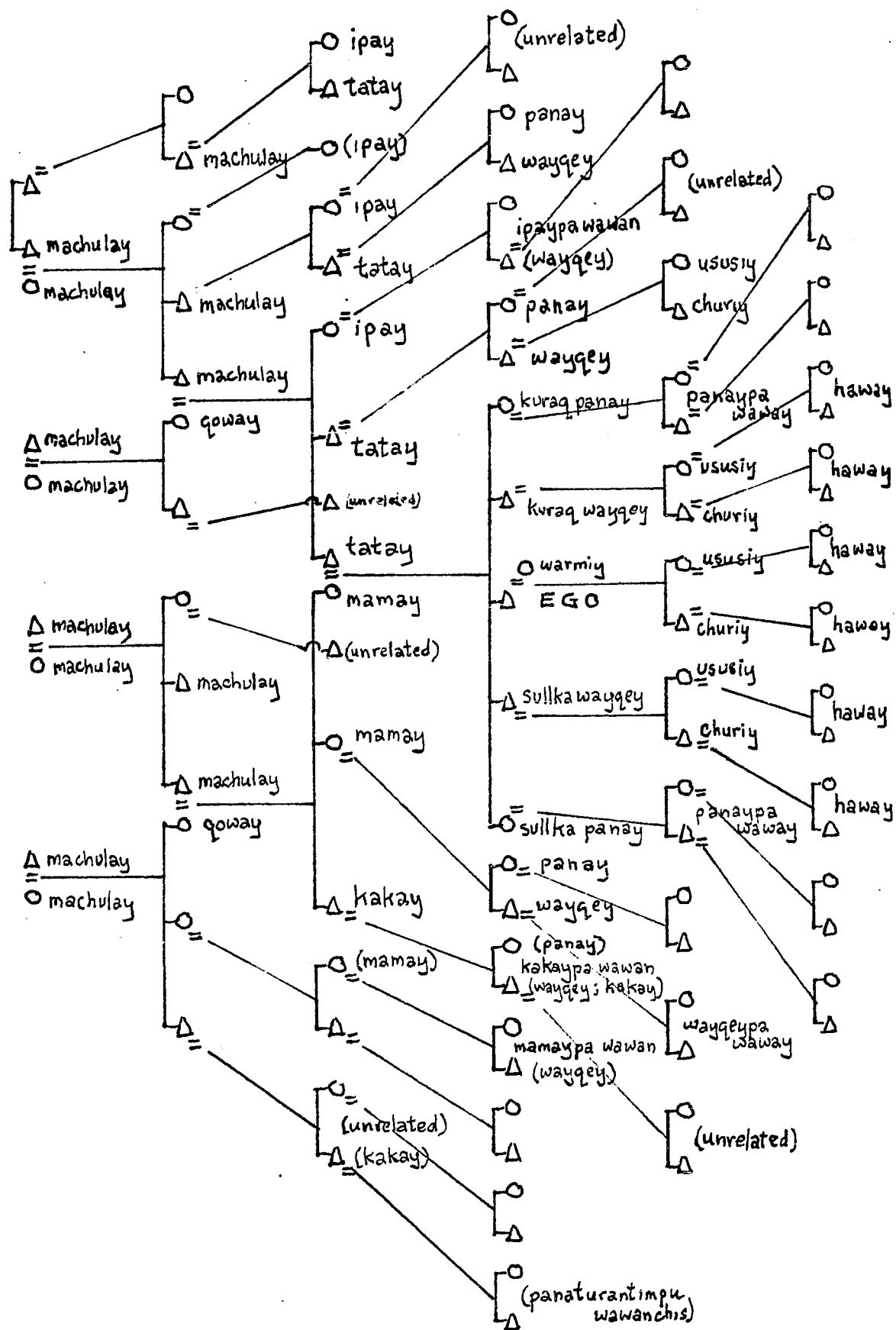
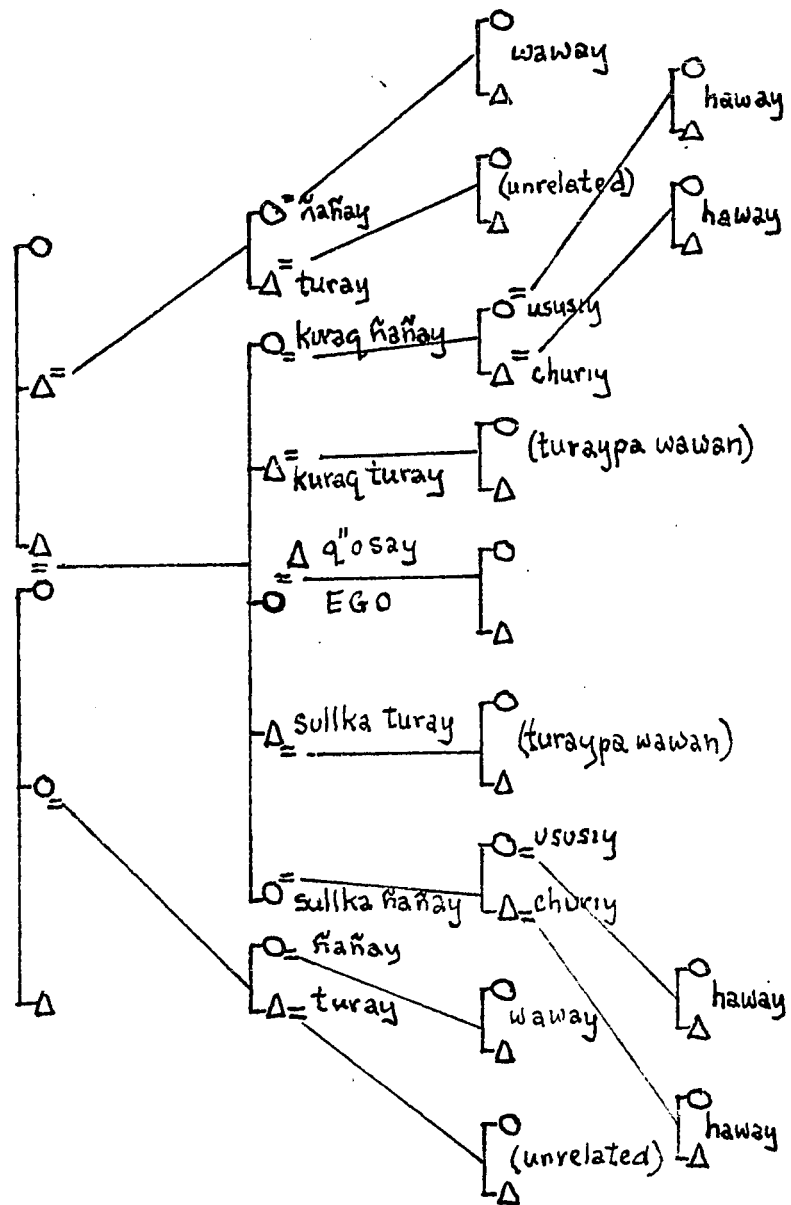


Fig 7a: Kinship terminology (male ego)



insist that these terms are applicable to cross-cousins, or lapse into ambiguous use of the Spanish equivalents irmanu ("brother"), irmana ("sister") or primu ("cousin" of either sex).

This tendency appears to express solidarity and equivalence appropriate to the situation. However, in more spontaneous reference MBC are termed kakaypa wawan ("my kakay's children") and occasionally merely kakay, suggesting a patrilineal overriding of generations characteristic of Omaha terminology. Similarly, FZC are referred to as ipaypa wawan ("my ipay's children"), a matronymy that tempts explanation in terms of Crow terminological features.⁸ This distinctive cross-cousin terminology may reflect the parents' terminology for (male ego's) ZC and (female ego's) BC. Although terminology applied to one's own children is extended to children of same-sex siblings, these terms are not usually extended to cross-collateral offspring. These are usually described as panaypa wawan (male ego's sister's children") or turaypa wawan ("female ego's brother's children").⁹ Cross-cousins of second or third degree and children of first cross-cousins are sometimes said to be sapah ("other," "separate," or unrelated), or their relationship is completely described without classificatory terms. Generally, none of these predominant features is characteristic of cognatic systems (Murdock 1960:7-8). Characteristic of some bilateral systems is the tendency to extend sibling terminology, Hawaiian fashion, to all cousins regardless of antecedents; the Q'eros extend sibling terms in this manner only in abstract situations and occasionally in personal address. But as I will argue, one is misled if these terminological features are assumed to reflect a current or previous unilineal structure of kinship behavior. Contemporary social organization furnishes sufficient grounds for explanation of this anomalous terminology, and within the conceptual bounds of the cognatic system of kinship apparent upon first analysis.

The sibling group, and its inclusion of certain classes of cousins as functional equivalents, appears to be a core feature of Q'ero kinship. When relationship between distant relatives is traced, the matter usually rests when an ancestral sibling group common to both parties is named. The parents of this ancestral sibling group is in fact composed of classificatory siblings (as is often the case) some of their parents are themselves a sibling group. Reference can be to an ancestral group of brothers, group of sisters, or group of brothers and sisters, and this *prima facie* impeaches the possibility of unilineal descent. Sibling terminology is rather elaborate in the Quechua system and may be the basis of several other terminological discriminations. In the sixteenth century Garcilaso (1946:vol.1, book 4, chapter 11) described the particularity of sibling terminology whereby siblings of opposite sex (panay - male's sister; turay - female's brother) could not use terms appropriate between siblings of the same sex (wayqey - male's brother; ñañay - female's sister) and risked implicit confusion of their own sex status if they were to so equivocate. Same-sex and cross-sex distinctions are explicit. This principle applies among all collaterals to whom ego extends sibling terminology, i.e., among his parallel cousins.

The general principle of same-sex and cross-sex discriminations is probably part of the explanation of the bifurcate merging terminology in the parents' generation. In this generation, parents and their siblings and parallel cousins, who being of the same sex refer reciprocally to one another with the same sibling term (F,FB,FFBS,FMZS, and M,MZ,MMZD,MFBD) are also termed alike by ego (tatay and mamay, respectively). On the other hand, those in the parental generation who, as siblings or parallel cousins of cross-sex, employ distinct sibling terms reciprocally (F and FZ, F and FFBD, F and FMZD, F and FFFBSD; M and MB, M and MMZS, M and MFBS) are termed distinctively by ego (ipay and kakay, respectively). As will be discussed in

the succeeding section on affinity, kakay and ipay also seem to share in statuses which are more a matter of affinity than kinship, and in this sense they are also distinguished from their siblings and collaterals of opposite sex (ego's parents and other mamay and tatay).

The pivotal same-sex and cross-sex distinctions are institutionalized in the common native locutions waygentimpu wawan ("the children of brothers"), ñañantimpu wawan ("the children of sisters"), and panaturantimpu wawan ("the children of a brother and a sister" - by different spouses, of course). Finer, but clumsier, glosses of these cousin locutions would be "children among (in the sense of having a 'background' of) brothers (sisters; brother and sister)" or "bring children with 'brothering' (sistering; brother-and-sistering) parents." Suffixation of wawayku rather than wawan denotes "we (exclusively) are..." cousins of each sort (cross-cousins, parallel cousins with linking female parents, or parallel cousins with linking male parents). Insofar as sibling terminology is extended between parents and their parallel cousins, these locutions are also extended to cousins of second or even third degree. Such extensions, however, are explicitly derivative of the first-cousin denotation in the view of the Q'eros, and appropriate only when terminology for the parents and their siblings is actually extended to the parents of the more distant cousins. This seems to be determined by the degree of familiarity and routine social and economic intercourse between the domestic groups concerned. Consequently the group of collateral kin who refer to one another's parents as kakay and ipay are panaturantimpu wawan, those who refer to one another's parents as tatay are waygentimpu wawan, and those who refer to one another's parents as mamay are ñañantimpu wawan.

Panaturantimpu wawan, however, as cross-cousins, do not extend sibling terminology to one another in routine reference, whereas the two sorts of parallel cousins do. Consequently, offspring of panaturantimpu wawan (second cross-cousins) have no terminological basis for the extension of parental terms to their parents' cross-cousins, generally do not, and furthermore often do not consider them kin. Apparently as a matter of practical social fact, and regardless of the ideally unrestricted cognatic system of kinship, second cross-cousins frequently do not think of one another as kin at all unless intimate social and economic intercourse has been maintained between their respective domestic groups. Given the prescribed and usual residential dispersion of siblings, the instability of co-residence between siblings and their matrilocal brothers-in-law, and the frequency of translocation (Chapter 7), such continued interdependence of the kingroup does not normally persist. Descendants of cross-sex siblings beyond two or three generations rarely treat one another as kin, although if the question arises elders in the kingroup will confirm the common kinship. In one case my informant became angry when I continued to suggest that his FMBS was his kinsman, but conceded that it might indeed be so when I told him his father's sister had attested to this kinship. Attenuation of perceived consanguinity at any greater remove from the ancestral cross-sex sibling pair appears to be final.

This is usually not the case with the descendants of wayqgentimpu wawan and ñañantimpu wawan. These distant parallel cousins may extend parental terminology to one another's parents, and sibling terminology to one another, insofar as successive generations have maintained the same-sex structure among collaterals which is the basis of appropriate terminological extension. Those collaterals who stand in cross-sex relationship to one another are panay and turay to one another, and initiate the divergent con-

sanguinity of panaturantimpu wawan between their offspring. Cohesive consanguinity generally continues to be professed among wayqentimpu wawan and nanantimpu wawan as long as the extension of sibling terminology remains appropriate, although this appears to be extinguished by remoteness, if not by cross-sex collaterality, within five or six generations. The kinship system is nonetheless cognatic. The kingroups of both parents and all their antecedents are considered one's kin, as are the progeny of both sexes among one's children. But the kingroups which devolve through each parent are thinned out by the cross-sex structure of collateral links among their antecedents. Whereas in unilineal systems kingroup membership is perpetuated indefinitely among descendants of one sex only, in the Q'ero cognatic system kinship is perpetuated among descendants of either sex, indefinitely among descendants of collaterals of the same sex, but attenuates rapidly among descendants of collaterals of opposite sex. The result is a cognatic kingroup perhaps most descriptively termed a parallel kindred.

The Q'eros do, of course, marry other Q'eros who are distant cognatic relatives; this cannot be avoided in a small community which is predominantly endogamous. The genealogical data which I was able to collect reveals at least 25% consanguineal marriages (24 out of 93), with 36% of these occurring at more than four generations' remove, 44% occurring at three or four generations' remove, 16% occurring at two or three generations' remove, and only 4% occurring at two generations' remove, and none more closely (fuller genealogical data would increase the proportion of consanguinity at four or more generation's remove). However, in accord with the native perception of consanguinity which I have described, these technically consanguineal relatives are not seen to be kin at all by the Q'eros. Although in abstract discussion the Q'eros contend that a remembered common ancestor at any remove on any side of the family precludes possibility of

appropriate marriage, their opinions regarding specific hypothetical cases are not so consistent. An approximate consensus among these opinions implies that descendants of distant (two generations or more) panaturantimpu wawan may marry, because they are sapah ("separate," not kin).

On the other hand, parallel descendants of waygentimpu wawan or ñañantimpu wawan at any remembered remove may in no case marry, and sexual relations are wrong and should be stopped by force if necessary. The initial same-sex sibling structure, and the continuity of close perceived kinship, can be maintained insofar as successive generations of collaterals are parallel, i.e., same-sex, and consequently can call one another "male's brother" or "female's sister" (waygey or ñañay). Although the situation is rare, parallel kinship logically could be sustained even if the sex of same-sex collaterals alternates in successive generations.

Actual marriage patterns reflect the perception of kin described above. Of twenty-four marriages in Q'ero which I was able to detect to be consanguineal, twenty-three were between (classificatory) panaturantimpu wawan, i.e., distant relatives whose antecedent collaterals at one point were "female's brother" and "male's sister" to one another (Figure 8). Only six of these cases were between the classificatory panaturantimpu wawan themselves (i.e., with ascending collaterals senior to the cross-sex parents being of the same sex in each generation - cases 2,6,9,10,17,22); in more than 70% of the cases the cross-sex siblings had initiated divergent consanguinity two or more generations before. Only one of the twenty-four cases could be construed to be between ñañantimpu wawan (18: m + f + m + m (o) (-?) m - m - f - f =), and this reckoning may have missed a collateral which would in fact have created a panaturantimpu generation. The very low (perhaps zero) incidence of (classificatory) parallel cousin marriage is significant, because in a four generation system (the remove which the data generally reflects) more

m - male; f - female; (o) cousin (presumed parallel)
 + ascending generation = marriage (here, to initial m)
 - descending generation (?) sex of linking relative
 o siblinghood unknown

1. $m + m + m (o) f - f - m - f =$
2. $m + m (o) f - f =$
3. $m + m + f + m (o) m - m - m - f =$
4. $m + m + m + m + m (o) m - f - m - f =$
5. $m + f + m + m o m - f - f =$
6. $m + f o m - f =$
7. $m + f + m + m o m - f - f - f =$
8. $m + f (?) m - m - f =$
9. $m + m + m (o) m - f - f =$
10. $m + m + f + f o f - f - f - f =$
11. $m + m + m + m (o) m - f - m - f =$
12. $m + f + m (o) f - f - f =$
13. $m + f + f + m (o) m (-m?) - m - f =$
14. $m + m + f + m (o) m (-m?) - m - f =$
15. $m + m + f + m (o) (?) - m - m - m - f =$
16. $m + f + m + f o m - m - f =$
17. $m + f + m + m (o) m - m - m - f =$
18. $m + f + m + m (o) (-?) m - m - f - f =$
19. $m + f + m o m - m - f - f =$
20. $m + f + m o m - m - f - f =$
21. $m + f + m + m o m - f - f - f =$
22. $m + f + f (o) f - m - f =$
23. $m + f + f + m + m o (?) - m - m - m - m - f =$
24. $m + f + f (o) m - f - f =$

Fig. 6 : Consanguineal marriage forms

than 11% (8 of 68 arrangements) of all logically possible permutations of sex links result in parallel descendants in the sense described. If choice of spouses were random where it overlaps with distant cognates, rather than proscriptive of such classificatory parallel cousins, it is likely that at least some clear examples of such marriage would be encountered. (However, if the exceptional case of apparently ñañantimpu wawan is accepted, a larger sample of consanguineal marriages is needed for statistically significant confirmation.)

Marriages between members of two sibling groups may furnish some basis for an alternative explanation of bifurcate merging terminology that supports the possibility of patrilineal descent. About 25% of the conjugal bonds represented in Q'ero are alliances of siblings or parallel cousins in marriage to another set of siblings or parallel cousins. Even outside of such marriage reciprocations, the parental terms mamay and tatay are frequently extended to spouses of classificatory tatay and mamay, and the terms ipay (FZ) and kakay (MB) seem to be at least occasionally extended to spouses of parents' cross-sex siblings, although these persons are only step-kin in virtue of their marriage. However, if brothers were to marry sisters (same-sex sibling exchange) FBW would also be MZ, and if a brother and a sister were to marry a sister and a brother (sister-exchange), FZH would also be MB. In a patrilineal system the children of same-sex sibling-exchange marriages would be kinsmen in virtue of their fathers (who are brothers), furnishing the basis for extension of sibling terms to one another and parental terms to both of one another's parents. In accord with the same patrilineal principle, the children of sister-exchange marriages would be members of different kin-groups, and perhaps for this reason would not extend sibling terminology to one another, and apply distinctive terms (kakay and ipay) to one another's parents. In a patrilineal system such marriage forms could be the basis for

considering ñāñantimpu wawan (children of sisters) close kin, and panaturantimpu wawan (children of a brother and a sister) not kinsmen at all.

The hypothetical explanation above is the traditional rationale of such terminology, and I suspect that the temptation to return to it has often been the basis of the usual interpretation of the Quechua kinship system as patrilineal. However, aside from the terminology itself, the assumption that patrilineal descent exists or once existed is gratuitous. Extension of the terminology appropriate to the parental generation to step-kin married into that generation is a common feature of classificatory terminology (viz., "uncle" and "aunt" in English) and does not alone render equivocal a cognatic system which is, aside from the anomalous terminology, evident. Sister-exchange marriages are a slight majority of the cases of intermarriage (15% of all marriages), and the remaining cases of same-sex sibling exchange marriage (10% of all marriages) seem scant basis for the extension of kinship to the children of MZ and all her parallel cousins whether or not they have married into father's kingroup. Furthermore, neither intermarriage between sibling groups appears to be based on more than cooperative pragma, and is encouraged by no normative preference or prescription. Positing patrilineal descent would have only the advantage of explaining some features of the kinship terminology in a traditional manner.

Alternative kin terms are numerous and frequently used, and the usual kin terms are often extended beyond their characteristic denotata. I already noted that in situations of direct address or in abstract discussion of the kinship system Q'eros may extend sibling terminology to cross-cousins, as in a Hawaiian terminology more typical of a bilateral kinship system. In general, it may be said that variables of affection, equality, honor, or deference supervene, depending on circumstances, rendering certain kin terms rhetorically more appropriate than others. The relevant circumstances appear di-

verse, and most remain unclear to me. I suspect that their clarification is prerequisite to a fuller understanding of the kinship system than I am able to achieve here. It is apparent that residential contiguity or frequency of interaction, analogous to the situation of direct address, can encourage the extension of sibling or parental terminology past the consanguineal boundaries ordinarily initiated in the divergent structure of panaturantimpu wawan. Filial affection or virtual siblinghood, with the implication of primordial solidarity and reciprocal rights and duties, is appropriately invoked in such circumstances, and can be furthermore extended to affines and mere neighbors as well.

Appropriate acknowledgement of deference and honor through the use of alternative or elaborated kin terms is usual among individuals junior in status, in reference as well as address. A series of alternative terms graphically portrays the reverence, not entirely sober I suspect, owed grandparental generations. Machulay ("grandparent") is neutral, perhaps with overtones of affection befitting the reciprocal haway, but living machula are more usually referred to and addressed as hatun ("grand") tatay or hatun mamay, and if very old males, awkiy and even tatay machu awkiwiñay ("my ancient father, raised by the spirits").¹⁰ The much more common awkiy appears to be the anomalous use of a term normally used to identify powerful local spirits, but it is likely to be a derivation from the more elaborate expression. This expression rhetorically identifies the grandfather or great grandfather with these forces (as his adoptive parents!) and perhaps with the machu, who is an ancient male of an antidiluvian (in this case, antiso-larian) race of men whose survivors are malignant and hidden in the current world (cf. Nuñez del Prado 1958). Qoway seems to be used deferentially with reference or address to female grandparents, but unlike the neutral machulay

this term may connote affinity, and its honorific overtones may originate in this aspect of the relationship as well as in grandparenthood.

The polarity of sullk'a and kurag (junior and senior in age status, respectively) usually elaborates all kinship terms applied to siblings and parents' siblings. This preoccupation reflects the rigid hierarchy of seniority established among siblings by birth order in the domestic group, and carried over among siblings heading independent domestic groups. Among siblings, each is termed sullk'a or kurag without regard to sex, and often simply sullkay ("my junior") and kuragniy ("my senior") without appending the sibling reference. Although these terms are frequent in reference, direct address may avoid any use of general kin terms, suggesting that formal deference or its expectation is restrained in confrontation if not with third parties. Among the parents' siblings these terms are also usually applied, reflecting status relative to one's own parent, and prefixed to tatay, may, ipay or kakay. The distinction of seniority which is spontaneously made by a person regarding all of his parent's siblings confirms the residue of deference and authority which remains among them even when economically self-sufficient, despite the usual contention of sovereignty each avows with regard to the other. These supplementary terms are also occasionally extended, along with parental terms, to affines of one's parents, depending on their familiarity and perhaps on their relative importance in the community. I have heard them used reciprocally in reference even between two elders, one a widow and the other a parallel third cousin of the widow's deceased husband. The durability of this polarity of status in the social organization is clearly apparent. Finally, generations may be honorifically overridden by the application of the grandparental term awkiy to very senior brothers of one's father. This practice seems to have its analog in the distinction of the most senior brother among more than one as

sinchi kuraq ("very eldest"), and the contingent use of tatay to designate this person if he succeeds to the paramount leadership role of the domestic group upon his father's early death.

In Chapter 7 I concluded that, although patrilateral filiation usually enjoyed priority in domestic group development, various practical situations, especially matrilocal residence, could easily swing the balance in favor of matrilateral filiation. The preponderant cohesiveness of male kinsmen is also apparent in the Q'ero kingroup, although like the anomalous kinship terminology it does not bear a patrilineal interpretation. The salience of the male role in economic and political statuses, as in the majority of domestic group activities, seems to be sufficient explanation. Their prominence nevertheless has definite affects on the system of kinship and affinity.

Although children of sisters (ñañantimpu wawan) seem not to be in any way deficient in common consanguinity, children of brothers, and all descendants of waygentimpu wawan who do not suffer the consanguineal divergence of cross-cousins (panaturantimpu wawan), appear salient in most genealogies. Both male and female informants tended to recount more fully a male line of predecessors, and in doing so would often ignore the sisters of these predecessors, while including all brothers. Also in accord with the parallel kindred, the converse appeared to occur in accounts of female predecessors both patrilaterally and matrilaterally, but most accounts were notably thin in this regard. This may have been a result of the fact that most of my informants were males, females often being unapproachable in their disdain or furious dignity, or fleeing in fright. (If the bias is a product of the informant's sex, then the parallel kindred could be argued to have a stronger component of parallel transmission, a concept shortly to be discussed.) However, I am inclined to suspect that this tendency to

grant precedence to male kinsmen and ancestors is simply an affect of their usually predominant role. It may also be promoted as an artifact of the Hispanic surname system, which perpetuates an agnatic patronym but, by automatically dropping matronyms each generation, removes any mnemonic assistance from the ñañantimpu relationship even sooner than from the panaturantimpu relationship. In one account the offspring of MZ were not accorded the status of kin, but this case was soon controverted by another in which a family was accounted as kin precisely in virtue of this connection, and in preference to an agnatic relationship through socially obscure predecessors. In another case two Q'eros presented themselves to me as (classificatory) ñañantimpu wawan, but any relationship at all was later denied, in private, by the one of them who had considerably higher status. Such cases confirm that matrilineal filiation emerges in the domain of kinship where its practical significance is notable, or superior to that of patrilineal filiation.

There is also interesting evidence that male kinsmen who are matrilineal in the cognatic system are viewed as unitary in some sense. In the Pusachaynin, the family ritual of status elevation pursuant to death, the ancestors of the deceased called upon to guide his spirit to the nether-world appear to be named in a regular order of priority. No particular order is said to be required, and in fact the ideal is simply to call the spirits of all the dead associated with the neighborhood of the valley. In practice, however, it is clear that only relatives are called upon, and these relatives may have lived and died in any location in the community. The longest list of ancestors that I was able to record was developed in prayer between a ritual specialist (a mañasga, or entreated assistant) and his host during several hours of the night, and finally began to be repeated, more or less in the original order, throughout the night. In general, the entreaties to ancestral spirits worked from those at three or four generation's remove to

those deceased more recently, apparently following an order of seniority which persists among the dead.

But the most striking feature of the order was the precedence of matrilineal ancestors of the person being mourned. Although the spirits actually called upon tended generally to be males, those first prevailed upon were almost invariably patrilineal ancestors of the deceased's mother, and those usually last prevailed upon were patrilineal ancestors of the deceased's father; of these latter usually very few were named. Between these two classes of ancestors, patrilineal kinsmen of the deceased's mother's mother and of his father's mother were called upon, with precedence usually given to the former. The fullest list was obtained in a household which had a background of matrilineal residence (the deceased's father had settled matrilineally), and later confirmed in Santus when the deceased of the past year or two are mourned again annually. But the possibility that the precedence of ancestors prevailed upon merely reflected the importance of residence options, and attendant adjustments in filiation, was obviated by lists obtained in several other households with exclusively patrilineal backgrounds in their recent history. These lists also tended to be consistent in the matrilineal precedence of patrilineal groups of male ancestors.

One possible implication of this format is that the different classes of matrilineal male kinsmen, in about the order of their most recent displacement by another group of agnatic kin, are prevailed upon in virtue of the filiative emotion which has presumably filled the void of jural disenfranchisement. That is to say, in Fortes' terms, they represent the lines of submerged complimentary filiation, in order of their most recent submergence. If agnatic filiation were to prevail in Q'ero, such a sympathy for and credence in the supernatural power and empathy of matrilineal relatives would perhaps be appropriate. But this would again base an assumption of patri-

lineal descent on very slim evidence. This evidence appears to be more productively analyzed in terms of the parallel kindred, this time elaborating upon its structure from the perspective of affinity. From this point of view, the native model which is called to mind is matrilinear panaturan-timpu wawan, insofar as it is the deceased's mother's father, and his male kinsmen (including MB) who tend to be called upon first. The term kaka (MB) in fact tends to be widely distributed among collateral male kinsmen of MF, far beyond merely his son, reflecting a certain cohesion among them. As previously mentioned, the term kaka may reflect a primarily affinal status. It appears that several classes of matrilinear ancestors, affinal in this sense and only marginally consanguineal kin in the cognatic system, are the primary object of requests for assistance in guiding the spirits of the recently dead. As I will argue in the discussion of affinity, the cohesion of these male kinsmen is based upon their joint jural status in marriage rather than in consanguinity.

Before turning to the structure of affinity in Q'ero I want to put my discussion of the parallel kindred of Q'ero into perspective with regard to some recent analyses of kinship among the Inca and some other South American cultures. My understanding of the Q'ero system of kinship was taking general shape while I was in the field. I was particularly concerned to comprehend the implications of the native locutions which discriminated among collaterals on the basis of same or opposite sex, and avoid being misled by unilineal models of kinship which these key distinctions might suggest yet not be founded upon. I have since been gratified and reassured: Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971), in connection with a deductive analysis of Siriono kinship terminology and being similarly careful to avoid the assumptions engendered by unilineal models, had found comparable permutations of semantic principles of kinship in several other South American systems, one of which was,

excitingly enough, the Incas of the south Central Highlands. I was disappointed to find considerable divergence between Lounsbury's data and analysis of the Inca system at the time of contact and my own understanding of the Q'ero system, "descendants of the Inca" that they and others of this region purport themselves to be. But I nevertheless bolstered by the congruence of several of my own understandings about the Q'ero with some of the central rules derived from the Siriono data, and apparently useful in reassessment of several other aboriginal South American systems including that of the Inca.

Among the rules deduced by Scheffler and Lounsbury in the formalization of the Siriono kinship are same-sex sibling merging (1971:114) and parallel transmission of kin class status (1971:110;186-90). The same-sex sibling merging rule apparently reflects an irreducible first principle in the Siriono system as it does in many others. Although Scheffler and Lounsbury do not emphasize the differentiation of cross-sex siblings per se (but as an auxiliary 1971:121) in their deductive analysis, its operation as a corollary of the same-sex sibling merging rule is apparent in their discussion of the common distinction between cross- and parallel-cousins (1971:172-4) and the cross-collateral context of most parallel transmission (1971:179). The operation of these two principles must likewise be accepted as primitives in the Q'ero kinship system. The Quechua semantic locutions wayqentimpu wawan and ñañantimpu wawan are based upon the merging of same-sex siblings, and the locution panaturantimpu wawan is based upon the fundamental differentiation of cross-sex siblings. Much of the Q'ero kinship system is in turn generated by these primitive distinctions and mergings among collaterals and their effects through successive generations.

The operation of the innovative notion of parallel transmission is fairly clear in the structure of affinity among the Q'eros. Parallel trans-

mission of kin-class status, according to Scheffler and Lounsbury, is the (at least semantic) merging of same-sex roles in filiation. Although the operation of this principle in the domain of kinship is not so clear, it appears that this principle must also be invoked to explain more fully the key locutions regarding cousins and their antecedents in the parallel kindred.

On the basis of data presented by Nuñez del Prado regarding the eighteenth century Q'eros (1958:20-21), Lounsbury suggests that parallel transmission evident in Inca kinship terminology may have also functioned in the succession of surnames (Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971:189). On the basis of thirty-six recorded matrimones of Q'eros between 1679 and 1778, laboriously extracted from existing parochial records, Nuñez del Prado suggested that an "ambilineal" ideology of descent once obtained in Q'ero (prior to what he presently considers to be a patrilineal system) whereby filiation tended significantly to align daughters matrilaterally and sons patrilaterally. In all cases where the surname of a parent was carried as a surname by one of the spouses, males carried that of their father and females that of their mother. He also remarked that a similar "tendency to account female antecedents matrilineally and male antecedents patrilineally" still prevails in Q'ero (1958:21). In my understanding, Q'ero kinship is unequivocally cognatic and there is no evidence to indicate such a system of "parallel descent" (Maybury-Lewis 1960), although the principles of the parallel kindred might easily be confused with such a structure.¹¹ But furthermore, this data is scant basis for an assumption that males' surnames descended patrilineally whereas females' surnames descended matrilineally. Fully 58% of the surnames bore no apparent relation at all to those of parents. The most that can be assumed is that surnames frequently devolved in parallel transmission; however, if the indicated frequencies were

consistent in previous generations, this would be a surname unrelated to the grandparents' in the majority of cases.

Although there is no evidence for parallel or any other sort of unilineal descent ideology, Nuñez del Prado's analysis does seem to adumbrate the operation of parallel transmission of status filiation at least in some contiguous generations and part of the time. It might be significant that the proportion of matrilineal surnames evident in the eighteenth century is consistent with the contemporary incidence of matrilineal residence. The proportion of parallel transmission of surnames among women relative to that among men is about 39% (12:19); this is approximately what could be expected if (1) the incidence of matrilineal residence in the eighteenth century were about the same as it currently is, and if (2) females whose parents resided matrilineally were given the surname of their mothers (who had remained with their mothers' domestic groups), and males whose parents resided patrilineally were given the surnames of their fathers (when surnames were passed on at all). This speculation fits well with my conclusions in Chapter 7 regarding the situational emergence of matrilineal filiation, and does not beg the question of descent.¹²

The structure of the parallel kindred seems logically to require some operation of the principle of parallel transmission. The parallel-cousin locutions wayqentimpu wawan and ñañantimpu wawan are based on more than merely an equation of same-sex siblings, but on the transmission of this status to the children in the ensuing generation as well. This is evident because the transmission is perceived as transitive only if the wawan (i.e., parallel cousins) are of the same sex as their same-sex sibling parents; among those who are not the transmission is either terminated (i.e., in the cross-sex reciprocals panan and turan), or continues in the other parallel-cousin relationship (ñañantimpu wawan or wayqentimpu wawan, as the case may

be). The primitive distinction itself between nanantimpu wawan and waygentimpu wawan is most logically derived through parallel transmission; without the principle there is no basis on which to discriminate matrilineal parallel cousins from patrilineal parallel cousins, which is what the two locutions do.

Some additional evidence of parallel transmission of kin status is reflected in the analysis of consanguineal marriages (Figure 8). Among the six cases of marriage between classificatory panaturantimpu wawan themselves (rather than their descendants; see p.286), only one was among first cross-cousins (#6), and consequently between relatively close cognatic kin. But in this case the filiation of each spouse was cross-sex, and this may have been seen to sufficiently attenuate consanguinity. Furthermore, in several discussions with Q'eros it was clearly implicated that descendants at any remove from panaturantimpu wawan could not appropriately marry as long as their sex remained the same as their parents' in each successive generation. If parallel transmission does predominate, distant descendants of this sort would not be seen as consanguinely different from the original cross-sex sibling pair, and consequently no more marriageable than first cross-cousins. In this regard it is interesting to note that of the twenty-three consanguineal marriages clearly involving opposite-sex collaterals in their antecedents, all but three (#2,9,10) also manifest a further reversal of sex in subsequent filiations. Perhaps this is necessary for the ultimate disruption of perceived consanguinity among classificatory panaturantimpu wawan.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that parallel transmission of kinship status is not exclusive. From any given ego-perspective in a parallel kindred, the two classes of parallel cousins and their same-sex parents are seen as unitary in the sense that only they can transmit consanguinity in the full sense, and they are distinguished from panaturantimpu wawan which can

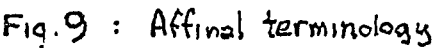
not. The logical implication of this is that any ego also shares in transmission of status from his cross-sex parent. That is to say, insofar as I am aware, males view their matrilateral parallel cousins as no less consanguines than their patrilateral parallel cousins, and females likewise patrilaterally, indicating that transmission is parallel in only some respects, as yet unclear. This is only to say that the system appears irreducibly bilateral within the domain of one's parallel cousins. Of course, Schefler and Lounsbury do not use the rule of parallel transmission as in any sense exclusive, either semantically or with regard to social structural correlates. Rather it bears a priority of operation dependent both upon the system in which it may be found to operate, and upon the context of other rules in which it operates.

In Q'ero, the operational priority of parallel transmission among kin is ambiguous, although further investigation may clarify it. Throughout the Q'ero affinal system, on the other hand, it clearly operates with considerable priority. Among the South American systems of kinship in which Schefler and Lounsbury find their central principles significantly operating, parallel transmission among affinal relatives appears to be important in at least two cases. I will argue that there is some possibility Lounsbury has misinterpreted his scant data on the early post-contact Inca, and that this system may well have utilized the principle in this domain as do the contemporary Q'ero, their purported "descendants."

Patterns of affinity. The foregoing discussion of kinship began with the description and analysis of some ritual moments which appear paradigmatic for the topic, and the same approach will be utilized here. The first example involved a karguyoh (feast sponsor) organizing several male relatives, all of whom (with the exception of his two younger brothers) were described

to me as q"atay. This native term is now used only in the more remote regions of the south Central Andes, but most bilingual mestizos are familiar with it and translate it as verno or cuñado (Spanish: "son-in-law" and brother-in-law," respectively). These are also the glosses offered for the term by the Q'eros when queried, but it is apparent that its denotative range in actual use is even wider. In the ritual situation previously described the term served to classify the husbands of two sisters and the husband of a daughter, but also the husband of a classificatory paternal aunt (FFBD) and his son, and probably extended to the wife's half-sister's husband (her q"atay) as well. Although it was not apparent to me in this particular situation, comparable situations make it clear that the sponsor (or at least his father) would be kakay to each of these persons referred to as q"atayniy (Figure 9). The native term kaka is used rarely among more acculturated highland communities, but is popularly glossed as tio (Spanish: "uncle" either maternal or paternal). More careful investigation reveals that kakay is applied only to MB (FB is termed tatay, as is F) in the context of collateral relatives, and to wife's father as well; these denotations are confirmed in several dictionaries of Quechua (Guardia 1967:78; Clemente 1970:77). But the denotative extension of the term in Q'ero is much wider than this, and the domain throughout which it operates appears to be "affinal" in character, rather than "consanguineal" as might be supposed regarding MB.¹⁴

In the previous discussion of this ritual moment it was remarked that all members of the gathering appeared to be considered kin, at least in the loose sense of "family" as it is used by the Q'eros. On the other hand, from the point of view of affinity, all those present except the two brothers were affines and, interestingly enough, affines by virtue of having married a female member of the sponsor's kingroup. The sponsor himself was the only person present who was an affine (to all the q"atay) in the sense



of having "given" a female member of his kingroup rather than having taken one. It was also suggested that deferential behavior, as well as the supportive roles being pledged to the sponsor, appeared to place him in a superordinate position regarding all the others. In the case of two of those present, this was even regardless of his subordination to them in the formal political system of the community. As will become apparent in the following discussions, q'atay and kaka are both affinal class designations with very wide but complementary denotative ranges among relatives. These two classes of relatives furthermore form the axes of asymmetric status relationships that constitute a jural periphery of the parallel kindred; this is its penumbra, as it were, where it overlaps with other cognatic kingroups (Figure 10).

The pattern of affinal relationships evident in this preparation is also evident in the culmination of community feasts in the ritual center. But on these occasions it is considerably obscured in a spectacle involving almost all the relatives of a domestic group and interpersonal ritual which blends belligerence and egalitarian rhetoric. I witnessed most of these occasions early in my fieldwork (they occur primarily in one season), and in any case they are situations when one can least expect serious responses from the Q'eros. But hurried accountings of guests in each festival house later yielded revealing results. Aside from the array of kin present, most male guests were affinal relatives including father or brother of wife, of brother's wife, or of son's wife, and father or brother of sister's husband or daughter's husband, from either the perspective of the sponsor or that of his father. That is to say, some affines present were kin of females who had married a member of the hosting kingroup, and others had married a female of the hosting kingroup, or were kin of someone who did. Although any of these relatives might prepare food or serve at one time and dance, play

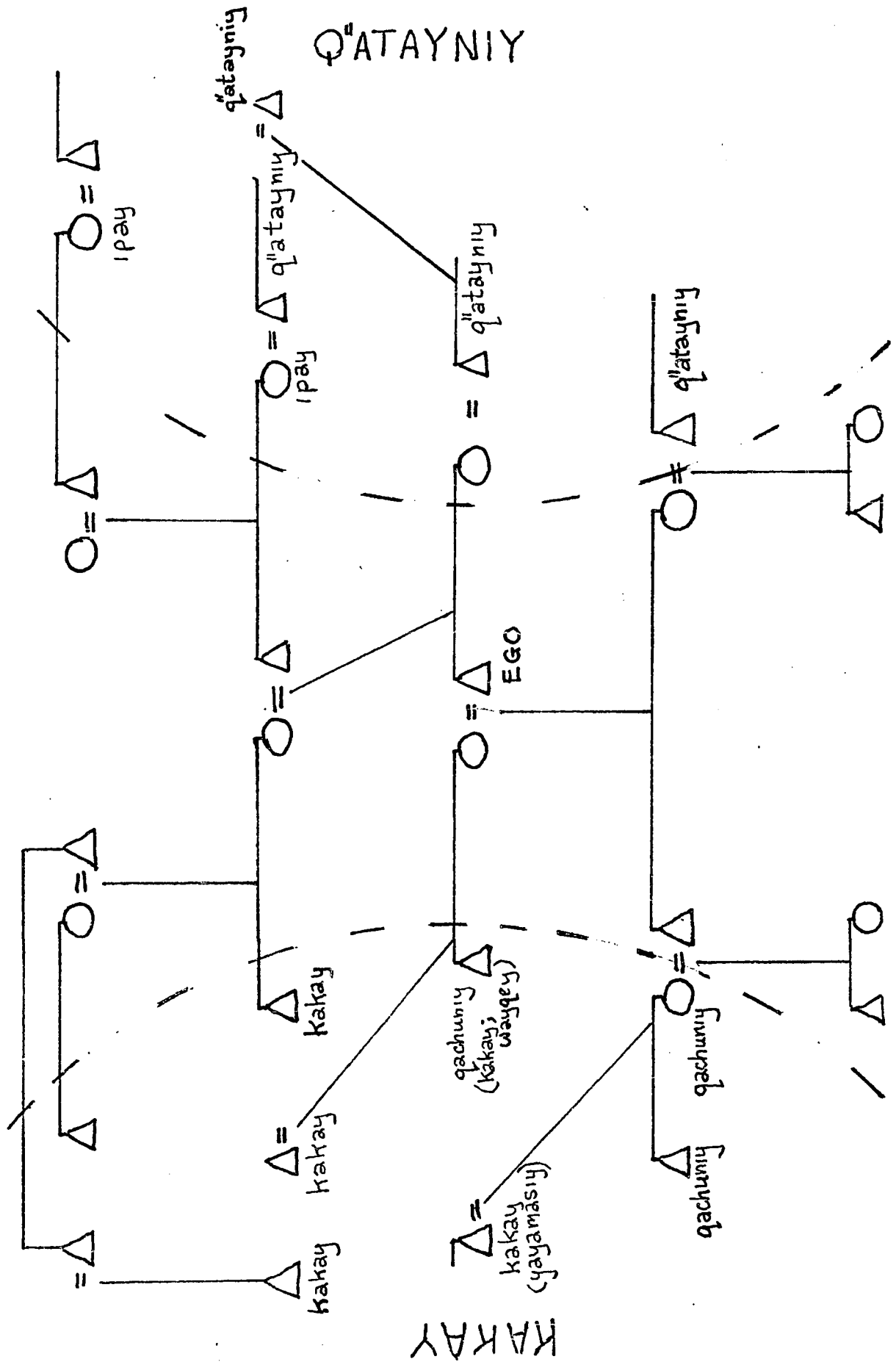


Fig. 10: Affinal classes and the cognatic kingroup

their flutes, eat, drink or sit and talk to another, juniors tended to do more of the former and seniors more of the latter activities. The rough accounting of guests later indicated that among affines those more senior tended to be related through their female kin (e.g., daughter-in-law's father, wife's father, father's wife's brother, or MB), whereas those more junior tended to be sons-in-law or sisters' husbands. Although the latter category was not precluded from the more enjoyable aspects of the feast, it was clear that most of the services fell to them as well as the junior members of the hosting kingroup.

It should be noted that the constituency of this latter group is congruent with that which was earlier evident pledging assistance to the sponsor in the organizational meeting. That is to say, they were all q"atay. On the other hand, the other component of affinal guests, those related through their female kin and indulging unrestrainedly in the feast, could all be designated kaka. The disproportion of juniors and seniors in these two classes of affines to the host kingroup is presumably a result of attendance elsewhere in the festival houses of other karguyoh. There, more senior q"atay of the first kingroup will be kaka in the context of another kingroup, (to whom their female kin have been married), and the more junior kaka of the given kingroup will be q"atay in the context of another kingroup (from whom they have obtained wives). Seniority in age and general social status puts one in a position to indulge one's superordinate status as a kaka, whereas youth leaves one little choice but to fulfill obligations in the subordinate status of q"atay. Provisional seniority in social status is also part of the sponsor's role. It enabled the leader of the organizational meeting previously described to assume the role of kaka, and convene his q"atay, two of whom were even senior to him in age and other social status. If this arrangement among affines was formally instituted in any way

it was never apparent to me except in behavior; both orders and services were carried out in an abiding rhetoric of equality, and a restrained interpersonal belligerence ritually manifested in feast occasions seemed to bear no apparent relation to the asymmetry of affinity.

This affinal triad of "wife-givers" (kaka), "wife-receivers" (q"atay), and the cognatic kingroup sandwiched in between (as q"atay in regard to the first group and kaka in regard to the second) emerges most clearly in such ritual situations.¹⁵ The cultural breadth and historical depth of this social structure in the Andes is attested in Arriaga's report (1618) that "massas and cacas" in particular are said to be the preferred guests at the feasts accompanying family rites of passage (1968:55). The former is translated by him as "son-in-law" and the latter as "maternal uncle." Massa in the Ayacucho dialect of Quechua is variously translated into Spanish as cuñado ("brother-in-law"), hermano del marido ("husband's brother"), and verno ("son-in-law") (Guardia 1967:95; Clemente 1970:107); the persons designated by the latter two more precise glosses are both termed q"atay in the Quechua dialect of the Cuzco area. Arriaga's data were probably from the Department of Junin, further north and in the center of the Central Andes, where another dialect is spoken. Caca is an alternative transcription of kaka; as previously noted this term denotes "wife's father" as well as "mother's brother." It should be noted in addition that in Q'ero a man calls his wife's father kakay, and may call his wife's brother kakay or a derivative of this term; his children come to call this same person (i.e., their father's wife's brother) kakay as their mother's brother (Figure 9). Given the perspective of the Q'ero terminology and corroboration by some more specific dictionary glosses, Arriaga's report of the crucial role of "massas and cacas" (i.e., q"atay and kaka) in the joint effort of family rituals of the earliest seventeenth century suggests a crucial cultural role of long stand-

ing for these axes of affinal relationship. Some further Q'ero behavior patterns associated with the terminological distinctions will clarify the status asymmetry inherent in these relationships.

The ritual kin appended to the family in the rituals of status elevation (pp.215ff) marq'ay ("baptism"), ch'uxchu rutusqa ("hair-cutting"), warachay ("staffing") and kasaray (church matrimony) are generally said to be of high status in the community, and the choice can also prognosticate ascendancy in prestige and wealth of these ritual kin. As with the Latin American custom of compadrazgo (Mintz:1959), a status differential may be created or enhanced in an asymmetric exchange of power and dependency, the senior party extending his influence and the junior party consolidating his security. Similarly, the affinal alliance abides in an elaborate rhetoric of formalized equality and mutual deference despite its obvious status differential, with each party perpetuating his benefits under the facilitating guise of reciprocity. With considerable frequency, it appears that relatives standing in the affinal relationship of kaka are asked to be ritual co-parents, often the wife's brother or wife's father of the domestic group leader organizing the ritual. When this is the case, the flattery and economic subordination implicit in the invitation is congruent with the asymmetry of indebtedness already established between wife-receiver and wife-giver. Although my data are insufficient for certainty, I suspect that when native non-relatives are chosen as ritual co-parents (as they very frequently are) it is with the view of establishing the affinal relationship subsequently. Given the extensive consanguinity of the cognatic system in Q'ero, ritual liaisons in any case with Q'ero non-relatives is an opportune prelude to alliances in marriage. It is likely that such groundwork would be laid in the direction of the families enjoying or promising wealth and prestige,

and who might be the source of a future daughter-in-law probably assured of considerable inheritance.

Consonant with the rhetoric of equality characteristic of relationships which nevertheless manifest casual superordination and subordination, it is contended by the Q'eros that services between affines and prestations between parties to a marriage are practically balanced out. Any obvious inequality in services or inheritance is explained as only commensurate with the relative wealth or poverty of means of the two parties, affines or affines-to-be. In behavioral patterns there is indeed a reciprocation of services; kaka are found working in assistance of q"atay, just as the Q'eros contend. But beneath the rhetoric of balanced reciprocity, just as beneath the studied exchange of deference between ritual co-parents, asymmetric status abides. A superordinate ritual kinsman is expected to suffer, and willingly suffers, numerous practical as well as ritual impositions, beginning with holding the squalling and urine-soaked infant through the prolonged baptism or laboriously shearing a child's matted hair. But this is noblesse oblige, confirming his credit and his client's indebtedness. The affinal relationship in Q'ero, and of course in many societies, is asymmetric in this same sense. In the rationalization of its practical balance, the Q'eros only appear to ignore the overriding fact that one of the parties has benefited by a wife, and that the other party has released manifold jural rights over a female member. In matrilocal marriage this forfeiture of jural rights likewise generates a debt, but the practical circumstances of marriage themselves discharge it, although not definitively. It is likely, in fact, that the overt moral ideal of balanced reciprocity between affines leaves unrelieved the debtor-creditor relationship initiated in marriage. Without a formal requirement of bride-service or payment, the Q'eros face a difficult

indenture in return for their wives, all the more uncancellable in its informality.¹⁶

The asymmetry is apparent in the preponderance of services actually performed for kaka, particularly in the ritual situations already described. As noted earlier, in the discussion of the structural instabilities entailed by the matrilocal marriage (p.209), the father-in-law and even his sons (i.e., kakay of the son-in-law) may characterize themselves as dwenyoh (Spanish: dueño, "owner"), kamachikuh ("he who causes things to be done") or q"atayniyoh ("one having a q"atay) with regard to the resident son-in-law. These terms are also heard in reference to sons-in-law not resident matrilocally. Q"atay are observed crossing between the valleys and descending the gorges of the Q'ero basin, with their destination being their father-in-laws' plots or households, much more frequently than the wife or males of her family are seen assisting the q"atay or his family. The superordinate status of kaka furthermore appears to be transitive in its entailments. One grandfather benefited by the services of not only his son-in-law, but also was attended by his daughter's child, even though the child lived with his father (the old man's q"atay) in a distant valley of the community, and even though the daughter had died. Another Q'ero was responsible for the care of an orphan, and was able to claim few of his services in return, because the orphan was his kakay. This responsibility may befall a q"atay even so remote that his kakay is his wife's mother's mother's brother's youngest son (roughly: the descendant of the kaka of a kaka of a kaka). It appears, however, that the asymmetry of status is exhausted for all practical purposes by the time that the kaka becomes a "mother's brother" (rather than a wife's father or wife's brother), and in this sense becomes a consanguineal relative in the cognatic system.

The subordination implicit in the status of q"atay, and the superordination implicit in the status of kaka, is also clear in the pattern of terminological equivocations that appears when natives make inappropriate glosses in Spanish (Figure 11). Bilingual mestizos confronted by these equivocations are puzzled, but explain that the indios confuse cuñado (brother-in-law) with tio (uncle) and even with verno (son-in-law), apparently because they are careless of the differences between these kin in their own system, and certainly because they are ignorant of the Spanish system. It appears, however, that the natives have perceived the intersection of their own semantic domains with those of the Spanish system at certain kin classes, comprehended for use the Spanish terms appropriate for these classes, and extended these terms throughout the native domain. Because in the affinal context the native terms override generational distinctions, their glossing in Spanish appears incongruent to Spanish ears unfamiliar with the native system.

Particularly on the rather more acculturated peripheries of Q'ero, and particularly when addressing an outsider, the native relatively unsophisticated in Spanish terminology apply the Quechuized Spanish term tiu (tio, "uncle") to his mother's brother, his wife's brother, and his wife's father, coextensive with his native use of the term kakay.¹⁷ The semantic domains of both tiu and kakay are polysemic (tio also refers to FF), but intersect at MB. Similarly, the native applies the Spanish term yernu (verno, "son-in-law") to his daughter's husband and to his sister's husband (I have not heard it applied to his father's sister's husband), coextensive with his native use of the term q"atayniy. The semantic domain of q"atay is polysemic (including FZH step-kin class), but overlaps that of yernu only at daughter's husband. Of course, the native could just as well have comprehended the semantic overlaps of the Spanish term cuñado ("brother-in-law," either WB or

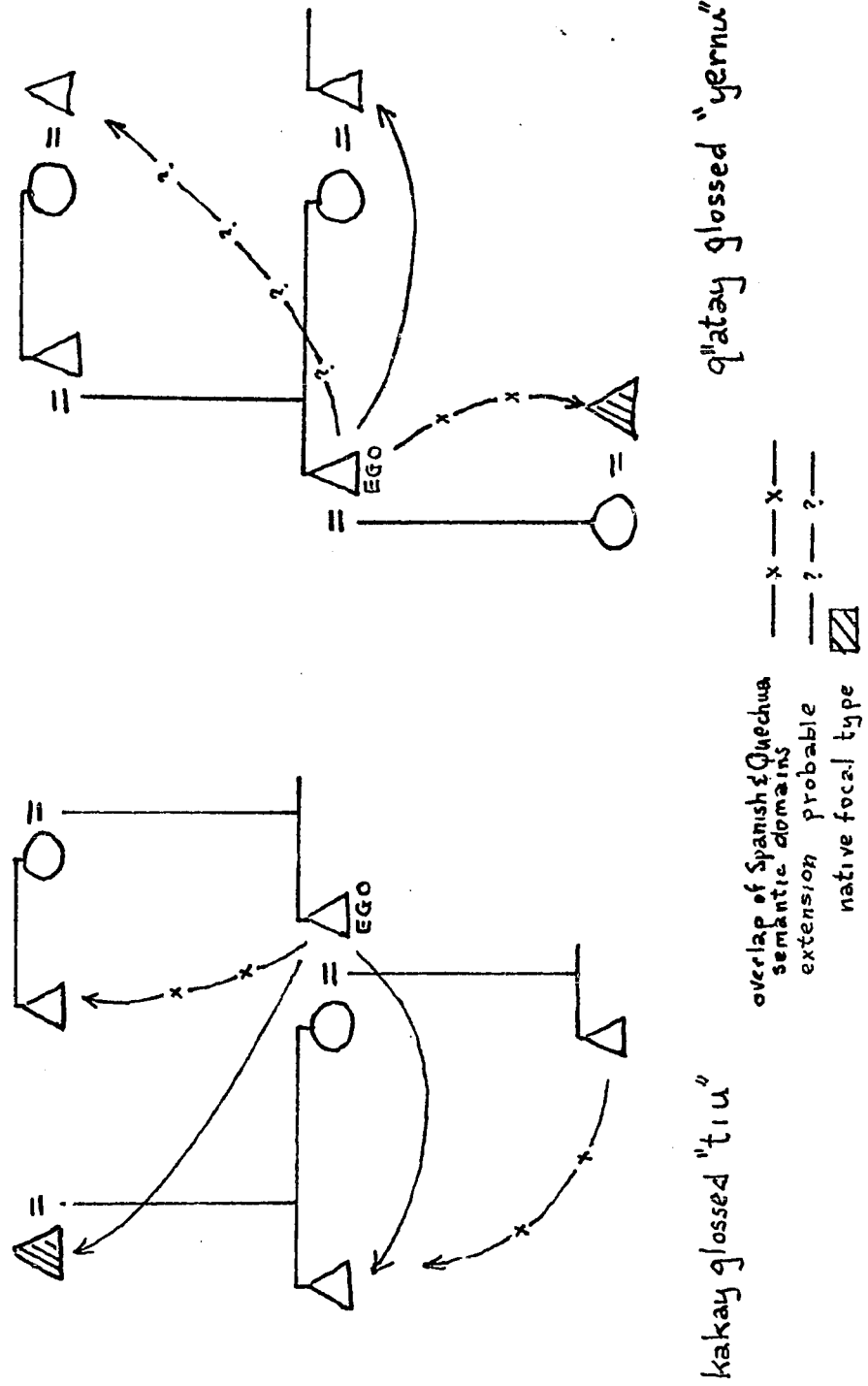


Fig. 11 : Spanish glosses of affinal types

SH), which occur at WB in his semantic domain of kaka and at SH in his domain of q"atay, and extended this term throughout these native domains (it would have sounded no stranger to the mestizo). But the inappropriateness of this term is probably manifest from the native perspective because, unlike tio and verno, (1) it does not make room, semantically, for the crucial distinction between wife-giver and wife-receiver, and (2) it does not connote the asymmetry of status apparent in the generational distinction of the Spanish terms tio and verno, and crucial to the native terms. The asymmetry of affinal status implicit in the reciprocal native terms is most clearly demonstrated when a native refers to a q"atay who is his wife's brother, and of equivalent age, as his yernu ("son-in-law"), or when this latter person refers to him (his kakay) as his tiu, even if the "uncle" is younger.

I mentioned above that the asymmetry of status which is rather clear between wife's father and his son-in-law, and between wife's brother and his and his brother-in-law, is not so apparent between mother's brother and his sister's son.¹⁸ This relationship has become jurally consanguineal in the cognatic kingroup, just as father's wife's father (his kakay) has become one's grandparent. However, the radically weak nature of this consanguinity is apparent in the opposite-sex sibling distinction, and the divergent consanguinity of panaturantimpu wawan (here, MBC). Residue of affinal asymmetry are also suggested in the more reserved behavior that one tenders his MB in contrast to his FB or MS, who are treated more openly. It is possible that the MB as kakay is in the denouement of affinal superordination, just as he is in the margins of consanguinity. This interpretation is supported by the perspective suggested regarding ancestral pusahkuna ("guides") entreated to guide the recently deceased to the nether-world (p.293). In the context of Pusachaynin and analogous rituals in Santus, ancestral matrilat-

eral kinsmen appear to have entered an after-life realm in which the imbalance of services is required to shift directions.

These matrilateral ancestors appear to be called upon by their descendants, in the order of their most recent benefit of superordinate status over their daughters' or sisters' husbands, to reciprocate for the services they received in preponderance while living. In most of these rituals elders prevail upon the ancestors of their most recently deceased offspring, but occasionally, of course, it is the elder children who prevail in behalf of their recently deceased parents. In both cases the first subclass of kaka called upon are the patrilateral ancestors of the children's mother, many of whom may be seen to have benefited directly or indirectly from the services rendered their kingroup by the children's father and his kingroup, as q"atay. The next subclasses of kaka typically prevailed upon are the mother's mother's patrilateral kinsmen, or the father's mother's patrilateral kinsmen, whom may be seen to have benefited from the services rendered their kingroups by the mother's father and the father's father, respectively.

Again one may ask what the basis is of this resurgent agnatic principle in a cognatic system. In the context of Pusachaynin, several subclasses of kaka appear to be perceived as unitary patrilateral groups. Kaka is extended to MFBS, and even to MFFBSS (Figure 9). It should be noted that from ego's father's perspective, ego's MF and MFF (probably dead) are also kakay ("my wife-givers") and the same term may be extended to his wife's brother and WB's patrilateral parallel cousins (i.e., WB's wayqentimpu wawan). It appears that the affinal designation kakay overrides generations among males; that is to say sons of wife's father (WB) succeed to the status of kakay initiated by their fathers. This affinal perspective is passed on from ego's father to ego (i.e., from the q"atay to his son), and MB as well as his male agnatic collaterals (MFBS and MFFBSS) are also termed kakay, and in at least

some cases their children as well. Parallel transmission of status in patrilineal filiation, previously considered in the context of parallel cousins (p.297), is apparently operating here in the context of affinal sub-classes. It also appears to operate among the reciprocal affinal class of q"atay: a sister's husband and his father are both termed q"atayniy ("my q"atay). The same term may be extended to FZH, and perhaps to his son, because there is some indication that one's children can call these males q"atayniy as well as ipaypa wawan (FZS). I suspect that the apparent agnatic bias arising in each cognatic kingroup is in part a reflection of this parallel transmission of male affinal statuses through patrilineal filiation.

But I do not have data on the correlative terms applied to female statuses in the kingroups of kaka and q"atay sufficient to clearly substantiate parallel transmission of affinal class status among females. With regard to the polysemic class kaka, the term qachun (qachuniy - "my qachun") appears to designate a subclass of females, and this term may override generations among females on the principle of parallel transmission. Qachun is translated by Spanish bilinguals as cufiada ("sister-in-law") and sometimes as nuera ("daughter-in-law"), but it in fact applies much more widely to female affines in kingroups of kaka (WZ but not HZ; BW, SW, BSW, SSW, and apparently any "sisters" of these women). However, this term is also applied to males such as WB. Consequently it seems best to interpret it as an alternative subclass of kaka which among generationally equivalent affines moderates the status asymmetry connoted in the term kakay, and is applicable to either males or females. The female term most closely associated with the polysemic affinal class of q"atay is ipa, and this term may indeed override generations in parallel transmission, although none of the data I was able to obtain clearly supports this.¹⁹

Whether or not ipa is extended further through the affinal class of q"atay than I was able to detect in Q'ero, it reflects the same marginal consanguineal status in this class of affines as kaka does among the reciprocal class of affines. In the genealogical perspective of successive generations in the cognatic kingroup, kakay statuses begin as wife's fathers and wife's brothers and end as mother's brothers and perhaps as mother's brother's sons. Ipay statuses, on the other hand, begin as father's sisters or his parallel cousins, and end, so to speak, as the wives of q"atayniy (and perhaps as the daughters of these wives). The succeeding collateral relatives in both the case of kakay and ipay are panaturantimpu wayku in ego's perspective, and are both divergently consanguineal, but nevertheless accounted in the cognatic kingroup at least for a generation or two. However, kakay and ipay are complementary statuses in the sense that whereas kakay statuses progress from non-consanguineal affinity to a penumbra of marginal kinship in the cognatic group, ipay statuses, as wives of q"atayniy, move from this marginal kinship toward non-consanguineal affinity. This process does not necessarily imply corporate patrilineal descent groups, but only that kaka, as the group of senior male kinsmen, are the givers of wives, and that ipa are the wives they give to other groups of male kinsmen.

Kakay and q"atay, on the other hand, emerge in the system of relatives as the male givers of wives and the male receivers of wives, respectively (see Figure 10). The salience of patrilateral male kinsmen in the Q'ero cognatic system is primarily a concomitant of reciprocal affinal statuses in this sense. Based upon the prominent nature of the male role, males in filiation tend to emerge as the group of kin who are jointly responsible for the giving and receiving of women. They are kakay with regard to some affines and q"atayniy with regard to others, and reciprocally, the margins of their kingroup are defined by affinal groups of q"atayniy on the one hand

and of kakay on the other. The parallel kindred is not a corporate group, but this does not preclude successive generations of patrilineal kinsmen, particularly those maintaining residential propinquity or continuity in the patrimonial domestic group, from viewing their joint role and being reciprocally viewed in this perspective. As emphasized in Chapter 7, marriage is the pivotal stage of development in the domestic group, and its strategic management determines in large part the proliferation or demise of the kingroup in the community. Males retain the initiative in this strategy by virtue of their pre-eminent role in the economy and polity of the community, although occasional matrilineal residence may result in the temporary submergence of such initiative.

The flanking framework of affinal relatives which defines the kingroup are likewise not corporate groups except in specific contexts and occasions which call into play their joint rights and obligations. One such context is affinal relationships with other such kingroups. There appears to be no systematic exchange or circulation of females between kingroups which might consistently delineate some as q"atay with respect to others which are their kakay. The usual situation is that each kingroup is q"atay with respect to several others, and kaka with regard to still others. These two classes of affines may furthermore overlap as a result of intermarriage. Each kingroup is nevertheless a focus of multiple affinal relationships, subordinate in some and superordinate in others. This perspective is expressed among these peripheral affines themselves. Assuming the point of view of the kingroup to which they are jointly affines, they will refer to themselves as q"ataymasiy or qachunmasiy (respectively, "companions in q"atay-ship" and "companions in kakay-ship"). Any member of these flanking kingroups can refer to or address another such member with these locutions, denoting a parallel bond of asymmetric affinity which each kingroup shares with regard to the third.

The cognatic kingroup outlined in this way by peripheral affines has a continuity of no more than one or two generations before the configuration of its affinal alliances shifts substantially. It also lacks corporate perpetuity insofar as affinal relatives in one generation become kin in subsequent generations (just as some kin eventually become non-kin). But for the duration of two or three generations, say, forty to seventy-five years, the kingroup proceeds with substantial coherence and continuity within a flanking framework of relatives who are more or less clearly affines, bound in joint statuses with reciprocal rights and obligations.

With this overview in mind, it is opportune to try to tie up some of the loose ends in my analysis of affinal patterns. The problems which I will briefly pursue here have to do with (1) focal types in the polysemic affinal classes, (2) the structural or situational suppression of asymmetric status, and (3) some further implications of consanguineal marriage.

The extensions of the affinal terms kaka and q"atay are elaborate, and I am sure that my apprehension of the polysemic class which each covers is only partial. For instance, kakay is appropriately applied to one's step-mother's son by a previous marriage, apparently in virtue of the fact that he is a male representative of the kingroup which remarried a woman to one's father after one's own mother's death. This is apparently an appropriate term even though the kaka and q"atay were raised together in the same household, as children of their remarried step-parents. I suspect that in this relationship these terms are used only in general reference and never reciprocally in direct address. Qachun, the affinal sub-class of kaka, may have a similarly broad applicability. I have heard a WMBS indirectly referred to as qachuniy, apparently on the grounds that he was the (male) speaker's father-in-law's father-in-law's son's son; that is to say he was the descendant of one's kaka's kaka.

One revealing incident suggests that these affinal class terms may simply come to be submerged in the cognatic system beneath more appropriate terms denoting kinship, but stand ready for unearthing when jest or nuance is desired. In casual conversation an old man referred to his father's mother as machulaypa warmin ("my grandfather's wife") rather than tataypa maman ("my father's mother"); this was found sufficiently incongruous by his wife so that, giggling, she went a bit further into the domain of affinity, saying qachunin nispa! ("he said his 'qachun'!"). Although the first description was inappropriate, and the humorous elaboration of it ludicrous, the incongruity of these alternative terms was clearly based on residually affinal status in the consanguineal ancestry; a grandmother had been classified as one would ordinarily classify a daughter-in-law. A term commonly applied to grandmothers, which may indeed have affinal connotations, is goway; this is perhaps implied in the extension of this term to the wife of grandfather's parallel cousin (Figure 9), and so to females who are not cognates in one's kingroup but rather married into it.

The polysemy of the major affinal classes kaka and q"atay is apparently extensive among affinal types, and furthermore shades into kintypes which are perceived as primarily consanguineal and normally classified with consanguineal kin terms. Contemporary use of the term kaka rarely includes WF, but analysts of earlier terminology as well as contemporary laymen have tended to assume that primary reference is to a consanguineal kintype (MB), of equivalence to affines (WF). I have argued that, to the contrary, kaka is an affinal class. These conflicting perspectives are based upon different apprehensions of the focus (cf. Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971:50,88) of this terminological class. Although the focal kintype of a widely polysemic class is not obvious in any case, it is clearly misleading to select as focus of a diverse and unequivocally affinal class a kintype (MB) which verges on con-

sanguinity analytically and is considered kin, not affine, from the native point of view. Wife's father appears to be a much more cogent focus of the class kaka.²⁰ If genealogical proximity to ego is the criterion, the relationship WF is not demonstrably more "distant" than the relationship MB, especially if the opposite-sex sibling divergence is as considerable in the Q'ero system as I have argued (cf. Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971: 174ff for an analogous point). Furthermore, as I have argued, it makes more sense to perceive MB as kaka because he is the son of father's WF, rather than to see father's WF as father's kaka because he is the father of MB; the logical as well as genealogical priority is fairly clear. With regard to the reciprocal major affinal class q"atay, I would argue that the focal kintype here is DH (Figure 9). Other possible foci are SH or FZH, but these both seem inappropriate, not only because they include a sibling link (derivative of the parental link), but also because the sibling link in each case is opposite-sex.

The issue of focal affinal types in each major affinal class is also relevant to the asymmetry of status implicit in each term and its reciprocal. If the primary sense, or semantic core, of these terms coincides with their structural foci, then kaka and q"atay are still more clearly superordinate and subordinate statuses, respectively. If a denotative attribute of kaka is membership in the first ascending generation, as well as being the jural grantor of a wife, superordination is emphatic. Similarly, if a denotative attribute of q"atay is membership in the first descending generation, as well as having been the recipient of a wife, subordination is likewise clear in this term. The reciprocal perspectives of the focal affinal types reflect the reciprocal statuses they denote. The extension of these affinal class terms from their focal type throughout their polysemic domains presumably entails the extension of their denotative attributes of status asymme-

try. That is to say, application of the term kakay to affines generationally equivalent nevertheless implicates their superordination, and use of the term q"atayniy in regard to affines generationally equivalent and even in the first ascending generation implicates their subordination. The direction in which these terms are skewed from their focal types reflects the expression of asymmetric status among generational equivalents, as well as parallel transmission of affinal class status.

However, the extension of these terms beyond their focal kin types is at least sometimes optional. Alternative terms for the same relative reflect the marginality of some affinal and kin types, and are apparently determined by social or situational context. Just as among kin panaturantimpu wawan (i.e., cross-cousins) may address and refer to one another as siblings or parallel cousins when in each other's presence (see p.280), so may affines extend kin terms to one another. In each case, the use of alternative terms appears to function in the suppression of status discriminations, especially of status asymmetry in the use of kin terms for affines. So FZH may be referred to as tataypa wayqen ("my father's brother") connoting some status equivalence with one's own father (but not termed "father," as one would FB). The likely antecedent to this alternative term is the description of one's older ZH as q"atay tatay ("sister-receiving father"); this is done particularly by much junior brothers with regard to their elder sister's husband, extending to the spouse the respect required for the kuraq sibling. Here, the principle of sibling seniority overrides affinal subordination.²¹ It is likely that this term is gradually modified to (q"atay) wayqey as the younger brother-in-law matures, setting the stage for his son's description of the same person as "father's brother."

Similarly, among the affinal class kaka, a WB is sometimes referred to casually as wayqey, and WF may be referred to as tatay. Kin equivalence or

generational distinction is apparently allowed to supervene upon the connotations implicit in the affinal terms, abrogating the "wife-giving" attribute. Because the term qachuniy is extended to both male and female affines but only in equivalent or subordinate generations of kakay (e.g., BW, WB, SW), I have interpreted it to be a subclass of the affinal term kakay suppressing somewhat the connotations of superordination implicit in the latter term (but it clearly does not go so far as to extend kin status in this suppression). Alternative terms for WF also include yayay, a term which appears to have no necessary implication of affinity but rather of respect and perhaps kinship analogous to FB (Rowe 1946:250). Similarly, rather than reciprocating kakay and q"atayniy, asymmetrical status between SWF and DHF is moderated by the reciprocal term yayamasiy ("companion in respectable father-in-law-ship"). Wives of these individuals also may refer to or address one another as mamamasiy ("companion in mother-in-law-ship"). Likewise, a MZH may be termed either qataymasiy or tatay depending on whether the most appropriate emphasis is his status as having received a wife from the same kingroup as one's father's wife, or his status as being a husband of a classificatory mother.

The reciprocal Spanish term primu (Spanish: primo or prima, "cousin," male and female, respectively) is also used in reference to affinal relatives when equivalence and reciprocity is an appropriate emphasis. Unlike the adopted terms tio and verno (see pp.310-11) it is perceived to be reciprocated between generationally equivalent kin in mestizo society, and used analogously to gloss generationally equivalent affinal relatives in the Q'ero system. Consequently the same person who is glossed as tiu (WB) or yer-nu (ZH) in contexts where recognition of status asymmetry is appropriate may be glossed as primu where it is not. Affinal types to which primu may be extended in Q'ero include MBS (kakaypa wawan), FZS (ipaypa wawan or

q"atayniypa wawan), WB (qachuniy), and WMBS (son of kakay's kakay, or wife's qachun). When in the organizational meeting of the feast sponsor and his various q"ataynin, my inability to grasp how this native term covered the relationships of the assemblage was met by the perfunctory gloss of primu, simplifying the entire network of affines to "cousins" in equivalent reciprocity (and incidentally obscuring its native structure).

Asymmetric status between affines appears to be suppressed structurally as well as situationally. As previously mentioned, about 25% of the conjugal bonds in Q'ero represented alliances of two kingroups through the exchange of spouses. In seven cases brother and sister have married another such pair of siblings ("sister exchange"), and in five cases two brothers have married two sisters ("same-sex sibling exchange"). Each of these exchanges constitutes a reciprocation between two putatively unrelated kingroups in the same generation. Either of these situations is promoted through the custom of serial marriage by birth order among siblings, because spouses resident in a domestic group are appropriate mediators of further marriage arrangements between their respective junior siblings or cousins. Apparently in the majority of cases that this situation materializes (seven out of twelve), a wife who has been given in one direction is balanced by a wife given in the other direction between the two kingroups. This kind of reciprocation results in each kingroup being, structurally, both kakay and q"atayniy from the point of view of the other.

Occasionally sister exchange is elaborated so that two kingroups will have exchanged several siblings within a single generation; they may be referred to as allin awasgapurakama ("well and completely interwoven"). In such case that exchange of wives is balanced or practically balanced, the application of affinal terms seems to be inappropriate in most contexts, and sibling or parental terminology is extended between affines of the same

generation; the parents who have overseen such exchanges refer to one another as yayamasiy and mamamasiy, denoting equivalence of status in regard to affinity. It is interesting to note that the Crown's investigator Ortiz de Zuñiga, in Huanuco (Central Peru) in 1562, was told by chieftains on several occasions that a common form of marriage was the exchange of sisters or daughters (Zuidema 1964:246-7). Such an exchange symbolizes and reinforces parity in political alliance at any level of leadership. In several of the Q'ero cases, the exchange of females in marriage has been undertaken by kingroups manifestly ascendant in power and prestige in virtue of numerous offspring and their imminent domination of separate valley habitats. The advantages of such alliance in matters of mutual support and residential flexibility in subsequent generations is fairly clear.

In the contrary situation of same-sex sibling exchange, realized in a minority of the cases (five of twelve) between two brothers and two sisters, it appears that the asymmetry of affinal relationships has been reinforced rather than moderated. In at least one case this was repeated in successive generations, so that the sons of two brothers married a third brother's wife's sister's daughters. Whether in only one or in successive generations, this might be seen as compounding one's debt as wife-receivers. But the Q'eros seem to see it as a simplification of affinal relations: huhlla kuskawan qachunkunayku ("we have acquired qachun with only one group). This may be understood as a reduction of subordinate status in the sense that subordinating affinal relationships are consolidated, and the ensuing obligations simplified, rather than divided among several kingroups of kaka.

There is some evidence of a tendency for this latter sort of affinal alliance between kingroups to dominate in the long run. The technically consanguineal marriages discussed previously with regard to divergent kinship (see p.285) and parallel transmission (p.299) may also be seen as marriage

alliances repeated in distant generations no longer seen to be kin. These consanguineal marriage forms (Figure 8) can be reduced to more generalized forms which reflect the direction in which females were granted as wives, and the entailed asymmetric statuses roughly tallied for balance or imbalance. The initial consanguineal link between ancestral siblings (o) in these forms represents a preceding marriage (their parents), but both siblings share this debt equally. Similarly, successive collaterals which are waygentimpu wawan or ñañantimpu wawan would fall heir to symmetric credit or indebtedness, because their parents (being of the same sex) had married spouses of the same sex. The first imbalance of affinal debt would occur among the first pair of (classificatory) panaturantimpu wawan in the descendant collaterals: the offspring of the female would be indebted to the offspring of the male (his classificatory or direct kaka) for his mother. Subsequent consanguinity of descendants of these panaturantimpu wawan would attenuate, but perhaps the debtor-creditor relationship would not, continuing as a kakay-q"atayniy relationship between two kingroups.

The ultimate intermarriage of these two kingroups (in twenty-three cases) can be seen as either balancing this debt through reciprocation of a female, or repeating it through transfer of a female in the same direction. These two forms can be symbolized in reduced form as $\underline{m} + (\underline{FoZ}) - \underline{f}$, and $\underline{m} + (\underline{MoB}) - \underline{f}$, respectively; the $\underline{m}$ and $\underline{f}$ denote the ultimate spouses in the technically consanguineal marriage, and the F, Z, M, and B denote the first opposite-sex collaterals in their descending genealogy, implicating the direction in which the female collateral was given. There are eight of the former types of marriage alliance, but fifteen of the latter. That is to say, if these alliances can be interpreted as responses by descendant kingroups to a previous affinal asymmetry, about one-third of them chose to balance it but about two-thirds chose to repeat the original asymmetry. The

predominant tendency is stronger if the latter forms are specified according to the male spouse's (m) parent in the consanguineal network: ten of the fifteen m + (MoB) - f are seen to involve a matrilateral MB. This is to say that, in ten out of 23 cases of consanguineal marriage, the male spouse's wife came from a kingroup related (as cross-cousins, usually distant) to his mother. In that his father typically has a great deal to do with the selection of his wife, it is significant to note that this kingroup would be among the father's kaka, although sometimes remote. The preponderance of this specific type of alliance among the several alternative types suggests that among the many motivations determining marriages (most of which, I would judge, involve considerations of more immediate practical consequence) the repetition of old debts in affinity may not be inconsiderable.

It is perhaps significant that this important direction from which wives come is also the direction in which appeals are primarily made in Pusachaynin for assistance from ancestors. As in these appeals, the descendants of matrilateral ancestors may be called upon to reciprocate for services their ancestors had received, but with a female who would renew the debt. It is also possible that this form of marriage reflects some inclination toward stable asymmetric alliances between kingroups over several generations, based on the continued superordination of one of them.²² My information in this regard is not sufficiently detailed to evaluate. However, it appears that fortune and misfortune of families in the Q'ero ecosystem shifts too much in successive generations to be the basis of marriage alliances in this sense.

Before a concluding consideration of ecosystematic implications in the domain of kinship and affinity in Q'ero, it would be opportune to draw some comparisons between the kinship system I have described and that which two contemporary analysts of the Inca kinship system have deduced from histori-

cal materials. The kinship terminology employed by the Incas (Rowe 1946: 249ff; Zuidema 1964:passim; Lounsbury 1971:184-5; Cunow 1929) and that still used in native contexts by the Q'eros is obviously similar. Much of the historical data upon which these analysts depend derives from the Cuzco area, so there is considerable likelihood that we are dealing with closely related kinship systems. The data from Q'ero (or any of many other native communities in the south Central Andes) is very likely to be able to furnish insight into the fragmented and inconsistent Colonial reports of the ancient Inca system.

Lounsbury's definitive semantic analysis of the Inca terminological system is soon to be published (Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971:185), but his remarks regarding it and several comparable systems made in the study cited here are sufficient for some preliminary appraisals. Lounsbury interprets the Inca terminological system to be based upon principles of parallel transmission of kin-class status and a centrally important MBD - FZS spouse-equivalence rule (1971:185). As discussed previously (p.289), I suspect that the notion of parallel descent is an important principle of the Q'ero system. The spouse-equivalence rule, however, appears to have no role in the Q'ero system, and I doubt that it had any in the Inca system either. Of the several South American systems which the authors consider, they concede they can detect the operation of this rule only among the Siriono and the Inca, and that otherwise it appears only in Asian systems of asymmetric alliance (1971: 191-2). On the basis of the evidence apparent in the Q'ero system, I suspect that Lounsbury has attributed the operation of MBD-FZS spouse-equivalence to the Inca system because he has had insufficient data to appreciate the operation of parallel transmission in the affinal domain, and was in addition perhaps misled by the evidence and conclusions adduced by Zuidema (1964, considered below).

The MBD-FZS spouse-equivalence rule, in the view of Scheffler and Lounsbury, describes the systematic classification together, at least semantically, of a male ego's MBD and his wife (1971:35; also 190-92). This is taken by them (unlike the interpretation of other less discriminating analysts) to imply often no more than the right of a male to claim his MBD in marriage. With regard to the Inca terminological system, Lounsbury bases his attribution of this rule on the apparent extension of the term caca (ka-ka) from MB and MBS to affinal types (WF, WB, SWF), implying the equivalence of MBD and one's wife or one's son's wife. (Extensions of the term ipa, which I was not able to confirm in Q'ero, similarly implicate the equivalence of FZ and the affines HZ and DHM). But from the perspective of the Q'ero system the term kaka is seen to be polysemic throughout a wide class of affines in which it operates through parallel transmission, and is focused in the affinal type WF. If the term kaka was similarly distributed in the Inca system (which seems probable), the supposition that WF is a derivative or extension of MB rather than vice versa appears without logical basis. Rather than one's MB potentially being his WF, it seems much more likely that MB succeeds to the status occupied by MBF from one's father's perspective (i.e., WF). If this is the case, parallel transmission in the Inca system as in the Q'ero system operated importantly in the domain of affines, analogous to its operation among affines in the systems of the Api-naye and Canella, briefly described by Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971:180-1). If the term ipa is closely implicated in the other major affinal class of q"atay, as I suspect, then the same must be said for the parallel transmission of this term, and it similarly cannot be suspected to denote a MBD - FZS spouse-equivalence.²³ The marriage form implied in this terminological equivalence is incestuous in Q'ero, and even the remotely consanguineal union which can be detected show no significant preponderance of choices

in the MBD direction over those in the FZD direction. There is no unequivocal evidence of any such marriage form among the Inca either. It is likely that Lounsbury assumed such a form (male's matrilineal cross-cousin marriage) permitted and perhaps even prescribed among the Inca on the basis of Zuidema's analysis (1964), but Zuidema's deduction was from equivocal evidence, and he has recently revised it.

Zuidema's structural analysis of Inca social organization is intricate and best summarized in his own words: "The Inca system of social organization was in brief that the endogamous group consisted of two exogamous matrilineal moieties which covered four matrilineal marriage classes linked by asymmetric cross-cousin marriage with MBD." (Zuidema 1964:246). His elaboration of this thesis is complex, and my criticism may well be based on misunderstanding of his arguments. He recommends the Inca system for the study of "non-unilineal" principles of kinship organization (1964:26), but evidently the implication is that the system involves parallel descent, or perhaps double descent, because his reasoning tends to follow the unilineal descent model and not the cognatic model of kinship. The data on which he bases his conclusions, accumulated in exhaustive ethnohistoric research, nowhere unequivocally implies a unilineal descent ideology and can usually be equally well interpreted in terms of some cognatic kinship system such as that which I have described for the Q'eros. Apparent parallel "descent" in uterine and agnatic lines of succession is sufficiently explained by parallel transmission and the parallel kindred, without the imputation of unilineal (or double unilineal) orientation toward a common ancestor. Zuidema's interpretations of patrilineal and matrilineal descent are based upon assumed endogamous and exogamous perspectives of individual kingroups, respectively (1964:27; 183-92); these in turn appear to have their only substantive basis in specific residence options as patrilocal or

matrilocal respectively. But these residence options appear to result only in salience of patrilineal or matrilineal filiation such as I have described in Chapter 7, without recourse to any unilineal model of descent. There appears to be no substantial evidence that the Inca kingroup was either (or both) patrilineal or matrilineal, from any perspective. Zuidema's other arguments in this regard rest on etymological analysis of the obscure group terms ayllu (1964:72) and panaca (1964:184), and references to men founding groups or noting sister's group with a special locution.

This slim evidence could equally well be used to argue (no more convincingly) that the Q'ero cognatic system, involving a pre-dominant male role in leadership, cross-collateral distinctions among kin in a parallel kindred, and important but transient affinal alliances, existed in the capital of the Incas. Similarly, the asymmetric "marriage classes" adduced by Zuidema may have been no more than the reciprocal joint statuses of kaka and q'atay obtaining between cognatic kingroups for the duration of a few generations. Zuidema's interpretation of marriage with MBD as an ideal is apparently based on an equivocal report by Cobo that one is permitted to marry a "niece," and the reasoning that this was structurally the most appropriate spouse in the smallest possible endogamous group which might seek to worship a common ancestor (1964:65-6;80). This ambiguous "niece" is interpreted to be MBD (a cousin) "since the term caca meant both MB and father-in-law." Here it becomes apparent that Zuidema is essentially relying on the same terminological equivalence (MB=WF) as Lounsbury to support his interpretation of MBD as a permitted spouse. But, as I have argued, the terminological equivalence need imply no cross-cousin marriage form if these types are taken to be members of a polysemic affinal class in parallel transmission, rather than the equation of consanguineal and affinal classes. Zuidema has recently revised his interpretation of the data to the effect that

"the concept of marriage to MBD did not exist in Peru" (Zuidema 1972), and promises to explain the terminological equation on other grounds.

Regarding analysis of the Q'ero system, probably that of the Incas, and in all likelihood many other imperfectly understood South American kinship systems, it is clear that a new perspective is required which neither begs the question of unilineal descent nor the question of marriage classes. Unilineal descent has been wrongly imputed to many other kinship systems since its elaboration in African studies, and (as Scheffler and Lounsbury concede 1971:191) terminological equivalences reflecting consanguineal asymmetric marriage classes appear to be very rare outside of unilineal Asian systems. On the other hand, the absence of descent systems and marriage classes does not necessarily imply amorphous bilateral kindreds and structurally inconsequential marriages. Regarding the Q'ero system, I have tried to show that a cognatic organization with little ideology of descent can nevertheless be highly structured by principles of kinship, and that marriages place each kingroup in an orderly context of asymmetric statuses. Scheffler and Lounsbury's semantic analysis furnishes one structural rationale for the investigation of comparable social structures in at least several kinship systems of South America which might be most appropriately analyzed as cognatic. Parallel transmission of kin-class status "is evident in the fact that in all of these systems there is a pronounced tendency for cross-collateral kintypes to take the terminological statuses of their parents of the same sex" (1971:179). Such a perspective relieves analysis of the of unilineal dogmatics entailed in the perception of Crow- or Omaha- appearing terminological features (1971: 108-9;180-1;183-4). In addition, I would suggest that the principle of cross-sex divergence among siblings, corollary to the merging of same-sex siblings, may be a closely associated primitive in the formation of these and similar kinship structures. Such over-

lap of the principles of parallel transmission and cross-cousin distinction is also implied in Scheffler and Lounsbury's interpretation, most clearly in the generalization quoted above.

In his review and assessment of research on cognatic forms of social organization, Murdock (1960) suggested the delineation of a "quasi-unilineal" or "Carib" subtype of kin grouping which takes into account several features atypical of the bilateral kindred on the one hand, and of the ambilineal descent group on the other. Murdock is inclined to see this form as transitional between unilineal and bilateral systems, although he concedes that its apparent frequency in South America implies that some such systems in this area may be stable and independent types. The Q'ero system of kinship could be seen as qualifying for just such an ambiguous type. As I have discussed, various features might suggest a patrilineal bias: the terminological system has several apparent affinities with systems typically associated with unilineal descent; collateral female relatives and their offspring are frequently obscure in accounts of the kindred (at least where ego or intervening links are male); norms of patrilocal residence and patrilineal inheritance and succession are espoused as preferred (if often not practicable); the domestic group frequently coheres in a lineal or collateral extension of conjugal families (but not always patrilineally); and ritual congregations tend to coalesce around patrilineal cores, with mature males maintaining a superordinate segregation of themselves that is said to have been even more rigorous in the past. However, I have argued that all of these features of social organization are sufficiently explained by the structural principles of the parallel kindred, the prominence of the male status in key economic and political roles, and the cohesion of male kinsmen in a network of statuses entailed in affinal alliances. Furthermore, there is no clear evidence of unilineal kinship elsewhere in the south Central

Andes, either now or in the historical past; evidence in this regard is ambiguous at best, and the same could be said even of the purportedly patrilineal systems described for Ancash Department of the middle Central Andes.²⁴

To characterize the Q'ero system of kinship, at least, as "quasi-unilineal" might import the gratuitous assumption that a patrilineal system once existed, and the dogmatic models for interpretation that would accompany this assumption. Such an approach would also be very likely to obscure the particular structure in which this cognatic system is expressed, and the nature of its framework in reciprocal affinal statuses. The organization of the parallel kindred and its network of affinal relations are an integral jural entity. The salience of the patrilateral group of male kinsmen within it, on the other hand, is a contingent matter with no jural status in its own right, but rather only derivative from domains other than kinship. Murdock (1960) proposes Leach's distinction between kinship systems which are social structures in their own right and those which are merely "statistical outcomes" or symptomatic of material conditions, suggesting that the "quasi-unilineal" type is something less than unilineal because of such exigencies. In Q'ero it appears that, to the contrary, the cognatic organization of kinship and affinity is a social structure, whereas the cohesion of male kinsmen may be a "symptom."²⁵ The possibility that the present system of kinship and affinity reflects the reorganization of a previous patrilineal system in adaptation to the limitations of the local ecosystem (or in accommodation of highland mestizo social organization) is intriguing, but without any appropriate evidence. As I emphasize in the final section of this chapter, the social organization of kinship and affinity appears well-adapted to the local ecosystem. In the absence of substantial evidence to the contrary, there is no reason to assume that a basic reorganization was required to

achieve this adaptation. I suspect that similar systems of kinship and affinity are widespread and of long standing in the Andes, where the majority of ecosystems would render them advantageous in a comparable manner.

Ecosystematic processes in kingroup and marriage. In the foregoing discussion of the social organization of Q'ero, the convergence of ecosystem and social system has been more closely examined in several contexts: (1) translocation (pp.174-82), (2) the conjugal extension of domestic groups and its relationship with translocation (pp.203-06), and (3) structure and development in the sibling group (pp.230-34; 247-59). In the first regard, I argued that the relative proportions of pasture, herd, and population in each valley and the incidences of and reasons for migration, were interdependent phenomena: translocation between the main valleys of the Q'ero basin responds to the relative herding potential of valley habitats, as well as to various social exigencies. In the second regard, I outlined the correspondence between extended forms of the domestic group and relative wealth, and demonstrated the general correlation of conjugal extensions in the domestic group and the herding potential of each valley habitat, and in one case, sub-habitats. The role of translocation through marriage, either patrilocal or matrilineal, in the development of these patterns of conjugal extension was implicated as a strategy undertaken by parties to the marriage in response to the perceived relative potential of their habitats, among other considerations. Finally, in the third regard, I analyzed the organization of roles and their development in the sibling group as a functional balance of power which prevents the decimation of the domestic group estate in resources and authority, but facilitates the dispersion of family members or the integration of non-family members according to the capacity of this estate.

As part of this latter process, patterns of matrilocal residence most clearly demonstrate an ecosystematic strategy which responds to the relative herding potential of valley habitats and sub-habitats in the community.

Developing upon the base of these processes in the domestic group are ramifications in kinship and affinity. Some of these patterns also appear to be ecosystematic in nature, responding to or influencing the valley habitats.²⁶

In previous contexts, discussing the social and ecological integrity of Q'ero and its corresponding delineation from the surrounding communities of the cultural region, I remarked that marriage patterns reflect a preponderant exogamy between the valleys of the basin but that this reverses at the borders of the community to general endogamy. The rate of exogamous marriages outside the valley habitats of Q'ero is more than 65%, but the rate of endogamy for the community as a whole is 78% (Figure 12). Although there is no proscription against marriage out of the community, it is stigmatized as effectively terminating most ties with one's kin and familiars and all rights as a member of the corporate community. This is considered less a handicap for females, but is avoided unless no more propitious marriage is available within the community. (Similarly, marriage into the community is not proscribed, but if it involves a male, the community must concur upon its permissibility.) This diffuse norm probably accounts for the predominance of community endogamy, although the 22% rate of marriage outside the community seems to require explanation in terms of the community ecosystem carrying capacity or periods of social unrest, as was discussed previously (pp.173-4). However, the preponderance of valley exogamy within the community appears to be attributable to no norms, explicit or implicit.²⁷ There is no consensus on which is the "best" mode of marriage: families which have

total population	valley	total individuals marrying	valley endogamous	community endogamous	marrying elsewhere in Q'ero	valley exogamous	marrying out of Q'ero	marrying in from outside community	marrying in from other valleys of community
72	Chuwa Chuwa	54	11% (6)	30% (16)	47% (25-18 or)	17% (9)	11% (6)	31% (17)	
64	Yawarkancha Qolpa Pampa	56	18% (10)	28% (16)	42% (24-16 or)	14% (8)	5% (3)	35% (19)	
90	Qocha Mogo	80	17.5% (14)	29% (23)	36.5% (29-18 or)	7.5% (6)	11% (9)	35% (28)	
159	Qolpa K'uchu	124	31% (38)	24% (30)	40% (50-37 or)	16% (20)	11% (14)	18% (22)	
community subtotal			35% (68)	(85)		22% (43)	(29)	(86)	
total				78% (153)		65% (128)		(115)	

00% percent
(00) absolute
00 or females

Fig. 12 : Endogamic and exogamic frequencies

married into other valleys tend to consider this best, and those which marry locally favor local marriage, but neither condemn the other; pragmatism is the accepted rationale.

It is sometimes pointed out, however, that lack of eligible mates outside the incest taboo makes local marriage impossible and forces one to range more widely for a spouse. It appears likely that, although each valley of the community incorporates new families and some new blood continually through translocations (Map 8), consanguinity nevertheless tends to build toward saturation, requiring for this reason that spouses be brought into the valley, or that spouses leave it in marriage. Consanguinity in the expansive cognatic system of kinship, even attenuated in the structure of the parallel kindred, can inter-relate most members of such small settlements within a few generations. In 1970, even the most heavily populated valley in the community (Qolpa K'uchu) was in such a state of consanguineal saturation that most young men had to range widely in search of appropriate spouses. But valley exogamy clearly also responds to relative habitat potential, because it accounts for most of the translocation frequencies considered earlier. Closer examination of kingroup organization in several valley habitats suggests that relative frequencies of exogamy and endogamy shift ecosystematically, and local consanguinity changes accordingly. Briefly, various evidence suggests that a habitat with promising herding potential encourages stable residence and for awhile a high rate of marriage into it, eventually resulting in a population disproportional to the available pasture and consanguineal saturation as well. The decline of herding potential in the valley habitat appears to be met by increasing endogamy, and finally the precipitation of exogamy forced by the incest taboo and realized through marriage out of the unpromising habitat.

The likelihood of this sort of cycle in ecosystem, kinship, and affinity was suggested to me by the structure of predominant sibling groups in each valley habitat. When my familiarity with the community had developed sufficiently, I became aware that each valley in the community was dominantly influenced by one or more large kingroups in the process of florescence or demise. Valleys were hyperbolically but appropriately described, by other Q'eros living within them or in other valleys, as Apasakama ("entirely Apasas"), Machaqa hunt'ata ("chuck-full of Machaqa"), and Paucarkunasqa ("done by the Paucars"). although patronyms are used to conveniently characterize these local groups, most of them incorporate sisters and their husbands as part of the cooperative cognatic kingroup, at least in their initial stages of development. The current key kingroups in the main valleys furthermore appeared to represent different stages in a developmental tendency. The Paucars were a large family with several married sons living patrilocally under an old patriarch, consolidating influence which was just beginning to hold sway in one valley. Three separate and smaller groups of brothers in another valley had established independent households but remained within the same habitat, in effect vying for influence through maintenance of cooperation among siblings and the expansion of their families. A third valley was dominated by the Machaqa kingroup, which had been founded by an immigrant ancestor about the turn of the century. The family had since proliferated throughout this habitat and was beginning to establish itself through matrilocality in each of the other valleys as well. The final valley had apparently been saturated by Apasas for more than a generation, had a steady high rate of emigration, and was now almost exclusively exogamous.

These predominant kingroup structures in each valley appear to represent serial stages in a general developmental process. This interpretation

is supported by peripheral kingroup forms in each valley which suggest developments in the recent past or incipient of the future, comparable to predominant forms in other valleys. Stages in this kingroup development can be abstracted as (1) cohesion, (2) maturation, (3) saturation, and (4) dispersal.

In Chuwa Chuwa, two distantly related domestic groups representing nine of the twenty-four conjugal families in the valley tended to cohere, each retaining all mature sons and their developing families. In one case the widowed mother had remarried a wealthy widower in the same valley, increasing the potential estate of these sons. In the other a son-in-law had also settled nearby in the valley under the effective influence of his father-in-law. But it was clear from other family histories that only within the last generation almost all the offspring of three large antecedent domestic groups had been dispersed to other valleys of the community, leaving but a sole successor in each case. Each of these now had a few sons on the verge of marriage, and their future development appeared to promise cohesion.

In Yawarkancha/Kolpa Pampa, more dispersed kingroup forms based on prior cohesion were more fully matured. Three domestic groups were built around two or three brothers, although in two cases adult siblings had died and in the other case the father had died. All male and some female siblings in these groups had maintained or returned to permanent residence in the valley, and were in the process of developing separate domestic groups but maintaining close ties of interdependence within the kingroup. One group of two brothers and a brother-in-law and their families were succeeding to the role of their father, who, along with his brother (since deceased), had established himself as one of the wealthiest domestic groups in the community. Sentiments between the three kingroups tended to be disdainful cautious,

and there was no intermarriage among them. Although it was not currently the wealthiest, the kingroup undebilitated by death among its siblings appeared to be enjoying the most good fortune with its herd and tended to espouse the brightest prospects for its future. Competition was not, however, overt among these kingroups, although their independent efforts in consolidation and cooperation amounted effectively to this. It was clear, on the other hand, that this expansion of cohesive kingroups was occurring in a vacuum left by the demise of two previous kingroups, which one or two generations in the past had, rather than remaining resident and consolidating, entirely dispersed their progeny into other valleys without leaving any local descendants at all.

The situation in Qocha Moqo was dominated by the descendants of one domestic group which had produced several sons a generation before, all of which had established separate residence in the same valley and raised children who themselves had developed families. Although the first generation was apparently entirely patrilocal and virilocal, many of these second generation families were matrilocal or uxorilocal. Other residence options, on the other hand, seemed equivocal between saturation and dispersion. Saturation appeared to be developing and dispersal imminent. Several other grandchildren had married into or moved to other valleys, with their motives being spouses and more promising herding conditions. One other kingroup had produced four sons three of whom had married and settled with their maturing families in this same valley; but death of the father's wife and one of the sons had precipitated the translocation of part of this kingroup to another valley. Two of these brothers remained in close cooperation, perhaps contesting the future control of the valley by the earlier proliferation of the first kingroup. Similarly reflecting an ambivalent view of the habitat potential, one influential elder with several sons had arranged a matrilocal

marriage for his eldest son with another large domestic group in the most promising upper sector of Qolpa K'uchu valley, but had thereafter acquired a coresident son-in-law from the same kingroup because he "needed help." Family histories also reflect the much earlier florescence of a few other kingroups in this valley, probably two or three generations before the immigration of the family whose descendants now dominate the valley. But there is only one surviving and very poor family of these kingroups and the earlier developments are not clearly remembered by anyone.

Qolpa K'uchu appears to be in a particularly prolonged phase of saturation and dispersal. A prolific ancestral triad of brothers (and some sisters, apparently, now forgotten), now known almost mythically as awki, remained in this valley and are the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of the majority of its present inhabitants. Consanguinity has progressed to the point that almost all the young residents must seek their spouses elsewhere, and translocation out of the community appears to have been prevalent since the early part of this century. Two other kingroups appear to have gone through a parallel but less prolific florescence at about the same early time, and now are each represented by only one or two descendant families in the valley. Family histories indicate that three other kingroups underwent a similarly early expansion, but are now left with only a few matrilineal descendants in the same habitat. The edge in expansion seems to have passed to three small kingroups originating in matrilocal marriages into the valley, but these remain poor and marriages of their rather numerous offspring have tended to also reside matrilocally in the same valley. These may, however, form the potential nucleus for some future proliferation of new consanguinity in the habitat.

It should be noted that predominant kingroup developments in Chuwa Chuwa and Lawarkancha/Qolpa Pampa (cohesion and maturation) are concurrent with

the herding habitats that most other evidence indicates to be presently most promising; on the other hand kingroup developments characteristic of Qocha Moqo and Qolpa K'uchu (saturation and dispersal) are concurrent with the herding habitats which most other evidence has indicated to be marginal or pressed to capacity. The apparent ambivalence of strategy evident in the Qocha Moqo kingroups may be appropriate to the apparently balanced proportions of pasture, herds, and population in this habitat. The most reasonable implication of this congruent distribution of kingroup forms and habitat potentials is that a promising valley habitat tends to promote stable cooperative residence of most or all offspring, and that such a tendency is sooner or later followed by overpopulation, decline of the habitat potential relative to others in the community, and translocation of fragmenting domestic groups. These processes are clearest in Chuwa Chuwa and Qolpa K'uchu, respectively, as currently most and least promising herding habitats, but intermediate or antecedent stages are also apparent in all the valley habitats. The cycles apparent in each habitat are of dissimilar periods as well as non-contemporaneous.²⁸ Chuwa Chuwa and Yawarkancha/Qolpa Pampa are predominantly in nascent stages of consolidation, but only recently concluded apparent stages of saturation and dispersal; Qolpa K'uchu appears to have been slowly increasing in saturation and dispersal for two or more generations. The disparate period of these cycles is likely to be a function of habitat population potential: Qolpa K'uchu probably has double the population of the other two even when it is not saturated. Saturation in terms of the incest taboo among parallel kindreds in such a situation is likely to be considerably delayed, and only follow the initial stages of dispersion precipitated by a saturated herding potential.

It also appears that valley endogamy is promoted by habitat saturation, whereas exogamy tends to be preferred in the consolidation of a promising

herding habitat. Qolpa K'uchu has the highest rate of marriage among its inhabitants, and Chuwa Chuwa has by far the lowest (Figure 12). The sentiments among the dominant kingroups in both Chuwa Chuwa and Yawarkancha/Qolpa Pampa sometimes reflected disdain; they in fact did not intermarry, acquiring their spouses (frequently males) from other kingroups and frequently from outside their respective valleys. The most reasonable explanation of this is that early stages of competition between cohesive or maturing domestic groups in promising habitats is not likely to involve, among neighbors, the asymmetry of status implied in the transfer of women in marriage; on the other hand, the competition of progressive poverty in an unpromising habitat is likely to be expressed in asymmetric marriage alliances between neighbors, some being more ready than others to sacrifice their autonomy and make the best of the situation. As previously noted (p.323), sister-exchange in reciprocal marriage alliances is frequently undertaken by ascendant kingroups in different valleys. On the other hand, families in Qolpa K'uchu had sought, outside the increasingly expansive prohibitions of the incest taboo, to facilitate cooperation through intermarriage with neighbors or nearby hamlets in the same valley. This compensatory strategy of endogamy was apparently sustained for a longer period of time in virtue of the much larger valley population, only gradually increasing the necessity of valley exogamy. By 1970 the predominant compensatory strategy in this regard was translocation out of the community by matrilocal marriage, with few permissible spouses and little herding promise left in Qolpa K'uchu.

A further tendency notable in the data is that advanced phases of consolidation appear to favor patrilocal residence in cohesion of brothers, whereas earlier founders of these phases were frequently settled matrilocally. This is consonant with the initiative maintained by patrilineal kinsmen in such matters; female kin of consolidating groups were frequently

married into other kingroups in other valleys, perhaps there attempting consolidation, and so establishing an alliance useful in future developments. On the other hand, it is also important to note that consolidation often involved brothers-in-law joining a group of brothers in a promising habitat. There were also matrilocal marriages in a declining habitat (e.g., Qolpa K'uchu), probably with options for more propitious marriages elsewhere reduced by poverty. Consequently, although most optimization among imbalanced resources tended to be undertaken by males, the resulting local kingroups in both promising and unpromising habitats reflected a cognatic structure rather than exclusive patrilocality.

Not all my data can be accommodated by this explanation (Figure 12). Reflecting the perception of adverse herding potential, Qolpa K'uchu does have the lowest rate of in-marriage from other valleys or from outside Q'ero, as well as a long-standing preponderant emigration out of the valley. Qocha Moqo, on the other hand, among the other valleys of the community had the highest rate of marriage in and the lowest rate of marriage out. This would, *ex hypothesi*, imply the most propitious herding habitat, although the relative proportions of pasture, herd, and population appear to indicate only a balanced situation. Migration into and out of the community similarly appears to be balanced, but as previously noted, movement out of the community in recent decades has in fact tended to preponderate (p.181). Similarly, Qocha Moqo also has the lowest (although not lower than sub-habitats of Qolpa K'uchu) ratio of conjugal bonds per domestic group (p.203), implying less wealth, and indirectly, a less propitious herding habitat. It may be that the consolidating phases of cohesion and maturation, undertaken within the last two generations by the two most dominant kingroups of the valley, account for the high rate of marriage in and low rate of marriage out concomitant with the avoidance of valley endogamy in these stages. The apparent

decline of extended forms of the domestic group, and the incidence of matrilineal marriage out of the valley on the part of some sons and grandsons of predominant kingroups, may presage the saturation of habitat and consanguinity and the imminence of kingroup dispersion. If this is the case, the apparently balanced proportions of pasture, herd, and population is actually in a process of shifting between disproportions. The high rate of marriage out of the valley of Chuwa Chuwa, despite its apparently propitious herding potential, may also reflect an earlier stage of population dispersion, but satisfactory explanation requires more information. The low frequency of endogamy prevailing in this habitat entails the high rate of marriage in, but not necessarily a balancing departure of spouses as well, which appears to be the case. As suggested in the earlier discussion of translocation in this valley, illicit access to neighboring pastures of Cusipata may in effect limit the increase of population in Chuwa Chuwa even under optimum conditions of herding.

These difficulties in explanation admit the possibility that other important processes which I have not recognized operate in the system. It is possible, for instance, that consolidation in a given valley is prompted by the current ascendancy of a kingroup among political factions of the community, and dispersion precipitated by demise in social status, rather than ecosystematic strategies responding to imbalance of resource potentials. Similarly, the local cohesion and dominance of kingroups may be backed by a disproportional success with local extraordinary powers influencing the well-being of herds and domestic groups, while other kingroups are seen to be dispatched in disarray, as waxcha, to other valleys. There is fairly clear evidence of both these processes in Q'ero social organization; either could be the initial motivation leading to preponderant directions of translocation, rather than the perception of relatively unexploited herding po-

tential. However, if such motivations were the most important factors, one would not expect to find the high degree of correlation between proportions of pasture, herd, and population which appears generally to obtain in each valley habitat. Nor would the differential frequencies of translocation, conjugal extension, wealth, and matrilocal marriage be distributed congruently in relation to one another and to the imbalances which are detectable in demographic and resource proportions. I think that these considerations demonstrate the salient affect of resource imbalances in the determination of Q'ero social organization, although they certainly do not preclude the operation of other important factors which I have not been able to fully account.

In overview, a cohesive proliferation of local kinship appears to be encouraged in a promising herding habitat, and the dispersion of its descendants to other valleys (predominantly within the community) is precipitated by the consequent eventual disproportion of population to herds and pasture. According to earlier demonstrations, consolidation is manifested in more frequent extension of the domestic group through multiplication of conjugal bonds and matrilocal marriage, and saturation and dispersion is accompanied by decreasing frequency of these forms. This cycle in cognatic kinship is accompanied by a cycle in affinity whereby (1) exogamy through marriage into the habitat supports the earlier phases of consolidation, (2) a prevalent endogamy through alliances with valley neighbors compensates for the difficulties of competition in an increasingly unpromising habitat, and (3) exogamy through marriage out of the valley responds to eventual saturation of the herding potential and the expansion of consanguinity to include most inhabitants of the valley. These processes apparently operate in cycle, and can deplete the population of a valley sufficiently to renew its promise of herding potential, at least from the point of view of concurrent-

ly less promising localities in the community. The developments appear to proceed apace in each valley primarily independent of the cycle in other valleys of the community, and periods intrinsic to each valley appear to vary greatly but be influenced by the modal population capacity of the local habitat.

In the earlier discussions of the merging of affinity and kinship in the cognatic system of Q'ero, I concluded that just as affines become kin, so do the descendants of kin who are panaturantimpu wawan eventually become non-kin, and consequently eligible for marriage. At least one-quarter of all marriages are consanguineal within four or five ascending generations, and virtually all of these bear this form of relationship. Within this process, the kingroup nevertheless endures for the space of a few generations as an "occasional" group corporate for ritual and other special situations, and sharing joint rights and responsibilities with regard to other kingroups currently related by affinity.

This social structural process can now be seen to intercalate spatially with the cyclic development of local habitats in the basin ecosystem. Phases of valley consolidation through local kingroup cohesion and maturation are the setting for affinal alliances with other kingroups of the community not competitive in the same habitat; this process in turn gives way to local alliances as potential for herding expansion narrows. Mutually advantageous relationships between patron and client, based upon the asymmetric transfer of wives in marriage, is first avoided among neighbors but finally sought among them. Eventual saturation of local consanguinity and herding potential results in the resumption of exogamy, but now realized in translocation out of the valley and incorporation into kingroups which are themselves consolidating in more promising herding habitats of the community. Inverse priorities of authority and inheritance among siblings, and matrilocal mar-

riage, are the primary institutions facilitating this dispersal phase of development. Although initiative of males appears to preponderate in most phases of the cycle, this very frequently results in matrilocality and the practical atrophy of patrilateral ties. Kinship, based on earlier inter-marriage with kingroups in other valleys of the community, is eventually attenuated or dissolved by the principles of the parallel kindred, reopening opportunities for such marriage. Within a few more generations the same divergence of kinship will render marriageable the remote cognatic kin perhaps left behind in the declining valley habitat, who thereby may become spouses in the consolidation of a different valley potential or for opportune return to the original valley. The dialectic of kinship and affinity in the parallel kindred appears to be well adapted to the patterns of translocation integral to the Q'ero ecosystem. On the other hand, I suspect that comparable social organizations operate in many other local ecosystems of the Andes, at least in ethnic enclaves. There is no reason to believe that the Q'ero system is unusual in the south Central Andes.

NOTES

1

A readily accessible and important primary source regarding the era of Christianization in Peru is Arriaga (1967).

2

Insofar as I am aware, the only appreciable information on contemporary Central Andean kinship has been furnished by Tschopik (1946:542), La Barre (1948:138), Mishkin (1946:541), Stein (1961:119), Vazquez and Holmberg (1966), and Fuenzalida (1970:103). La Barre also reviews and criticizes earlier interpretations by Bandelier, Latcham, and Saavedra (1948:143). Data on the Inca system has been presented and analyzed by Rowe (1946:249), Zuidema (1964), and Cunow (1929), each of which favor a unilineal interpretation. I suspect that students besides those noted here have often accepted Spanish glosses, or worked among groups more thoroughly acculturated to mestizo society, and felt the apparently Hispanic bilateral system unremarkable. With the exception of Mishkin and Fuenzalida, all contemporary analysts noted above interpret their data to reflect a system of patrilineal descent; Mish-

kin opts for a bilateral model "with some patrilineal emphasis" (1946:448), but his analysis is incomplete and inconsistent. Fuenzalida, in an excellent and thorough short review of the state of research on social organization in the highlands, contends that "bilineal" (bilateral?) systems prevail and may even be aboriginal, although a strong patrilineal emphasis is apparent. Stein, on the other hand, contends that a bilateral kindred is superimposed upon the basic patrilineal lineage, and one wonders if the nearby Vicos data (Vazquez and Holmberg 1966) might be equivocal in the same way. Most of the data given in these cases to support the usual contention of "patrilineal descent" might be sufficiently explained in terms of patronyms, patrilocal residence, and salient male roles. Tschopik's and La Barre's reported data is even thinner in support of their interpretations. As I argue in this chapter, perhaps neither patrilineal nor bilateral kindred models of social organization are apt, tending to mislead rather than clarify analysis of Andean kinship. A symposium on Andean kinship and marriage is planned for the 1972 meeting of the American Anthropological Association, and will surely reopen the questions posed by these studies.

3

The concept of descent has been used confusingly in social anthropological analysis, but its sharpening in the exchanges of theorists such as Leach, Fortes, and Goodenough has resulted in productive new insights. (For a recent review and clarification of the concept, see Fortes 1969:276.) I think my use of the term is conventional in the light of current analysis. I take descent to mean the orientation of kinship toward a common ancestor and, conversely, the devolution of kingroup membership through successive filiation from this common ancestor. A kingroup established by an ideology of descent in this sense is usually distinguishable from a kingroup established by some degree of consanguinity to a given ego. Although both cognatic and unilineal kingroups may have ego-centered and descent aspects, these aspects usually differ greatly in their relative importance. Descent seems to have little importance in the social organization of Q'ero, and I use the concept rarely in this analysis. Most processes, normative or not, appear to be sufficiently explained in terms of filiation, succession, and inheritance, all analytically distinguishable from descent.

4

This is a conventionalized greeting and dispatch used throughout the cultural region of Q'ero, and I have not encountered it elsewhere. It is used toward elders of any sex on any occasion, even often toward one's own parents. It is also used when there is no such differential in age, or even occasionally by seniors addressing juniors, but this occurs only when the younger person has considerably more social status or when he is offering hospitality or special assistance. Even when a younger person confronts an elder of lower social status, he typically defers to him in this manner with a gracious air of noblesse oblige.

5

Most of the surnames now used in Q'ero are of native origin, and those which are not are so conventionalized in Quechua that it is difficult for an outsider not thoroughly familiar with Hispanic surnames to recognize their origin. All personal names, on the other hand, are Hispanic and originated in the Colonial program of Christianization through baptismal names; these also have often been Quechuized beyond recognition, except by bilingual mes-tizos familiar with the conventional equivalents.

6

Cousin marriage, even of the first degree, is in fact very frequently undertaken with official dispensation in smaller mestizo towns, and many more proceed in the ignorance of the parish priest. This is not surprising in any small solidary community with a high rate of endogamy; what is surprising is that it is a moral issue among the mestizos particularly in their denigration of the native. In fact, the native's routine avoidance of "incestuous" marriages in this regard, even in tiny communities, is an admirable example for even the most idealistic and dogmatic Church canons, as will become apparent in later discussions of affinity in Q'ero. The Q'eros' awareness of the misti's infidelity to his own standard can even be characterized as smug ethnocentrism. I will never forget the cool gaze of contempt and disdain from one elder Q'ero when, in an attempt to encourage admission of some preferential rule of cross-cousin marriage, I assured him that it was sometimes practiced in my own country.

7

I was once given cause to doubt my conclusion that kinship recollection was limited at this extent when a very analytic elder, apparently bored with my insistence and probably challenged by my apparent knowledge of many of his relatives, divulged a maze of ancestors in a torrent of descriptions receding more than five generations into the past. However, closer examination showed that he was probably unsure of the nature of his relationship to most of them, and his oldest son was unaware of any relationship at all and incredulous when I later recounted them to him.

8

Lounsbury, in a paper read at the 1964 International Congress of Americanists but not subsequently published, at one time apparently interpreted the Inca terminological system to have both Crow and Omaha features (Zuidema 1972). His more recent interpretation will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

9

From a study of early colonial sources on Quechua, Rowe (1946:250) and Zuidema (1964:73) report that the children of one's opposite-sex siblings were termed mulla and concha (kuncha). The first term was apparently applied to offspring of any sex by their FZ or her parallel cousins, and the second to offspring of any sex by their MB or his parallel cousins. Although I was able to ascertain that terms extended to children of siblings of the same sex are not usually applicable to these two classes of kin in Q'ero, I was not aware of these archaic terms and neglected to ascertain their use. I suspect that they or distinctive equivalents could still be discovered. Flores reports briefly on the kinship system of the Paratia pastoralists of Puno (1968:81) implying that daughters of sisters as well as sons of brothers are much like siblings of one another. Although this might be like the Q'ero system, he does not report on the terminology or behavior between panaturan-timpu wawan, nor on the status of MB and FZ. LaBarre (1948:140) and Tschopik (1946:542) reported a former kinship terminology for the Aymara (from Bertonio, 1612) that was very similar to that of the Q'ero, and remarked that terminology for one's own children was extended to same-sex sibling's children, but special terms are applied to children of opposite-sex siblings. Dis-

tinctive terminology for cross-cousins is not reported, but because correlative terminological distinctions were made in both parents' and children's generations, it is likely that this was an oversight. The 1938 terminology that LaBarre reports has merged cross-collaterals and parallel-collaterals in these generations, and my Q'ero data may reflect the same tendency.

10

Paya, a Quechua term often reported to denote "grandmother," seems to mean no more than "old woman" in Q'ero. Machulay (grandparent) seems to be sexless, just as is its reciprocal haway (grandchild).

11

If parallel transmission were to operate exclusively, the logical implication in any kinship system is not simply a unilineal structure but a structure (or two?) of "parallel descent" (Maybury-Lewis 1960). Nuñez del Prado's description of "ambilineal" inclinations in Q'ero kinship suggests such a system (1958:21), and Flores' remarks regarding parallel-sex parallel-cousins (footnote 9, this chapter) may also be interpreted in this manner. Zuidema's interpretation of Inca kinship perhaps requires a similar point of view, insofar as he sees both matrilineal and patrilineal principles operating (1964:27; 1966:408); his recent reinterpretation may emphasize parallel rather than double descent, however. Lounsbury's apprehension of the Inca terminological system may also favor this interpretation (Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971:185). I do not think that any system of unilineal descent is logically compatible with the fundamentally cognatic basis of Q'ero kinship, but I am not sure.

12

Zuidema (1964:16-17) cites colonial records of the seventeenth century indicating that matrilocal residence had some considerable frequency throughout Peru, and that in at least some cases this entailed the jural priority of matrilateral filiation of the resulting children. Bandelier sought evidence for his contention that the Inca ayllu was matrilineal in Viceroy Toledo's decree (1752) which required that jural filiation be patrilateral and not matrilateral (LaBarre 1948:143). Although this clearly is no evidence in support of matriliney, the decree does imply that patrilateral filiation was sometimes contested. The nature of the jural priority which might be gained matrilaterally, however, is not clear in any of these reports. Zuidema, like Bandelier, interprets it as "matrilineal," but there appear to be no grounds for so strong an inference. Matrilateral filiation might simply gain pre-eminence in domains of authority, succession, and inheritance through default of patrilocal residence, as I have argued in Chapter 7.

13

Kaka and q"atay are the root morphemes; when they appear as terms used in reference or address, suffixes inflect these roots according to their appropriate pronoun forms. In an ego-centered context, "my kaka" is kakay, and "my q"atay" is q"atayniy, the forms I usually employ.

14

The vagueness of conventional uses of the terms "kin" (consanguine) and "affine" was first approached analytically by Lounsbury, and Scheffler and Lounsbury suggest some sharper distinctions (1971:94; 116-17). Busch reviews and sharpens the issue in her article "In-laws and Out Laws: A Discussion of Affinal Components of Kinship" (Ethnology XI:2:127-31, 1972). It is gen-

erally agreed that the distinction between relatives by blood and those by marriage must be determined in each cultural context, not assumed.

15

There is some further justification (besides structural) for my glossing of the term kakay as "wife-giver." In its verbal form (also kakay, uninflected) this term is usually translated "to contribute." Secondary meanings attributed also involve the connotation of tribute, but this is apparently not its primary sense. In any case, I would not insist on this apparent etymological divergence; the social structural implications of the affinal term are clear enough.

16

Kaka as a native term for a male's father-in-law is rarely even recognized outside of native communities, and in Q'ero swiruy, suruy, or suyruy (from the Spanish swegro - "father-in-law") is used always in speaking with outsiders and frequently among natives themselves. I am tempted to suggest that the cause of the broad and ready acceptance of this Spanish term is the striking semantic congruence of its allophonic mispronunciation in Quechua and the native term kakay, glossed as "wife-giver." Suyru (another transcription is suruy) is a native term in Quechua denoting "dangling" with strong connotations of annoying impediments to progress. It is variously glossed as "long parts of one's clothing which catch and detain" (Guardia 1967:124); "to go along with grain escaping from a hole in one's sack;" "to go along dragging something poorly tied on" (Clemente 1970:164).

17

Mishkin reported that in 1939 the natives of Kauri (a puna native community just southeast of the Q'ero cultural region and by 1970 a mestizo community) used the Spanish term tio to designate the wife's brother (1946:452).

18

It is interesting to note that a group in the Inca structure of ayllus was termed waxcha kuncha (literally "poor children of the sister" - from MB's point of view). It is not clear how this sort of group was related to other Inca ayllus, nor even if its basis was kinship, but it is intriguing to speculate that it was a kingroup of low status, and, that this was in virtue of its members standing as q"atay with regard to their (classificatory?) mother's brothers and wife's fathers.

19

In Lounsbury's interpretation of the data from Inca terminology (Schefler and Lounsbury 1971:185) ipay is extended according to parallel transmission, and another term quihuach (kiwach), which I neglected to search for and did not encounter in Q'ero, is extended similarly, each among females which I would interpret to be in the cognatic kingroup of q"atay. I would speculate that the use of these terms is contextually controlled with regard to status differentials, or their suppression, within the affinal class of q"a-tay, just as the use of gachun is contextually determined (but without regard to sex) in the affinal class of kakay. This is a problem which can probably be resolved in field research among contemporary native groups. Lounsbury's analysis will arouse many such questions, and they need not all remain unanswered.

20

In addition to the following argument, it should be recalled that the verbal form kakay denotes "to contribute" (footnote 15, Chapter 8). This meaning is much more clearly relevant, in the context of kin and affine, to WF than it is to MB; the latter may partake in this meaning derivatively.

21

But an older brother's wife is also called gachun mamay, even if he is only slightly older; here affinal superordination appears to reinforce sibling seniority.

22

There are myths recounted in Q'ero which imply a "caste" relationship between parts of the community, and motifs in their weaving are said to symbolize these class distinctions. It is very doubtful that stratification could ever obtain in such a small community, although rank orders do differentiate it according to current status relationships.

23

Lounsbury furthermore suggests that one report indicating the extension of kakay to FB and FBS might be based on a spouse-equivalence rule among Inca royalty whereby FB = WF through marriage of FBD. Although this form of marriage was apparently prescribed among royalty, it appears much more likely that this terminological attribution is based on the still common Spanish confusion of tio (FB, MB) and kakay (MB, MBS, etc., not FB) which (like Lounsbury) takes kakay to be a primarily consanguineal term.

24

Rowe concludes that there was "descent in the male line" in Inca kinship (1946:254-55), but he makes it clear that he refers only to succession to public office. This occurs, of course, in most cognatic groups as well, and certainly does not by itself imply patrilineal descent. His evidence, like Zuidema's, also suggests that filiation of children was strongly a function of residence, rather than responding to a unilineal ideology of descent. Other relevant materials are cited in footnote 2 of this chapter.

25

Regarding statistical and ideological aspects of the kingroup, also in a system with cognatic as well as patrilineal features, see Keith Brown's "Dōzoku and Descent Ideology in Japan" (American Anthropologist 68:1129). Many of the features of the domestic group which Brown describes are also very similar to those of the Q'ero domestic group.

26

The relationship of demographic pressure and descent-group structure has been a subject of controversy especially with regard to the New Guinea Highlands. Several alternative hypotheses are reviewed by Kelly (1968). Kelly argues convincingly that although there may be close articulation between the resolution of resource imbalance and the jural structure of a society, the latter must usually be accepted as the independent variable. Particular resolutions of demographic imbalance appear to be achieved within the flexible parameters of the given social structure, rather than the structure itself being merely (in Leach's terms 1961:298ff) symptomatic. The social structure of New Guinea Highland societies has often been interpreted in terms of an agnatic model, with conformity to this ideal being

more or less determined by processes in the distribution of resources and people (e.g., Meggit 1965:266). I suspect that the cognatic model is a more reasonable starting point for analysis of social structure in the Andes. Although there is insufficient published data for comparison, I would speculate that cognatic parameters such as matrilocality, matrilineal inheritance, the closely associated opposed ranking of sibling roles and the strength of affinal alliances, and the organization of the parallel kindred, might be found to vary in accord with the requisites of the local ecosystem. An assumption that the variation response to some ideal patrilineal model is likely to have misguided some ethnographic interpretations of New Guinea societies (Barnes 1962; Salisbury 1956), and the grounds for its assumption in the Andes seem to be much weaker.

27

Núñez del Prado reports that the Q'eros prefer to seek spouses from different localities than that of their own family's origin, in order to avoid the possibility of overlooked consanguinity in marriages (1958:22). I found no evidence that this is an explicit norm, and the translocations within most family histories would decrease the efficacy of the tactic in any case. However, the high frequency of valley exogamy does support Núñez del Prado's report.

28

I would further speculate that the disparate nature of the periods characteristic of each valley might be an important expression of the integration of the basin ecosystem discussed previously (pp.78-85). It might furthermore be the case that what concordance there is in the several cycles is a motive of emigration from and immigration into the community as a whole. Much more complete data than I have available might substantiate this notion, insofar as such regular patterns are detectable.

Summary

This study is an analysis of basic aspects of social organization in a native Andean community. The analysis has had to take extensive account of the ecosystem of which this social organization is an integral part. Preliminary considerations regarded the wider ecosystem of prehistory, history, and the south Central Andean highlands, in which the cultural region of Q'ero has been sustained as an ethnic enclave. Subsequently, adaptation to the local environment of the Q'ero basin was examined as an interzonal ecosystem based on highly diversified techniques in sedentary pastoralism and transhumant agriculture. Finally, continued analysis of the social system focused on the organization of the domestic group, kinship, and affinity, some aspects of which are seen to accommodate the divisive demands of the ecosystem.

The surrounding ecosystem in time and space was examined briefly in terms of the geographical setting and prehistory, the colonial era and hacienda dominion, and the role of Q'ero as an accommodated tribal community in the plural society of the south Central Andes. It was suggested that the cultural region of Q'ero developed from an aboriginal tribal mosaic but remained an ethnic enclave, being marginal through to contemporary times in terms of both communications and economy of the surrounding area. Its own economic and political integrity, on the other hand, has tended to be maintained due to its self-sufficient position spanning several diverse ecological zones from which it can derive most subsistence necessities. The possibility of greater political consolidation among the several communities of the cultural region under pre-contact or early colonial regimes was considered, but the contemporary social integrity of each constituent community was emphasized. Exploitive influences of the colonial era, and reciprocal accommodations on the part of the native community, were considered with special reference to

the hacienda dominion of the last century or so. In this regard it was argued that these influences have been expressed primarily in terms of labor conscription, as under the Incas, and that the exploitive regime imposed upon Q'ero has had to compromise in several ways for the sake of marginal profitability, leaving the native economy little affected. Q'eros' contemporary role in the social organization of the area was then analyzed from the point of view of relationships in a plural society, in which context the community operates as a segment of accommodated tribal society not significantly peasantized. Particular aspects of the native economy and its accommodations of outside influences were examined to support this point of view. A subsistence economy independent of outside sources of supply for most staples, austerity in consumption of non-traditional goods, restricted intercourse with the outside through migration and marriage, eschewal of commercial enterprise, and virtual political autonomy are primary indicators of the community's position outside the peasant networks of the area. On the other hand, an adjunct tributary economy required by the community's de jure status as subordinate to outside regimes, developing consumption dependencies and trade relationships, tentative specializations in homestead agriculture or migrant labor, and the initial affects of a local primary school, are clear indicators of imminent social change.

In the second part the local ecosystem was examined in terms of the settlement pattern, key components of each major ecological zone, and the interzonal strategy of subsistence entailed in the annual and perennial routine. The settlement pattern was analyzed from the perspective of the vertical and lateral topographic matrices in which are distributed primary domiciles in hamlets, camps in cultivation sites, and a ritual center strategically centralized. Likely antecedents to this pattern were discussed in terms of comparable settlement patterns in other communities of the cultural region, and

it was concluded that this disposition and the associated ecosystem were probably well-established even in the colonial era. Important components of each major ecological zone spanned by the community were examined with attention to the techniques of pastoralism, Andean tuber agriculture, and maize horticulture in their distinct topographic, altitudinal, climatic, edaphic, and biotic niches. Particular aspects of the adaptive pattern analyzed in some detail were the waylla pasture niche crucial to successful alpaca husbandry, the seriation of the intermediate altitudes and corresponding spectrum of tuber crops, the influence of substrate on the production of alpacas and maize, and the importance of maintaining propitious relations with extraordinary powers.

The subsistence strategy which manages these various dispersed resources was examined in terms of cyclic strategies, compensatory strategies, and demographic processes. The Q'eros' mobile routine in ecosystem management was analyzed as a series of closely timed cycles based on annual climatic and perennial soil changes. These cycles are worked out in a tempo integrating phases in the several production regimes, and the coordination of several rotation rhythms. The feast cycle in community ritual was interpreted in this context as a redistributive mechanism in the cyclic strategy. Consideration of compensatory strategies, smoothing irregularities in the cyclic routines, included description of short-cuts employed in herding or cultivation, the utilization of alternative pastures, and the retreat to homesteads and other sorts of compromising specialization. Demographic processes of this century were considered with regard to the data available on migration, and it was concluded that evidence of past decreases and recent increases in community population suggest some oscillation around optimum ecosystem capacity. Frequent and patterned translocation among the valley habitat components of the community was concluded to respond to relative herding potential as well

as social factors, and this process is manifested in relative balance or disproportion of available pasture, herd density, and resident population in each valley habitat.

The last part of the study focused on basic aspects of the social organization which required analysis in the first regard as social system, secondarily manifesting dispositions which could be significantly interpreted as adaptations to the ecosystem. The primary objective of this part of the study was to devote extended examination, in the light afforded by a comprehension of the community ecosystem, to domains of social organization which remain superficially understood in the Andes. Family organization in the domestic group, kinship systematics, and patterns of affinity were distinguished analytically as parts of the integral social whole.

Examination of the domestic group proceeded on the perspective gained in description of seasonal-cycle herding rituals. These rituals are carried out to maintain propitious relationships between the domestic group, its herd, and the pantheon of extraordinary powers which affect the well-being of both. The corporate structure of the domestic group was discussed, and on the basis of frequencies and distribution of components of domestic group form, the conjugal bond, lineal and collateral extensions, and matrilocality were preliminarily analyzed. The conjugal bond emerged as the focus of domestic group structure, its multiplication central in development and positively correlated with both higher status in the community and more promising habitat in the ecosystem. A developmental model was abstracted from domestic group structure to guide subsequent analysis of normative and alternative processes in the domestic group cycle. Examination of life-cycle rituals of status elevation in the domestic group served to outline its normative development. Closer analysis of structural processes in authority, succession, inheritance, and residence was undertaken with special regard for alterna-

tive forms of the domestic group in collateral extension, adoption, and matrilocality. Higher frequency of the latter form was found to correspond closely to greater habitat herding potential. Sibling group statuses structured by opposing priorities in inheritance and authority, and the sub rosa rule of matrilocality residence, were seen to function as accommodations to the fragmented and limited components of the ecosystem. These mechanisms promoted the perpetuation of corporate estates in property and authority with minimum decimation and devility, and facilitate with minimum jural impediments the redistribution of persons to fill role vacancies in other domestic groups. These alternative processes in the domestic group revealed the flexibility of filiation, reflected in priorities of authority, succession, and inheritance, all of which are predominantly influenced by residence.

Examination of kinship and affinity was initiated with descriptions of ritual moments in Q'ero which best outline patterns of relationship in this domain. The kingroup was described as a jural entity corporate only on special occasions such as community rituals, political faction, and resolution of conflicts. It was structured by cognation and systematic discriminations among collaterals on the basis of same-sex or cross-sex into what may best be termed a "parallel kindred." Patterns of marriage between remote consanguineal relatives tended to support this interpretation. Kinship terminology was analyzed from this perspective, with special regard to locutions distinguishing among siblings and cousins, and among parents and their collaterals. Alternative terminology reflecting situational suppression of divergent consanguinity, honor of grandparents, seniority among siblings, and rank order of residual authority among parents and their siblings, were also discussed. An apparent inclination toward unilineality in the terminological system and patrilineal filiation in behavior was investigated, but it was concluded on the strength of obvious cognatic dispositions in organization

and jural structure, and in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary, that the system cannot be characterized as patrilineal. Evidence provided by ancestral orientations apparent in funeral wakes suggested that patrilineal cohesion was in part a function of affinal relationships rather than kinship. In summary of the analysis of Q'ero kinship, the applicability of some principles of kinship semantics recently proposed for explanation of several South American systems was assessed; in particular, the rule of parallel transmission of kin-class status was concluded to probably operate importantly in the parallel kindred, but more certainly among affinal relatives.

In affinal patterns of relationship, wife-giving and wife-receiving status classifications were determined to order pervasive asymmetric status structures based on transfer of some jural rights pertaining to women. These asymmetric structures were manifested in subsequent imbalances of reciprocal services. Patterned equivocations in Spanish glosses, and matrilineal ancestral orientations evident in funeral wakes, were found to support this interpretation. Parallel transmission of affinal class status was demonstrated at least among males of the reciprocal affinal classes, and the continuity of male kinsmen in a framework of affines was examined as a partial explanation of patrilineal salience in the cognatic kingroup. Extensions of affinal terminology were examined to adduce focal types in each polysemic class, and these were seen to likewise reflect the asymmetric structure of statuses delineating kingroups. Alternate terminology and sister exchange were interpreted as modes of suppression of status asymmetry; same-sex sibling exchange and some prevalent forms of remote consanguineal marriage, on the other hand, were concluded to tend toward compounding affinal asymmetry in a manner analogous to that evident in appeals made to ancestors in the funeral wake. Finally, in summary of the social organization of kinship

and affinity, a critique was undertaken of related analyses by Lounsbury, Zuidema, and Mundock.

Concluding the analysis of kinship and affinity, ecosystematic processes in translocation and domestic group development were reviewed, and seen to operate as constituents of broader cycles of kingroup cohesion, maturation, saturation, and dispersion in each valley of the community. Most evidence suggested that these cycles in turn operated ecosystematically, through alternating strategies of valley habitat exogamy and endogamy, in the community-wide process of kinship and affinity.

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