

**Who are the children of Pariacaca? Exploring identity through
narratives of water and landscape in Huarochirí, Peru**

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Abstract:

Based on AHRC-funded interdisciplinary research, this thesis explores cultural identity in the Peruvian Andes through the highly expressive domain of water practice in the Spanish-speaking Huarochirí province in the highlands of Lima. The thesis makes an original contribution to scholarship on Latin American society through exposing discontinuities between the ways that international and national (Peruvian State) law describe and define ancestral 'indigenous' groups, compared with the emic expression of identity 'on the ground'.

As elsewhere in the Andean highlands, Huarochiranos express cultural difference vis-à-vis outsiders through their conviction that the local landscape is animate and has agency. Through detailed analysis of Spanish language narratives recorded during in depth fieldwork in 2012, the thesis illuminates the ways in which highlanders in this non-indigenous province express animate landscape in a non-indigenous tongue. Of particular interest are irrigators' relationships with their local environment and the beings which dwell in it, and emerge from it as well as the vocabulary which they employ to describe the landscape. Through this approach, the thesis builds on the work of Marisol De la Cadena (2010) by proposing that debates concerning 'Indigenous Cosmopolitics' are applicable to groups who do not necessarily define themselves as indigenous or speak an indigenous language.

Informed by postcolonial theory, this research explores the effects of cultural change and continuity – within the context of infrastructural development and associated nation-building processes – on language loss, irrigation-focused ritual discourse and attitudes towards water. The thesis is also framed against the historical literary backdrop of the famous so-called Huarochirí Manuscript (c.1608). This unique colonial Quechua document of indigenous authorship deriving from the same region contains information on the cultural elaboration of water in the early colonial era and represents an unparalleled source for understanding the indigenous past in the Andes.

For Alf

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Chapter 1. Introduction

If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now.

As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so, too, would theirs be.

But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now, I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huarochiri people, who all descend from one forefather.

(Anonymous, c.1608 in: Preface to the Huarochiri Manuscript, translation from the Quechua by Salomon and Urioste 1991)

Peru is an ecologically and culturally diverse nation. This, however, is rarely reflected in legislation pertaining to natural resources upon which all sectors of Peruvian society depend, and various experts have called for resource law, such as State water legislation, to take into account the nation's cultural diversity (Gelles 2000; Oré 2009; Guevara-Gil 2006). Similarly, the recent and on-going debates on indigenous rights legislation in Peru has prompted scholars to appeal for the nation's ethnic and cultural diversity to be reflected when legislating on indigenous rights (Gelles 2010, Guevara-Gil 2006).

In a country as diverse as Peru, nation-building poses distinct challenges. Here, the aftermath of colonialism proved to be especially contradictory, resulting in a supposed shift from a "pluriethnic colony of castes toward [a] unitary postcolony of citizens" (Turner 1997: 1), yet crucially, the citizens were divided in the new nation and beyond through nation building processes. As such, I echo Drinot in acknowledging that nation building in Peru cannot be discussed without consideration of racial hierarchies (Drinot 2006: 15-16).

Race has been defined as both elusive and central to understanding the pervasive social division and discrimination that marks Peruvian society (Orlove 1998). The issue of race is elusive in Peru because difference here is generally understood to be rooted in culture rather than in race (De la Cadena 2000: 1-3). Nevertheless, it is the term 'race' which "captures key features of the enduring divisions" (Orlove 1998:

207), irrespective of however these divisions might otherwise be packaged. These divisions, rooted in colonial Era race-based hierarchies, are a defining feature of postcolonial Peruvian society.

In Peru, the category 'indigenous' has been absent from national rhetoric for the best part of four decades. Its re-emergence has much to do with dominant ideas about nature and technology as much as activist discourses within Peru itself. As Graham and Penny explain, a new post-war consciousness of the value of the natural world and its exhaustible resources replaced ideas about technology and progress where the natural world was viewed as uncontrollable and in need of taming by industrialised states (Graham and Penny 2014: 5). It was within this context that the concept of indigeneity emerged as "a legal and juridical category during the Cold War era" (Graham and Penny 2014: 1). The political-legal relevance of this term has in recent years been revived by international law, yet the question of how to define this ethnic category is on-going and may be ultimately unresolvable.

The recent institutionalisation of prior consultation rights for indigenous peoples in Peru, effected in compliance with the United Nation's International Labour Organization's Convention 169 (1991)¹, represents an important advancement in the political representation of indigenous groups. Convention 169 is a legally binding international instrument open to ratification of which Peru is a signatory nation. Prior consultation is a legal term signifying the conferral of special rights specifically to indigenous and tribal peoples in the negotiation of development projects. Groups with the right to prior consultation therefore have the right to negotiate development projects on their lands, such as mining concessions prior to their commencement, as well as proposed State uses of their land.

However, this advancement is not without fundamental problems. In order to protect the traditions, values and resources of the indigenous population, the process of

¹ Convention 169 is defined by the ILO as a 'Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries'.

officialising prior consultation law for indigenous groups requires firstly identifying what indigeneity is, and secondly, based on this criteria, which groups qualify for indigenous status. This process has been long-winded and much debated in Peru. The reason for this is quite simple: racial identities in the Andes are relative and highly fluid; the instability of categories such as 'indigenous', 'Indian' and '*mestizo*' lies in the incapacity of these terms to capture identity as it is expressed in daily life (Howard 2009, Orlove 1998). Indigenous status is particularly arbitrary, since although it is impossible to define 'indigenous' as a fixed ethnic category, political marginality is a key feature of indigeneity (Canessa 2006, De la Cadena and Starn 2007: 4), suggesting that State policy and official definitions of difference are bound to misrepresent the marginalised populations they claim to represent: the State and the politically marginalised are, by definition, far-removed from one another. The work of De la Cadena and Starn is particularly useful for understanding how indigeneity is constructed through a relational process of articulating difference: "indigeneity emerges only within larger social fields of difference and sameness; it acquires its "positive" meaning to what it is not, to what it exceeds or lacks....indigenous cultural practices become such in articulation with what is not considered indigenous within the particular social formation where they exist" (De la Cadena and Starn 2007: 4).

As Ingold has argued, constructions of indigenous status (based on the principle of separate genealogy and heritage) are deeply embedded in State discourse and represent "a product of the representation of difference in the discourse of hegemony" (Ingold 2000: 151, citing Ingold 1993a: 218). Mignolo stresses the importance of acknowledging the colonial roots of State discourses relating to identity, pointing out that the discourse that classifies ethnicity belongs to those from specific ethnic backgrounds, i.e. Europeans and in Latin America, creoles and *mestizo* elites of European descent (Mignolo 2007: 43). Indigeneity today continues to be constructed in domains which are alien to the realities of indigenous experience and therefore those who wish to assert this identity must engage with

external perspectives relating to what it means to be indigenous. As such, approaches to identity politics in the Andes must negotiate how to frame the relationship between past and present theoretically; this thesis necessarily draws on postcolonial theory, while also considering the relevance of theories of coloniality for approaching identity politics in the Peruvian Andes.

Since modern-day identity politics are consolidated in the notion of marginalization, "the identity-based political position... pits itself against the dominant establishment wherein marginalization occurs" (Gupta 2007:18). This could certainly be said of Peru, where the institutionalisation of prior consultation rights has resulted in a paradoxical outcome: "se siguen reproduciendo mecanismos de control de la representación de lo indígena por parte de las élites estatales, intelectuales y políticas, que en muchos casos pasan por alto la naturaleza socialmente construida y políticamente contextualizada de la categoría social "indígena" (Rousseau 2012 unpaginated)². How then, to represent (and protect) diversity in a society such as Peru which has traditionally been structured according to a racial hierarchy where Andean highlanders and Amazonian peoples figure at the bottom? Is indigeneity a relevant concept for understanding the Peruvian context in the modern day?

Both indianness and indigeneity are relative concepts, since they are performed and expressed in relation to dominant society. For Canessa, indigeneity is informed by a historical consciousness, and is more politically correct (and also more politically focused) than the colonial term 'indian' (Canessa 2012: 6-7). As he explains, the term 'indian' refers to a long history of colonial oppression, and is not an identity which many would wish to be associated with, whereas [in Bolivia] 'indigenous' has come to have a very inclusive reach (Canessa 2012: 7). Nevertheless, Peru's particular historical trajectory means that it is problematic and even arbitrary to talk of indigeneity with

² "in the representation of indigenusness, they keep reproducing the State, intellectual and political elite mechanisms of control, which in many cases go beyond the socially and politically contextualised nature of the social category 'indigenous'"

reference to the Andean population. The multi-layered reasons for this will be discussed in turn through the thesis.

Given the fact that the task of defining indigeneity is carried out by entities from which certain (so-called) indigenous groups are marginalized, it will be valuable to compare State policy with the emic expression of identity 'on the ground' in Peruvian communities. Taking into account the situation outlined above, an aim of this thesis is to shed light on the problematic nature of Peruvian State criteria for recognising indigeneity. The thesis also highlights the equally problematic nature of the criteria for recognising indigenous status set out by the United Nations International Labour Organisation. As we will see, the Peruvian State's criteria for prior consultation law do not fully mirror the criteria that the International Labour Organisation sets out. The International Labour Organisation expressly refrains from defining indigeneity, but instead describes elements of indigenous populations, which include³:

- Historical continuity, i.e. they are preconquest/colonization societies;
- Territorial connection (their ancestors inhabited the country or region);
- Distinct social, economic, cultural and political institutions (they retain some or all of their own institutions). (ILO 2009:9)

It is quite probably the impossibility of defining a relational concept which leaves the task of identifying indigenous groups open to manipulation by signatory nations of Convention 169, most of which are postcolonial. To illustrate why this is problematic for the case of Peru, I present an ethnographic case study which highlights the depth of cultural diversity within the department of Lima, the department where the Peruvian capital of the same name is located. As I will show, this diversity is rooted in the continuity of highly localised expressive practices deriving from the Pre-Hispanic Era through the colonial period and into today.

³ "The Convention does not define who are indigenous and tribal peoples. It takes a practical approach and only provides criteria for describing the peoples it aims to protect."
<http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Conventions/no169/lang--en/index.htm>, accessed 22/9/15

The thesis will focus on the expression of cultural difference in the village of San Damián in the (now) Spanish-speaking Huarochirí province in the highlands of Lima. My reason for focusing specifically on the Huarochirí village of San Damián is because this is the colonially founded village where the earliest 'indigenous' Andean text was compiled. The anonymous, so-called Huarochirí Manuscript (c.1608), written in Quechua is considered to be an unparalleled source on the pre-Hispanic Andes⁴. The text is unique in that it discusses the pre-colonial past and early colonial culture change in an indigenous language and is of clear indigenous authorship. For this reason, it will be useful to set forth here the reasons as to why I think the 1608 text is useful (and could even have political uses) for understanding and representing Huarochirano identity in the modern-day.

1.1 The people called Indians

The rural highland village of San Damián was subjected to an early colonial 'extirpation of idolatries' campaign in the early 17th century, which was designed to quash native belief. It is within this context that San Damián gave origin to one of the most important texts on native Andean religion. The aforementioned text of 1608 is sometimes referred to as an Andean bible (Salomon 1991: 2) and is often compared to the Popul Voh of Mexico (Millones and Mayer 2012: 11). Many sections of the Huarochirí Manuscript refer to the *ayllus* (extended kin groups) of the Checa and Concha, the two social groups which – having been forcibly 'reduced' in order to facilitate colonial domination over the local population in the 1570s – today make up the village of San Damián (Spalding 1984: 158). In this colonial Quechua document, a member of the Checa community describes the customs associated with various sacred sites and landscape beings (both landscape beings and sacred sites are bound up in the Quechua term *huaca*) in Huarochirí and many of these narratives are concerned with irrigation. Its content, which comprises 31 chapters detailing religious

⁴ Thanks to various published, translated versions of the Huarochirí Manuscript from the Quechua, the province is well known among scholars and students of Andeanist studies. I will mainly refer to the most recent English and Spanish versions, Salomon and Urioste 1991 and Taylor 2008, respectively.

life in the province as it was at the time of writing, as well as in the 'olden days' (ñawpa pacha) and the 'very olden days' (ancha ñawpa pacha), constitutes the one of the earliest records of Pre-Hispanic Andean traditions, and of indigeneity, available in an indigenous language. Today, many extant versions of the traditions recorded in the Huarochirí Manuscript still exist in the province, including myths and irrigation rituals.

1.1.1 The children of Pariacaca become indians

In the preface to the Huarochirí Manuscript (cited at the beginning of this introduction), the anonymous Checa author clearly seems to be concerned with rescuing ancestral knowledge from (apparent) obscurity. The manuscript therefore constitutes an effort to make the deeds of the Huarochirí ancestors 'visible' through a new medium. Nevertheless, as the following chapters of mythic content unfold, we learn that the ancestral landscape beings known as *huacas* were, in 1608-a generation and a half after Spanish conquest, not faded from the minds and practices of the Huarochirí people by any means. Moreover, lasting manifestations of their heroic deeds were located (in territories relevant to each particular *huaca*) throughout the province, evidencing their existence and their power alluded to in myth.

As we can see from the extract of the preface to the text, the author of the 1608 Huarochirí Manuscript referred to his own kind as 'the people called Indians' or "runa yn(di)o niscap" in Quechua (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 157). In the early colonial Era, there was such a sense of foreignness about the word 'Indian' that the author of the text did not take this imposed identity for granted. To use the words of Mignolo, "there were no Indians in the American continents until the arrival of the Spaniards" (Mignolo 2007: 44). As Canessa explains, the colonial term Indian served to homogenize diverse groups: "The term *indian* is obviously one of European origin, and in its American usage denoted a simple power relationship between Europeans and a large number of diverse people whom they had the power to collectively

assemble under a single term" (Canessa 2012: 6). Through the classification 'indio' (Indian), the colonizers disregarded (and in doing so, undermined) the local expression of identity through land and irrigation rights, 'personified' through the *huacas*. In this sense, the lives and times of the ancestors had indeed become invisible in that the lore detailing their heroic deeds was deemed irrelevant in the colonial regime's classification of identity.

The 'people called Indians' did not want to abandon their traditional practices associated with the old 'diabolic' *huacas*. The manuscript also makes it clear that, just as in modern-day Huarochirí, disasters were understood by early colonial Huarochirinos to be an outcome of ritual failure, or in the terminology of their modern-day descendants, '*falta de costumbre*' (lack of ritual). Moreover, the *huacas* were accredited with creating the irrigation systems upon which survival and wellbeing hinged. As the content of the manuscript shows, local identity was expressed through affiliation with tutelary *huacas*, i.e. the beings who bestowed each group with irrigation water. As the 1608 text details, the *huaca* Cuni Raya, while transmitting his vital force to all of the Huarochirí communities, was said to have magically constructed the province's irrigation systems and prepared the land for production (Taylor 2008: 25).

The relationship between identity and the landscape of the people represented in the 1608 text is made clear in the description of Huarochirí's people as 'huk yayayuyq' (Taylor 2008: 22), meaning 'with one father'; the phrase unites all Huarochiranos through a common ancestor, the glacier-peaked Apu Pariacaca. Thus, early colonial Huarochiranos saw themselves as being born of the landscape, and thus have been referred to by some scholars as "Pariacaca's children" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:143). Today, this notion is maintained to some extent: a Sandamianino who wished to give me an historical summary of the province explained: "De allí [la

montaña de Pariacaca] nace más o menos todo Huarochirí" (Glicerio Ricci, San Damián, 82)⁵.

Aside from the fact that early colonial Huarochiranos derived and expressed a common identity through Pariacaca, the most powerful local manifestation of water, their hydraulic expertise is alluded to in the toponym Huarochirí itself. As Rodolfo Cerrón Palomino explains, the toponym is of Aymara etymology, and its component parts (*huatro-ch-ri*) can be translated as 'he who makes canals' or alternatively, 'he who makes terraces' (personal communication). It is quite possible that the Aymara toponym stems from the era of the Yauyos (Aymara-speaking) occupation. The close association between Huarochirano identity and hydraulic infrastructure is pointed out by Rostworowski whose historical research details the invasion of lowland yunga ethnic groups by the Highland Yauyos ethnic group whose expansion southwards in the area formed Lurin Yauyos (Southern Yauyos), or Huarochirí⁶. As Rostworowski explains, the Yauyos ethnic group found, in their invasion and occupation of the lands today known as Huarochirí, a highly advanced system of cultivated terraces, fed by canals which channelled the irrigation water necessary for cultivation (Rostworowski 1978:34). It is likely that the advanced hydraulic infrastructure discovered and maintained by the Yauyos made them affluent and indeed, an account by Francisco de Avila of the 'Huarochirí Indians' described them as well-dressed and rich. (Rostworowski 1978:109)⁷. Clearly, Pre-Hispanic Huarochiranos had a lot to thank their *huacas* for. If their reverence of the *huacas* brought them affluence, how could they abandon them?

The Huarochirí Manuscript, irrespective of its association with the pioneering extirpator of idolatries Francisco de Avila (be it either throughout its production or afterwards), ties the lives of the ancestor *huacas* to the local landscape. This could

⁵ "More or less all of Huarochirí is born from there".

⁶ Hence the name Lurin for the river located at the south of former Yauyos territory.

⁷ Rostworowski also explains that the native population began to become impoverished under Spanish rule (Rostworowski 1978:109).

reflect a pre-Hispanic method of cultural transmission and affirmation of kin groups' associations to, and rights over resources. In this respect, the author's strategy of evidencing (making visible, or preventing the fading away of the) the past could also be understood as an indigenous response to the colonial exercise of undermining of Pre-Hispanic forms of knowledge, power and economy. In this case, the Quechua text of 1608 could be understood as a text designed to bring about a cultural revival which, crucially, would ensure survival in a landscape that only produced sustenance because of fidelity to the *huacas*.

Alan Durston's tentative hypothesis about motives for the manuscript's production reflect this aspect of the text: he believes one motive may have been that of recording narratives that could be used to adjudicate resource rights⁸. I agree that at least one motive for the author's (involvement in the) project was likely to have been that of setting down a record of local irrigation rights, supported and substantiated by corresponding narratives relating the deeds of the *huacas*. The preface to the manuscript certainly indicates a discomfort with the colonially attributed identity of 'Indian' given to the – linked through Pariacaca but – otherwise diverse Huarochirano groups who relied on their own tutelary *huacas*. My reading of the preface takes the project of recording each Huarochirano village's oral history to be a reaction to the ethnic and cultural homogenization of the local *ayllus* which had seen distinct (and even enemy) groups be forcibly resettled side by side in colonial *reducciones* only 3 decades before the manuscript was written.

My interpretation of the Huarochirí Manuscript as an attempt to highlight the diverse and under-threat identities of the children of Pariacaca has been consolidated through my understanding of the ways in which modern-day Huarochiranos express their identity in relation to the State and dominant sectors of society.

⁸ (Durston, "Cristóbal Choquecasa, autor del Manuscrito de Huarochirí". Simposio "El Manuscrito Quechua del Huarochirí, circa 1608" PUCP, Lima 6th September 2013, and in personal communication.)

The title of this thesis reflects my aim to explore the ways in which the modern-day 'children of Pariacaca' express their identity through landscape, particularly through manifestations of the sacred, animate landscape. I hope that the title serves to remind the reader that Huarochiranos have historically expressed their identity this way, despite the fact they became 'the people called Indians' upon the arrival of Europeans.

Although rural highlanders from the Huarochirí province today maintain many of the landscape rituals mentioned in the 1608 'indigenous' text to a considerable degree, neither they nor the State would regard Huarochiranos to be indigenous, for reasons I will explain later in this introduction. Indigenous languages are today extinct in Huarochirí (both Quechua and a variety of Aymara spoken prior to Inca domination), despite the fact that the province is home to the famous and first Quechua language book-sized text (Salomon 1991: 1, Dedenbach Salazar-Saenz 1997: 149).

1.1.2 The descendants of the people called Indians

Despite four centuries of culture change, and relatively recent language shift in Huarochirí, many landscape beings (of which there are various kinds, they are no longer broadly referred to as *huacas* as they were in the 1608 text) continue to exist, and they continue to have considerable power. Might Huarochirí therefore be a locus of 'reinvented' tradition brought about by an increasing awareness of the significance of local people of the province's famous manuscript? To be blunt, this is not the case, primarily owing to the fact that many Huarochiranos are not aware of its existence⁹. Rather, high levels of cultural continuity in Huarochirí may quite simply be explained by the fact that landscape beings have continued to be fundamental to agro-pastoral production and to people's wellbeing throughout time.

⁹ Although this is currently changing as Huarochirí studies become ever more popular and many Huarochirí communities have access to the internet and scholarly material on the province.

Today, the highland province of Huarochirí has no officially recognised indigenous peoples¹⁰. However, many Huarochirí communities maintain traditions rooted in the pre-Hispanic and early colonial Eras, including those described in the Manuscript of 1608¹¹. The narrator of the 1608 text borrowed colonial lexicon to situate the people of Huarochirí in the context of European domination, whereas Huarochiranos today do not tend to engage with etic ways of defining ethnic identity, such as through claiming indigenous status. It is possible that Huarochiranos did not self-define as indigenous even when 'indigenous communities' were a legally recognised group (prior to 1969), and this may indeed be the case in other areas of Peru. For the case of Huarochirí at least, it is clear that colonially rooted racial categories are not relevant for peoples' lives and that grounded, localised ways of expressing difference in relation to attitudes towards landscape hold more relevance in terms of communicating sameness and difference. This way of expressing identity, as we will see through comparing ethnographic data with sections of the Huarochirí Manuscript at various points throughout this thesis, is in itself a continuity from the Pre-Hispanic Era.

1.2 Learning to be indigenous: ethnic revaluation and the context of prior consultation law

Numerous ethnographies have illustrated that in the day-to-day expression of cultural and ethnic identity, the concept of indigeneity holds little weight and is not a relevant signifier of identity for Andean people (De la Cadena 2000, Femenías 2008, Gelles 2010 Guevara-Gil 2010 Howard 2009, Salomon 2002). For the case of Peru, which unlike neighbouring Bolivia and Ecuador, has had an "absence... of a social movement led under the banner of indigenous ethnic nationalism" (De la Cadena 2000: 325), the recent acknowledgement by the State of the indigenous status of

¹⁰ This is also the case for the northern coast of Peru, which has also suffered relatively recent indigenous language loss (Millones 2004).

¹¹Gelles has recently argued that migrants in Peruvian cities may be regarded as indigenous, since many continue to participate in festivities which honour the sacred landscape (Gelles 2010)

many highland Peruvian communities is a process which must be understood through the recent context of international law and globalising processes. Perla has made explicit the link between the current processes of ethnic revaluation with the employment of Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization by local populations in Latin America, including those in Peru (Perla 2014). As she explains:

“Other mineral-rich countries are also undergoing processes of ethnic revaluation through which local populations seek to establish a connection with mining companies. Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO), one of the most important international legal instruments about the rights of indigenous peoples, is being employed by local populations in Latin America not only to reformulate their identity and demand rights before the State, but also to question the ways in which they are treated by mining companies” (Perla 2014: 94)

In the current context of aggressive neoliberalism and unprecedented levels of international investment in mineral extraction, gaining indigenous status is an important tool for ancestral groups to assert their rights. Nevertheless, through prior consultation law, communities are being attributed with an ethnic identity which has currency in the political arena, but which is otherwise irrelevant in the local representation of identity. In the words of Graham and Penny, “Indigeneity is no one’s primary identity” (Graham and Penny 2014: 1). This point alone raises serious concerns over the criteria that the International Labour Organisation Convention 169 stipulates as an imperative for accessing prior consultation law. In addition to the aforementioned elements of indigeneity described by the ILO, access to prior consultation law is determined by whether a group considers itself to be indigenous or not:

Article 1(2) recognizes the self-identification of indigenous and tribal peoples as a fundamental criterion. This is the subjective criterion of Convention No. 169, which attaches fundamental importance to whether a given people considers itself to be indigenous or tribal under the Convention and whether a person identifies himself or herself as belonging to this people. Convention No. 169 was the first international

instrument to recognize the importance of self-identification. (ILO 2009:10)¹².

Ironically, Convention 169 was created in order to ensure that ancestral communities' traditional ways of life could be preserved in the event that development projects might put their cultural continuity into jeopardy. Nevertheless, the stipulation that the convention may only apply to those who self-identify as indigenous is highly problematic in practice and in some contexts, potentially antithetical to the aims of the convention which seeks to protect the diversity of ancestral groups.

In countries such as Peru, which is characterised by a deep-seated racism and where indigeneity is associated with backwardness, to claim indigenous status is to expose oneself to all the stigma that the term carries (Brandstater et al. 2011: 9).

Nevertheless, the recent and on-going development of indigenous law in Peru has meant that today, "Ethnic identification is understood by local populations to be an effective resource for asserting their property rights, their social rights, and to be recognized as an important actor vis-á-vis others" (Perla 2014: 94). This shift in the reevaluation of indigenous identity has also taken place in Bolivia, where Canessa's work has shown that failures in class politics in the 1970s and 1980s and subsequent neoliberal reforms saw a resurgence of indigenous politics in the highlands in the 1990s (Canessa 2006: 2-5, Canessa 2012: 4). At the same time, the respective 'discovery' of indigenous peoples by the World Bank in the early 1990s and legal recognition of indigenous peoples by the International Labour Organization, resulted in a globalising outcome whereby communities all over the world 'learn the language of global indigeneity' from local NGOs (Canessa 2012: 3). Nevertheless, in the particular context of Peru, claiming indigenous status is a more complicated matter¹³.

¹² As Article 1 of Convention 169 states: "Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply", (C169 - Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989) (No. 169). Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (Entry into force: 05 Sep 1991)

¹³ And this is likewise true in some parts of the Bolivian highlands; Canessa points that the people of Wila Kjarka positively reject the term 'indigenous' (Canessa 2012: 5).

1.3 Indians no more: ethnic discrimination and the Agrarian Reform of 1969

In the political arena, Velasco's military reform government (1968-75) eradicated the word 'Indian', and 'indigenous', from official national vocabulary through the agrarian reform of 1969 because of its racist and derogatory connotations, replacing it with the social and economic category 'peasant' (ALLPA 2012: 18). Velasco's government was preoccupied with social injustice in the rural countryside and sought to remedy the problems brought about by inequality through a change in terminology with which to refer to formerly indigenous communities. This change was legally decreed through Article 115 of Law 17716¹⁴, which states: "Para los efectos del presente decreto Ley, a partir de su promulgación, las Comunidades de indígenas se denominarán Comunidades Campesinas"¹⁵. Significantly, agrarian reform (Law 17716) was passed on the 24th of June, a day of historical sacred importance for the Andean population, falling on the summer solstice when the Inca festival of the sun Inti Raymi was held in Cuzco, and still is today. Each year on this day, 'Día del Indio' had been celebrated since being introduced under Leguía in 1930, and following 1969, the celebration was re-named 'Día del Campesino'¹⁶. One of the fundamental purposes of Law 17716 was to improve the living conditions and dignity of "los sectores menos favorecidos de la población, realizado la transformación de las estructuras económicas, sociales y culturales del país" (Decreto Legal 17716)^{17 18}, however, as we will see, this law is often misappropriated and misconstrued in modern-day neoliberal discourses which seek to deny the cultural difference of the groups which in 1969 ceased being officially referred to as indigenous communities.

¹⁴ 'Origen del Día del Campesino en el Perú', RRP Noticias, 24th June 2011
http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=17811&p_country=PER&p_count=1424&p_classification=22.01&p_classcount=33, accessed 17/06/2015

¹⁵ "For the purposes of this legal decree, upon its promulgation, the Indigenous Communities will be known as Peasant Communities"

¹⁶ http://www.rpp.com.pe/2011-06-24-origen-del-dia-del-campesino-en-el-peru-noticia_378473.html

¹⁷ <http://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/per124295.pdf>

¹⁸ "the least favoured sectors of the population, through the transformation of the economic, social and cultural structures of the country"

This historical context is central for understanding the current situation of debates concerning who should be identified as indigenous, since the change in terminology in 1969 to from 'indio' and 'indigenous' to 'peasant' implied that cultural differences in Peru are rooted in economic class¹⁹. De la Cadena has pointed out that before 1969, the term 'peasant' (*campesino*) already conveyed images of Indianness and so exceeded conveying a merely socio-economic dynamic (De la Cadena 2000: 325). In this respect, the shift in terminology was doomed to fail with respect to what it had set out to achieve. For Orlove, the Spanish term '*campesino*', with its "root *campo* [countryside, field] suggests a place that denotes racial identity as well as a class-based occupation" (Orlove 1998: 209); based on this reasoning, he argues that the shift from '*indígena*' to '*campesino*' does not fully represent a shift from ethnic to class terms (Orlove 1998: 209). As De la Cadena has pointed out, the change in terminology in 1969 is central for explaining the current dynamic of ethnic politics in Peru. Comparing the case of Peru with neighbouring Andean nations, she explains that indigenous leaders in Peru took part in political movements as 'peasants', and not as 'Indians' (De la Cadena 2000: 325).

The work of Poole has likewise linked the lack of official recognition of ethnic difference to the recent and on-going situation of the denial of indigenous status of Andean highlanders: "En la sierra peruana...el reconocimiento jurídico de las comunidades campesinas no apela a la identidad étnica" (Poole 2012: 231)²⁰. For this reason, Poole explains, communities and political movements that have claimed indigenous motivation have been questioned by the State and even intellectuals and anthropologists, thus negating the possibility of difference (Poole 2012: 231). This

¹⁹ "peasant agriculture...is basically built upon the sustained use of ecological capital and oriented towards defending and improving peasant livelihoods. Multifunctionality is often a major feature. Labour is basically provided by the family (or mobilized within the rural community through relations of reciprocity), and land and the other major means of production are family owned. Production is oriented towards the market as well as towards the reproduction of the farm unit and the family (Van der Ploeg 2008:1).

²⁰ "In the Peruvian highlands...the judicial recognition of peasant communities does not make reference to ethnic identity"

denial of difference owes to the fact that the category of peasant obscures what makes rural Andean communities so different from the rest of the Peruvian population (Skar 1997: 103, Cited in Guevara-Gil 2006). Nevertheless, recent developments, namely the institutionalisation of prior consultation law, has prompted the Peruvian State to completely re-define how difference may be accounted for, and categorised.

1.4 You are what you speak: the significance of language for the identification of indigenous peoples in Peru

In July 2011, Ollanta Humala was elected President of the Republic of Peru. In September, shortly after his election he promulgated Law 29785 concerning prior consultation of Indigenous peoples. Humala promulgated Law 29785 based on Peru's status as a signatory nation of the United Nation's International Labour Organization Convention 169 which the Peruvian State ratified in 1993.

The former President of Peru, Alan García, whose scathing attacks on Andean ancestral beliefs presented the indigenous population as selfish, lazy and an obstacle to Peru's development²¹ had refused to approve Peruvian legislation on Prior Consultation. From 2009 onwards, García was under pressure from the United States to honour and enforce new decrees upholding free trade agreements that would give foreign companies access to Amazonian oil, gas and logging; these decrees came into place in February 2009²². Land conflicts centring on García's refusal to grant prior consultation came to define his presidency, particularly the latter half. The Amazonian conflict, one in which United States policy and Free Trade economic interests played a significant part, peaked in 2009 during the so-called 'Baguazo'-a bloody conflict between indigenous people and military police over resources in the

²¹ The 'Dog in the Manger Syndrome' discourse of García (2007) will be given further attention in Chapter 2.

²² 'On Fifth Anniversary of Peru FTA Bagua Massacre of Indigenous Protestors, State Department Cables Published on Wikileaks Reveal U.S. Role' Amazon Watch, 9th June 2014 <http://amazonwatch.org/news/2014/0609-state-department-cables-published-on-wikileaks-reveal-us-role-in-bagua-massacre>, accessed 10/06/2015.

Amazonian Province of Bagua which resulted in the deaths of at least 32 people. When the incoming president Humala approved and promulgated Law 29785, it looked as if his politics were far-removed from those of outgoing García.

It was only under Humala in August 2011 that the Peruvian State eventually ratified International Labour Organization's Convention 169 concerning Prior Consultation by promulgating law number 26253, entitled 'LEY DEL DERECHO A LA CONSULTA PREVIA A LOS PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS U ORIGINARIOS, RECONOCIDO EN EL CONVENIO 169 DE LA ORGANIZACIÓN INTERNACIONAL DEL TRABAJO (OIT)²³'. The objectives of this law are set out in article 1 as follows:

La presente Ley desarrolla el contenido, los principios y el procedimiento del derecho a la consulta previa a los pueblos indígenas u originarios respecto a las medidas legislativas o administrativas que les afecten directamente. Se interpreta de conformidad con las obligaciones establecidas en el Convenio 169 de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT), ratificado por el Estado peruano mediante la Resolución Legislativa 26253.^{24 25}

The title and objectives therefore suggest that law 26253 conforms to the obligations set out by the International Labour Organisation. At this point it will be useful to keep in mind the ILO's criteria for prior consultation, based on cultural continuity and self-identification as indigenous.

Since August 2012, the on-going process of identifying exactly which social groups will be given the right to prior consultation in Peru has provoked controversy and has seen numerous redundancies of State ministers including the Vice Minister in charge

²³ In English: 'Law of the Right to Prior Consultation for Indigenous or Native Peoples, recognized in Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO)'.

²⁴[http://www.presidencia.gob.pe/documentos/LEY%20DEL%20DERECHO%20A%20LA%20CONSULTA%20PREVIA%20A%20LOS%20PUEBLOS%20IND%20GENAS%20U%20ORIGINARIOS.%20RECONOCIDO%20EN%20EL%20CONVENIO%20169%20DE%20LA%20ORGANIZACION%20INTERNACIONAL%20DEL%20TRABAJO%20\(OIT\)%20.pdf](http://www.presidencia.gob.pe/documentos/LEY%20DEL%20DERECHO%20A%20LA%20CONSULTA%20PREVIA%20A%20LOS%20PUEBLOS%20IND%20GENAS%20U%20ORIGINARIOS.%20RECONOCIDO%20EN%20EL%20CONVENIO%20169%20DE%20LA%20ORGANIZACION%20INTERNACIONAL%20DEL%20TRABAJO%20(OIT)%20.pdf)

²⁵ "This law develops the content, the principles and procedures of prior consultation law for indigenous and aboriginal groups with respect to the legislative or administrative means and measure which affect them directly. It is (to be) interpreted in conformation with the obligations set out in Convention 169 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), ratified by the Peruvian State via the legislative resolution 26253"

of creating and developing the database of indigenous peoples, a key tool in implementing Law 29785 which holds details of the communities which the Peruvian State considers to be indigenous. The motivations behind the resignation of Iván Lanegra, the Viceministro de Interculturalidad of the Ministerio de Cultura in May 2013 are relevant for considering the ways in which the institutionalisation of indigenous identity, at a time of intensive neoliberal policy and resource extraction, has resulted in a shift in state discourses of identity.²⁶

Lanegra's resignation came following pressure exerted by the Ministro de Energía y Minas, Jorge Merino to exclude speakers of Quechua from the indigenous peoples database. Merino's intention was to restrict indigenous status to Amazonian groups and to minimize the number of Andean highland groups entitled to Prior Consultation. This stimulated an internal conflict of interests within the ministries in charge of its development.

According to newspaper reports, Iván Lanegra had revealed the preliminary advancements of the Indigenous peoples database in late 2012 and Merino had been concerned by the high number of Andean peasant communities (*comunidades campesinas*) identified as indigenous on the database.²⁷ The inclusion of these groups, of which in Peru there are more than 6000 and whose lands represent 39.8% of lands used for crop production and herding in Peru, would mean conferring them the right to prior consultation over development projects on their lands. The majority of this group are predominantly, but not exclusively, Quechua-speaking.

It is not surprising that the Ministro de Energía y Minas should seek to limit the right of Quechua speakers to prior consultation. The Andean highlands are mineral-rich

²⁶ The neoliberal agenda of multiculturalism which underpins official discourses of indigenous rights (De la Cadena and Starn 2007:8) is at odds with the fundamental mechanics of neoliberalism, which "has sought a favourable climate towards business across the globe. It demands... unimpeded access to markets and vital resources" (Hall et al 2013: 10). I take the politics of identity to be a central issue within this fundamental conflict of interest inherent in neoliberalism.

²⁷ El Comercio, 'Viceministro de interculturalidad formalizó su renuncia al cargo', 3/5/2013 | 21:00 <http://elcomercio.pe/politica/gobierno/viceministro-interculturalidad-formalizo-su-renuncia-al-cargo-noticia-1571905>, accessed 8/6/2015.

and Quechua speakers represent the largest indigenous language group in the Peru: in 1993 the country had over 3 million speakers of Quechua (Howard 2007: 21).²⁸ Of the estimated 8-10 million speakers of Quechua in the Andes (Durston 2007: 2), Peru concentrates the largest number of speakers and varieties of Quechua (Mannheim 1991: 80-109), yet Peru is also the country with the most stark subjugation of Quechua language (Durston 2007: 2); thus Quechua speakers in Peru are more marginalised than in other Andean countries. Why potentially exclude them from the database of indigenous peoples?²⁹

Lanegra's resignation followed a television interview wherein Humala discussed the up-coming release of Indigenous Peoples Database with journalists. In the interview, Humala declared: "hemos dado la ley porque hay comunidades vulnerables pero el problema es definir cuáles son comunidades nativas y cuáles no". As he continued, his stance became clear:

*"lo que está habiendo ahora es un proceso de revisión de comunidades. No se trata de publicar hoy día y que mañana tengas medio Perú con comunidades. Primero, en la costa, básicamente no hay comunidades nativas por el proceso de migración a la costa donde está el 60% de la población. ¿Qué comunidad nativa tienes? Por ejemplo, Chilca; Chilca no es comunidad nativa; ahí encuentras de todas partes del país. En la sierra, la mayor parte son comunidades agrarias, producto de la Reforma Agraria, etc. Más que todo, comunidades nativas se dan en las zonas de selva con estas poblaciones que, muchas veces o antiguamente, se llamaban como no contactados, ¿no? Pero hoy día, con la infraestructura, la modernidad, estamos tratando de articular a todas las comunidades."*³⁰ (Ollanta Humala 28/5/2015, television interview, transcribed in Remy 2013: 202)

Appendix Reference 1

²⁸ However as Howard points out, these figures should be regarded as approximate owing to issues of stigmatization, and of a lack of recorded data on bilingualism (Howard 2007: 21).

²⁹ The Quechua-speaking groups' data was eventually included in the database and has only recently been published in the database (in July 2015).

³⁰ My translation of italicised section: "What native communities do you actually have? In the highlands the majority are agrarian communities-a product of the agrarian reform etc. More than anything, native communities are found in jungle regions with the peoples who, much of the time, or in the past, were called uncontacted, right? But today, what with infrastructure and modernity, we are trying to articulate all of the communities."

The denial of difference is a discourse which rings clearly in Humala's response, and somewhat ironically, the language he uses does not reflect State rhetoric, for example he talks of 'agrarian communities' (comunidades agrarias) rather than using the legally recognised term Peasant Communities (Comunidades Campesinas). As already stated, these groups were known as 'indigenous communities' before 1969. Humala fails to acknowledge this point, most likely because of a conflict of interests. In an article entitled 'presidential confusions' published in *Diario 16*, anthropologist Javier Torres sarcastically mused whether Humala had entered the mining profession, likening the words of Humala to those of the mining executive Roque Benavides during the *Convención Minera de Arequipa del 2011*, where he stated: "Acá se da por hecho que las comunidades han existido toda la vida, pero las comunidades son hechas en el gobierno de Velasco"³¹ ³². It is in the interests of mining companies and the *Ministro de Energía y Minas* to ignore the fact that the change in terminology during agrarian reform was effected in order to address discrimination against Andean people. The groups which became Peasant Communities were not suddenly born, or in the words of Humala, 'produced' in 1969. Nor did the people who belonged to the formerly indigenous groups disappear overnight following the agrarian reform.

The attempt by the *Ministro de Energía y Minas* to deny the indigenous status of Quechua speakers represents an inverse continuation of early colonial policy relating to Quechua language and mining. Quechua was a desirable object of language study during the early colonial era, since it "was of strategic importance for Spanish imperial interests, being widely spoken in an area characterized by immense mineral wealth" (Durston 2007: 2). The Inca Empire used Quechua language for

³¹ 'Confusiones presidenciales', *Diario 16*, May 1st 2013.

<http://diario16.pe/columnista/6/javier-torres/2497/confusiones-presidenciales?columnid=6&columnurl=javier-torres¬aid=2497¬aururl=javier-torres>, accessed 08/06/2015

³² "Here it is taken for granted that the communities have existed forever, but the communities were made in the government of Velasco".

administration purposes across its territory and the Spanish Empire consequently saw knowledge of Quechua as an asset for facilitating mineral extraction. In this respect, the role of Quechua language for the economic development of the Andes has shifted over time. During the recent process of deciding how to go about creating a database of indigenous peoples, Quechua language was perceived as an obstacle to neoliberal development.

Given the fact that Peru has such serious problems with racism and language discrimination, the State's implementation of Prior Consultation Law – which has identified indigenous language as a marker of merit for consultation rights – is highly problematic. Furthermore, Peru's implementation of the Prior Consultation Law is at odds with Convention 169, which does not limit indigeneity to linguistic identity categories. For the Peruvian State, language is the principal criteria that defines indigeneity, while for the UN there are more criteria and more autonomy for a people to decide if they are indigenous or not. This discrepancy is not that surprising if we consider that the Peruvian State has been selective with regards to honouring certain aspects of Convention 169 since becoming a signatory nation (Oliart 2004: 436).

Given that prior consultation law is currently being restricted to speakers of indigenous languages, those from Spanish-speaking communities where Quechua is no longer spoken, such as San Damián and other Huarochirí villages, do not presently have the right to prior consultation in the event of development projects being proposed on community lands. Nevertheless, as this thesis will show, Huarochirano ways of life cannot be understood without knowledge of indigenous Andean concepts often referred to as 'Quechua' culture, epistemology or ontology (Mannheim 1991, Mignolo 2007: 47) and even Quechua ethnicity (Douglas Hill 2013). This situation merits discussion in depth, especially given the ethnohistorical importance of Huarochirí as a locus for accessing the pre-Hispanic and early colonial Andean past. Moreover, the 'sacred topography' (Carte 2012) of the Quechua

language Huarochirí text remains sacred, protected by Pariacaca and a host of other locally powerful landscape beings, but unprotected by State law.

1.5 Thesis Outline

Specifically, this thesis seeks to contextualise the imbalance outlined above through addressing the following central research questions, which are posed in relation to modern-day Huarochirí:

- 1) How do Huarochiranos negotiate identity through water and landscape?
- 2) How do Huarochiranos express highly localised ideas about animate landscape despite indigenous language loss?

The thesis seeks to respond to these questions through the following format:

Chapter 2 provides the analytical framework for the thesis, defining and clarifying the key terms and concepts that are central to the thesis. This chapter establishes the overarching argument and is contextualized by a discussion of the nation-building processes which have contributed to manifestations of cultural change and continuity in Huarochirí and beyond, at the national level.

Chapter 3 comprises the methodological discussion, making clear how I gathered the data and how the thesis developed following ethnographic fieldwork. In particular, I focus on my positionality in order to consider how my relationship with those in the field contributed to the nature of the data presented in the thesis.

Chapter 4 provides an ethnographic introduction to San Damián and the Concha and Checa *barrios* (neighbourhoods), which together make up the village. The chapter explains the ways in which *barrio* identity is closely linked to water and landscape. I also explore the modern-day dynamic between these groups and illustrate that that inter-*barrio* relationships are rooted in the Pre-Hispanic past and in the early colonial era. The discussion explains the significance of irrigation rituals and oral narratives in expressing irrigation rights and draws on sections of the Huarochirí Manuscript in order to illuminate continuities in irrigation and landscape practices. Additionally, I refer to local texts and oral narratives in order to consider how Huarochiranos represent themselves ethnically and racially.

Chapter 5 explores and compares (clashing) local and State attitudes to water ownership through in-depth analysis of oral narratives related by Sandamianinos. The chapter is based on two of the most 'complete' extended narratives of a proliferate narrative that was told to me by people of all ages, countless times. These moralising narratives detail instances of culture clash, offering insights into the way Huarochiranos differentiate themselves from outsiders.

Chapter 6 responds to current debates concerning the animate landscape and the role of language in identifying ancestral 'indigenous' groups. Through analysing the vocabulary of oral narratives, the chapter fundamentally questions the notion of monolingualism, showing that indigenous language loanwords relating to landscape (water sources in particular) in local Spanish have maintained their old meanings. Through focusing on the meanings invested in words, this chapter guides the reader into the world of the storytellers at an accessible yet profound level.

Chapter 7, the concluding chapter, outlines the contribution of this research to academic scholarship on Andean society, while also considering the political implications of this case study for understanding how Andeans express their identity in daily life and how this contrasts with State and international discourses of identity.

Throughout the thesis I argue that indigenous language should not figure as a criterion for prior consultation rights, since a sacred relationship with ancestral landscape beings may be maintained when indigenous language is (partially) lost. In order to develop this argument, I engage with recent debates in 'indigenous cosmopolitics' (De la Cadena 2010) to consider the relationship between ethnicity and conceptualisations of (animate) landscape.

Chapter 2. Mestizo Cosmopolitics in the Andes: grounded reflections beyond indigeneity

"It is impossible to take from them this superstition because the destruction of these guacas would require more force than that of all the people of Peru in order to move these stones and hills" (Cristóbal de Albornoz, 1584)³³

"...it is the shared conviction that mountains and the Earth possess spiritual properties that along with language, dress, diet, etc. differentiates indigenous peoples from mainstream criollo society, a society that denies the validity of these Andean cultural orientations" (Gelles 2012: 126)

"En todas partes hay abuelos"

"Aquí se registra eso [faltas rituales cometidas por forasteros]. Hace daño para el abuelo³⁴" (Eugenio Anchelía Llata, 92, San Damián, Huarochirí, highlands of Lima. 2012)

Sacred landscape-owning ancestors are everywhere. In the Peruvian province of Huarochirí these manifestations of power known as 'abuelos' (literally, 'grandparents') are said to inhabit and preside over Pre-Hispanic ruins, mountains, water sources and irrigative infrastructure. Living in Huarochirí requires on-going constant negotiation with these beings, and just as in other parts of the Andes agro-pastoral production hinges on their good will and favour (Allen 2002). Local irrigation management therefore requires interaction with non-human actors, calling into question one of 'modern' Western culture's oldest dualisms and legacy of the Enlightenment: the theoretical divide between nature and culture. In the late 20th Century, various post-modern and non-modern scholarship (namely Latour's seminal 1991 publication) has cast doubt upon the validity of the nature-culture dichotomy and indeed its philosophical crib, modernity itself. Such arguments have been informed by Actor

³³ Cited in De la Cadena 2014, who in turn cites Dean 2010: 27.

³⁴ "Here that gets taken into account [the failed and absent rituals of outsiders]. It causes harm to the abuelo"

Network Theory³⁵ which called into question the notion that society, and especially the sciences, function independently without reliance on non-human actors. Crucially, Actor Network Theory called for the exposure of bonds and relationships that define society, and in so doing, welcomed non-human actors into the social sciences³⁶. Nature had thenceforth been afforded agency and the objectivity of scientific knowledge became susceptible to interrogation. Through Actor Network Theory, modernity's myriad of dualisms (including nature and society, past and present), could now be conceived of as interconnected, inseparable parts of a wider network. Within this chapter, I will consider how this development sets the stage for a theoretically representative analysis of Huarochirí narratives of landscape and I will also explore its significance for making explicit the analytical framework which informs my research.

Informed by Actor Network Theory, an influential publication by Stengers exposed deep attachments between religion and the supposedly rational, objective domains of politics and science (Stengers 2010³⁷). Crucially, Stengers' debunking of science's pompous claims to objective truth against which subjective 'irrationalities' are rendered categorically inferior places modern, western thought alongside other 'alternative' ways of knowing. Inherent in the phrase 'cosmopolitics' and its associated argument therefore, is a relatively novel and basic point, namely that competing knowledge practices be taken seriously alongside one another. It would seem that one of modernity's 'blind spots' (Blaser 2009) was, or is, the very notion that its exclusive claim to legitimacy and obsession for innovation and

³⁵ "Seen as networks...the modern world, like revolutions, permits scarcely anything more than small extensions of practices, slight accelerations in the circulation of knowledge, a tiny extension of societies, miniscule increases in the number of actors, small modifications of old beliefs. When we see them as networks, Western innovations remain recognizable and important, but they no longer suffice as the stuff of saga, a vast saga of radical rupture, fatal destiny, irreversible good or bad fortune" Latour 1991: 48).

³⁶ "An 'actor' in ANT is a semiotic definition – an actant –, that is, something that acts or to which activity is granted by others. It implies no special motivation of human individual actors, nor of humans in general. An actant can literally be anything provided it is granted to be the source of an action." (Latour 1997)

³⁷ This English language translation being based on a previous French language publication in 1997.

momentousness enabled advocates of modernity to miss the fact that modernity never began and 'we have never been modern' (Latour 1991) and that, perhaps, we never will be. Perhaps rupture from the past is just not possible?

The work of Latour and Stengers illustrates that knowledge, or indeed, any current state of being never functions in isolation from the past, a notion which completely de-stabilizes the premise of modernity: to supersede everything that has gone before (O'Brien 1998: 15). Based on the premise espoused by Latour and Stengers, it would make (more) sense to look back in time and recognise the current moment, and the knowledge shaping it, as legacies of the past. It would then seem logical, and reasonable (to borrow the language of modernity), to maintain bonds with those producers of knowledge who came before us. Such is the basis of knowledge production, and of agro-pastoral production in Huarochirí. Here, where the *abuelos* are all around, invigilating the lives and morals of their descendants, to talk of the landscape is to talk of one's ancestors. To talk about landscape within such a conceptualisation requires negotiation with competing ideas about what landscape is, and what it is capable of. Local ways of knowing and defining the landscape in Huarochirí are thus performed in relation to a broader cultural context which denies the validity of the knowledge systems inherited through the past; such local, ancestor-focused approaches to knowledge are ignored by the central, sacerdotal religion (Salomon 2012: 19). I consider narratives of landscape to be highly expressive of Huarochirano identity, since they are performed in relation to modernity, revealing tensions rooted in deep epistemological and ontological divergences in understandings of landscape. In instances of 'ontological excess' (Escobar 2004:1, De la Cadena 2014) moments of culture clash concerning the kinds of things that do and can exist (Blaser 2009), Huarochiranos challenge hegemonic discourses that deny the existence of ancestral landscape beings which continue to inform their knowledge systems and define their daily lives. In this highland Lima province, the *abuelos* are considered to own water, ancestral ruins and, in short, they cannot be escaped, because as Eugenio explains, they are everywhere.

Based on the premise that Huarochirano narratives feature non-human landscape beings, and define them as powerful social forces, this chapter seeks to explore the theoretical and political implications of taking Huarochirano (and more generally, Andean) understandings of landscape and water seriously. In so doing, it aims to build a bridge between different ways of knowing, with water running thematically beneath. First of all, the chapter explores the relevance of 'thinking with water' (Strang 2004) for dissolving dualist approaches to nature and culture. Then, given the present-day dominance in Huarochirí of an ontological perspective of animated landscape, which, crucially, is rooted in the Pre-Hispanic Era, I channel the discussion onwards in order to consider the potential impact of recent debates in 'indigenous cosmopolitics' (De la Cadena, 2010) and the rights of nature for the particular case of Huarochirí in the absence of an 'indigenous' agenda and an indigenous tongue.

In so doing, I establish the theoretical thrust of the thesis, which, building on the work of De la Cadena, proposes that debates concerning 'indigenous cosmopolitics' (De la Cadena 2010) and 'indigenous ontologies' (Mihás 2014) are applicable and extendable to groups who do not necessarily define themselves as indigenous or speak an indigenous language. The thesis also builds on the work of Salomon, who has previously problematized Huarochirano identity from the context of the politics of their (mis)representation in Andean ethnohistorical studies (Salomon 2001). This thesis serves to interrelate Salomon's argument about anthropology's status as a supposedly (ethnically) representative discipline yet one which struggles to take ethnographic exceptions into account, and De la Cadena's argument about landscape beings and their representation in politics. Huarochirí, as a case in point, undermines the conflation of an ontology of animate landscape with indigeneity (self-ascribed or otherwise) in academic and political discourse. Based on this point, and based on the problematic, relational and ever-changing nature of ethnic categories (De la Cadena 2000, Femenías 2005, Howard 2009), I echo Howard (2009) in arguing for a performative approach to the analysis of cultural identity.

A focus on narrative accounts of culture clash in Huarochirí will illuminate the ways in which Huarochiranos' express a sense of identity. Following the work of Hall, I regard points of tension and differentiation to be central to the process of identity construction. For Hall, the construction of identity is a discursive process of difference and exclusion negotiated inversely in relation to the dissimilar other (Hall, 1996). In Huarochirí, narrators frequently criticise outsiders' failure to perform customs which they regard as being obligatory and as such, Hall's understanding of identity as relational and based on the acquisition of positive meaning in relation to what The Other exceeds or lacks will be valuable. Although Huarochiranos do not claim an indigenous identity, it is significant that, universally, the relational expression of difference represents the basis for indigenous groups' self-differentiation from dominant society (De la Cadena and Starn 2007: 4). As such, it will be a worthwhile exercise to consider the nature of tensions resourced in the narrative distinction of the self from other in a province where locals do not claim indigenous status, but where they regard themselves to be fundamentally different from members of dominant society, especially Limeños. Where do specific differences lie and why is this so? How do the specific modalities of power (Hall 1996: 17) influence the construction of identity? In so asking, I echo Bhabha, who I shall cite here at length:

It is in the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated. How are subjects formed 'inbetween', or in excess of, the sum of the 'parts' of difference (usually intoned as race/class/gender, etc.)? How do strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable? (Bhabha 1994: 2)

Following this line of enquiry will be of assistance in developing an anti-essentialist approach to the study of cultural identity in the Andes – a region which is characterised by deep-rooted ethnic discrimination and unequal distribution of

power according to class and race, which in Peru are intimately interrelated (Oliart 2011, De la Cadena 2000). Despite this fact, race as a signifier of difference is (narratively) silenced in the negotiation of identity in Huarochirí following what De la Cadena would describe as a process of de-indianisation (De la Cadena 2000). Analysis of local sources from San Damián suggests that Huarochiranos were rejecting ethnic labels such as 'raza nativa' and 'indio' a decade prior to agrarian reform in 1969, which outlawed the word 'indian' in State discourse, replacing it with 'campesino'³⁸. Rejection of ethnic labels in Huarochirí may have been a result of *mestizaje*, a process closely tied to nation-building³⁹ (De la Cadena 2007, Brandstater et al. 2011: 9) and so possibly contemporaneous with late 19th century efforts to turn the highland population into faithful citizens following defeat in the War of the Pacific, and infrastructural developments designed to achieve this aim, namely national road building projects begun in the 1920s. Adelaar states that Andean groups who lose their indigenous tongue tend to simultaneously self-define as *mestizo* (Adelaar 2001) and so it is likely that turn of the century homogenization efforts played a part in language loss, since these processes are interrelated. To claim indigenous status is to expose one's self to all the stigma that being indigenous brings with it in the context of pervasive racism which underscores Peruvian society. The work of Harris (1995) and Mayer (2004) has shown that 19th and 20th Century participation in markets was (and still is) dominated by mestizos and whites and excluded the indigenous population, an obstacle which *mestizaje* allowed highlanders to overcome (Mayer 2004: 96). According to Spalding, "Between the seventeenth century and the middle of the eighteenth, the communities of Huarochirí turned to the Lima market as an outlet for their crops" (Spalding 1984:

³⁸ Prior to 1969, only 'Indigenous Communities' were recognised in Peru and their denomination was changed due to the pejorative carácter that the Word 'indigenous' contains (Allpa: 2012: 18).

³⁹ It is useful here to return to the words of De la Cadena, who takes *mestizaje* to be "un proyecto histórico de construcción de nación moderna: a cambio de hacer vivir la mezcla racial-cultural, que (inevitavelmente) lo antecede, promete la purificación ontológica-epistémica de su población, dejando morir aquello que estorbaba esta homogeneidad" (De la Cadena 2007:31).

193) and, based on the previously cited associations between market participation and ethnic change, it is likely that an increasing participation in Lima markets at the end of the 18th resulted in ethnic mobility, especially given that the Huarochirano producers themselves, rather than the large merchant houses of Peru, were providing foodstuffs to Lima; their production destined for market in Lima accounts for an unequal distribution of wealth in Huarochirí communities, a process which paralleled growing rates of private ownership of lands in the province (Spalding 1984: 196-197).

2.1 The nature of thinking about culture with water

As previously stated, debates concerning political ontology⁴⁰ intersect with, and are informed by debates concerning nature and culture. I will develop a thematic focus on water, since, for all its fluidity it is "one of the main shaping agents of nature" (Ball 1999: 23), Specifically, I focus on the narrative representation of water beings: a concept which dissolves a dichotomous water-culture framework. Through a central concern with water beings, the aim is to gain clear insights over a 'topic' which divides different sectors of Peruvian society, according to their respective ontological perspectives regarding whether water has agency or not. Given water's universal association with life, as well as with death (Ball 1999: 22, and for the case of the Andes, Gose 1994 and Bastien 1980), it offers a good starting point for the study of 'culture' on a fundamental, basic level.

⁴⁰ According to Blaser, "the term 'political ontology' connotes two inter-related meanings. On the one hand, it refers to the politics involved in the practices that shape a particular world or ontology. On the other hand, it refers to a field of study that focuses on the conflicts that ensue as different worlds or ontologies strive to sustain their own existence as they interact and mingle with each other" (Blaser 2009: 877)



Figure 1 - At the Concha's Ayshipa reservoir ritual, the water descends to the sound of the chirisuya and drum.

Given that water is 'good to think with' (Strang 2004), then exploring clashing ideologies of water will be a fruitful focus for considering who the modern-day 'children of Pariacaca' are, and who they are not. Of all resources and things on Earth, water is the most contested (Strang 2004: 1) and owing to its status as an essential resource, one can learn a lot about a society through the way it manages water (Gelles 2000). Because cultural values and meanings are invested in water, this gives rise to diversity in approaches to its use, management and ideas about who owns water and may have access to it. As Strang explains, "meanings poured into water...exert a powerful influence over every decision involved in water use; that they form a deep rationale for increasing levels of usage; and that they are difficult to alter" (Strang 2004: 3). The notion that meanings attached to water are difficult to change is pertinent to the case of Huarochirí, where ways of perceiving the environment today bear a surprising resemblance to the early colonial era, some 400 years ago, suggesting a high level of cultural continuity through broader processes

of change. Strang's point accounts for cultural divergences in (modern and traditional 'ancestral') approaches to water within modern-day Peruvian society, which, as this thesis will detail, are best understood as ontological differences rooted in the colonial era. In saying so, I echo the stance of Descola, for whom different approaches to nature are representative of diversity in peoples' respective worlds and the objects which are said to have certain defining characteristics within that world: "peoples do not 'see the same thing differently', they actually see different things because the qualities they detect in the same object are dissimilar due to a personal or cultural variability in their attention to perceptual affordances." (Descola 2013: 433). Such is the case in Huarochirí, where highland irrigators see water differently to dominant sectors of society.

As an all-encompassing feature of nature, water represents a particularly illuminating window into understanding cultural difference and the formation of identity, given the variability in the ways that it manifests and is perceived within the landscape. As we will see, Huarochiranos assign different qualities and characteristics to particular manifestations of water, with lakes, springs and rivers possessing individual features and potentialities, a feature of local life illustrative of the fact that the cultural importance of place cannot be stressed enough. Ingold's work on the concept of landscape will be of value for considering the diverse qualities recognised in manifestations of water, including his recognition that: "...a place in the landscape is not 'cut out' from the whole, either on the plane of ideas or on that of material substance. Rather, each place embodies the whole at a particular nexus within it, and in this respect is different from every other" (Ingold 2000: 193). Within such a scheme, landscape as a concept provides a relevant framework for the aforementioned diverse conceptualisation of water sources in Huarochirí, since it acknowledges that meanings are gathered from the landscape, rather than arbitrarily attached to it. Research which draws on Actor Network Theory and takes inspiration from its emphasis on deconstructing theoretical cleavages will also be of value for exploring the cultural elaboration of water in the Andes. The work of Stengers (2000),

De la Cadena (2010) and Latour (2004) has argued the necessity for 'slowing down' reasoning in order to furrow beneath modernity's dichotomies. For Latour, this project sees the deconstruction of academic disciplines promoting the nature/culture dichotomy as imperative: "In order to force ourselves to slow down, we will have to deal simultaneously with the sciences, with natures, and with politics, in the plural" (Latour 2004: 3).

The anthropological study of water is particularly useful in the exercise of deconstructing, connecting, merging and submerging conceptual binarisms. For Strang, it is water's very materiality that makes it particularly good to think with since, in flowing through the surfaces of people and things, it "challenges notions of interiority and externality and dissolves assumptions about material stability" (Strang 2013). Extending this concept to theoretical 'strongholds', in applying water as a concept, its instability, ephemerality and persuasion to flow calls into question the viability of dichotomous analytical frameworks such as the nature/culture binarism as well as the conceptual divorcing of present from past.

In their 2010 article 'Water Sustainability: Anthropological Approaches and Prospects', Orlove and Caton call for a broad conceptual approach to the study of water which includes contemplation of water's cultural meanings and materiality: "Sometimes cultural beliefs trump material realities in stunning ways...the point is not to dispel supposedly misguided cultural beliefs in favor of scientific truth (which is contested in any case) but to see that these are always complexly interconnected, thereby affecting how water policy can be implemented" (Orlove and Caton 2010: 403). My perspective is that Huarochirano ontology is in fact closely associated with the material context of the environment, and I aim to build on the work of Strang and Holbraad in considering the importance of physical context, specifically the material quality of a given 'thing' in the relative process of construction of meaning.

For an idea of how a 'thing as concept' approach might work with water, it will be fruitful to contemplate for a moment the work of Holbraad based on understandings

of another (much drier) material in Cuba. Based on his observations of afro-Cuban ritual, Holbraad identifies the materiality of powder as central to the babalawos' (men initiated into the cult of Ifá) definition of powder as power due to its association with physical movement (the Ifá conceive movement of thrown powder as representative of the spiritual power and movement of deities). In laying out the theoretical ground for an approach of 'thing as concept', or indeed its inverse, 'concept as thing', Holbraad makes the following clarification: "what is at stake in this mode of analysis is the capacity that things have to engender conceptual transformations of themselves, by virtue of the conceptual differences their material characteristics can make" (Holbraad: 29). Consideration of a thing's material characteristics gives way to a mode of representation wherein humans both define objects based on their characteristics and where things present themselves in various forms and changeable manifestations⁴¹. This approach expands on Holbraad's earlier work on 'thinking through things', whereby "If things speak... they do so mainly by ethnographic association with the voice of 'the native' – a kind of anthropological ventriloquism" (Holbraad 2011), yet a 'things as concepts' approach affords more agency to the thing being represented, giving it a mode of expression based on what it is, how it presents itself, and how it may change materially. Again, Ingold's concept of landscape as something from which meanings are gathered rather than attached coincides well with a materiality-centred approach to culture.

Holbraad's argument for a concept as thing/thing as concept approach is not dissimilar from Strang's representation of water as concept (based on insights from different ethnographic contexts in the UK and Australia) whereby water's materiality informs analyses of their human representation, based on what the object itself 'gives out', or that which could be understood to be the first 'voice' to be represented in its own right. An approach which takes water's materiality into consideration may therefore be considered to coincide in part with 'ontological perspectivism' (Vivieros

⁴¹ It is worth pointing out that both powder and water are thrown in during carnival 'play' in the Andes, including in Huarochirí.

de Castro 1998) and associated approaches, since by paying attention to the perceivable qualities that water exudes, as well as attention to aspects which may be sensed by humans (sound, smell, taste, feel), it could be argued that, even regardless of animate landscape ontology, water has a voice that varies according to the conditions of its physical being. Analysed within this framework, meanings attached to water are exposed as being closely linked to place and ecology, challenging perspectives which purport to argue the waning importance of place in the context of globalisation in modern-day society (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). As Strang explains, sensory experiences of water are “formed in developmental engagement with a particular socio-cultural and physical context, mediated by cultural practices and interpreted in the light of cultural beliefs and values. This creates considerable diversity in sensory experience” (Strang 2004: 50). That meanings attached to water are associated with the context of physical place and materiality of place is a theme which flows through this thesis, where I side with the theoretical perspectives of Escobar (Escobar 2000) and Descola and Pálsson (1996) who stress the importance of place in cultural studies and anthropological theory. Ingold’s work represents a theoretical meeting point for scholarship that stresses the importance of materiality (Strang 2013, Holbraad forthcoming), and the importance of place or ‘world’ (Descola 2013) for informing behaviour, since it takes into account the particularity of place in the construction of meaning: “A place owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there—to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. And these, in turn, depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage. It is from this relational context of people’s engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance” (Ingold 2000: 192).

The significance of place and physical context in Huarochirano society is a theme that spans this thesis, perhaps coming to the fore most clearly in Chapter 6, where I illustrate that vocabulary employed in oral narratives of landscape represents the specific qualities of the landscape, meanings which are often conveyed in Quechua

loanwords that have made their way into the local variety of Spanish. Likewise, 'indigenous' Andean concepts narrated in Spanish language indicate the centrality of place, evoking de Albornoz's sceptical observation (cited at the beginning of this chapter), made scarcely four decades into the colonial rule of Peru, that the Christianization campaign which sought to divorce native Andeans from their revered environment was futile.

Throughout the thesis we will see that Huarochirano narratives indicate that ontology of animated landscape is tied to particular points of the landscape and as such, when ideas about the landscape are communicated in relation to globalised, modernist logics of landscape, place is revealed as a crucial resource through which to negotiate identity. Moreover, attachment to place has more relevance for the negotiation and performance of identity in Huarochirí than loaded alien terminologies alluding to ethnicity. For Hocquenghem, geography, spirituality, kin relations, and ways of knowing constitute "more" stable and enduring resources for negotiating identity (Hocquenghem 2002). Having clarified the reasons for esteeming water as an analytical concept through which to explore culture, I will now proceed to consider the implications of a focus on irrigation practice within the particular context of the Andes, and more specifically, of the Huarochirí province.

2.2 Framing water as a window into Andean society

Despite a large degree of ecological variation and ways of managing irrigation in the Andes, there is an overriding homogeneity in the ideologies that inform water practice in the Andes (Guillet and Mitchell 1994: 3). This strong continuity in culture across the former Inca Empire is, (not coincidentally) a lasting product of Inca imperial rule which “drew on earlier social and technological arrangements that had survived the various Andean conquest states and had proven themselves over the millennia” (Sherbondy 1994: 70). It was in the Inca State’s interests to develop irrigative infrastructure, since the surplus production gained helped to increase state power (Gelles 2000: 5), and it succeeded in promoting an ideology of water which has endured for centuries into the modern-day, despite the empire’s decline some four hundred years ago. Throughout the ecologically diverse expanse of land which today forms the Andean nation states, the ethnographic literature indicates a high level of Pan-Andean concurrence in expressive practices associated with water. A pertinent example is the ritualised seasonal cleaning of irrigation systems, in Quechua-speaking regions known as *'yarqa aspiy'* (Isbell 1985) and in the highland Lima provinces of Canta and Huarochirí as *'fiesta del agua'* or *'champería'* (Llanos and Osterling 1982, Ruez Retamozo 2002, Barrionuevo 2011). Pan-Andean ethnographic concurrences also include narrative accounts of water sources, including etiological explanations of springs, lakes, toponyms as well as narratives wherein humans and animals are said to emerge from water. In short, irrigation systems and water sources are the subject of countless oral narratives, and many of these have their roots in the Pre-Hispanic past.

As others have pointed out, Huarochiranos credit their ancestors with having invested time and effort in creating the irrigation systems (Salomon 2004) and, as such, to talk of irrigation in Huarochirí (just as elsewhere in the Andes) is to engage with ideas about the past. Irrigation itself represents a constant negotiation between the *abuelos* and extended family members, since cooperation is required to maintain the systems which provide sustenance (Spalding 1984: 22). The irrigation systems are

sites where familial bonds are maintained and where differences become clear, and as such, one's ancestors (and the agricultural knowledge inherited from them) play a role in the negotiation of identity when narrated in relation to competing ways of knowing.

In the material from San Damián, narrators express tensions between local and western foundations of knowledge. In one narrative reconstructed between two friends, Sandamianino Luciano Alejandro makes reference to the inexplicable reality of the 'irrational belief' (Sperber 1985) he has been discussing, wherein a visiting engineer fails to make an offering to the *abuelos* of the canal through which his irrigation project is based: "...es que científicamente a veces no lo puedes demostrar pero en la práctica, ese ingeniero se rompió la cabeza decir '¿pero si ya está todo el canal pue, porque no avanza el agua?!'"⁴². Luciano, being an agronomic engineer, has surely been informed by a similar school of thought to the visiting engineer, yet his condition as a local who is informed of local customary law (*costumbre*) means that his ontological stance is more sensitive to local ways of dealing with landscape. Luciano's example also serves to illustrate that local and western-oriented approaches to natural resources are not entirely incompatible and that awareness of local ways of knowing is key to effective engineering and production in particular settings. The narrative which Luciano and Silvino reconstruct also serves to firmly (re)insert ancestral ways of knowing into the modernist domain of development. As we will see, the narrative of the ignorant engineer illustrates the empowering potential of subversive narratives, especially ones such as this that subvert dominant perceptions of "ancestor-focused cultures-natures...considered to exist outside of the scope of 'new' foundations of knowledge, becoming "premodern by contrast" (Latour 1991:38)⁴³, since ancestral knowledge is shown to be relevant in the modern-day. As Blaser explains, "Ontological conflicts are central to the times both because they

⁴² "but if the canal is ready, why won't the water advance?!"

⁴³ The narrative of 'the Engineer who didn't know' is analysed in full in Chapter 5.

reveal that alternatives to modernity do exist and because they force modernity to re-shape itself in order to deal with radical difference" (Blaser 2010: 2).

At this point it will be worthwhile to consider the relevance of feminist theory for deconstructing modernist ideas about gender and power developed through the 'rational' assignment of water-based roles. As Zwatzveen points out, "In water contexts, power and politics have a strongly gendered character, with authority and expertise being associated with masculinity and maleness" (Zwatzveen 2010: 186). Such is the case in Huarochirí, where male engineers and irrigation committee presidents are punished for their arrogance with hydraulic impotence (the withdrawal of water access) by manifestations of power more ontologically forceful than themselves. Such narratives (explored in Chapter 5) are a strong example of the connectedness of politics and nature, as well as how landscape beings such as the water-owning *abuelos* are perceived to judge modern approaches to water, practiced almost exclusively by educated males. Locals who take inspiration from the arrogance of outsiders (who fail to make offerings to the *abuelos*) are judged along the same lines and tradition consistently triumphs over modernity. European man's domination over nature, the theoretical basis of modernity, is prevented from taking hold in the ancestral domain of Andean irrigation systems.

The San Damián narratives communicate the repercussions of the modernist divorcing of water and tradition: if customary law (*costumbre*) is not performed, the *abuelos* withhold water. Water access, therefore, is a product of the maintenance of social bonds; water and the beings who control it represent entities with whom to maintain bonds of reciprocity. In the Huarochirí highlands then, just as elsewhere, "Politics does not fall neatly on one side of a divide and nature on the other" (Latour 2004: 1). In resisting hegemonic, universal attitudes to water through the ancestral water owners, Huarochiranos may be said to be resisting dominant geopolitics of knowledge and it is the ancestors themselves, who, re-enacted in narrative, remind us of the importance of place. Crucially, Huarochirano resistance to the ideological

and practical de-territorialization of irrigation management takes place within the irrigation system itself, a grounded ethnographic example that serves to highlight the relevance of arguments about the continued relevance of place in the 'global' age (Basso 1996, Escobar 2001), and functions to shift the geopolitics of knowledge and morality (back) to the highland sphere.

Through water practice, and the narrative reconstruction of water events such as this one, Huarochiranos validate and reproduce long-standing ideas about production as well as the knowledge and skills needed to ensure survival in the harsh Andean environment, characterised by a long dry period that makes irrigation necessary for agro-pastoral production (Guillet and Mitchell 1994: 1-2). In short, water is where Huarochirano culture is (re)produced⁴⁴, and where cultural contraflow and change are brought to the fore. This makes water a convenient window for insights into Huarochirano culture and 'grounded' ways of expressing identity which go beyond the (problematic) concept of indigeneity, and challenge the assumed concomitance of 'indigeneity' and ancestral tradition.

Scholarly literature exploring divergences between indigenous and modernist approaches to water has focused on Australasian ethnographic accounts (Salmond 2014 – for New Zealand-, Strang 2004-for Australia), whereas the work of Gelles (2000), with a focus on the Colca Valley, Peru has been a highly important precedent for understanding the nature of clashing models of water in the Andes. Across the ethnographic board, differing views of water ownership (and by extension, its management) pose a source of tension between different sectors of society, informed by their respective ontological understandings of water, or that which give rise to ontological conflicts, or what Escobar (2004:1) and De la Cadena (2010) call instances of "ontological excess". For understanding the role of water in the production of identity and the negotiation of difference however, Huarochirí

⁴⁴ The idea that Huarochirano culture is (re)produced in water is reinforced through taking into account Huarochirí's historical reputation as a 'hydraulic society' (Gelles 2000).

represents something of a wildcard for the case of the Andes, since although Huarochirano discourses of water clash with State and dominant discourses of water based on 'modernist onto-logics', (Holbraad 2013), their 'ancestral onto-logics' do not necessarily equate to indigeneity, as it is currently defined by the State.



Figure 2 - On the pilgrimage to the bocatoma of the Chaucalla canal, the ritual officials make an offering at a site of sacred importance

2.3 Taking the *abuelos* for granted

The words of Latour are useful for understanding the historical background of instances of ontological excess in Andean society:

"Century after century, colonial empire after colonial empire, the poor pre-modern collectives were accused of making a horrible mishmash of things and humans, of objects and signs, while their accusers finally separated them totally...As the moderns also extended this Great Divide in time after extending it in space, they felt themselves absolutely free to give up the ridiculous constraints of their past which required them to take into account the delicate web of relations between things and people" (Latour 1991: 38).

Although Latour makes these comments with reference to the past, State discourses in Peru in recent years have born a great resemblance to discourses of enlightenment and modernity. In 2007, the ex-Peruvian President Alan García (whose controversial position regarding prior consultation law was discussed in the introductory chapter), wrote an article on the so-called 'perro del hortelano' (dog in the manger) syndrome, which he applied to the Peruvian context. In the article, García launched a scathing attack on Andean ways of understanding the environment and he blamed beliefs in the animate landscape for Peru's lack of development.

"...existen verdaderas comunidades campesinas, pero también comunidades artificiales, que tienen 200 mil hectáreas en el papel pero solo utilizan agrícolamente 10 mil hectáreas y las otras son propiedad ociosa, de 'mano muerta', mientras sus habitantes viven en la extrema pobreza y esperando que el Estado les lleve toda la ayuda en vez de poner en valor sus cerros y tierras, alquilándolas, transándolas porque si son improductivas para ellos, sí serían productivas con un alto nivel de inversión o de conocimientos que traiga un nuevo comprador. Pero la demagogia y el engaño dicen que esas tierras no pueden tocarse porque son objetos sagrados y que esa organización comunal es la organización original del Perú, sin saber que fue una creación del virrey Toledo para arrinconar a los indígenas en las tierras no productivas." (Alan García 28/10/2007)

Appendix Reference 2

How could it be that (some) humans refuse to acknowledge the existence of the *abuelos*? It is this point which seems to puzzle Sandamianinos in the extended narratives which I present in Chapter 5. The irony of this failure of recognition may be better understood if we consider a point made by Itier, concerning the hierarchy of power of according to Andean cosmology, where he points out that the capacity of ancestor beings known as *gentiles* (which are equivalent to the *abuelos*; this word is also used in Huarochirí) to penetrate human bodies is due to their greater ontological status (Itier 2013: 75-76). In this sense, the *abuelos* are more powerful than humans, so much so that they demonstrate their power (through penetrating bodies) until this fact is acknowledged. The power and agency of the *abuelos*, which

local people are sensitive to, falls outside the scope of the modernist 'radar' (Blaser 2009), precisely because outsiders do not recognise that the landscape has agency, let alone the capability to inflict harm.

Latour's aforementioned critique of modernity's shredding of the fragile bonds linking people with things is especially useful for considering the material from San Damián where taking the *abuelos* for granted is tantamount to severing the bonds that sustain life⁴⁵. An irrigation system then, is not just a 'thing' through which to drive water to a site of production, but an extended ancestral site, with agency and needs of its own(er). Sandamianinos of all ages are well-versed in the material demands of the *abuelos*, evidenced through a frequently recited phrase which rolls off the tip of everyone's tongue, as if it had been drummed into folks in childhood: 'el abuelito quiere su coca, su cigarro, su trago' (the ancestor wants his coca, his cigarette, his tipple). During one focus group, a group of mixed-age women chanted the phrase in unison, suggesting its unequivocal acceptance as a relevant truth. Remembering this phrase allows Huarochiranos to pass through the local landscape prepared for the *abuelos'* demands and in so doing, supports the maintenance of the bonds of reciprocity that make that local landscape productive: in return, the *abuelos* employ their ontological strength to animate and 'let loose' (*soltar*) irrigation water so that it may reach the *chacras* (Quechua; productive fields). The offerings of 'his coca, his cigarette, his tipple' are therefore not just material petitions which 'feed' the *abuelos*; they are also symbolic of a recognition on behalf of the giver of the importance of maintaining the bonds which sustain life in the present as well as the foundations of knowledge upon which such a framework of production is based. The breakdown of these obligatory bonds of reciprocity would not only undermine agro-pastoral production and physical wellbeing but their breakdown would also call into question the validity of ancestral knowledge which prepared former generations to live from the local landscape and eventually, using that same knowledge, to produce

⁴⁵ The same has been said for the Yshiro of Panama, who 'storytell globalisation' in order to perpetuate the bonds that maintain their ontology (Blaser 2010).

today's generation. Since, in traditional societies, whose "social bonds were created and sustained by custom" (Hinchman and Hinchman 2001: xiii), narratives defined "what [had] the right to be said and done" (Hinchman and Hinchman 2001: xiii), they came to be seen as anti-modern, representing a form of knowledge which makes explicit webs of relatedness with the past. Narrative analysis, therefore, should be central to the project of cosmopolitics, which strives to make clear the relatedness and contextual situation of knowledge forms. What is clear for the case of the Andes is that for a large part of the population, neither modernity nor its colonial precedent has compromised the power of narrative to shape society and to perpetuate social custom and norms.



Figure 3 - "El abuelito quiere su coca, su cigarro, su trago"

The continued importance of ancestral knowledge in highland Peruvian communities since colonization is testimony to a high degree of cultural resistance: through four centuries Huarochiranos have maintained, and continue to maintain, the bonds with the past and with their land that colonialism and modernity have sought to rupture (MacCormack 1996: 645, Spitta 2006: 64). Conceptualising contemporary Andean

society as syncretic could potentially give the impression that cultural fusion has been harmonious. Nevertheless, Taylor's understanding of colonial syncretism is useful for explaining the continued presence of ideological tension in modern-day Huarochirí, since it covered prohibited practices with a cloak of orthodoxy, permitting at the same time the survival of those practices (Taylor 1996: 22). Such a view is also shared by Mihas, for whom mimetic symbolic Christian gestures such as signs of a cross made in healing rituals in the Upper Perené Amazon are "elements of a cosmetic nature, which essentially adorn the rock-solid foundation of indigenous ontology" (Mihas 2014:liii). The content of the Huarochirí Manuscript of 1608 certainly suggests that Huarochiranos sought to dupe the local clerics into believing they had abandoned their 'idolatrous' *huacas*. Abandoning the *huacas* would have been tantamount to breaking the bonds that uphold life itself.

As we will see, for those who believe in the *abuelos* today, and recognise their authority and power, the breakage of ritual (social) bonds with them is detrimental to human health and agro-pastoral production. Indeed, ritual failure would anger the *abuelos* and the local community (San Damián) would scorn anyone tempted to 'miss out' ritual aspects of irrigation and agricultural practice. This insistence on the maintenance of bonds with the landscape-owning ancestors is a Pan-Andean value and is not unique to Huarochirí. With a focus on mining communities in the Colombian Andes, Taussig has noted that "To Andean Indians nature is animated, and persons and nature form an intricately organized unity. They are bound together through common origins, and they reciprocate with one another. This unity depends on a balance in the forces of nature and a complementary balance in social activities" (Taussig 1980).

For Peru, the power of the destructive consequences brought on by ritual failure is exemplified in Carey's critical analysis of the aftermath of the deadly Huaraz landslide disaster in 1941, which was considered by some residents to have been a consequence of social change: "For some residents, such outburst floods rupture the

balance among the human, spiritual, and physical worlds. Enchanted lakes lashed out as a result of human transgressions against different dimensions of these interconnected worlds" (Carey 2010: 45). Landslides, or *huaycos* as they are known in Huarochirí, are similarly interpreted as the result of social breakdown (represented by ritual failure). In this respect, Huarochirano ways of understanding difference parallel those of their Quechua-speaking counterparts. Just as Mannheim has pointed out that the fundamental ideological and social moral which differentiates 'Runa' (Quechua-speaking Andeans) from 'q'ara' (uncivilised outsiders) is the *Runa* allegiance to the "rule of reciprocity" (Mannheim 1991: 19), this thesis shows that the same may be said Spanish speakers who also differentiate themselves from outsiders in the same way through narratives of failed or absent landscape ritual.

The work of Howard is particularly useful for understanding the importance of oral narrative in the maintenance of 'webs of relatedness' (Van Vleet 2008) and in upholding belief in animated landscape. Since this thesis focuses on narrative as a medium of communication and performance, it is worth citing the perspective of Howard at length:

"Remembering in the Andes...is a culturally vital activity involving not only the telling of stories but also the performance of rituals and participation in fiestas. Forgetting..., by contrast, is the way that neglect of social and ritual obligations is described, and it is punishable in the form of sickness, crop failure, even death. Remembering – through ritual, song, music, as well as storytelling – is about keeping the culture, and thus human and animal society, alive and in harmonious interaction with the world of the saints, the souls of the dead, and the powers of the landscape. Remembering ensures regeneration; forgetting is likely to bring degeneration in its wake. The etymology of the words *yarpay* and *yuyay* is suggestive here, both being morphologically related to *yaya* (creator god, progenitor) and *yachay* (knowledge), terms associated with creation and the generative powers of knowledge" (Howard 2002: 30)

Thus oral narrative plays a crucial role in remembering the connection between the self, one's ancestors and the land. The work of White clarifies the essential function of narrative as a mode of capturing and expressing this web of relatedness: "narrative

might well be considered a solution to a problem of general human concern, namely, the problem of how to translate knowing into telling" (White 1987: 1). It follows that through focusing on narratives, we can gain an insight into the ways of knowing being articulated. Since oral narratives of landscape are one of the key tools of this thesis, it will be valuable to contemplate further the significance of narratives for exploring Huarochirano understandings of landscape.

2.4 A narrative channel for remembering

This thesis relies on oral narratives for the grounding of its argument and associated theoretical framework centring on the issue of taking Andean landscape beings seriously. As such, it will be worthwhile to consider the implications of taking narrative reconstruction of events as representative of Andean reality and related ways of knowing. As White points out, "It is because real events do not offer themselves as stories that their narrativization is so difficult" (White 1987: 4). For White, narrative has an 'untruthful' coherency that real life lacks (White 1987: ix). Nevertheless, although narratives are formulaic⁴⁶ (Hinchman and Hinchman 2001, White 1987), my principal interest here is the content of that form -what do Huarochiranos say in their re-formulations of the past? What is the 'moral', or purpose of re-voicing the past, and the significance of doing so in the temporal and social context in which it is deemed appropriate to bring up a particular narrative? What are the political implications of narrating instances of 'ontological excess' brought about by failed irrigation ritual? How do Huarochiranos convince young people that narratives of evil springs and malevolent rainbows are reproductions of real events? What is at stake? Underlying these questions is my understanding that identity, or 'who we are' "takes shape in the stories we tell about ourselves" (Hinchman and Hinchman 2001 xvii). As Salmond states: "The point is not so much to ask whether certain ontologies are incommensurable or not...The more interesting question is how people work to overcome such incommensurabilities, crafting intelligibility between their own and others' ways of being" (Salmond 2010: 307). Oral narratives are central to the project of negotiating ontological incommensurability in Huarochirí.

Rituals concerned with agriculture, among others, "simultaneously exemplify metaphysical principles, instruct people in these principles, and create these

⁴⁶ "...narrative, far from being merely a form of discourse that can be filled with different contents, real or imaginary as the case may be, already possesses a content prior to any given actualization of it in speech or writing" (White 1987: Preface xi)

principles anew" (Taussig 1980). As such, ritual reproduces ontology, and narratives describing the undesirable consequences of failed or absent ritual uphold ideology year-round, outside of the ritual temporal context. As such, narratives function to re-affirm the importance of ritual and indeed, on a more basic level, they promote the recognition that landscape beings exist. As Blaser explains, "ontologies also manifest as 'stories' in which the assumptions of what kinds of things and relations make up a given world readily graspable again, this warrants my use of the term 'story' to refer to a given ontology." (Blaser 2009: 873).

The work of Hinchman and Hinchman (2001) is similarly positioned regarding the potential for narrative as an insight into the world of the speaker, being "discourses with a clear sequential order that connects events in a meaningful way for a definite audience, and thus offers insights about the world and/or people's experiences of it" (Hinchman and Hinchman 2001: xvi). My understanding of narrative coincides with this perspective as well as that of Blaser's understanding of 'story' as ontology or 'world'. Since narratives 'tell a story' about the interconnectedness of the speaker's world, perhaps there is also some parallel in meaning between 'narrative' and 'ontology', since both are concerned with knowledge politics. This connection will develop throughout the thesis since the various ways that Huarochirano ontology manifests itself in narratives guide my line of enquiry. The aforementioned function of narrative in 'connecting' landscape, ancestors and people is worth bringing up again here-since giving voice to the past gives way to a social space in which to produce social bonds with the audience as well as with the features of the narrative discourse. As Van Vleet points out, "Narratives are important because of the social interactions through which they materialize and the social relationships and affective bonds they produce as much as for the information they contain" (Van Vleet 2008: 10). The act of narration then, both socializes the speaker and audience while highlighting the importance of maintaining bonds with the *abuelos*. This point is important, since beyond the cultural norms regarding how a story should be told,

there is room in narrative for artistic performance⁴⁷ which is likely to be influenced by the relationship between the speaker and the audience. The audience may also 'chip in', or provide other cues for expansion of the story, approval or even disagreement with the content. Narrative therefore is not an activity performed in isolation from context- it depends on, and builds on bonds of relatedness. It may be said therefore, that narrative discourse is highly emergent, and structured by both situated and creative factors (Bauman and Sherzer 1974: 7). The narrated event is communicated within the process of storytelling in which the storytellers and audience are active participants (Howard 1989: 6). Drawing on the work of Bakhtin on narrative, Howard expands on this dynamic of oral narrative, explaining that the narrator's world infringes upon the meaning, form and content of the events, resulting in "a blurring of the boundaries between storytelling and story told" (Howard 1989: 6). For Bauman and Sherzer, the task of the 'ethnographer of speaking' involves making the distinction between context and the conduct of speaking, and to "identify and analyse the dynamic interrelationships among the elements which go to make up performance, toward the construction of a descriptive theory of speaking as a cultural system in a particular society" (Bauman and Sherzer 1974: 7). The literature focusing on ways of speaking in the Andes has noted among its many features the following characteristics: intertextuality (Allen 2011, Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998), a concern with relationship to place (Howard-Malverde 1989), verbal artistry (Salomon 1991, Mannheim 1991) and the subversive potential to empower the powerless (Arguedas 2005, Salomon 1991). This last mentioned feature of narrative in the Andes will especially be of high importance for understanding the narratives from Huarochirí which are based on worldviews discriminated against and undermined by dominant society. My discussion of Huarochirano self-representation in oral narratives and local texts (Chapter 4) will also highlight the ways in which

⁴⁷ My understanding of 'performance' is based on the same terms as those of Bauman and Sherzer, who "conceive of performance in terms of the interplay between resources and individual competence, within the context of particular situations" (Bauman and Sherzer 1974: 7)

locals distance themselves from dominant ways of classifying Andean highlanders in terms of race and ethnicity. In a similar manner to narratives of landscape, these narratives allow people to position themselves in the world and exercise agency over their own representation.

My employment of narratives as an analytical tool is based on the premise that they represent an expressive medium of communication which is central for the (re)production of the world and the beings existing within it as understood by the speaker. In the context of fast-paced globalism and dominance of hegemonic (competing) knowledge practices, oral narratives also educate young people, preparing them with knowledge that will allow them to survive in the local landscape. Huarochirano narratives of landscape serve to challenge dominant geopolitics of knowledge, verbally tying knowledge (and claims to ownership) to features of the local landscape.

As previously mentioned, each part of the Andean landscape poses a particular risk, and has its own associated meanings, which may differ according to personal experience and the diffusion of oral narratives, as well as with other factors such as personal familiarity and relationship with place. Nevertheless, 'knowing' the local landscape is of high importance. If accounts of evil springs, dangerous lake-emerging bulls, shape-shifting and blood-hungry mine creatures (*mukis*), illness wrought on by ritual failure were not re-told orally and tied through the act of speaking to certain points on the landscape, how would young people and outsiders know how to keep themselves safe in the local landscape? As Eugenio, a former ritual specialist (*curandero*) pointed out, the capricious and demanding place-owners known in Huarochirí as abuelos "are everywhere". Narrative in Huarochirí therefore does not simply represent a form of entertainment or communicate abstract meaning—it has a practical function, delivering in a contained, memorable medium, information about how to safeguard one's own wellbeing and avoid so-called 'malos lugares' (evil places). As we will see, in the case of water, knowledge about the landscape gleaned

from narrative performances is essential for the body's wellbeing. In one narrative (discussed in Chapter 6) a young girl seeking drinking water ignores advice given from Rosa (the narrator) not to drink from an evil spring "cuidado que te haga daño, puquio!" ("Careful, the spring might harm you!"). The girl drinks the water and subsequently falls ill, suffering from '*agarrado de puquio*' ('grabbed by the spring'). The (re)telling of this narrative serves to share knowledge about the local landscape through reminding the audience of past events associated with a dangerous place. 'Knowing' places in the Andes is key to avoiding danger, just as for the Western Apache, wisdom is said to 'sit' in places. As Basso was told, Wisdom sits in places.

It's like water that never dries up. You need to drink water to stay alive, don't you? Well, you also need to drink from places. You must remember everything about them. You must learn their names. You must remember what happened at them long ago. You must think about it and keep on thinking about it. Then your mind will become smoother and smoother. Then you will see danger before it happens. You will walk a long way and live a long time. You will be wise. People will respect you. (Basso 1996: 70)

Through the re-telling of narrative, it may be said that, in a similar vein, Rosa might 'see danger before it happens' and gain a degree of respect and gratitude from those who might otherwise have unknowingly drunk from the spring in question. Narratives of landscape also involve drawing on the wisdom and words of others, and as such, in a Bakhtinian vein, they are never unconnected from the past, or formed entirely of one's own words (Howard-Malverde 1990, Van Vleet 2008). As such, narrative may be said to be representative of *shared* ways of knowing and of talking about landscape, and words spoken before are reformulated within the (present) context, i.e. the moment of narration. As Howard explains, "In the Andean way of thinking, Quechua narratives suggest, the past is ever present and is ever being remade, in the here and now; memory is a continuous process of reactivation and reformulation of the past relative to present circumstances" (Howard 2002: 28). The same may be said of Spanish-language narratives told in Huarochirí, as evidenced by Salomon's insightful research into the interpretation of archaic local

scriptures by modern-day Tupicochanos who distance themselves from the pre-Hispanic aspects of their content through a narrative detailing a 'mass indian suicide' (Salomon 2001, 2003). The work of Giddens on identity approaches the dependence of narrative on negotiating ideas of past and present in a similar light. Although his work on identity, narrative and the self focuses on a micro level of identity formation, its relevance goes beyond the level of the individual. For Giddens,

'A person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. The individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world, cannot be wholly fictive. It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the on-going 'story' about the self.' (Giddens 1991: 54⁴⁸).

Giddens's remarks about the continual integration of events in order to keep a narrative relevant is important, since it would imply that narratives centring on the issue of tradition must continually be performed in dialogue with modernist globalising discourses in order to re-define the ever-changing current moment. On this point there is concurrence with the work of Howard-Malverde who states: "on the one hand performance involves the reiteration of long-held traditions, on the other hand it provides opportunity for the reworking of traditional models in response to contemporary conditions" (Howard-Malverde 1989: 4). Such is the case for the Yshiro of Panama who, according to Blaser, 'storytell' globalisation in order to purposefully shape the present moment and ensure the survival of the Yshishiro's world alongside the worlds of others (Blaser 2010). I believe that the same can be said of 'traditional' narratives of landscape from Huarochirí, told in the context of high levels of outward-migration and ever-increasing articulation with Lima and the global world. As such, I suggest that Blaser's research highlighting the function of oral narrative in making sense of difference and coexistence also applies to

⁴⁸ Cited in: Gauntlett, David (2002), *Media, Gender and Identity: An Introduction*, Routledge, London and New York.

populations which are not indigenous. Oral narrative is therefore at the centre of the management and reproduction of difference in Huarochirí, since it transmits “messages about the nature of a shared reality” (White 1987: 1). Likewise, for Blaser “the concept of storytelling stands for a way of practising knowledge” (Blaser 2010: xv). I too concur with their recognition of the potential of narrative in understanding shared ideas about that which a society recognizes to form part of its reality. This potential lies precisely in the lack of neutrality that defines narrative performance. As White points out, narrative “entails ontological and epistemic choices with distinct ideological and even specifically political implications” (White 1987: ix). Exploring cultural continuities in ontological perspectives of landscape through narratives, especially those associated with the expressive domain of water, should make for fertile ground for discussing identity.

2.5 “I would like to tell you about something which *does* exist in all the villages of Huarochirí⁴⁹”

If *abuelos* are everywhere, why are they absent from the political sphere? Why do visiting outsiders and employees of the Peruvian State fail to recognise them or respect their authority? In recent years, Andean people have been calling for political recognition of the animate landscape. Such a claim has been presented in the literature as pertaining to an ‘indigenous’ movement (De la Cadena 2010, Gelles 2012, Blaser 2010). Similarly, Vivieros de Castro’s anthropological argument for ‘ontological perspectivism’, which draws in Amazonian non-humans’ perspectives of ‘us’, inspiring a post-humanist movement in anthropology, has been described as an “indigenous theory” (Mihas 2014: iii). A similar conflation of indigeneity and post-humanism is made on the HAU Journal of Ethnographic Theory website, which invites papers discussing ‘indigenous ontologies’ – a categorisation which, the Huarochirí data suggests, is somewhat misleading and exclusive. To explain with more clarity

⁴⁹ “Yo quisiera en otra oportunidad...de repente la próxima semana...así? Contarle algo sobre lo que sí existe en todos los pueblos de Huarochirí.” Gustavo Flores, San Damián.

and depth why I think this is so, let us return to my fundamental argument based on the Andean province of Huarochirí.

One ethnographic encounter sums up my argument particularly well. Towards the end of my fieldwork, local schoolteacher Gustavo Flores seemed concerned about my repeated questions about *la costumbre*. As we rounded off our conversation in the school office, he let me know what he would prefer to talk about the next time I 'interviewed' him (conversations with Gustavo usually also involved him interviewing me on British life). Gustavo's voice took on a serious tone as he continued:

Gustavo: "Yo quisiera en otra oportunidad...de repente la próxima semana...así? Contarle algo sobre lo que sí existe en todos los pueblos de Huarochirí. Eso es hablar de los demonios que dicen no, o sea hablarle de eso de los mukis..."

Sarah-¿los mukis también no?

Gustavo-Eso, eso sí, he experimentado en persona yo "
(Gustavo Flores, San Damián).

Appendix Reference 3

Gustavo's insistence that beings such as *mukis* and lake-dwelling bulls (which he went on to discuss, drawing on an encounter with such a being) do exist infers that he may expect me to dismiss such a claim, or perhaps that he has met ridicule for testifying such accounts. At the heart of his insistence that these beings do exist is the recognition of an ontological debate surrounding that of which he speaks. Some people might disregard his experiences of the animate landscape, but to him they are real. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Gustavo would define himself as indigenous.

At this point, it is useful to point out that Gustavo claims to have experienced landscape beings himself; such claims are worthy of discussion for understanding Andean ways of knowing and also to clarify an issue which tends to arise when I present my research findings. From time to time, I am asked whether I have personally seen, or claim to believe in Andean landscape beings, a question which I regard to be theoretically moot, not least because locals do not necessarily need to witness these beings themselves to know they exist. Nevertheless, being able to

convey that one has personally witnessed such an experience is helpful in communicating credibility.

In many varieties of contemporary Quechua, just as in the colonial Quechua of the Huarochirí Manuscript, speakers clarify their relationship towards the information they communicate through the use of the evidential suffixes. Whereas the –mi suffix is employed to express that the speaker has personally witnessed or otherwise experienced an event, the –si suffix is used to report information gained by word of mouth. Salomon refers to the former as the ‘witness validator’ suffix and the latter as the ‘hearsay validator’ suffix (Salomon 1991: 32). Thus, discrimination between knowledge sources is grammatically marked in Quechua, and is testimony to an Andean epistemology, a way of knowing, whereby bearing witness to an event, be it through sight, sound, or through other sensory means, has an epistemological value which is not equivalent to information gained through second hand means. Although Huarochirí has undergone a long process of language transformation, I observed that in modern-day Huarochirí, locals tend to make the same distinction, not grammatically, but through two (related) means which are rooted in the aforementioned Andean epistemology. Firstly, the accounts of some older and middle aged locals, who claim to have personally witnessed, and interacted with landscape beings were deemed to be more worthy of attention (for my research investigation, for example). Likewise, when visiting a Sandamianino family and their extended kin in Australia following fieldwork, I was asked whether the locals I’d met could actually claim to have seen landscape beings, since, only very eldest members of their own families made such claims.

Secondly, locals make frequent use of the construction ‘dice’ (‘he/she says’) or ‘dice que’ (‘he/she says that’), or in the case of Eugenio’s long narrative which features in chapter 5, ‘es que dice’ (‘so he/she says’). These terms may also be understood to reflect a broader (i.e. plural) pool of reported knowledge and may thus be translated into English, depending on the context, as ‘they say’, ‘they say that’ etc. I agree with

Babel in stating that the Spanish construction *dizque*, and likewise *dice (que)*, are influenced by Quechua and in Andean varieties of Spanish, may be understood as systematic forms of reportative (i.e. hearsay) evidential marking (Babel 2009). Most of the narratives which feature in this thesis show this mode of evidential marking. Nevertheless, where individuals expressly state that they have experienced a landscape being (or the perceivable effects of one) themselves, the reader may note the telling of narrative in the first person and the absence of 'dice' and 'dice que' (which are also manifest in the narratives within this thesis in the preterite tense 'dijo/dijo que').

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that in both Andean Spanish and Quechua oral narratives (including the early colonial Quechua narratives from Huarochirí), it would be erroneous to equate the employment of the *-si* reportative suffix, or the Spanish construction 'dice (que)' with dismissing the account that one is conveying. Of interest is the perspective of Durston who argues that Quechua evidential suffixes should not be taken at face value; that the reportative (*-si* suffix) marking does not necessarily mean that the speakers have not witnessed the events they describe: "Reportative evidential marking should not be regarded as something that weakens the strength of a testimony" (Durston 2007: 238). Similarly, from my perspective, whether a Spanish speaking Huarochirano tells a story or account that they have heard, or whether they speak from personal experience, the 'veracity' of their accounts need not be in doubt since they form part of a way of knowing which falls outside of and pre-dates modern ways of knowing which are preoccupied with dismissing non-scientific traditional practices. As Howard-Malverde points out with regard to Quechua oral narratives, to separate fact from fiction, or history from myth would "impose distinctions which are foreign to the culture that generates these discourses, and consequently to create misunderstandings and false representations of that culture in our own world" (Howard-Malverde 1997: 40). From my point of view, the question of whether the ontological perspective of a Westerner matches one of a Peruvian highlander overlooks the basic point that our respective

understandings of reality, and how this might be conveyed through language are quite different, yet in terms of knowledge politics, are equal.

This thesis builds on the work of Descola, De la Cadena, Kohn and Vivieros de Castro, through exploring ontological conflict in Peruvian society, and as such, recognising the existence not of multiculturalism or diverse worldviews, but of multiple worlds⁵⁰. Crucial to this line of enquiry is the premise that multiple *realities* and associated knowledge systems exist and that these should be taken into account in an anthropology post-human, or 'beyond the human'.⁵¹ Unlike Kohn's research, which regards reliance on human representations of non-humans to be a theoretical side-step (Kohn 2013: 14), this ethnography depends on a necessary evil: that of relying on humans' representations of non-humans. Its contribution to the ontological turn does not pretend to be radical or innovative; it is limited in its contribution to insights in 'ontological perspectivism' (Vivieros de Castro 1998) which inspire Kohn, however its contribution lies in its attempt to cast the net of the ontological turn's relevance wider than it is currently sitting within the anthropological literature. Crucially, I propose that an anthropology 'beyond the human' should also go beyond the indigenous. Doing so requires including the contextual reality of ethnic discrimination which many traditional 'ancestor focused natures-cultures' (Latour 1991: 38) face, and have faced through centuries of colonial rule and into the 'modern' era. Social groups who recognise the agency of non-humans do not

⁵⁰ Talking of the ontological turn in anthropology, Holbraad, Pederson and Vivieros de Castro consider ethnographies which recognise other cultures to be ontologies, as representative of a political leap forward from the descriptive portrayal of difference through worldview: "For a start, to subjunctively present alternatives to declarations about what "is" or imperatives about what "should be" is itself a political act—a radical one, to the degree that it breaks free of the glib relativism of merely reporting on alternative possibilities ("worldviews," etc.), and proceeds boldly to lend the "otherwise" full ontological weight so as to render it viable as a real alternative." (Holbraad, Pederson and Vivieros de Castro 2014, unpaginated)".

⁵¹ "An anthropology 'beyond the human' recognizes that the ways non-human beings interpret humans make a difference to our lives and should therefore be explored in anthropological enquiry" (Kohn 2013: 1). As Kohn expands, "Such encounters with other kinds of beings force us to recognize the fact that seeing, representing, and perhaps knowing, even thinking, are not exclusively human affairs" (Kohn 2013: 1)

necessarily define themselves as indigenous, and as such an anthropology which looks beyond both the confines of the humanist paradigm and of fixed notions of ethnicity and race is needed in order to better understand the relevance of the ontological turn in Andean society. The current academic attempt to shift the geopolitics of knowledge “towards the building of decolonial thought” (Walsh 2007: 225) is framed in such a way that it does not allow for articulations of ideological difference within mestizo sectors of Andean society. In highlighting Huarochiranos’ conviction that landscape beings do exist, I challenge the conflation of indigeneity and ‘alternative ways of knowing’. Huarochiranos resist hegemonic ideas about what may be said to exist, yet they do not claim political allegiance with the ‘indigenous’ plight. Nevertheless, insisting the existence of landscape beings in the modern-day is a highly political act:

“Furthermore, when such “ontographic” (Holbraad 2012) experimentations are precipitated by ethnographic exposures to people whose own lives are, in one way or other, pitted against the reigning hegemonic orders (state, empire, and market, in their ever-volatile and violent comingling), then the politics of ontology resonates at its core with the politics of the peoples who occasion it. In such a case, the politics of ontologically-inclined anthropological analysis is not merely logically contingent upon, but internally constituted by and morally imbricated with, the political dynamics in which the people anthropologists study are embroiled, including the political stances those people might themselves take, not least on the question of what politics itself “could be”. (Holbraad, Pederson and Vivieros de Castro 2014, unpaginated)

In this respect, ontologically-inclined anthropology is fundamentally different from earlier approaches to non-human beings. For example, during the 1980s, Sperber approached ‘apparently irrational beliefs’ from a rationalist perspective, seeking to understand why Ethiopians believe in Dragons (and want to kill them). Sperber’s approach, which seeks to explain why an elderly informant asked him to kill a dragon, does at no point recognize that Dragons may exist and he curses himself for having delayed a request made to him to kill one, implying that he was tempted to ‘entertain’ the notion that the dragon may actually exist, years later, asking himself:

"Why not, then, entertain the idea and enjoy it?" (Sperber 1985:62). It would seem that, during this moment in anthropology, and despite Sperber's critique of relativist approaches to apparently irrational beliefs, it was impossible to seriously entertain the notion that alternatives to non-western, non-academic notions of truth be recognized. The cognitivist rationalist approach, geared at offering anthropological explanation, which earlier insights gleaned through symbolism did not, is problematic because its premise is that non-western manifestations of culture require explaining from the perspective of a modern enlightened knowledge system in order to justify their presence within the culture under question. As Holbraad points out: "In order even to ask why certain people might believe that a certain form of powder has the power to elicit certain divinities into presence, one has first to take for granted that this could not (or should not) be the case in the first place." (Holbraad undated 21). Ontologically-inclined anthropology is informed by the kind of aforementioned 'cosmopolitics' proposed by Stengers, where differing knowledge practices do not seek to explain or rationalise one another, but rather the goal lies in considering ways for different knowledge practices to co-exist.

A new wave of scholarship on Andean political ontology has begun to question whether the 'sacred landscape' should be treated as a social and political actor. An important precedent is the work of Marisol De la Cadena. Her work argues that the *Apus* of Cuzco should be given a place in modern politics, since locals demand that the wishes of the sacred local landscape, which fundamentally opposes resource extraction, be acknowledged (De la Cadena 2010). What the foundational exploratory literature lacks, however, are detailed ethnographic case studies exploring how these 'alternative' manifestations of power make their agency and power known in daily life. I respond by offering a contribution which, through in-depth analysis of oral narratives, identifies the potential of anthropological data for the development of arguments in political ontology.

The Huarochirí data suggests that ontological claims associated with landscape pre-exist claims to indigeneity. I say 'pre-exist' based on the premise that claims to indigeneity have come about innovatively, enabled by globalisation (Canessa 2006), and thus argue that in order to benefit from indigenous law, social groups must adopt an etic cultural practice and mode of self-representation. As I explained in the introductory chapter, claiming indigenous status is hardly an indigenous way of expressing identity and ironically, it promotes culture change in those peoples whose traditions indigenous law purports to protect. As previously stated, it uproots identity from place and aligns the self with a global movement, which is an important factor in the development of indigenous movements, however it represents an ethical problem, especially within societies underscored by pervasive racism such as Peru. Although in some areas "during the last decades has the content of the word 'Indian' been inverted and self-proclaimed by indigenous groups who have re-appropriated the term for their own strategic purposes" (Gelles 2012: 126), the same cannot be said for the highlands of Lima, which lacks a politicized racial movement. In identifying the paradox outlined above, this thesis raises concerns about the concept of 'indigenous law', especially the criteria adopted by the United Nations within Convention 169 which states that indigenous peoples should self-identify as indigenous. The work of Andrew Canessa on Bolivia supports my point, and bolsters my argument about the case of Huarochirí: his research suggests that Quechua-speaking Bolivians, who do not tend to define themselves in racial terms, but who, if pushed would claim mestizo identity (Canessa 2006). This parallels Huarochirano ways of expressing identity: in both cases 'indigeneity' is not considered to be a relevant concept for people's lives, indicating that local discourses of identity are neither primarily based on language, nor indigeneity. Nevertheless, Huarochiranos are serious about maintaining ancestral customs geared at pacifying the animate landscape. For this reason, I believe – like Gelles – that paying attention to Andean cultural continuity (*lo andino*) may have potential political uses in Peru (Gelles 2000: 11, Gelles 2012: 123). In this respect, I engage with Starn's argument (Starn 1991)

about the (ir)relevance of identifying Andean cultural continuities (especially in the context of social unrest). Starn's article was highly critical of anthropological research of the time which attempted to describe human behaviour in modern-day Andean communities in terms of the past; according to Starn, this preoccupation with *lo andino* resulted in experts on the Peruvian Andes 'missing' important developments which were happening in the present. Starn might have had a point in the early 90s, but I believe that in the current context of the officialisation of prior consultation law, the opposite is true. Given the fact that cultural continuity represents a criteria for prior consultation law (as I pointed out in chapter 1), the ability to identify and delineate traditions rooted in the Pre-Hispanic era may be of relevance for ancestral communities wishing to assert their rights, especially groups who do not self-define as indigenous. The point inherent in the notion of *lo andino*, concerning (the relevance of) cultural continuities through time informs this thesis, in recognition of its political potential for non-indigenous ancestral communities who may wish to object to development projects on their lands. As such, I echo Gelles in my scepticism of the "critique and subsequent devaluation of all things 'Andean' [which] can also play into the dominant cultural discourses that effectively deny the validity of highland life-ways. (Gelles 2012: 124). As we will see, ancestral customs are in themselves highly political, as are Huarochirano narratives which emphasize the danger of disregarding traditions rooted in the past.

2.6 Conclusions

This chapter outlined the key theoretical concepts which are employed in the chapters that follow. My discussion traced the origins of recent debates in 'indigenous cosmopolitics' in late 20th Century critical approaches to modernity. I outlined my argument, which expands the notion of 'indigenous cosmopolitics' to non-indigenous groups, based on the problematic and subjective nature of this ethnic category. This argument is inherent in my proposal for the debate to (also) consider 'mestizo cosmopolitics'.

Furthermore, the chapter explored the relevance of water and oral narrative as analytical tools for understanding tensions relating to the animate landscape. As the coming chapters will show, water, the quotidian preoccupation for huarochirano farmers, flows through the above argument, since continuities in understandings of water through time constitute the ethnographic anchor for my argument. In the coming chapters, in-depth analysis of local ways of expressing identity (through narratives of water and landscape) will illustrate that the arguments developed here are 'grounded' and 'rooted' in practices associated with the landscape. Since the broader implications of this case study, rooted in *mestizo* (racially mixed) Huarochirí, has the potential to theoretically infiltrate and undermine current understandings of *mestizaje* and indigeneity in the Andean region, space will also be given within the thesis to the contemplation and interrogation of these highly contingent and problematic vehicles for expressing identity.

Chapter 3. Methodological Discussion: voyaging into cosmopolitics via irrigation ritual

...the politics of ontologically-inclined anthropological analysis is not merely logically contingent upon, but internally constituted by and morally imbricated with, the political dynamics in which the people anthropologists study are embroiled, including the political stances those people might themselves take, not least on the question of what politics itself "could be." (Holbraad, Pedersen and Viveiros de Castro 2014)

This chapter outlines the key methods of data collection and reflects upon my positionality in the field. This thesis aims to represent my overall findings and to address the multiplicity of concerns voiced to me during fieldwork; these concerns are linked through the overarching issues of identity, ethnicity and cosmopolitics. Since my methodology is based on Grounded Theory (Charmaz 2006), it is crucial to clarify how the scope of the research developed while in the field and narrowed further during the data analysis process.

This thesis is the result of a full-time PhD project funded over 4 years by the AHRC. The ethnographic data upon which the bulk of this thesis is based was carried out over a period of 7 months between January and August 2012 in the highland Lima province of Huarochirí. The material I collected in the field comprises semi-structured interviews, oral narratives, and recordings of focus group conversations, recordings and notes of meetings concerning irrigation, field notes and fieldwork diary entries. I also obtained local publications which were used for understanding how Huarochiranos represent themselves in their own terms. I had not planned on using local texts, however they came into my possession because locals in both San Damián and Matucana (the provincial administrative capital of Huarochirí) thought they would benefit my research, and they proved to be very useful.

My PhD research began as a broad project, originally entitled 'The cultural meanings of water in the Andes: continuity and change in Huarochirí, Peru'. My original plan was to go to both San Damián in the Lurín river valley and San Pedro de Casta in the

Santa Eulalia valley. My intention was to compare attitudes towards traditional irrigation practices, particularly ritual, in these two sites and to then compare this data with the water-focused content of the Huarochirí Manuscript. I had envisioned splitting the period of ethnographic fieldwork between these two Huarochirí villages based on the fact that San Damián has (or in 2012, had) an underdeveloped, almost absent, tourist industry and San Pedro de Casta thrives on revenues from tourism and its well-known 'Fiesta del Agua' held in October each year regularly receives anthropologists and students from Lima.

During the course of my research, both the geographic and thematic foci narrowed considerably, based on my experiences in the first field site (San Damián). As such, my research questions were constantly being reformulated during this crucial period of data collection. As Sibley points out: "all research develops...throughout the stages of design, collections, and analysis. Almost all research produces much that was unanticipated and therefore had to be responded to with adjustments along the way" (Sibley 2003: 2). In this case, my fieldwork plan changed while in the field, and I decided to remain in San Damián with my husband and one year old son for the duration of my fieldwork, spending the last two months unaccompanied.

Based on my interactions in the field, my original primary interest on irrigation rituals shifted to oral narratives concerning *the importance of* rituals honouring the water-owning ancestors. During the latter part of the fieldwork and data analysis, the related but more general theme of local people's understandings of the landscape as an animate social agent developed as a central concern of this research. During fieldwork, my preoccupation with *la costumbre* (ritual; or 'customary law', Salomon 2004:56) was generally well received. However, on more than one occasion, during a formal interview with a local teacher and a focus group respectively, participants of this research questioned my interest in *la costumbre*, given that tradition was surely an obstacle to poverty alleviation after all "en los países desarrollados ya no hacen la

costumbre".⁵² The teacher implored me to pay attention to a problem he considered to be more relevant: the issue of non-human beings that emerge from the local landscape and interact with the local community. What was relevant for locals was the basic fact that the landscape's condition as animate is up for debate. The overwhelming preoccupation that was communicated to me through various means over 7 months in San Damián was simple: 'Some sectors of society try to deny that the landscape is animate, but we know otherwise'.

3.1 Ethnography

Ethnography has been developed in social anthropology "more than any other discipline in the humanities and social sciences" (Okely and Callaway 1992: xi) and, since the 1980s, has evolved from its roots in positivist science as an interdisciplinary method adopted by disciplines outside of anthropology with a concern for 'culture' (Clifford 1986: 3). From this point onwards, the meanings of ethnography became diluted to the point of becoming synonymous with qualitative studies in general (Gobo 2008:53) - a fact which has been criticised owing to the level of open-ended commitment, attentiveness and relational depth required uniquely by anthropological enquiry through sustained participant observation (Ingold 2014:383). This project's reliance on in-depth ethnographic data for the construction and development of the central argument makes this project an essentially anthropological one in terms of the central methodology.⁵³

Prior to conducting fieldwork in San Damián, I had analysed its famous early colonial manuscript in depth with a view to carrying out an ethnography that would be highly attuned to identifying cultural continuities in irrigation practice. My basic approach involved 'paying attention' to what was going on in the field. As it turned out, the ancestral past and the sacred landscape were popular (related) topics of conversation and I did not need to formulate questions about the 1608 text in order to recognise

⁵² "...in developed countries they don't do ancestral rituals anymore"

⁵³ My research background is not in anthropology, but in languages and cultural studies, however my PhD research methodology borrowed heavily from anthropology's central methodology.

the continuities between modern-day and early colonial discourses of landscape in San Damián. I simply remained “open to the setting and to the actions and people in it...[in order to] work from the ground up” (Charmaz 2006: 21). In this respect my approach to ethnography was broad-scoped and highly contingent, involving attending as many local events as I could in order to expose myself to as many research avenues as possible. My approach to ethnography coincides with that of Ingold, for whom participant observation seeks “to attend to what others are doing or saying and to what is going on around and about; to follow along where others go and to do their bidding, whatever this might entail and wherever it might take you”(Ingold 2014:389).

Ethnography, as a means of analytical attention used to understand societies, is a “powerful way of opening up and extending understandings of how human beings live in the world” (Harvey 2011). It is a learning process that requires a constant renegotiation of the researcher’s expectations, based on their own epistemological and ontological baggage, with that of others. Indeed, ethnography may potentially require the abandonment of the ethnographer’s own ways of knowing in order to learn how the society in question approaches the world. My ethnographic experience consisted of listening and paying attention to what my collaborators told me. What they were telling me, or teaching me, over the period of fieldwork was essentially an introductory lesson in how to protect myself and my family from the animate landscape. In doing so, they provided me with the cultural training that locals acquire as they grow up there.⁵⁴ I was, after all, bringing my own child into the domain of the *abuelos* and, should I or my equally ignorant (in terms of our lack of local knowledge) family anger them, the *abuelos* would let us know about it. A lot was at stake.

⁵⁴ As Wagner explains, anthropologists need to learn to become socialized in the society being researched: “The conventionally prescribed tasks of everyday life, what one “should” do in such a society, are guided by a vast, continually changing and constantly augmented set of differentiating controls, all held together and “cued in” by the conventional “society” that their use precipitates” (Wagner 1981: 66).

3.2 Preparation for fieldwork

My fieldwork was carried out during the second half of my second year, following a period of maternity leave. Prior to this, I had familiarised myself with ethnographic literature on Huarochirí, and crucially, the Huarochirí Manuscript of 1608. As part of my PhD training, I also audited the Newcastle undergraduate Quechua Language (beginner's level) module and subsequently received tailored Quechua training from Prof. Rosaleen Howard which allowed me to develop a greater understanding of the vocabulary and narrative styles employed in the Quechua (transcripts of the) Huarochirí Manuscript.

Additionally, I had spent my first year engaging with debates on culture, power and place and on the relationship between nature and culture. During this time I completed the 'Postgraduate Certificate in Research Training' at Newcastle University that provided training in qualitative research skills, including ethnographic fieldwork. As part of my methodological training, I also attended the 'International Fieldwork in Development Contexts' Postgraduate Training Workshop (North East Doctoral Training Centre: ESRC Advanced Training Module) prior to fieldwork.

My motivation for choosing San Damián as a field site involved both its highly likely status as the home of the Huarochirí Manuscript and the fact that relatively little in-depth ethnographic research had been carried out there. I was surprised to discover a gap in the ethnographic literature of Huarochirí of the modern day Checa and Concha groups of San Damián, whose traditions and lore were privileged by the author of the famous 1608 San Damián text. I also wondered if more could be learned about the Huarochirí Manuscript through spending time in the village that its author indicated to be his location at the time of writing (Adelaar 1997, 138-139). Salomon's work represented an important precedent for in-depth ethnographic research on Huarochirí.

Frank Salomon's 2004 book details that he had been seeking early colonial indigenous texts in the mid-1990s in San Damián, before he had been told of

Tupicocha's conservation and ritual use of khipus, knotted string records which Tupicocha communities display and wear during irrigation rituals (Salomon 2004: 4). Salomon's subsequent in-depth fieldwork in Tupicocha, carried out over more than a decade, provided an invaluable point of entry for learning about Huarochirano society and the continued importance of irrigation, and of irrigation ritual in the northern part of the province. His detailed description of the Yanascocha lake ritual (Salomon 1998) allowed me to plan my fieldwork in order to be present for this particular event and the article made it clear that the (re-named) lake deities mentioned in the Huarochirí Manuscript, Maria Capiama and Pedro Batan held considerable power in modern-day San Damián, for the Concha at least. I wanted to know more. To what extent were identities of the two different ethnic groups of San Damián (still) tied to their lands and irrigation systems? What was daily life like in the village? Salomon's earlier work on San Damián inspired my interest to carry out in-depth ethnographic research both within and beyond the temporal and spatial context of irrigation ritual.

Would oral narratives of water have any importance in 2012? The most recent ethnographic work on San Damián known to me prior to fieldwork was the collection of women's oral testimonies published as *Hijas de Kavillaca: tradición oral de mujeres de Huarochirí* (CENDOC and Flora Tristan 2002). The testimonies in this book were recorded over three months in 1999 in different villages throughout the Huarochirí province, including some testimonies from San Damián. It made it clear that during the time of the research, the animate landscape was a powerful social force. This reading proved to be essential in preparing me for the process of collecting data on the topic of rituals and irrigation sources. As Murray and Overton point out, "It is important to have a basic grasp of these essentially different 'worldviews' as no research can take place in a philosophical vacuum". (Murray and Overton 2014: 22). Nevertheless, I went to the field with an open mind about what I would find there.

Ethnography is an inductive mode of analytical attention (Harvey 2011), and this particular research project has relied on an inductive form of data collection and analysis. As Blommaert and Dong point out, ethnography “works from empirical evidence towards theory, not the other way around” (Blommaert and Dong 2010: 12). Prior to carrying out research on the cultural meanings of water in modern-day Huarochirí, I had made a specific decision to organise my research in such a way that would allow the voices of the research participants to shine through and to construct an argument based on the participants’ concerns, and the more general subjects they discussed with me. I read Charmaz’s *Constructing Grounded Theory* prior to fieldwork and decided that I would follow this approach and “seek data, describe observed events, answer fundamental questions about what is happening, then develop theoretical categories to understand it” (Charmaz 2006: 25). It was not until I arrived in San Damián, and got to know locals well enough for them to talk to me about culture clash, however, that the animate landscape emerged as a site of contestation, or indeed of ‘ontological excess’ (Escobar 2004, De la Cadena 2010).

3.3 Spanish language and interaction with the locality

All of my interactions in Huarochirí were conducted in Spanish language. Having lived in Cuzco during most of the period between 2002 and 2004, and having subsequently gained an undergraduate degree in Spanish and Latin American studies, I was fluent in Spanish at the time of undertaking my research. My previous experience in Cuzco, where many people are bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers, prepared me relatively well for the variety of Spanish spoken in Huarochirí, which is highly influenced by the province’s Quechua-speaking past. The importance of having fluency in the native language where fieldwork is to be undertaken cannot be underestimated: “if the research is socio-cultural in nature, it can be argued that without a high level of proficiency, or excellent assistance, whole worlds will remain unexplored, misinterpreted and, ultimately, poorly conveyed.” (Murray and Overton 2014: 20). It took time to come to understand the meanings of some terminology associated with the animate landscape and race-related vocabulary, and my earlier

visits to the Andes did not prepare me for some of the highly localized indigenous language loanwords and even meanings attached to Spanish vocabulary in Huarochirí. I agree with Blommaert and Dong's statement that ethnography involves a particular perspective on language- one which is highly attuned to epistemology and ontology (Blommaert and Dong 2010: 5). Although my fluency in Spanish was a good starting point for embarking on ethnography in Huarochirí, knowledge of Spanish alone was insufficient and my preparatory training in Quechua proved to be valuable for understanding local ways of speaking. The variety of Spanish spoken in Huarochirí is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

3.4 Meeting people

Because this project was principally interested in irrigation rituals, my fieldwork plans were tied to the local agricultural calendar, which in turn follows the climactic seasons. I faced a significant challenge during the early stages of my fieldwork in that heavy rains from January through to April meant that during their free time, people stayed indoors and away from the public domain. An exception was the day-long Yanascocha '*aniversario*' of the Concha group when everyone covered themselves in sheets of plastic and took to the hills en masse, dancing the high-altitude cold away. The absence of people to talk with on a daily basis during the first months of fieldwork made establishing contacts difficult and the only way to converse with people was by venturing out during the mornings before the mist descended and the heavy rains started at 11am, carrying on into the night. After April, it became easier to converse with the locals and a useful strategy for finding collaborators was to walk with locals towards their fields in the mornings and in the afternoons to stay in the village and chat with the older members of the community who would take to the *plaza* to bask in the sun.

Although some interviews were pre-arranged, much of my data was recorded spontaneously, when, during conversations where topics of interest emerged, I asked for permission to record and posed questions according to what my collaborators

were telling me. Having read up on ethnographic method, I had decided prior to fieldwork that traditional ethnographic means of gaining contacts, such as following the leads of gatekeepers and local authorities would be unnecessary as I simply wanted to attend some irrigation events and to hear what people had to say about them. From my perspective, everyone in the field was an expert in that they had equally valuable opinions on how to negotiate the animate landscape. My potential pool of collaborators was therefore broad.

It is important to point out that my ethnographic experience was shaped significantly by the ways people related to me as a mother as well as a researcher and this aspect of my data collection will be discussed in detail in this chapter. The emotional and practical impacts of carrying out fieldwork with family are – although only recently – often discussed, however there is a lack of research discussing how doing fieldwork with children may contribute or otherwise affect the generation of data and theoretical development. This chapter seeks to address this gap in order to reflect upon the ways in which the social dimensions of field researchers impact directly on the highly social experience of ethnography and ultimately contribute to the knowledge production process.

3.4.1 Representativeness of this research

The majority of my data comes from mature members of the community. This is an outcome of the social phenomena of the Lima highlands: many young people migrate to urban Lima and spend most of the year working there. The accounts of most young people I met with concurred entirely with the ontological perspective of village elders, however, the young people I got to know well either preferred not to be recorded, or spoke of these sensitive topics with some shyness which meant it was not appropriate for me to ask to record these discussions. Nevertheless, I can state with confidence that young Sandamianinos reproduce narratives of landscape beings. During a conversation with a teenage boy from the San Damián annex of Sunicancha, he virtually whispered that a black lake with supernatural powers close

to his home village terrifies him, and explained that as a child, he had been witness to appearances of the *muki* (a small child-like being who is said to emerge from mines; Sunicancha has a clandestine but proliferate mining industry). It would not have been appropriate to record our conversation because this was a spontaneous moment of openness from a young person who I did not know very well.

The limited time I did get to spend with young people indicated that the aforementioned young man's understanding of the landscape as being animate was not unique among his generation. I regarded rainbow apparitions to be an appropriate topic to discuss with children, however it turned out this was not so, as children are taught to fear the rainbow and some became concerned when I asked them what would happen to me if I pointed at it. A group of young girls explained "No vale señalar [al arco iris]" ("It's not a good idea to point at it"). I want to bring up these instances here in order to illustrate that although the majority of the collaborators who are cited in this thesis are of middle age or elderly, the data also represents the viewpoint of younger generations, who were generally less comfortable with being recorded.

Most middle aged and elderly participants were happy to allow me to record our conversations and interviews. At certain points it was not appropriate to record, for example, when people told me stories while we walked together hurriedly or in noisy places such as beside the river, during windy weather and when loud music was being played. Instead, in such instances I recorded the information by writing it down as soon as possible after it was transmitted to me; non-recorded data has been anonymised. Following fieldwork, I used social media to keep in touch with the field and to ask Sandamianinos and other Huarochiranos for clarification about questions I had concerning my data (analysis), and as such, my participant observation of the 'field' continued beyond my departure.

3.5 Attending irrigation rituals

During fieldwork in San Damián, I attended three irrigation rituals. Firstly, the Yanascocha (Concha *barrio*) lake ritual in February, followed by the Ayshipa (Concha *barrio*) canal cleaning ritual (*champería*) and the Chaucalla (predominantly Checa) canal cleaning ritual, both in May. These events are elaborate and long affairs, particularly the latter ritual which involves making a 12 km pilgrimage to the headwaters of the Chaucalla River and performing ritual sequences, canal cleaning and damming on-site before returning bit by bit to the village nucleus, manually cleaning the irrigation system on the way. This event normally takes place over three days, however, in 2012, it took place over two days. I attended and observed the events of the first day, however, since the president of the ritual organising committee (*Junta*) had controversially prohibited women from taking part (almost successfully, a few came, myself included), it would have been inappropriate for me to have stayed overnight with the male irrigators. When the men returned to the village the following day, and the irrigation water followed them along the canal, I observed these final stages of the second day of the ritual, along with the culminating speeches and celebrations which were attended by the public in general. I should also point out that I was absent for the pilgrimage to the Yanascocha lake ritual, having been warned by a number of locals that the walk would be too strenuous for me and I would not 'make it' there ("No llegas, Sarita"). Heeding this advice, I opted to travel on the specially commissioned lake ritual truck, with locals who either missed the early start of the pilgrimage or who were too old to walk. Beyond February, as my fieldwork went on, I realised that many locals had underestimated my fitness levels and my ability to walk along the edge of a canal or narrow path without falling off. Prior to leaving for fieldwork I had represented my university at long-distance cross-country championships. Had I heeded advice to avoid all ritual pilgrimages, I would not have been able to comprehend the sheer effort required to obtain irrigation water; these efforts involve hard physical labour and strict adoration of the *abuelos* that I had not expected to observe.

Having realised locals' underestimations of my fitness, I decided to join the 12km Chaucalla pilgrimage, which would require another 12 km walk back. A few kilometres in, many of the men including one of my *compadres* commented that I did indeed 'know how to walk' ("La gringa sabe caminar!")⁵⁵. As it turns out, the pilgrimage was not so much a walk, but a rapid jog, interspersed with ritual dancing, smoking, speeches, ritual 'enflowerments' (*enfloros*), coca chewing and quiet, reflective periods.

Because irrigation rituals in particular are so central to local production, ritual protocol is strictly adhered to and events are carried out in sequence. As such, there were only certain moments when my presence was consequential – when newcomers were asked to give an offering for the ritual proceedings, when I was obliged to dance, and when I forgot to take off my hat during a moment of respect, for example. When the word had got round that I had 'made it' to the Yanascocha lake ritual, I asked a local woman if a foreigner had ever attended this event before, mentioning that an anthropologist (Frank Salomon) had written about the ritual. I was told "Es posible, Sarita. De repente no le hemos dado importancia" (It's possible, Sarah. Maybe we didn't pay any attention to him"). This interaction made me realise how focused ritual spaces are. Outside of moments of ritual dedicated to the water owners, people are focused on having fun with family and friends. Any impact my presence may have had did not alter the fact that these pre-planned events are integral to local life and dedicated towards gaining the favour of the animate landscape, to ultimately enable production.

⁵⁵ A local who had met me on the morning of the pilgrimage turned up on the path when I was walking back to the village that evening, leading a horse. He thought I would not manage the walk back.



Figure 4 - The Concha's main irrigation ritual at Yanascocha Lake. The participants dance and play carnival at the behest of the abuelos

3.6 Fieldwork and family



Figure 5 - Getting to know 'el gringuito'

Amit has pointed out that the construction of the ethnographic field is shaped by various opportunities and resources available to the ethnographer, including social ones. As he points out, "Seen from this perspective, the idea of fieldwork in which the ethnographer is expected to break from his/her usual involvements in order to immerse him/herself in the 'field' of others' involvements is an oxymoron" (Amit 2000: 6). My fieldwork was shaped by the fact I had my baby son Alfie and husband Craig with me and as such it will be valuable to explain how this dynamic contributed to the production of this research. Having company, not to mention family responsibilities during fieldwork shaped the ethnographic experience – had I carried out the fieldwork unaccompanied, I have no doubt that my research outcome would have been markedly different. As Flinn points out, when taking children to the field, "personal, methodological, and theoretical issues are at stake" (Flinn 1998: 1).

Having previously visited San Damián in 2009, I decided that it would be a good place to spend the rainy season since it boasts a large municipal hotel, and has an ample central hallway where Alfie could play and keep warm. I had hoped to

eventually find accommodation with a local family, however as the weeks went on during the rainy season making it difficult to get to know people, I realised that getting to know a family with enough space for the three of us would be difficult. The words of Fernandez ring true for my experience of organising my fieldwork not just based on academic criteria, but also based on family needs: "Our children influence the choice of field site and bias us toward certain human resources. They nudge us toward certain communities and individuals, and rule out others" (Fernandez 1987: 186-187). As it turned out, living in the Municipal hostel provided a neutral place to stay, where we would not be seen to be favouring either the Concha or Checa community. Staying here also brought about unexpected situations that highlighted the significant presence of landscape beings in the village. When some small children entered the hotel one afternoon and went through our rubbish for edibles, the hostel staff very seriously told us that we had probably not seen children sitting eating our discarded orange peel in the *plaza*, but the *muki*. Only the *muki* would cause such havoc and leave rubbish lying around like that.

As Starrs, Starrs, Starrs and Huntsinger point out, having family along for fieldwork makes the logistics of carrying out day to day research complex (Starrs, Starrs, Starrs and Huntsinger 2001, p.75). Craig, who picked up Spanish very quickly, would nevertheless have struggled to converse with people alone, and we often walked around the village together with Alfie, at a toddler's pace. Craig would try to keep Alfie occupied in the distance whenever my recording device came out. He found (the logistical management of) my fieldwork much easier when we eventually decided to invest in a baby carrier, which allowed us to carry on our walks while Alfie took a nap on our backs. As he grew heavier, Craig increasingly carried Alfie more. I had concerns that locals might frown upon our expensive Western style carrier, however women tended to liken it to their own method of carrying children in a *kalashmanta*, a factory-woven shawl, and they applauded Craig for carrying the baby and supporting me in my work. For some women, it seemed that not carrying Alfie myself the majority of the time meant I was missing out on a physically burdensome

part of childrearing that is considered the moral duty of the mother to endure. In this respect I was considered to be privileged and essentially different to local mothers. Although it would be difficult to tell, I do not doubt that the help I got with childcare might have posed an obstacle in getting more 'help' with my research, for some women at least. Because my fieldwork methodology was based around my positionality as a parent, many conversations began on the topic of motherhood. Local women were curious as to whether I still breastfed my 1 year old (locals tend to breastfeed until their infants reach 2) and I was regularly given advice on childrearing.

A number of ethnographic encounters came about for no other reason than I was the mother of a small family. Locals often commented that we were 'missing' a *mujercita* (little woman, i.e. a baby daughter) to accompany our son and I was often asked when we would be rectifying this imbalance. The rainbow, which is said to emerge from malevolent springs is known to be harmful to pregnant women and my perceived status as 'pending' *la mujercita*, meant that the rainbow was potentially dangerous to me, just as for local women of childbearing age. During one appearance of a particularly bright rainbow during the rainy season, which arched over the village, I was standing taking photos of it, looking around the plaza for people with whom to try and strike up a rainbow-focused conversation. As I stood with camera poised, a middle-aged lady walked by, and approached me to check that I was not pregnant. If I was pregnant, she said, I should not point to the rainbow, as it might harm the baby. Concern alleviated, the lady carried on crossing the plaza. When visiting Tupicocha, the owner of a *pensión* observed Alfie as he ate lunch and played, noting his double crown. Her observations of Alfie's hair and the significance of a double crown resonated with a passage of the Huarochirí Manuscript discussing the ritual proceedings following the birth of children with a hair abnormality conferred on them by the *Apu Pariacaca*. This section of the Manuscript has puzzled scholars and I believe that the insights I gained about double crowns, because of Alfie's prominent one, clarify this passage of the text. Alfie's presence brought

important insights to my work, and on a more basic level, it was easier to strike up conversations with a baby in tow.

It has been said that bringing children to the field humanises researchers to the communities in which they carry out fieldwork (Scheyvens and Donovan 2003:112). Likewise, it has been pointed out that “it is often easier to meet families, to become part of local social life, as your family meets theirs” (Starrs, Starrs, Starrs & Huntsinger, 2001, p.77). I have no doubt that having Alfie with me during fieldwork made me more approachable than had I come to San Damián alone. Although I do recognise that there are benefits to doing fieldwork alone, there is a gap in the Andeanist literature regarding family and the ethnographic process, which makes discussion of this topic all the more important.

Undoubtedly, Alfie’s presence in the field was an icebreaker; this aspect of doing fieldwork with children has been reported by others (Johnston 2015: unpaginated). Moreover, locals commented that many outsiders do not bring their children to the village (medical staff and teachers tend to claim their children would get ill from the cold climate) and I believe that having my family with me showed that I trusted the local people. Many locals got to know Alfie and took an avid interest in his wellbeing. The (very often spontaneous) data gleaned from these relationships were fundamental to the development of this thesis.

Locals, especially women, would regularly remark how incredible it was that I and my family had not gotten ill since arriving in San Damián, and how well we had ‘become accustomed’ to life there. At the time I had assumed people expected we would suffer from the cold, however, when I returned from fieldwork I tried to understand why people made these comments to me so frequently. Looking back, I believe locals were acknowledging that we had successfully maintained relationships with the landscape beings for the majority of the trip. Some people did suspect we had not learned to acknowledge the *abuelos*: when I consulted the local health clinic about an irritating rash on my legs that kept me awake at night, the Lima-trained nurse asked

me if I was allergic to fish. When she left the room, a local employee of the clinic asked me if I had been walking to Llaqsatambo (the pre-Hispanic ruins of the Checa). During a short trip to Tupicocha, we were advised that the best way to avoid *soroche* (commonly referred to as 'altitude sickness') was to acknowledge the *abuelos* with an offering, since *soroche* affects travellers who are new to the highlands. I had never heard *soroche* being described in any other terms than simply the effects of high altitude on the body. In San Damián, I was advised to always speak with the *abuelos* when walking through the local landscape; "siempre hablando, Sarita, siempre pidiendo permiso" ("Always talking, Sarita, always asking for permission") (Rosa Alejandro, San Damián). Once when sharing my walking plans for that day with a local woman, which would entail me passing by a waterfall at lunchtime, I was told "No te vayas allí! Allí sale muki!" ("Don't go there! *The Muki* comes out there!"). Often, passing people while out walking brought about conversations regarding the dangers I might encounter on the way.

3.6.1 A 'Gringuito' in San Damián: methodology, whiteness and positionality

Very often locals approached the three of us specifically to greet Alfie or to touch his white-blond hair. Similarly many relationships were struck up through Alfie toddling up to people; this was the case with Don Eugenio, a nonagenarian and former *curandero* (ritual healer), who ended up becoming an important source of information on ritual life and culture change in San Damián.

Indeed, it was locals' attitudes towards Alfie's colouring that consolidated my realisation that research on irrigation customs would necessarily have to explore the issue of race and ethnicity since many of the interactions I had in the field were underpinned by ideas relating to race, whiteness, tradition, development, and modernity. Locals would regularly joke that Alfie would one day become the mayor of San Damián (since European heritage and whiteness seems to guarantee access to positions of authority and stature in Peru). Mothers would lament the colouring of their children at birth and expressed their desire to swap their own children for a

white, blond ('beautiful') child like mine. It was difficult to respond to such comments since racial hierarchies are so ingrained in Peruvian society that in the local context, such comments do not sound bizarre. Likewise, Alfie was invited to stay on in San Damián in order to "improve the race" ("para mejorar la raza"), through future intermarriage and thus allowing a local woman to racially pass (para cruzar). Perhaps Alfie's presence in the village, and indeed mine and Craig's meant that locals felt compelled to position themselves and their children in relation to our blatant whiteness. In the local context we were considered to be extremely white not just as white skinned Europeans but as university-educated, with the resources to be able to travel internationally and to wear expensive-looking clothing.

Alfie's exotic appearance attracted a lot of attention and the effects of this constant attention resulted in an impromptu initiation in traditional healing methods. Local restaurant owner Clementina Belén offered to carry out a healing ritual on Alfie after countless sleepless nights when he cried loud enough for neighbours, including Clementina to hear. The ritual, which involved passing an egg over the body of the 'patient' to absorb the illness and discarding the liquid contents of the egg into fast-flowing water, resulted in Alfie having his first full night's sleep in San Damián. Clementina had diagnosed Alfie with both the evil eye (*mal ojo*) and *susto* (literally 'frightened', a condition caused by being 'grabbed' by the landscape-dwelling ancestors). She explained that Alfie had developed the evil eye because his hair colour attracted both affectionate and jealous glances. This experience led me to understand the role of liquids and water in curing rituals and to realise that people's ontological outlooks relating to the landscape inform their understanding of the human body. Immediately after leaving Clementina's, I bumped into some friends and told them what had happened. They advised us to buy Alfie a 'wayruru' (a red and black beaded bracelet; red is said to ward off malicious glances). Having seen the use of water in ritual healing, I drew on this experience in order to ask others how they would perform the ritual, and which kind of water sources would be effective. I

found the strategy of discussing things other locals had previously told us useful for generating a discussion, although I usually did so in an anonymised way.

Much was made of my family's whiteness by locals. However, Sandamianinos did not position themselves racially in the same way they did with us. I had expected Huarochiranos to self-define as indigenous and, wrongly, I had framed Huarochirí this way during presentations I gave as part of my research training prior to fieldwork. Sensing how profound the issue of race was in San Damián, where people would highlight the village's Spanish ancestry and remain silent on Huarochirí's Quechua language past and, in fact, anything from its Pre-Hispanic past, was telling. Locals were loud in their celebration of Alfie's whiteness and of their own European heritage, but despite calls to 'improve' the culture and race through a cute British baby, through development, or through other means, such statements were made without ever actually defining what it was that needed to be improved.

Having Alfie with me meant I was exposed to experiences that I would otherwise not have encountered. However, having him there also meant that physically being able to carry out interviews was difficult; as it turned out, the spontaneous encounters with people enquiring after our wellbeing turned out to be valuable data.

3.7 Interview method

In order to go about explaining why interviews were an appropriate method for my research project, it will be useful to clarify what kind of interaction may be referred to as an interview. For Guber, casual interaction in the field may constitute an interview: "Una entrevista puede consistir en un saludo de paso, con una breve indicación acerca de algo que acaba de suceder; en un encuentro concertado para conversar sobre tal o cual tema" (Guber 2004: 143)⁵⁶. Thus, many different types of exchange involving speech may constitute research data, and the particular nature of the interaction may be casual, formal, or somewhere in between: "The concept of

⁵⁶ "an interview can consist of a passing greeting, with a brief indication about something which has just happened, in an arranged meeting to discuss a certain topic".

“interviewing” covers a lot of ground, from totally unstructured interactions, through semi structured situations, to highly formal interactions with respondents” (Bernard 2001: 156).

For Rubin and Rubin, qualitative interviews are particularly useful for eliciting “in-depth answers about culture, meanings, processes, and problems” (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 5). For Guber, the potential uses of interviews include learning about the past: “la entrevista es una de las técnicas más apropiadas para acceder al universo de significaciones de los actores. Asimismo, la referencia a acciones, pasadas o presentse, de sí o de terceros, que no hayan sido atestiguadas por el investigador puede alcanzarse a través de la entrevista” (Guber 2004: 132)⁵⁷. This function of interviews was particularly useful for my research given that the narrative reconstruction of the past often came up in conversation.

Rubin and Rubin refer to the different types of qualitative interviews as being part of the same family, which differ in their approach but all reflect “the same philosophy of qualitative research: find out what others think and know, and avoid dominating your interviews by imposing your worlds on theirs” (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 5). Prior to conducting field research, I had explored qualitative interviewing methods and decided that, to fit my Grounded Theory approach, informal and semi-structured interviews would be most suitable for my research. Referring to both unstructured and semi-structured interviews, Flowerdew and Martin explain that these formats are: “sensitive and people-oriented, allowing interviewees to construct their own accounts of their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words” (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005: 111). Due to the flexibility allowed by informal interviewing, these techniques were especially useful during the early stages of the

⁵⁷ “the interview is one of the most appropriate techniques for accessing the actors’ universes of meaning. Likewise, the mention of actions past or present by one’s self or by others, that haven’t been witnessed by the investigator can be reached through the interview” (Guber 2004: 132).

project so that I could encourage the interviewees to communicate to me what is most important to them.

3.7.1 Focus groups

Towards the end of my fieldwork, when community relations staff employed by an Australian owned mining concession on Checa lands arrived to carry out a sociological survey of both the Checa and Concha communities, mining and the detrimental effects of extractive industries became an ever-increasing topic of conversation (at least people seemed to talk about it with me). During this time I organised two separate focus groups, one for women and one for both women and men. My reasoning behind holding one session specifically for women was based on the fact that group discussions in the irrigation and community meetings I had attended in San Damián were consistently dominated by men and it is rare for women to express opinion in front of a group. Although the second focus group was open to both men and women, only women attended. A conversation that took place during the second focus group made its way into this thesis in Chapter 6, when a small turnout meant that the two participants had a long conversation, with myself interjecting only occasionally. A rich narrative wherein a young girl is harmed by a malicious spring unfolded and I also had the opportunity to ask questions about the materiality of water beings in the on-going conversation.

During the focus group one of the participants posed the first question by raising concerns about the exploitation and resource destruction of Andean communities by foreign-owned mining corporations. I was ill prepared to answer this question, which was directed specifically towards me. That was not the first time I had been asked questions about the exploitative nature of foreign-owned mining companies in San Damián. Development projects and the historically rooted unequal power relationships upon which mining projects in particular are based, emerged as another relevant theme during the research, particularly following the arrival of the community relations team.

3.7.2 Informal interviews

Agar explains the nature of informal interviews, and the benefits of this method: "It's called 'informal' for a variety of reasons. First, you don't have a written list of questions. Rather, you have a repertoire of question-asking strategies from which you draw as the moment seems appropriate" (Agar 1996: 140). This strategy sums up the majority of my interview experiences, which were carried out on the street, in fields, in rituals et cetera. As Agar explains, informal interviews happen "in many different situations besides a one-on-one isolated talk. You might ask informal questions while working with an informant on a harvest...if used with tact, the strategies in this section can add to your ability to give accounts while doing minimal harm to the natural flow of events into which your questions intrude" (Agar 1996: 140). Informal interviews allowed me to have a lesser degree of involvement in the flow of conversations and open-ended interviews with no pre-arranged topic or format allowed me to explore issues of the interviewee's interests and relevance. As stated earlier, these oral narratives quite naturally came up in conversation.

The regular kinds of informal interviews I sought included asking shopkeepers' advice on offerings to take to rituals, talking about the weather, asking people which *barrio* they were from, and in the rainy season, asking people if they'd seen that day's rainbows. Strategies I employed to elicit further expansion of topics brought up during conversation included repeating the final words of collaborators' sentences, remaining silent, offering an affirmative 'ya' or 'mmm', nodding and asking open ended questions geared at expanding upon issues which struck my interest. I found informal interviews to be highly intensive experiences, where I sought to synthesise the newly gained information with the data I'd already collected, and simultaneously to formulate questions according to what I was being told in that instance. For this reason, semi structured interviews geared at addressing specific questions were not as useful an approach as informal encounters. I found it more fruitful to keep conversations dynamic, eliciting more information using the above techniques if significant themes such as culture change or *barrio* identity came up.

3.8 Collecting oral narratives: practicalities and limitations

The literature concerning Andean oral narratives has problematised the fact that, in practice, oral narratives very rarely come about in conversation when genres such as '*cuentos*' (stories) and '*leyendas*' (legends) etcetera are expressly sought after by anthropologists (Allen 2011: 38, Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998: 327). As Finnegan points out, terms like 'folklore' "may convey unintended meanings or raise questions of definition, ownership or control which might start the research off on the wrong footing" (Finnegan 1992 72-73), and as such, during conversations I sought to mimic the language used by Sandamianinos in reference to their oral history. However, similar to Allen, who wondered how Quechua-speakers in Sonqo, Cuzco would introduce stories before she turned up looking for '*kwintus*' (from the Spanish '*cuento*'), I was "too much part of the context to know what they might have done had I not been there" (Allen 2011: 38). According to Okely and Callaway, rigorous ethnography requires careful reflection by the researcher as to how they might have influenced the findings, and being honest about ethnography as an extremely selective practice (Okely and Callaway 1992: xi-xii).

Fieldwork was a sharp learning curve and I soon learn that by simply asking strangers, a few minutes into a conversation, if they knew the '*leyenda de Yanascocha*' was not a fruitful research strategy. It probably made some people feel uncomfortable. On the few occasions that I did attempt this method of data collection, people would reply "*ya no sabemos esas cosas*" ("we don't know those things anymore") and advise me to speak with elderly people or those living at a higher altitude. However, these politely dismissive reactions are likely to have been associated with the indelicate nature of my approach, or quite simply that some people did not want a curious *gringa* interfering in their already busy lives.

I also learned quickly to make sure that my own language as a researcher did not impose on that of the locals when conversing with them. I had expected narratives such as the ones featured in the Huarochiri Manuscript to be referred to as '*mitos*'

(myths), but this was not the case, so I made sure never to refer to local knowledge in this way. Mannheim and Van Vleet point out that ethnocentrism can pose challenges to the ethnographic endeavour: "The epistemological assumptions that are bound up in our own conceptions of storytelling and narrative form often have more influence than we realize upon our ethnographic research and analytical framework" (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998: 327)

It soon became clear that in San Damián *leyenda* (legend) is the term given to oral narratives which recount events that occurred in remote history, such as the '*leyenda de Yanascocha*', the origin 'myth' of the Concha group's principal water source and the legend of the '*campana de oro*' (The legend of the 'Golden bell', which it is said early colonial locals hid from the colonizers beneath the Checa ritual site of Llaquistambo). Other than the term '*leyenda*', I did not hear locals refer to their representations of the more recent past as anything other than quite simple an event that took place. One exception to this was an instance when Don Eugenio remarked that I had many '*discursos*' (discourses) to take home with me to my country. In San Damián, oral narratives based on events taking place in the recent past are not attributed with a 'genre' such as '*mito*', '*leyenda*', '*cuento*', precisely because they reproduce real events; although it must be pointed out that the term '*leyenda*' is also used to refer to real events taking place in the more distant past. Howard-Malverde's research in San Pedro de Pariarca (Huamalíes province, Huánuco department) notes that the classification '*leyenda*' tends to be given to Quechua oral narratives which are tied to local features of the landscape, whereas '*kwintu*' is used for narratives referring to an unspecified spatial framework (Howard-Malverde 1990 44-45). All narratives told to me were indeed made in reference to local features of the landscape, a reason for which I found it fruitful to discuss water sources and local ruins at any given opportunity, since these domains of the ancestors have their own particular histories.

During fieldwork, I came to discover that regular, quotidian conversations, or simple questions about ancestral ruins or features of the landscape triggered certain memories. Howard-Malverde's research on oral narratives in Pariarca in the central highlands of Peru, likewise found that "the themes of stories seemed to spill over into the subject-matter of everyday talk—only the metaphors were missing, the same preoccupations were there" (Howard-Malverde 1990: 8). Because of this dynamic, I found it important to simply converse with people; oral narratives came about when locals deemed it relevant to bring them up.

Since every narrative told to me in San Damián took place within the context of a conversation, throughout the thesis I have striven to let the reader know how each narrative came to be told through giving a brief summary of the topic being discussed just prior to the commencement of a narrative event. In doing so, I acknowledge the fact that oral narratives, and indeed any form of conversation are joint endeavours. As Mannheim and Van Vleet point out: "a narrative told to an ethnographer is a joint construction of the ethnographer and the storyteller; conversely, the relationship between ethnographer and subject is constructed partly through the performance event and is subject to the same irreducible contingencies as any other performance" (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998: 328). The interpretations, however, are my own. I acknowledge the highly situated, individual nature of my interpretations of oral narratives told to me during a particular place and time. In this respect, any analysis of this kind is fundamentally limited in that "there's no single authentic 'hearer's experience', for every person – even the same person at different times – makes different connections, consciously or not" (Allen 2011: 2).

3.9 Positionality

Because of the relational nature of ethnography as a way of understanding cultural difference it is crucial to explain how my own presence, not to mention my status as an educated foreigner might have influenced the research process. By appearing in San Damián and spending an extended period of time there, I created a situation

whereby locals explained aspects of local life to me based on my interest in San Damián, and based on the fact that being a foreigner, myself and my family were ill-equipped to negotiate the animate landscape. Reflecting on my overall findings, my being a *gringa*, or a researcher did not induce an 'observer's paradox', rather my being a foreigner meant educating me about the dangers of the landscape was all the more important. However, the data generated by these interactions are largely reconstructions of the past, which were re-performed and reproduced in my presence, quite often by multiple speakers reconstructing an event together within conversation. Thus, these narratives were not 'invented' as a result of my research, but reinvented, just as they are whoever the audience is. Beyond the structure of narrative, locals alluded to my foreignness, my whiteness and asked questions about my research in daily conversation.

Like other western ethnographers, I was constantly asked about the price of the flights to Peru, the price of my hiking boots, and the price of my digital recorder⁵⁸. Some locals commented that their participation research would make me money (see also Howard-Malverde 1990: 8). One local business owner remarked that I would forget about San Damián after my fieldwork and surely would never return. He made this comment based on his previous experiences of outsiders and I suspect that this quite understandable viewpoint prevented him and others from collaborating in this research. The same man was keen to know if my research was funded. When I confirmed it was, he may well have speculated about whether I needed any further help if I already had funding. When I returned to the village briefly in 2015, the same man clapped as I alighted the bus, congratulating me for returning.

I have no doubt that some people participated in my research because they wanted to benefit from it in kind. One collaborator specifically asked for literature on western medicine and another gave me contact details for his daughter in Lima who he thought we might want to look up for babysitting services. Some people simply

⁵⁸ Allen (2011: 11).

wanted company or enjoyed cooing over 'el gringuito'. One collaborator went out of his way to obtain copies of local texts he thought would benefit my research and explained he felt it his duty to help, having had little collaboration from his fellow locals when conducting his own survey in the district. He thought my research would be beneficial for San Damián. Some locals, who did not collaborate in the research nevertheless benefited from my presence through requesting English tuition for their children and through interviewing me about local history for their own projects. A patron saint festival sponsor also suggested I might like to donate a sack of rice for the proceedings due to take place after my departure later that year. Although my relative privilege surely discouraged collaboration for some, some people wanted to make the most out of my presence. When I proposed a 'short story competition' idea to some of the teachers at the local secondary school, I was informed that the prizes I had proposed were not expensive enough. I had to disband this data collection strategy because my real financial circumstances did not correlate with the wealth that I, as a *gringa*, was supposed to have.

My white 'prestige' did not, however, relieve me of *machista* attitudes: when approaching the mayor with a *constancia* detailing my intention to carry out research in the village, it took time to convince him that it was not my husband who intended to carry out research, but me (he had assumed Craig was an engineer and I had come to accompany him). A few others had made the same assumption and my running joke that Craig was my glamorous assistant was not very well received by men. The president of one of the *Comunidades Campesinas* in particular took particular dislike to me, and spurned me until the end of my fieldwork when he surprised me by commenting that I had ended up staying a long time in the village. Whether his sustained refusal to talk to me was borne out of a general mistrust of foreigners, or whether I unknowingly said something to offend him, I am not clear about. The interaction on the day I was leaving suggested to me that he had assumed my presence in San Damián would only be brief.

I learned towards the end of my fieldwork that another man, a schoolteacher, who ignored my greetings did so because he had a fear of *gringas*. It is possible that local narratives about *gringas* who seduce men in order to take their blood from them before revealing themselves to be the *muki* --the aforementioned malicious landscape being-- played a part in how I was perceived by some males in the field. Of course, some people might have distanced themselves from me simply because they did not want to help with a project whose only clear beneficiary was myself.

3.10 Data analysis and coding

I left fieldwork with a good impression of my overall data, and with the understanding that conflicts between different sectors of society regarding the existence of the *abuelos*, who encapsulate traditional ideas of water ownership would need to be explored in full in order to give a representative picture of cultural difference and of irrigation practice in San Damián. Thankfully, the ontological turn in anthropological scholarship had meant that there was a new wave of literature discussing the place of landscape beings in the modern Andean world. Engaging with the work of Mario Blaser (2009) and Marisol de la Cadena (2010) prompted me to acknowledge that the conflicts in local and state approaches to water ownership which Huarochiranos had regularly brought to my attention, were not simply cultural differences, but ontological disagreements about the nature of the “kinds of things which do and can exist” (Blaser 2009: 877). This literature gave me the theoretical tools to be able to engage with the ontological tensions that run through much of my data.

Following fieldwork, I had a lot of data to work with (around 11 hours of recorded conversations and speech events in total). I spent time getting to know my data well before I began the transcription process, intending to transcribe all of my recordings but encountered significant physical stress on my right hand. I was diagnosed with chronic repetitive strain injury and had to take time off under the instruction of my doctor not to type at all and to limit my typing upon my return. I therefore had to

change my methodological approach and at this point I decided to make a list of topics and themes occurring in each recording and I coded this list using NVivo software. This approach allowed me to see the 'bigger picture' and to identify cross-cutting themes.

I then prioritised the richest narrative accounts that would best represent my overall findings. I began by transcribing 2 oral narratives that reconstruct instances of ontological tension surrounding the animate landscape, one has as its protagonist an engineer, the other a policeman. These two narratives are the most complete versions of a story I was told countless times, where a local or visitor is punished in some way through death, illness or humiliation at the hands of the *abuelos* for failing to acknowledge their existence and power.

My on-going data analysis was developed in relation to the arguments I put forward in the chapter I had drafted using the two aforementioned 'common' narratives. The chapter engaged with the arguments De la Cadena put across in her 'Indigenous cosmopolitics' article (De la Cadena 2010) where she argues that people's perceptions of the rights and needs of landscape beings should be taken seriously in Peruvian politics. From this point on, I realised that in order to contribute to new debates concerning the role of landscape beings in the modern-day Andes, I needed to problematise the fact that non-indigenous Huarochiranos are making the same arguments as De la Cadena and her research participants, but in a grounded, subversive narrative medium. For me, these arguments in 'indigenous cosmopolitics' were not an exclusively indigenous concern, otherwise why were Huarochiranos making those same arguments?

At the same time as realising the political nature of my data, I had been following the development of the implementation of prior consultation law in Peru in the Peruvian news and found it significant that the State had announced indigenous language to be their primary criterion for identifying indigenous communities which would qualify for prior consultation law. Given the fact that Checa lands are currently being

explored as part of a multi-billion Australian dollar mining project, and given the concerns locals have about the impact of mining on their land, the following hypothetical situation struck me as ironic: 'If the descendants of the so-called "children of Pariacaca" wished to gain prior consultation rights for their lands which they still honour in much the same way as their early colonial ancestors did, they would not qualify because they no longer speak Quechua.' Following fieldwork, through close analysis of conversation transcripts and oral narratives, I discovered that the language employed by the participants of my research was attuned to their ontological perspectives. This made the Peruvian State's language criterion for prior consultation law problematic and worthy of further contemplation.

The way I have analysed the narratives within this thesis draws on an approach I was taught during my undergraduate degree in Spanish and Latin American Studies at Stirling University, where Latin American film studies modules formed a core part of the degree. This training emphasised the central role of power and context for the interpretation of expressive manifestations of culture, and taught us to reflect carefully on words and the various meanings they carry in different contexts. Additionally, my interpretation of Huarochirí narratives also draws on my experiences from regular visits to Peru over the last 14 years and insights into racial discrimination, diglossia and social inequality gained during those trips, particularly during my first trip to Cuzco in 2002-2004, when I volunteered in an orphanage and various social projects primarily used by Quechua speakers who were prohibited from using their mother tongue in these domains of officialdom.

3.11 Home and away: maintaining relationships with the field

Much like Norman's research of Kosova Albanian refugees in her home country of Sweden whose telephone calls to and from 'the field' call attention to the "open-ended, somehow 'placeless' nature of much contemporary fieldwork" (Norman 2000: 120), both emotionally and practically, I am still to some extent 'in the field'. Should I need to contact someone with no internet access, I can trust that the message will be

passed on through someone with a Facebook account. Likewise, I have been informed of births, local election campaigns and news and deaths since my departure from San Damián. In September 2013, when I was in Lima to participate in a conference on the Huarochirí Manuscript, I met with Sandamianinos in Lima and sent *encomiendas* (parcelled gifts) to my *compadres* since the brevity of the trip did not allow me to return to the village.

When participating in a conference on the social dimensions of water in Canberra, Australia in December 2012, I had the opportunity to visit the home of María Ricse Pinaud and Hector Huamanyaure Belén. María and Hector are Sandamianino migrants who have settled in Sydney and who have brought up their family there. I had met them virtually through a Facebook page for Sandamianinos however when María spoke of her family, I realised I had interviewed her father, Don Glicerio Ricse, in San Damián. In Sydney, the conversations I had with María and Hector, who could not see eye to eye on the issue of whether the *abuelos* have the power to interact with villagers or not, helped me to theoretically develop my data. They also helped me to answer specific questions concerning my research through Facebook messages following my trip to Sydney.

3.12 Ethical considerations

On my arrival in San Damián I approached local authorities with a *constancia* detailing my intention to carry out research in the locality, with a specific interest in traditions relating to water. I sought permission to attend and participate in irrigation rituals prior to attending. Additionally (but crucially, since water rituals are the domain of the ancestor water owners), I heeded the advice of locals and made sure to bring offerings to these events, such as bags of coca leaf, cigarettes and boiled sweets. Understanding the importance of full participation in ritual discourse, and the disastrous outcomes produced by ritual failure, I sought to imitate and follow the lead of the local participants.

Reciprocity is an important aspect of life in the Andean highlands, and I felt it important to thank those who generously contributed to my research. I commissioned a relatively young local weaver to make me a *manta* (loom-woven cloak) in the local style, and I also supported a local band in giving a modest monetary contribution towards the purchase of a uniform they were investing in to be able to wear during concerts. I thanked the key collaborators of this research by sending gifts of clothes and thank you letters via the San Damián bus terminal, when I visited Lima in 2013 for a conference.

During the focus groups I carried out in July 2012, participants were thanked with a small gift and hot drinks during the focus group, followed by a meal afterwards. Their participation meant giving up their free time to discuss themes that may not necessarily have come up in conversation had we bumped into one another informally. All participants in the focus groups gave verbal permission for me to use the recordings for my research, as did those whose informal and formal discussions I recorded. I kept my small digital recorder in a patent red purse with the purpose that its extraction for use would always be noticed. Only on one occasion did a local specifically request not to be recorded during our conversations, yet during my final days in the village, he invited me to record his 'polished versions' of oral narratives he had previously brought up in spontaneous conversation.

I have used locals' own names when the information they convey is neutral or not potentially problematic, such as when discussing sensitive topics, for example. There are instances during the thesis when I have anonymised extracts of transcriptions despite the fact that express consent to record was given. I took the decision to completely anonymise such extracts based on the fact that their content was not neutral, such as in the discussion of the relationships between the two neighbourhoods and issues of race. I have done this to ensure that those who discussed sensitive issues with me cannot be identified. Many locals have taken an interest in my research and should this research find its way into the hands of

Sandamianinos, I would like this thesis not to generate tension, but to open up debate about the long-standing colonially rooted ontological tensions this thesis brings to the fore.

Chapter 4. Sourcing identity in the home of the Huarochirí Manuscript



Figure 6 – San Damián

The landscape surrounding San Damián is imposing. Flanked by mountains to the north and to the south, the village perches on a relatively flat corner of land overlooking the headwaters of the river Lurín. Many of the lands which surround it are cultivated, yet on some of the steepest slopes, abandoned terraces are testimony to the fact that this is a place which has seen a considerable degree of economic and demographic change in recent centuries. On the other side of the Lurin River, the sacred site of Cinco Cerros, a mountain of five peaks, looms over the valley and can be seen from most locations in the village. On either side of the central *plaza* live the Concha and the Checa groups, who, as I explained earlier, were forcibly resettled here in the 1570s by the colonial authorities. The large, colonially-founded *adobe*-walled church occupies a prominent place in the *plaza*, in between the *Municipalidad*

and the police station. The church stands directly across from another similarly sized, but abandoned building, which used to be the school. On the adjacent sides, numerous family-owned shops sell food and other wares from Lima. Many of the shops also sell locally produced cheese, the sale of which to local businesses and middle(wo)men makes the village nucleus and the *plaza*, in particular, a bustling place on Wednesday evenings. Most of the houses in San Damián are made from adobe brick and the panoramic views of the village that one can gain from ascending to the highest streets reveal a patchwork of corrugated iron slanted roofs in various colours, according to their state of decay. Only a couple of thatched roof houses remain.



Figure 7 - Cinco Cerros

A newly-built concrete fountain of monstrous proportions, switched on only during *fiestas* and important events, sits right in the middle of the *plaza*. Many of the locals do not like the village's new centrepiece, which in 2011 replaced a small statuesque platform topped by a bull. At least the former feature, some pointed out, alluded to local identity. Sandamianinos refer to their village as '*tierra de los toros bravos*' (land of the wild bulls), a nickname which is made in reference to San Damián's continued tradition of bullfighting (the bulls are not killed, but instead are provoked) and for its famed rearing of aggressive fighting bulls. Sandamianinos have an explanation for the behaviour of particularly aggressive bulls. They are regarded to be the children of the *toro wakanku*⁵⁹, a landscape being which emerges from *puqios* (evil subterranean springs) at midnight on a full moon to impregnate the local cows. Offspring which show aggressive, uncontrollable behaviour are said to be engendered by this trickster being (*engaño*). Although cows are not indigenous to the Andes, the notion that life may be 'sourced' from beings emerging from subterranean springs is an (adapted) continuation of a pre-Hispanic understanding of landscape. European species were incorporated into the pre-existing ways of understanding landscape where the fertile wild landscape has the power to produce new life through impregnating locals' domesticated herds. Consultation of the ethnographic literature tells us that bulls are representations of *amarus*, or serpent beings (Kapsoli 1991: 61, Millones and Mayer 2012:106). According to a narrative told to Arguedas and Izquierdo in 1947 in the highlands of Lima, the *amaru* and the bull are the same being: "cada noche de luna sale de la laguna el Amaru que es un toro plateado al tropezar con las piedras las convierte en animalitos" (Arguedas and Izquierdo 2009:

⁵⁹ 'wakanku' seems to be a word of Quechua etymology, possibly meaning 'the bulls cry (out)' (Rodolfo Cerrón Palomino, personal communication). A young local woman, Guisela Marcos Ricci, who formerly worked as a veterinary assistant, confirmed that suspected impregnations by the *toro wakanku* are widespread in San Damián.

65).⁶⁰ ⁶¹ The work of Itier on the 'permeability of beings' in the Andes is of high relevance here; since he points out that landscape beings are potentially permeable between one another and that some beings tend to project themselves on, or spill over into other 'ontologically weaker' beings (Itier 2013: 75).

The notion that bulls emerge from high-altitude water sources is reported in the ethnographic literature for Quechua-speaking parts of the Andes (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998: 335, Gerald Taylor, personal communication). As Rivera points out, "one of the most common convictions among people of the Andes is that a supernatural bull, with a golden bell hanging from its neck, lives under the highland lakes and holds up the world with chains" (Rivera 2005: 137). In this respect, the ontological outlook of 'indigenous' Quechua speaking groups is paralleled in Huarochirí. The *toro wakanku*, and the wild offspring he fathers are a legacy of Huarochirí's own Quechua-speaking past. Chapter 29 of the Huarochirí Manuscript discusses the Yacana constellation, a being which was said during pre-Hispanic times to reside in the Milky Way. The Yacana was said to 'animate' the llama population and, occasionally would make an appearance in the *puquios* of Huarochirí, resulting in the amplification of the llama herds belonging to a lucky and unassuming herder. In this respect, the notion that landscape beings may emerge from *puquios* and generate offspring in domesticated herds is a long-standing one in Huarochirí.

The definition of San Damián as '*tierra de los toros bravos*' is therefore associated with the village's fame for animal herding, however local identity also has much to do with the locality's interaction with the animate landscape. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, this notion – i.e. that of sharing the landscape with a diverse array of landscape beings – was the aspect of Sandamianino reality that Don Gustavo wished me to give voice to in my research. This chapter aims to provide an ethnographic introduction to

⁶⁰ With regards to the Bolivian Andes, Platt's research on place deities (huaca or wak'a) also mentions that: "wak'a are human-shaped rocks that come alive during the period of intense fertility that characterises the full and new moons" (Platt 1997: 216).

⁶¹ "Each moon-lit night, the serpent, which is a silver bull, comes out of the lake. When it bumps into the stones it turns them into little animals" (Arguedas and Izquierdo 2009: 65)

San Damián which privileges the animate landscape as a lens for understanding local identities. The chapter also focuses on the ways in which Sandamianinos express and (re)produce identities, both in oral narratives and in local texts. The relationship between the Concha and Checa groups in the modern-day is of particular interest, since there is a lack of ethnographic literature discussing the modern-day situation of the two groups privileged by the Checa author of the Huarochirí Manuscript (Durstun 2007). A further aim is to illuminate the ways in which Sandamianinos negotiate ('their') difference in relation to dominant society. I do this through considering a diverse range of data, including an oral narrative about the famous Huarochirano archaeologist Julio C Tello, an interaction between myself and a local who wanted to explain the origins of his surname, and through consideration of the ways Sandamianinos describe themselves in local texts. In so doing, I show that not only do Sandamianinos differentiate themselves ethnically and racially from outsiders, but that within the village of San Damián, identities are also constantly being (re)constructed at the level of the kin group (*ayllu*, or *barrio*). Nevertheless, a local mid-20th century text produced at a time of intensive infrastructural development makes clear the homogenising effects of nation-building. Moreover, consultation of this text shows that outsiders' preoccupations with situating Huarochiranos in classificatory terms do not necessarily reflect locals' own self-identification when engaging with classificatory schema. These disparities caution us of the highly subjective nature of ethnic classification in the Andes, where as I will show, group identity is better understood as multi-layered and contingent upon broader political and historical processes. Nevertheless, despite the effects of change-inducing processes, the relational process of negotiating identity (Hall 1996, De la Cadena and Starn 2007, Ingold 2000) is, in Huarochirí, rooted in Pre-Hispanic forms of social organisation and of understanding the world.

4.1 A village divided: The Concha and Checa ethnic groups of San Damián

San Damián is the capital of the district of the same name and has a population of nearly 1500⁶², however the population is usually depleted owing to large-scale migration to Lima, which is temporarily reversed during festival periods when most migrants return to their hometown.⁶³ The main events which pull young people back to their *pueblo* are the *bajada de los reyes* in January and *the fiestas patronales* in September when locals pay homage to the patron saints San Cosme and San Damián. Both of these events are celebrated by the entire village, but organised between the two local groups who come together during certain points of the events. In the case of the *fiestas patronales*, each group is in charge of organising and sponsoring two days each. These two 'neighbourhoods' (*barrios*); are both physically and ritually separate, testimony to the fact that the *reducciones* carried out by Toledo between 1570 and 1575 did not divorce these two groups from their own territories nor their tutelary *huacas*. As a Concha-born agricultural engineer wrote in a survey of the district in 1998, during the formation of the parish in the colonial era "surge San Damián con el espíritu español con la raza cobriza de los Checas y de Conchas" (Alejandro 1998: 27).⁶⁴

In order to explore the dynamics of the relationship between the modern-day Checa and Concha *barrios*, it will be useful to consider the term historically used to refer to these (and other) pre-Hispanic kin groups; *ayllu*. As Salomon explains, "El ayllu es un grupo de parientes que participa como un conjunto en el manejo de tierras y ganados pertenecientes al grupo, a través del control laboral y de vínculos de reciprocidad entre sus miembros. Tiene un ancestro apical y dos linajes paralelos

⁶² San Damián has a population of 1489 inhabitants, according to the INEI (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática) census of 2007. <http://censos.inei.gob.pe/cpv2007/tabulados/#>

⁶³ The San Damián district also comprises the annexes of Sunicancha, Quilquichaca and Santa Rosa. San Damián represents one of Huarochirí's 32 districts.

⁶⁴ "San Damián develops with the Spanish spirit and the 'copper [brown] race' of the Checas and Conchas".

entre los cuales se forman parejas para matrimonios" (Salomon 2001: 71).⁶⁵ Literally, the (Quechua) word signifies 'family', however *ayllus*, as a mode of social organisation, are linked through shared resources and lands: "En la sociedad andina, este grupo formaba una entidad funcional que tenía acceso primordial a la tierra, a los derechos de irrigación y a los otros recursos de la sociedad que se distribuían entre sus miembros" (Spalding 1974: 66).⁶⁶ Because members of *ayllus* were linked through their group's own tutelary ancestor *huacas*, this unit of social organisation also "figured as the basic unit of ritual action" (Salomon 1991: 21). As such, *ayllus* such as the Concha and Checa might be considered to be individual ethnic groups. As Gelles explains:

"...the politics of identity and ethnicity in the Andes cannot be reduced to the differentially positioned usages of indio, cholo, mestizo and criollo. On the one hand, because of the ways in which native Andean religion and ritual practice atomizes power into thousands of mountains (and water sources), each of which has a subject population dependent upon it (and a patron saint) for fertility and prosperity, there is an almost endless differentiation of ethnic identity among social groups in the Andes" (Gelles 2012: 126).

The author of the Huarochirí Manuscript wrote down the origin myths of many of Huarochirí's *ayllus*, who were all considered to be part of a broader sibling group engendered by the snow-capped mountain Pariacaca (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 71). Pariacaca, when founding his children's *ayllus*, was said to have set down a law for his people to abide by: "His law was one and the same in all the villages. The law we speak of was this: 'We are all of one birth' "(Salomon and Urioste 1991: 71).⁶⁷ As the manuscript details, Pariacaca obliged his people to recognise their shared

⁶⁵ "The ayllu is a group of family members who participate as whole in the management of lands and livestock belonging to the group, through controlled labour and through links of reciprocity between its members. It has an apical ancestor and two parallel lineages between which couples may be formed for marriage" (Salomon 2001: 71)

⁶⁶ "In Andean society, this group made up a functional entity which had primordial access to the land, to irrigation rights and to other of the society's resources which were distributed amongst its members"

⁶⁷ In Quechua: "huc yuric canchic" (We are all of one birth).

descent, and during the ritual dedicated to honouring this law, separate *ayllus* would come together temporarily. In San Damián, the Concha would attend the Checa's ritual centre, Llacsatambo and vice versa (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 73-74).⁶⁸ Nevertheless, these two distinct *ayllus* ritually expressed and performed the rights to their own resources, including their respective water sources, separately.⁶⁹ Moreover, within the schema of Pariacaca's lineage, the Concha were considered to be of a lesser status than their neighbouring *ayllu*. Chapter 31 of the Huarochirí Manuscript tells us that in the early 17th Century, the Concha were considered to be inferior to their Checa neighbours, only achieving temporary equal status during certain rituals (Salomon and Urioste 1991:138). The author wrote:

Now, we know that the Concha were the very last of Pariacaca's and Tutay Quiri's offspring to be born, and the least prestigious of them. For this reason, Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri gave them only a very little of their territories and very few of their fields (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 143).

The inferior status of the Checa mentioned in the colonial text is therefore concerned with genealogy and territorial factors: the Checa are known to have controlled a vast area in the Lurín and Rímac valleys (Spalding 1984: 179). As Spalding explains, in the Pre-Hispanic era, high prestige *ayllus* had more land and resources, whereas lower prestige *ayllus* had less (Spalding 1974: 67).

Today, the former rival communities of Concha and Checa co-exist on either side of San Damián relatively peacefully, however group identity often features as a source of jest between the *barrios*. According to members of both *barrios*, the Checa community is said to be more wealthy and powerful than the Concha. As Luciano Alejandro mentions in his survey of San Damián: "Mientras que las comunidades campesinas de Checa y Concha, si bien logran integrar el mismo poblado del Distrito; internamente mantiene por tradición una desintegración y mayor diferencia

⁶⁸ In Chapter 5, I analyse a contemporary narrative associated with the Checa Pre-Hispanic ritual site of Llacsatambo. This site is associated with the Checa groups' irrigation rituals in the modern-day.

⁶⁹ The Concha had their own ritual centre (Conchasica).

económica y social, que trae como consecuencia un retraso y desigual sistema de producción" (Alejandro 1998: 42)⁷⁰. This hierarchy is very likely to be a continuation of the relationship between the Concha and Checa discussed in Chapter 31 of the Huarochirí Manuscript. According to members of the Concha *barrio*, the Checa's relative privilege is explained by the quality of their lands, which are "menos accidentados" (less accident-prone). I also suspect that another reason why the Checa were perceived to be superior was because they had access to considerable amounts of water, which facilitated the group's agriculture and herding activities. Today, the Checa's water is shared with the Concha, but not vice-versa. A large part of the Checa's irrigation water comes from the fast-flowing Chaucalla River and the Concha live off water from Yanascocha Lake, which is dammed. Both communities have extensive canal systems and reservoirs (consisting of both pre-Hispanic and modern infrastructure) which deliver irrigation water via manually-cut ditches to individual parcels of land at the appropriate times during the dry season. Chaucalla, the Checa canal which diverts water from the river of the same name, is the longest and most important canal in San Damián, also supplementing the Concha's irrigation water, meaning that the Concha depend on the resources of the Checa. For this reason, when the Checa carry out the *champería* (canal-cleaning ritual) on their principal canal, a delegation from the Concha community must be present in order to give offerings to the *abuelos* of the Checa canal. Nevertheless, the only Checa attendees required to attend the principal Concha irrigation ritual at Yanascocha Lake each January are the small number of participants from the few 'crossed over' families. In this respect, social life is geared around access to resources. This fact begs the question of whether, in the colonial era, the local *ayllus'* close ties with the landscape had to be overlooked to some degree by the colonial authorities.

⁷⁰ "While the Concha and Checa Peasant Communities, if they indeed achieve integrating the main village of the district; internally, it maintains, by way of tradition, a disintegration and social and economic differentiation, which brings as a consequence of backwardness and unequal system of production"

Harris mentions that during the colonial era, the Spanish promoted Indian control over their own (*ayllu*) resources to ensure they could pay their tributes (Harris 1995: 354). In this respect, the colonial authorities sought, through Christianisation, to ideologically divorce the local ethnic groups from their huacas, yet at the same time, they encouraged the maintenance of *ayllu*-focused models of irrigation management so as to ensure agricultural productivity. Therefore, the colonial authorities, in demanding tribute, encouraged the dependence of the local groups on *huaca* worship, since the *huacas* were the custodians of the local resources. Today, the two communities of Concha and Checa practice differing models of irrigation, testimony to the fact that the *ayllu* kin group unit managed its own resources in the pre-Hispanic era. Water is managed in San Damián by the two Peasant Communities, the Comunidad Campesina de Concha and the Comunidad Campesina de Checa. Locals explained the difference between the two irrigation systems in the following terms: the Concha practice 'successive irrigation' meaning that irrigators (*usuarios*) of a shared canal system take their turn of irrigation water when the neighbouring field has been irrigated, i.e. from field to field from the beginning to the end of the canal system. The Checa on the other hand, irrigate using a *mita* 'proportional' water rationing system wherein *usuarios* (i.e. irrigators) invest varying amounts of work in collective labour days (*faenas*). The amount of work the Checa irrigators must engage in reflects the size of their field and ration of water required.⁷¹

⁷¹ During a brief return trip to San Damián in 2015, a Checa irrigator expressed her concern about the future situation of water in San Damián, given the fact that irrigators' *mita* de agua might be affected if or when 'technified' irrigation is installed. Technified irrigation has boosted the economy of neighbouring Tupicocha and the municipal authorities in San Damián are keen to have the same system installed.



Figure 8-The Concha's main irrigation ritual at Yanascocha Lake. The ritual party prepare for the speeches and offerings.



Figure 9 - Successive irrigation in the Concha moyas (pasture fields). While one irrigator hurriedly directs the water along all of her ditches, the following irrigator awaits her call to cut the water so that it may be directed towards the following field

Locals explain the fundamental difference between the Concha and the Checa in terms of their irrigation sources, however their unequal access to water is also deemed to explain cultural differences, such as the perception that the Concha waste very little of their water compared to their neighbours. One day on my way back from watching the Concha irrigate their fields, I passed Don Guillermo (92 years of age, Concha) close to his home. As we began to chat, Guillermo began to discuss inter-*barrio* conflict. It is worthy of note that he regards both the groups' unequal access to irrigation water, and the colonial reducing of the two groups to be central for understanding tension, or 'a lack of union', in his own words. It is worth citing Guillermo at length, since his flow of thought is illuminating with regards to the level of tensions between the two *barrios*.

Guillermo: Toda la juventud se han ido a Lima. Ya no hay GENTE acá. ¡Usted no encuentra gente acá! ¡Muy raros hay! En el barrio de allá (Checa) sí, porque tiene agua propia, agua...agua del río, del río también pues, donde... ¡Laguna Negra! Laguna de Surucocha! Allí, ellos tienen más, ¡Ellos tienen más agua! Acaso también que quieren dar agua, ¡no quieren dar! ¡Acá estamos llenos de envidia! Lleno de codicio, egoísmo, acá en nuestro pueblo, Señora, este...

Sarah- ¿Sí?

Guillermo: Siii!!!! No hay como en otro pueblo que son bien unidos, se quieren...como hermanos, sólo que Diosito no quiere esas cosas esten desunidas, que estan, este...alejados, los entre familias de padre y hermano. ¡Aca noooo! ¡Acá hay desunión! Acá no hay, cómo se dice, ¿no? ¡Union! Por eso, ¿cómo es el pueblo?! ¡El pueblo está bajo! ...

[lapse in conversation]

Sarah. Y cuénteme, Guillermo, ¿por qué no están unidos, la gente? Concha y Checa, ¿por qué?

Guillermo: ¡Allí está esa pregunta! ¿No? ¿Por qué no se unen? Estamos en desunión...para pasar el cargo del patrón del pueblo, cada uno hacen su barrio, el otro su barrio. Los Reyes también cada uno su barrio. No somos amigos, no hay pero...unión. Así quedaron esos españoles pues. Si no es que... Porque antiguamente decían Llaquistambo...el antiguo...de los Incas pues, el antiguo, los Incas de Llaquistampu, y acá Conchasica también por los Incas sí, y pues de allí dice que vino un Padre de Cusco, un español, ¿no sé qué español? No estaba de acuerdo así que vino a unir acá, a hacer

el pueblo, acaso querían estar acá, ¿se iban, se iban, se iban! Cada uno, ¿es historia del pueblo no? No querían estar los antiguos, vinieron acá, unidos acá, por eso la que vivimos desunidos acá. No hay unión acá, Señora. No hay unión. Yo me doy cuenta de que no hay unión.

Sarah: Y ¿éste lado tiene menos agua dice?

Guillermo: ¡Meeeeenos agua! ¡Menos agua! Es la laguna...allá pue. Y ellos tienen agua de río. Río se les lleva...

Appendix Reference 4

Guillermo associates inter-*barrio* conflict with the Concha and Checa's unequal access and distribution of water, as well as with the colonial experience of resettlement. In this respect, he associated the 'lack of union' to be an outcome of the two separate 'Inca' groups being placed together in San Damián by a disapproving priest from Cuzco (Francisco de Avila, the 'extirpator of idolatries' among whose files the Huarochirí Manuscript was discovered). Thus, we can appreciate that, for Guillermo, conflicts and social dynamics in San Damián are a direct outcome of colonial rule of the local native Andean populations. It is also worthy of note that he regards the current-day situation of the Concha and Checa to be indicative of the village's low status, or perhaps its condition of poverty: "¡El pueblo está bajo!" ("The village is in a bad way!"). This is a common perception and many locals lament their inability to 'overcome' the village divide for the greater good of the village as a whole; for its 'development'.

Today, not all families are purely Concha or Checa given that "some have already crossed over" ("algunos ya cruzaron"). Mixed families tend to live close to the plaza and thus people's relationship to the landscape beyond the town nucleus tends to be reflected in their domiciliary location within urban San Damián. *Barrio* endogamy was

seemingly abandoned in the last century (according to accounts of locals and the ages of the few existing exogamous Concha-Checa families).⁷²

In a public speech given as part of a political debate (concerned with a municipal *revocatoria*) in the *plaza* in 2012, a local pointed out that the district of San Damián has a unique dynamic in having so many *independientes* in relation to the number of comuneros. Many locals have given up membership with their respective Comunidad Campesina owing to the burdensome responsibilities that come with regular *faenas* (corvee labour days) and 'passing' *cargos*. I was told that the main motivation for membership with one of the local Peasant Communities is in its provision of land for the landless. Moreover, the Comunidades Campesinas struggle to attract membership in the current climate of mass migration of young people.⁷³

In 2015, there will be no *fiestas patronales* because there are so few Checa comuneros that none of them are willing to take on the burden of the *mayordomo cargo* (the principal sponsor and organiser) since many of them have already undertaken this responsibility at least once before. Because the Concha *mayordomo* would be unable to shoulder the massive financial burden of the entire *fiesta*, the event has been cancelled this year (2015). In this respect, the Peasant Communities of San Damián seem to be experiencing a crisis due to lack of membership. Nevertheless, they continue to function as individual institutions with their own lands and ritual cycles just like Peasant Communities in Quechua-speaking parts of Peru.

In 2012, a young Sandamianino from an independent family 'shared' the following reflection concerning local identities on his Facebook page: " SOMOS SANDAMIANINOS DE NACIMIENTO PERO TAMBIEN NOS IDENTIFICAMOS CON NUESTRAS COMUNIDADES CAMPESINAS CONCHA Y CHECA" (We are

⁷² According to Luciano Alejandro, arranged marriage was practiced in San Damián until relatively recently, possibly as recently as 70 years ago (Luciano Alejandro, San Damián). As a young Sandamianina confirmed, it is beneficial to marry into a family with good lands.

⁷³ Of the 405 *independientes* with their own land, less than two dozen are young people under 30, while the predominant land-holding group (representing over a quart of this figure) is those above 65, followed by those between 44 and 64 years of age (INEI 2012).

Sandamianinos by birth but we also identify with our Concha and Checa Peasant Communities), generating a long and animated discussion among his young Sandamianino peers who voiced their own respective *barrio*-rooted identities in turn. Despite the 'progressive' notion that sandamianino identity 'comes first', this is not the case in practice, especially in the political domain. Today, *barrio* identity remains strong, and often overrides Municipal (State) manifestations of power, which are supposedly neutral. As Glicerio Ricse put it: "cada uno por su parte" ("each one for his own side"). Locals often complain that elected district Mayors always privilege their own *barrio*, through both their employment of staff and the provision of development projects. In this respect, the municipal system inevitably generates conflicts and as I mentioned earlier, one frequently hears locals express the view that San Damián must become unified in order to progress. In this respect, conflicts between the Concha and Checa are deemed to be an obstacle to escaping poverty. However, 'cultural' difference and bias in the supposedly 'neutral' municipal district of San Damián are quite literally grounded in the districts' Pre-Hispanic and colonial history. Locals do not question the fact that the municipal system is not designed to 'map onto' the local dynamic; rather, they take inter-*barrio* squabbling to be a marker of the villagers' incapability to surpass their own kin bias and work for the greater good of the village as a whole. As we have already seen, Guillermo regards his village's 'lack of union' as lamentable.

The lack of *barrio* 'cohesion' manifests itself in various ways. Playground scuffles may begin or end with references to *barrio* belonging. Adults and children alike name-call those from the opposing *barrio*. Most commonly, the Concha are brandished 'Conchaburros' ('Concha donkeys', the nickname associates the group with slowness and laziness) and the Checas 'Checanacas' (locals explain that the meaning of the word *naca* refers to a tuber storage system⁷⁴). Tensions between the Concha and the

⁷⁴ It is possible that the 'naca' is the Aymara verbal derivational 'naqa', which conveys an action without direction (Miracle and Dios Yapita 1981: 46). I only speculate because whether this suffix could be applied to a people or a 'place', I cannot be sure.

Checa are also expressed through the animate landscape. When I mentioned to a Concha man that I intended to consult a local *curandero* on healing practices, he warned me not to visit a Checa one: “¡Te sale el muki!” (“The *muki* will come out at you”). The implication here seems to be that *curanderos* from a *barrio* which is not one’s own would harness the negative aspects of their territory and employ them against those from the opposite *barrio*. The implication here could also possibly be that the *curanderos* of the opposite *barrio* themselves are demonised and thus associated with the *muki*.

In San Damián today, the word *ayllu* is generally used in relation to the past, and very rarely to the present-day. I heard the word being used with reference to the modern-day only once, while travelling on a night-time bus and sharing a blanket with a local woman. However, the Quechua term *ayllu* seems to be more easily applied to the past. In a development-focused ‘diagnostic’ survey commissioned for the San Damián municipality in 1998, the local engineer Luciano Alejandro García noted that “Con la llegada de la conquista y el afianzamiento de la dominación española, la población de San Damián se constituyó en base a los habitantes de los ayllus de “Cinco Cerros”, de “Laquistambo” y de “Conchasica”” (Alejandro García 1998: 4)⁷⁵, however he did not refer to the modern-day inhabitants within these terms. In another local text on the Huarochirí province more generally, the Matucana-based author writes of his pride regarding rural ways of life, referring to the modern-day social groups as *ayllus*: “Observar y apreciar este espectro [el campesinado] es muy emotivo, como lo es contemplar su modo de vida en el campo, en los valles, en las cimas andinas y solazarse contemplando sus pueblos, sus caseríos, sus ayllus” (Huaranga 2008: 8).⁷⁶ Thus, we can appreciate that for the Matucana-based teacher,

⁷⁵ “with the arrival of the conquest and consolidation of Spanish domination, the population of San Damián constituted itself based on the inhabitants of the ayllu of ‘Cinco Cerros’, of ‘Llaquistambo’, and of Conchasica.”

⁷⁶ “To observe and appreciate this spectrum is very emotive, as is contemplating their way of life in the countryside, in the valleys, in Andean peaks relaxing, contemplating their villages, hamlets, their ayllus”

the word evokes a sense of romanticism, yet however for *campesinos* themselves, the word *ayllu* generates some discomfort.

Despite the fact that the word *ayllu* has fallen into relative disuse in San Damian, interestingly, expressions of kin affinity have not waned: when a child or young person greets an elder from his or her own *barrio*, they greet them 'Tío' or 'Tía' (Uncle/Aunty), however those from the opposing *barrio* are greeted using the more distant, formal terms 'señor' or 'señora'.⁷⁷ As María Ricse, a Sandamianina now living in Sydney explained, this differentiation between kin and non-kin was very strict when she grew up in San Damián (around 30 years ago), and I had observed this tendency in 2012. Nevertheless, it is possible that this distinction will dissolve in time as more 'crossed over' Concha-Checa couples intermarry, however, taking the above observations into account, it is reasonable to venture that the Spanish word *barrio* retains some of the connotations of *ayllu* in San Damián usage.

4.2 Barrio competition and interaction

During the *bajada de los reyes* celebrations in early January, the Concha and Checa communities congregate in the *plaza* accompanied by their respective brass bands which are positioned on opposing sides of the *plaza*. The dance troupes stay within their respective sides of the *plaza*, and this tendency also applies to the spectators. Following hours of dancing, the Concha and Checa parties separate, leave the *plaza* and continue the dancing inside their respective *locales*. Given that the dance of the *curcuchas* (a traditional local dance associated with the rainy season) features within the *bajada de los reyes* festivities, we can appreciate that the January celebrations are syncretistic, being made up of colonial and Pre-Hispanic elements. The dances performed during the *bajada de los reyes* are satirical and in particular, they parody stereotypes of outsiders. During the 2012 celebrations, dancers wore fancy dress emulating Mexicans, Incas, cowboys, native Americans, soldiers and a male paraded around black-faced and with balloon 'curves' inserted in his dress. Mumbling,

⁷⁷ I was also referred to as 'Tía' by some infants.

troublesome black-faced characters called *negritos* also feature in the dances. I myself, newly arrived in San Damián that day, was repeatedly humiliated by the *negritos* who publically implied that a tabloid poster of a naked *gringa* they had mischievously revealed during their dance was me. After some more trouble making directed at locals and visiting return migrants, the *negritos* paraded me into the central focal point of the proceedings. In this respect, the dance is one wherein local identities are reproduced and difference is caricatured and satirized. Crucially though, local identity is not reducible to the village level but to the two *barrios* who publically perform their own autonomy on either side of the *plaza*.

The spatial division of the Concha and Checa during 'colonial' religious festivities indicates that even supposedly 'neutral' spaces (created during the colonial *reducciones* and now spaces of the *Municipalidad*, ie the State) have been conceptualised as socially divided between the two *barrios*. Interestingly, this is also the case for the Church, where I was told by Luciano Alejandro and witnessed for myself, that *misa* attendees tend to seat themselves among their *barrio* kin, who sit divided between the two rows of pews, and further divided once again according to gender, with men seated towards the back of the church. This practise reflects ritual spatial organisation common in irrigation rituals where women and men sit apart from each other.

During Easter week, locals make and showcase elaborate large, colourful lantern-like decorations that they call *arañas* (spiders). The *arañas* are hung inside the church from the rafters for public display, with Concha families' creations on one side, and Checa creations on the other. In 2012, the church was packed with families eager to take photographs of each other. One masterpiece with twinkling lights was particularly popular. It is possible that these decorations, from which multiple ribbons dangle towards the floor, are so-called because the ribbons give a spider-like appearance. Although I am not sure whether this practice is rooted in the pre-Hispanic or colonial era, it is worthy of note for considering the relationship between

the Concha and Checa *barrios*. According to locals, the 'spiders' used to be a competitive event, where a jury would elect whether Concha or Checa had created the most beautiful spider. One elderly resident stated that the event is still competitive today and she suggested that I go to see whether Concha or Checa 'had won'. It therefore seems clear that the social autonomy of the *barrios* of San Damián is reproduced in various domains, and this is also the case in supposedly neutral domains such as the church and the *plaza*. In this respect, the unequal relationship between the Concha and the Checa which was considered to be an outcome of their place in the Pariacaca descent line, remains today and manifests itself in *barrio*-based rituals as well as in competitive events at the village level.

4.3 In their own words: representations of self and of the past in oral narratives and local texts

Although some Sandamianinos have knowledge of the famous text which has brought historians, archaeologists and anthropologists to their village, there is another (more recent) local text which is better known. This text, *La Voz de San Damián* (CSSD 1957) was edited by the local social organisation (Centro Social San Damián) to celebrate the centenary of the district of San Damián as an official public entity. The text provides insights into life in the district during the long process of the construction of the road which would eventually unite San Damián with the *carretera central* from thereon directly to modernity (Lima city)^{78 79}. Perhaps because of the imminent (facilitated) articulation between the locality and Lima, the text shows a preoccupation with a half of the local secondary schoolteachers to clarify the ethnicity of the local population: "La familia sandamianina perteneció a la raza

⁷⁸ Adult men from San Damián and other Huarochirí villages were obliged to work on the construction of the Carretera Central as well as the road which would eventually provide an uninterrupted route between San Damián and Lima under 'La Ley de Conscripción Vial' [Ley 4113] (Glicerio Ricci, San Damián).

⁷⁹ As a local engineer wrote in a survey in 1998, the coming of the road did not bring the anticipated benefits of development: "Con la llegada de la carretera no se ha obtenido los efectos de desarrollo esperado" (Alejandro 1998: 60).

cobriza pero ahora domina el mestizaje; las características son cráneo dolicocefalo, nariz mesorrinea pómulos salientes, cabellos negros, labios prununciados..." (CSSD 1957: 200).⁸⁰

I find it highly revealing that a text produced before the final section of the road to San Damián was due to be completed felt the need to situate locals ethnically and culturally, and even through phenotype.⁸¹ I regard the effort to incorporate the Sandamianino community into the national one through this text to be part and parcel of the project of *mestizaje*, a modern nation-building process which 'promises' the ontological-epistemological purification of its population by letting that which stands in the way of homogeneity die off (De la Cadena 2007: 31).⁸² Nevertheless, we know that Sandamianinos considered themselves to be fundamentally different from members of dominant society since their irrigation rituals devoted to pacifying the *abuelos* and the oral narratives which emphasized the importance of *la costumbre*, carried on.

The locals cannot have been pleased when their efforts to concretise their *mestizo* status were contradicted by the parish priest from Matucana, Dr. Hermerando Marcelo. In his contribution to the 1957 text, he felt the need to comment on the racial profile of his parishioners: "Los primeros pobladores de San Damián probablemente vinieron de las mentadas ruinas de "Cinco Cerros" y primitivamente, de los habitantes de "Laquistambo" y de "Conchasica". En la Colonia hubo un mestizaje notable; nos dice, el gran número de apellidos españoles, aunque en la

⁸⁰ "The sandamianina family belonged to the brown race but now mestizaje dominates; the characteristics are a long-headed skull, mesorrhine nose, pronounced cheekbones, black hair, pronounced lips..."

⁸¹ In Chapter 6, I explore this text further and consider the way the contributors of the text further situate themselves ethnically through describing the linguistic status of San Damián as a monolingual Spanish-speaking village.

⁸² At the same time that such texts were being produced, the assimilation of indigenous groups was being promoted on an international scale and was sanctioned by the UN ILO in 1957, encouraging "member states to "integrate" the "tribal" and "semi-tribal" populations who occupied "a less advanced stage than the average in their country" (De la Cadena and Starn 2007: 8)

actualidad, prima la raza nativa" (CSSD 1957: 73)⁸³. These conflicting conceptualisations of the ethnic and racial identity of San Damián are demonstrative of the instability and subjectivity of identity in the recent history of San Damián. It is also worth pointing out that, as Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011) have already pointed out, José Matos Mar's famous ethnographic project on Huarochirí, carried out in the 1950s clearly identifies Huarochirí as being an indigenous province: one resultant publication was entitled *Las actuales comunidades de indígenas: Huarochirí en 1955* (Matos Mar 1958). The fact that this ethnography was produced at approximately the same time as the local text highlights the 'unethnic' nature of ethnohistory with regards to the representation of Andean identity (Salomon 2001).

The differences between these divergent representations parallel the early colonial conflict of identity voiced by the author of the Huarochirí Manuscript in the introduction where the 'people called Indians' did not seem to have accepted this term. In this respect, the packaging of identity as being founded on ethnic distinction means, (not to mention the implied superiority of one form of knowledge over another) suggests that clashing representations of Huarochiranos may be understood as symptomatic of the fact that "ethnicity in Latin America" is the site of a struggle, the site of the coloniality of power, of knowledge and of being" (Mignolo 2007 unpaginated). As Oliart has pointed out – drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1987) –in her consideration of the relationships between State teachers and rural communities in Peru, the classification criteria which members of communities use in relation to themselves are not always evident for *forasteros* (outsiders), since othering processes are formulated through one's own way of organizing racial and social differences between people (Oliart 2011: 202).

4.4 Getting to know Huarochirí

⁸³ "The first settlers of San Damián probably came from the mentioned ruins of 'Cinco Cerros', and primitively, from the inhabitants of 'Laquistambo' and from 'Conchastica'. In the colonial period, there was a notable degree of mestizaje; as we are told by the great number of Spanish surnames, although in present times, the native races takes precedence"

Would locals today agree with Dr. Marcelo's representation of Sandamianinos as being of 'the native race'? I doubt that they would, however his exact words were used to represent Sandamianinos today in a book about the history and culture of the districts of Huarochirí. In a section of Huaringa's 2008 book *'Conociendo Huarochirí'*, two Sandamianinos included – in their description of the San Damián district – the same words featured in the 1957 text. A Sr. Galindo Ricse Sotelo and Sr. Eder Pinaud Ochoa, who was mayor of the San Damián district in 2008, wrote: "En la Colonia hubo un mestizaje notable; nos dice, el gran número de apellidos españoles, aunque en la actualidad, prima la raza nativa" (Huaringa 2008: 59).⁸⁴ This instance of plagiarism brings up some questions concerning why these contributors opted to include the parish priests' verbatim depiction of the locality, rather than the aforementioned contribution by the local contributors to *La Voz de San Damián*. The 1957 text is highly regarded by Sandamianinos and is seen to be an official representation of the village's history. The work of Bakhtin is useful in understanding the re-voicing of Dr. Marcelo's words:

...the unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances. This experience can be characterized to some degree as the process of assimilation--more or less creative--of others' words (and not the words of a language). Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including our creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of "our-own-ness"These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate. (Bakhtin 1986: 89)

Thus, the fact that the priests' words have not been reworked at all might be suggestive of their perception as remote (or conversely, valid?) enough to be left intact. Nonetheless, regardless of the content of the passage, it was already legitimated through its inclusion in the preceding 'official' version of San Damián's history. In this instance, it appears that the delicate and sensitive 'creative'

⁸⁴ "In the colonial era, there was a notable mixture of race, as the large number of Spanish surnames tells us, although in the present-day, the native race dominates"

task of describing the relationship of San Damián's past to the present-day context is deferred by simply avoiding a contemporary articulation of identity. A non-local perspective given half a century before is re-voiced, despite the fact that the terminology it features with reference to the local population was avoided by Sandamianinos when it was originally written. It would seem that the echoed passage featuring in *Conociendo Huarochirí* was regarded as legitimate and worthy of inclusion in the 2008 text simply owing to the fact that it had featured in an earlier well-respected local text. Moreover, who would openly argue with the words of a former parish priest, and one with a doctorate at that? Closer consultation of the text in question suggests that the portrayal of Huarochirano identity is a complex and difficult exercise where the related goals of historicising the province and textual production seem to be at odds with one another.

From the content of his book, *Conociendo Huarochirí* (2008), it is clear that the Matucana-based teacher Jorge Huaranga Contreras is proud to be a Huarochirano. The text gives a historical summary for each of the province's 32 districts and it also features a discussion of some of the chapters of the Huarochirí Manuscript, with digitally edited images portraying some of the *huacas* of the 1608 text. Somewhat bizarrely, however, the female *huacas* such as Caui Llaca (who features in Chapter 2 of the manuscript), Capiama (in chapter 31) and Chuquisuso (in chapters 6 and 7) are depicted as *gringas*. Photographs of women in traditional Huarochirano dress and *llanquis* (leather moccasins⁸⁵) have been digitally edited and their heads have had the faces of models – of apparent European descent – superimposed on top (Huaranga 2008:158-163).⁸⁶ This portrayal of the pre-Hispanic Huarochirí *huacas* speaks volumes about the perception of text as an officialising medium associated with whiteness: this association could not be more caricatured nor clear-cut than through the literal white-facing of the images depicting the Pre-Hispanic deities.

⁸⁵ Llanquis are worn today in San Damián, mainly by elderly women.

⁸⁶ When I referred to this text in a lecture I gave on Huarochirí, a student mentioned that one of the models featured in the images is a model who appears in Dove soap adverts.

What makes this feature of the text all the more bizarre is that the author felt the need to paste a white face onto images of Huarochirana women. Ironically, in another part of the text he described modern-day Huarochiranos as an “ethnic family”⁸⁷, however the author clearly has difficulty with embracing the origins of modern-day children of Pariacaca.

⁸⁷ “Somos una familia étnica, provincianos con grandes virtudes” (Huaríngá 2008: 8) (“We are an ethnic family, provincial people with great virtues”).

4.5 A tale about Tello

Salomon and Niño-Murcia have written of the importance of the Huarochirí district-born archaeologist Julio C. Tello as a source of Huarochirano pride at the provincial level (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 247). Likewise, in San Damián, older locals can recall their parents' generation's accounts of Tello's research on trepanation using mummies taken from the local *chullpas* (pre-Hispanic mortuary structures) in the early 20th century. Local texts, such as the aforementioned *Conociendo Huarochirí* (Huaranga 2008) and *La Voz de San Damián* (CSSD 1957) have dedicated sections honouring their famed *paisano*. Here, I would like to consider an oral narrative about Tello which was told to me by Don Glicerio Ricci (Don Glicerio Ricci Tello, of Checa origin and in his eighties), who wanted to interview me about a book he is writing on his hometown. Despite the fact the book was about San Damián, he too was clearly interested in dedicating a section of the book to the life and times of the famous Huarochirano, since most of the questions he posed to me were about Tello. The narrative is illustrative of how Huarochiranos position themselves ethnically and racially through the portrayal of their most famed *paisano*.

Glicerio: "Vino por acá como Max Uhle, otro... que después, este... otro arqueólogo alemán. Este alemán, este... Julio C Tello vivía en Miraflores, su casa⁸⁸. Y allí cuando llegó...porque ya tenía renombre Julio C Tello en Perú, era un arqueólogo. Y vino un alemán y averiguó donde vivía Julio C Tello. Localizó y tocó la puerta pues. Y Julio C Tello con su...antes había un vestido 'mamilucu' se decía, con todo, todo corrientes-'mamilucu'⁸⁹. Para trabajar mayormente, era con sus corrientes, todas su cosas. Y le pregunta pues: 'Señor, ¿aquí vive el Doctor. Julio C Tello?'. 'Yo soy' le dijo. (risas)

Sarah: ¡Ah! ¿No le reconoció?

⁸⁸ A possible reference to the Czech anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička? Hrdlička had already attended one of Tello's presentations in London before joining him for an excavation project in Peru (Burger 2009 13-14). As such, he already knew what Tello looked like before arriving in Lima. It is also possible that the 'German' archaeologist being referred to his Max Uhle himself.

⁸⁹ (Mameluco), or overalls, i.e. work wear. Note the Quechua-influenced pronunciation of the final vowel.

Glicerio: Es que estaba pues como cualquiera pues, ¿jino!? Entonces ya le llevó sus cosas pero era pues de puro...¿cómo se llama?...huaco pues. Que tenía todo esto [gestures to his own face]. En eso dice la historia pues. De Julio C Tello.

Appendix Reference 5

As the narrative details, Tello was mistaken for a domestic employee because of his dress and because of his 'huaco' appearance. This word is often used pejoratively with reference to *serranos* (Oliart 2011: 224) and suggests that their physical appearance resembles that of Pre-Hispanic ceramic *huaco* masks. Thus, when Don Glicerio uses this term to refer to Tello, he gives voice to the kinds of racist discourses which might lead an outsider to assume that the man in the garden is not a man of high stature. This narrative illustrates that appearances can belie the whitening process of education (De la Cadena 2000, Oliart 2011: 188) and is suggestive of the fact that clothing is the first sign that is read in order to establish differences (Oliart 2011: 205), a fact which is also evident in the work of Femenías (Femenías 2005).⁹⁰ Clearly, the narrative told by Don Glicerio illustrates that ideas about ethnicity, race and social position are more easily discussed when negotiated with reference to a (deceased) Huarochirano of indisputable stature and legitimacy. The narrative also has a subversive undertone, since after all, the man in the overalls, Tello, must have felt some degree of gratification in responding 'Yo soy' (It's me) to the condescending foreign archaeologist.

⁹⁰ This is perhaps why I only ever saw one Huarochirano wearing a poncho outside of the context of fancy dress (it was night time and the wearer of the poncho was loading herbs onto the bus to Lima in the cold and dark).

4.6 Quechua or not? The State and selective homogenising discourses



Figure 10 – Quechua or not? The FONCODES 'Ayni Raymi' project took place in 2012 in San Damián.

In 2012, the Comunidades Campesinas of Concha, Checa and Sunicancha were participants in the Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo Social (FONCODES) project 'Ayni Raymi', where irrigators were paid in cash for their manual labour to help maintain and expand the canal systems.⁹¹ The Ayni Raymi project was carried out in various highland communities, however my interest here lies in the fact that Huarochirí communities were included in a project seemingly intended for Quechua speakers (the word 'ayni' denotes a form of reciprocity). Although – as I will explore in Chapter 6 – Huarochirí Spanish features many Quechua loanwords, I have never

⁹¹ The sections of the Chaucalla canal which were repaired using cement as part of a FONCODES development project during 2012, according to irrigators, has already started to deteriorate 3 years later in 2015. Locals are frustrated at the prospect of FONCODES' plans to repair a further trajectory of the canal with cement later this year, given the fact that it deteriorates quickly and is massively inferior to using 'taracos y alisados' in terms of longevity. Taracos are plant roots used to propel water along the canal and reduce water loss through the canal system. Used alongside *alisados* or *lajas* (flattened stones), the canal construction method using the taraco plant and flat stones is, according to locals, a Pre-Hispanic technology.

heard a Huarochirano use the Quechua word '*ayni*', nor '*raymi*' (celebration). The inclusion of Huarochirano communities in this project suggests that the State regards Huarochiranos as culturally homogenous with their Quechua-speaking counterparts elsewhere in the Peruvian highlands. However, the State's conflation of Huarochirí with Quechua-speaking areas is selective. As we already know, the State database of indigenous peoples would regard Huarochiranos to be ethnically distinct from the groups included on the database.

4.6.1 What's in a name?

Indigenous surnames abound in Huarochirí. Locals are proud that San Damián boasts a high amount of Spanish surnames, which they explain to be an outcome of a large Spanish population following the Post-Conquest Era. Nevertheless, indigenous surnames seem to be just as frequent as European ones, examples including Chumbimuni, Huaringa, Llata, Huamanyaure, Huaringa, Cajahuaringa, Pacheco, Alberco, Condori, and Salsavilca, among others. Many composite surnames include a mixture of Spanish-derived and indigenous surnames. European names are usually associated with one of the 2 *barrios*, including Belén (Concha), Tello (Checa) and Ricci, or Ricse (Checa), among others, given that inter-marriage between the two groups is relatively recent.

Those with an indigenous surname would not outwardly describe it as such, should they risk discrimination or ridicule. As MacCormack points out, indigenous surnames were discriminated against during the colonial Era: "Hernando de Avendaño, who...studied idolatry, even went so far as to suggest that Andean surnames ought to be replaced by Spanish ones so as to drive out the idolatrous reminiscences that he felt Andean names inevitably carried with them" (MacCormack 1996: 645). In 2013, the Peruvian Ministry of Culture issued an alert on its 'alerta contra racismo' webpage in order to report a case of ethno-racial discrimination against a Peruvian with the Quechua surname Huamán (meaning 'hawk', some Sandamianino surnames

such as Huamanyauri feature this word).⁹² As we have already seen, the parish priest in 1957 took the surnames of the district to be a sign of their ethnicity, albeit, for him, a deceptive one belieing their 'true' identity.

I hold that Peru's deep-rooted linguistic and ethnic discrimination, along with Huarochiranos' own internalisation of these discriminatory discourses has resulted in an outcome where the representation of the legacies of Huarochirí's Quechua language past is a highly sensitive issue which must be carefully negotiated. Word choice is crucial in the sensitive issue of the representation of difference and to illustrate this further, I will now refer to an instance when a Sandamianino discussed the origins of his name with me during an irrigation ritual in May 2012.

During one of the many stops at sacred places along the Chaucalla canal trajectory, the participants were taking a '*descanso*', chewing coca, when a Mr. Chumbimuni introduced himself formally to me. I had met him before very briefly, however perhaps because of the ancestral context, or the sense of comraderie that such events invoke (Salomon 2004), he approached me to greet me formally, and told me his full name. At this point, Mr Chumbimuni seemed to feel compelled to explain the origins of his name to me and he did so of his own accord. I realised that he wanted to get something off his chest so I simply listened, expecting Mr Chumbimuni to explain that his surname is a Quechua one. Of course, this did not happen. Notably, he was at pains not to use the word 'Quechua' to describe the name. Slowly and carefully, he took time to find an 'acceptable' way to describe his surname, which he summed up in three concepts: 'tradicional', 'muy antiguo', and 'típico de la zona' (traditional, very ancient and typical of the local area). Mr. Chumbimuni's verbalised silence regarding his surname's linguistic roots, to me, was revealing. It encapsulated a deep local discomfort with Pre-Hispanic language history, or at least how the remnants of pre-Hispanic culture are discussed. During the moment, I could not help

⁹² 'Huamán, un apellido con vuelo e historia' <http://alertacontraelracismo.pe/huaman-discriminacion/>, accessed 25/1/15.

but find it ironic that we were sat at a spot where the Pre-Hispanic ancestors are said to dwell, and having just honoured the *abuelos*, Mr Chumbimuni seemed to be verbally divorcing himself from his Pre-Hispanic ancestry. The terms 'tradicional', 'muy antiguo', 'típico de la zona' of course, are ambiguous since they can be applied to the colonial period—a less stigmatised period of history, and one which is drawn upon, (although not always expressly) for protection in the risky business of associating one's self with the pre-Hispanic past. Reflecting on the vocabulary that Mr Chumbimuni did employ, it is interesting to note that his words convey the idea of indigeneity, yet crucially, without using the loaded and detested terms 'indigenous' or 'Quechua'.

This powerful ethnographic example clearly illustrates that language is key in understanding expressions of identity in Peru, and that highlanders, understandably, avoid using stigmatized vocabulary when describing themselves and their ancestry⁹³. In this respect, Huarochiranos create an identity for themselves which is distanced from the pejorative vocabulary so often used with reference to highlanders. For this reason, Huarochirí might be said to have gone through a process of so-called de-Indianisation (De la Cadena 2000). As Oliart points out, many Peruvians of highland origin have created a way of being and to talk about themselves in terms which are isolated from the categories used by both the Peruvian creole upper classes and the provincial elites (Oliart 2011: 188). In this sense, Huarochirí is representative of similar discourses of identity in Quechua-speaking parts of the country.

4.7 Conclusion

This first part of this chapter provided an ethnographic introduction to San Damián and the Concha and Checa *barrios*, which together make up the village. The chapter explained the ways in which *barrio*-level identity is closely linked to water and landscape and explained that social divisions in this colonial *reducción* are a product of the colonial co-assemblage of two separate ethnic groups formerly known as

⁹³ In Chapter 6, I explore further the ways in which locals explain the origins of indigenous words.

ayllus. These groups source their irrigation water from their own respective water sources, which are controlled by the *abuelos* (ancestors). The Concha and Checa groups continue to express their respective rights to irrigation water through highly expressive rituals where offerings to the *abuelos* form part of a broader ritual petition for irrigation water needed to ensure production through the long dry season. The detrimental effects of not performing rituals of landscape will be explored more fully in the following chapter where I give greater consideration to the role of ritual, and narratives highlighting the necessity for ritual, in expressing difference in relation to non-locals.

The second part of this chapter was geared at highlighting the ways in which Sandamianinos describe themselves in relation to the Pre-Hispanic past through contemplation of oral narratives and local texts. My discussion highlighted discrepancies between local and non-local representations of Sandamianino ethnicity and race, and I also explored a narrative revolving around the famous Huarochirano archaeologist Julio C. Tello, and his physical appearance. My discussion of this narrative highlighted the problematic nature of discussing issues of ethnicity and race within the wider context of ingrained and prevalent racism in Peruvian society. Furthermore, my contemplation of a Sandamianino's explanation of the origins of his Quechua language surname demonstrated that the sensitive issue of highland identity must be carefully negotiated, and that certain words taken locally to be pejorative (such as 'Quechua' and 'indigenous') are to be avoided at all costs.

Local texts demonstrate that even a decade before the agrarian reform of 1969, Sandamianinos rejected describing themselves as *indígenas* or *indios*, suggesting that these categories are irrelevant for understanding local identity. It is clear that road-building during the second quarter of the 20th Century onward, along with increasing urbanisation, made Sandamianinos extremely aware of their position as an increasingly more articulated highland community during a time when *mestizaje* was being proposed as a nation-building strategy. In Chapter 6, I explore further the role

of nation-building and infrastructural development for understanding language loss and attitudes towards Quechua language in modern-day Huarochirí.

The data explored in this chapter highlights the fact that San Damián, like other Huarochirí communities, maintain many ancestor-focused practices despite the fact that they no longer speak Quechua fluently. The local *barrios* are descended from the Pre-Hispanic *ayllus* which were 'reduced' to San Damián and they have maintained a considerable level of autonomy since this time. In this respect, San Damián, as a case in point, meets many of the criteria for the International Labour Organisation's Convention 169. However, the criterion specifying the need for self-identification as indigenous would render most, if not all, Huarochirí communities illegible for the right to prior consultation, if we cast aside, for the moment, the Peruvian State's additional criterion of indigenous language. This situation highlights the problematic nature of identifying the ancestral communities whose lands, waters and ways of life should be protected by law. Despite the fact that the modern-day children of Pariacaca consider their landscape to be sacred, the way that they have defined – and continue to define – their identity has consistently escaped the radar of dominant ways of understanding highland Andean identity throughout time.

Chapter 5. Culture Clash in Lima's watersheds: heroic ancestors and narratives of rebellion

In Peru, as elsewhere, the modernist project is rooted in the theoretical separation between humans and nature, including spirits and ancestral beings. Nevertheless, for a large sector of Peruvian society, manifestations of water and landscape are believed to have personalities, agency and the ability to judge human behaviour. This chapter explores cultural identity in the Peruvian Andes through the highly expressive domain of irrigation practice in the highlands of Lima, where, as I will show, water is closely linked with notions of morality, power and of the afterlife.

The Lima valley water sources are a lifeline for agricultural, industrial and domestic needs from valley top to coast, where Peru's desert capital Lima, which is on the cusp of megacitydom, is located. Engaging with postcolonial theory, this chapter focuses on the human-water relationship that characterises different sectors of postcolonial Lima society, and divides them. As Latour points out, "Politics does not fall neatly on one side of a divide and nature on the other" (Latour 2004: 1). Based on the premise that water practice reflects and reproduces cultural values, I explore ontological tensions manifest in State and rural highland discourses of water. Specifically, I analyse oral narratives from Huarochirí and argue that through such narratives, rural highlanders contest dominant views of water management and knowledge.

The mountains are at the heart of Andean identity and conceptualisations of power. However, those who reside in the highlands are relatively powerless in terms of politics relating to the resource which flows precisely from those manifestations of power. This irony is not lost on Salomon who writes that although highlanders – in being localised at the top of watersheds – are privileged ecologically in terms of water access, they are politically disadvantaged since their religion, which is ancestor-focused, is ignored by "las religiones mayores, sacerdotales, teológicas y centralizadas" (Salomon 2012: 20) (the dominant, sacerdotal, theological and

centralised religions"). This imbalance of power is at the heart of postcolonial hydraulic discourse in Peru.

Through analysing narratives which centre on the tension between the local and the urban-dwelling (national) 'other', I intend to illustrate that the ancestral and modern co-exist in a manner which is at times morally problematic for highland Limeños. Discourses of modernity which conceptually undermine place-based constructions of identity are especially problematic. These moral crises are evoked most strongly in narratives which reconstruct events taking place in ancestral sites, such as canal cleaning rituals (*champerías*), and excursions to Pre-Hispanic ruins. In these events, which require recognition of, and moral subjugation to, ancestral owners of the landscape, participants are required to carry out a sequence of performative ritual tasks (usually before any labour tasks are begun) which are underpinned by an ontological outlook which regards the landscape to be animate. As MacCormack points out, humans are instrumental in perceiving the existence and power of landscape beings (MacCormack 1996: 647). Failure to perform landscape rituals, or to perform them properly, has disastrous consequences and oral narratives detailing the outcomes of ritual failures abound in the Andes (inter alia Gose 1994: 129). This understanding of the landscape, however, is not necessarily shared by all sectors of Andean society.

For example, Harvey and Knox's research in the central highland Peruvian village of Chakachimpa found that the death of a construction worker crushed by a bulldozer on a road building project was, according to a driver with whom Harvey conversed, because the animate earth demanded human lives. According to his account, the death was due to the fact that the engineers, who performed rituals as part of their company's community relations programme, were Brazilian and thus did not believe in the animate landscape in the first place, and consequently could not engage the vital forces of the Earth (Harvey and Knox 2010: 125). Nevertheless, the driver of the bulldozer which crushed the construction worker was dismissed from his job,

suggesting that the construction company's understanding of the death was rationalised within a framework which does not acknowledge the powers of the Earth (Harvey and Knox 2010: 125). Similarly, Harvey's research in Ocongate, Peru, found that during a session designed to teach bulls to plough, a participant who missed out most of the ritual procedures had a comparatively difficult time controlling his beasts compared with the participants who engaged fully in ritual; cooperation with the animate landscape is regarded by some to be crucial in the training of bulls for ploughing (Harvey 2007: 171). The fact that both the bulls were eventually trained meant that others who were sceptical about the importance of ritual did not interpret the uncontrollable bull in the same way. In Huarochirí, the discourses which hold the landscape to be ever-watchful and capricious are particularly strong and I was regularly told stories about lamentable outcomes of ritual failure, however for the case of this research, I was never given alternative 'skeptical' explanations for those same phenomena by locals.

For Huarochiranos, only once the ritual element of agricultural tasks (*la costumbre*) takes place according to strict cultural guidelines reinforced from year to year both inside and outside of ritual, will the *abuelos* release irrigation water and provide the necessary conditions for people's wellbeing. Water access in the Andes is therefore a negotiation of power. Based on this premise, I necessarily consider the role that ethnic and social discrimination and competing notions of power and knowledge play in expressive practices in a highland region which is definitively rural yet strongly articulated to urban Lima.

As pointed out in the introductory chapter (Chapter 1) the philosophy of the State rarely reflects that of indigenous people, since their marginality is (re)produced by the State, and thus performed in relation to it. It is important to re-state that the same can be said of highland Andeans who do not claim indigenous status; Huarochiranos express and negotiate their marginality on ideological grounds. Crucially, difference is expressed in terms of attitudes towards landscape and,

specifically, differing conceptualisations of what the landscape is capable of. This chapter aims to focus precisely on conflicts of this kind.

The narratives explored in this chapter resonate with recent scholarship on the (geo)politics of knowledge. Moreover, they illustrate a direct link between the politics of knowledge and the behaviour of material matter in Huarochirano ways of knowing. In the narratives, the remains of *abuelos* enshrined in *chullpas*⁹⁴ or *chaucalitos* control the irrigation system, which is also the domain of the *abuelos*. The work of Harvey and Knox has explored the ways in which, in the context of road construction, “politics of knowledge is embedded and extended through the material power of matter and things” (Harvey and Knox 2010: 124). What links these loci is the fact that much power is imbued in them. They are sites where modern and older ways of knowing mingle and come into conflict.

In the narratives presented here, modern knowledge is reproduced by the State, and exercised through State employees.⁹⁵ The work of Foucault has explored the various ways in which State power is exercised through modern knowledge (Foucault 1977), and just as Foucault holds, domination and power is exercised through individuals, in a way that ‘takes hold of bodies’ through monitoring them (Foucault 1977: 170-177). As we will see, however, the *abuelos* also exert power through the punishment and possession of bodies, precisely the ones of State employees. They may also physically prevent water from flowing through the irrigation system and even withdraw the water, pulling back this material life-force towards their domain, as if to perform and exhibit their own force.

⁹⁴ *Chullpas* (also *Chulpas*) are small stone Pre-Hispanic burial constructions, many often with ancestral remains still inside. They are powerful places that should be avoided if a passer-by is not equipped with appropriate ritual gear. The word *Chaucalito* is a synonym for *Chullpa*.

⁹⁵ In the work of Harvey and Knox, Andean (central highland Peru) ways of knowing are shown to contrast with capitalist approaches to land and work practices in a way that is similar to the arguments made in this chapter (Harvey and Knox 2010). It is worthy of note therefore, that Huarochirano discourses of power and knowledge are similar to those in Quechua-speaking parts of Peru.

The work of Gelles represents an important precedent for understanding State-local conflicts relating to water in Peru; his work on Cabanaconde in the Colca Valley draws attention to the ineffectiveness of State models of water vis-à-vis local (traditional) models of water which are based on the community's spiritual relationship with water and their associated forms of social organisation and water management (Gelles 2000). Some water policy experts argue that State water policy is inadequate for *campesinos* and indigenous communities precisely because, located within discourses of equality, it denies cultural difference (Boelens 2009:314-321). During the early 20th Century, however, State policy was effective in affording these same disempowered groups access to water, since its allocation of water rights "effectively opposed abusive water rights systems such as those enacted by feudal landlords, and in theory this could bring a more equal sharing of (water) rights and burdens in society, and provide common claim-making mechanisms for the less powerful" (Boelens 2009:313). This process may be appreciated in 'Water!', an excerpt from Juan Pévez's autobiography, where he describes a water conflict that took place in 1925 in Ica (an arid coastal region of Peru) between the local hacendado (Mr. Picasso) and local irrigators. The hacendado had enforced a monopoly on water rights, stating that the hacienda lands should be irrigated before all others, including small patches of farmers' land located higher up the irrigation system and as a result, people were suffering hunger and poverty for want of irrigation. When the locals realised, through Pévez's knowledge of law gained through higher education, that they were legally entitled to access water from the canal leading to the hacendado's estate, they irrigated their fields and sought legal aid. The hacendado's response to their complaint is illustrative of the ways in which *la costumbre*, (customary law) may be manipulated and used against the disempowered: "The Indians of Parcona have turned their backs on an old commitment, and old, established custom. They have dared to open the gates to their fields, unlawfully taking advantage of water belonging to Mr. Picasso. As we all know, custom is law. But these people have trampled the law and appropriated most of the water" (Pévez 2005: 238).

Here we may also appreciate a tension between customary law and 'modern' law. In this case, State water law offered benefits for the disempowered. However, the powerful landlord sought to uphold his hydraulic privilege by drawing on the authority of established custom. Water access is therefore negotiated through multiple interpretations of acceptability and moral behaviour (Law), which inevitably results in contention and conflict. In the case of Pévez's account, it is important to remember that access to information was crucial in the farmers' securing their water rights. 'Modern' knowledge and State policy may therefore benefit rural highland irrigators, because of the aforementioned emphasis on equality and universal rights which tends to deny cultural difference.

Nevertheless, discourses which assume cultural homogeneity, along with modern ways of knowing, often clash with traditional models of water, and may even be deemed harmful to the wellbeing of the landscape, of humans and livestock and to agricultural production. This poses a significant challenge for State and NGO-led development projects, since "If we define development as intentional practices to produce broad-based and sustained change, culture – a way of life, material products, and structures of feelings – is clearly crucial to the implementation of development." (Radcliffe and Laurie 2006: 231). As we will see, the failure of outsiders to recognise local ways of life poses an obstacle to wellbeing (i.e. the ultimate goal of development).

In this chapter, I aim to build on the work of Gelles in identifying points of conflict in attitudes towards water between different social groups, namely highland Limeños and the State. In order to do this I need to adopt a suitable analytical framework which will allow me to explore fundamental points of contention in modern-day postcolonial Peru. Borrowing from the emergent field of political ontology will be valuable for understanding conflict in postcolonial and globalised societies, given that it "refers to a field of study that focuses on the conflicts that ensue as different worlds or ontologies strive to sustain their own existence as they interact and mingle

with each other” (Blaser 2009: 877). As Howard has pointed out, “la construcción de la identidad en el medio poscolonial y pluricultural de los Andes es un proceso de lucha simbólica altamente ideologizado” (Howard 2007: 72).⁹⁶ As we will see, the narrative reconstruction of ontological conflicts relating to landscape beings are central for the production of Huarochirano identity.

There is a gap in the Andeanist literature discussing the ontological tension which characterises State-local hydraulic interaction.⁹⁷ With this in mind, I seek to explore the deeply political argument inherent when it is proclaimed that water is (or conversely, is not) a sacred being. The basic implication is that water is not a mere resource, but a living entity, and the argument follows that water in its various manifestations should be treated and managed as such. The ontological nature of hydraulic conflict merits proper attention, and approaching water practice through this critical lens brings fundamental issues in cultural politics to the fore: how can water beings’ rights be respected if States do not subscribe to their existence in the first place?

It will be fruitful to pursue Blaser’s understanding of ontology, since for him it constitutes ways of understanding the world based on assumptions about what manner of things can and do exist. Many of the narratives I heard in San Damián are indicative of dichotomous ontological understandings of landscape, where water and ancestral ruins are thought either to be animate and powerful, or simply spaces to be developed, commodified or exploited. The question of whether the ancestral owners of the landscape, the *abuelos*, exist or not (or rather, whether they are capable of emitting power and agency via their own remains or through the places that they are said to own) represents the crucial point of ontological tension. A new wave of

⁹⁶ “the construction of identity in the postcolonial and pluricultural environment of the Andes is a highly ideological process of struggle and resistance”.

⁹⁷ This may be due to the fact that: “because the contest with the non-modern manifests as ontological conflicts there is a strong tendency to mis-recognize even the existence of this contest. In other words, the non-modern manifests itself as something that escapes the ‘radar screen’ of modern categories” (Blaser 2009: 880).

scholarship on cosmopolitics has begun to question whether 'Earth Beings' should be treated as social and political actors (De la Cadena 2010). Earth Beings, or as I prefer to call them, landscape beings – since many are associated with water – are precisely the protagonists of many Sandaminanino narratives, and they themselves call for their agency to be recognised.⁹⁸ Critics of modernity, particularly those who critique modern geopolitics of knowledge have stressed the importance of slowing down reasoning in order to furrow beneath modernity's dichotomies (De la Cadena 2010, Latour 2004, Stengers, 2010). This is precisely what the narratives from Huarochiri call for, since they argue that the landscape ('nature') is animate ('social'). As Latour suggests, "In order to force ourselves to slow down, we will have to deal simultaneously with the sciences, with natures, and with politics, in the plural" (Latour 2004: 3). A cosmopolitical approach to instances of culture clash as reported in Huarochirano narratives of landscape represents a convenient focus for the project of 'slowing down', since in the narratives, science, nature and politics are inseparably bound up in the main protagonists, the heroic and capricious *abuelos*.

The foundational literature in (Andeanist) cosmopolitics lacks ethnographic case studies which illuminate the ways in which ontological conflicts are negotiated in daily life. I aim to show that deeply political tensions are confronted in expressive practices such as subversive oral narratives which parody outsiders employed by the State. I was also told similar comic narratives which parody lofty, globalised locals. As such, the following observation by Payne may be extended beyond speakers of Quechua to include those from Huarochirí: "Quechuas enjoy the idea of turning the tables on those who have historically held the upper hand. " (Payne 2000: 151). Such is the case in Spanish-speaking Huarochirí. Harvey has acknowledged, for the Andean context, that a certain kind of pleasure can be gained when the knowledge of socially ignorant experts using Western scientific approaches is shown to be limited in the 'real' world (Harvey 2007 165). Payne has noted that many Quechua

⁹⁸ In neighbouring Ecuador and Bolivia, nature's rights are now constitutionally recognised, however this is not (yet?) the case in Peru.

language narratives centre on misunderstandings by outsiders who “interpret local’s speech in a literal-minded way” (Payne 2000: 161). Likewise, Huarochiranos take pleasure in reproducing comic instances of knowledge-based arrogance, perhaps because *campesinos* and rural Andean farmers are routinely patronised and lectured to by State representatives.

Ontological tensions come to the fore oral in narrative precisely owing to the highly expressive and dialogical nature of oral narratives, as identified by Mannheim and Van Vleet in their discussion of Southern Quechua oral narratives (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998: 326). I would add that these qualities apply also to narratives delivered in highland dialects of Spanish speaking societies such as today’s Huarochirí communities. At this point I would like to reiterate an important point inherent in my findings: Huarochirí’s indigenous language past is not an artefact. Huarochirí Spanish has multiple linguistic influences and Huarochirano varieties of Spanish are at times mutually non-intelligible with the Spanish spoken by urban Limeños. One of the stories I analyse in this chapter centres on a linguistic misapprehension of an example of ‘indigenised colonial lexicon’ (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011); the local meaning of this archaic Castilian term is lost on a non-local State representative. Moreover, non-Quechua speakers would fail to understand many traditional aspects of local life, given that culturally engrained Quechua loanwords are common in the Huarochirí province.

Through this chapter I will highlight the nature of historically-rooted cultural difference within the department of Lima and as such, bolster my argument that Huarochiranos and urban Limeños cannot be said to be culturally or ontologically homogenous, despite their ethnic parity on paper and in State policy.

5.1 Theorizing Hydrological Culture Clash

Theoretically, my argument engages with postcolonial theory. It is also informed by the notion of coloniality, which acknowledges that not only are vestiges of the colonial past persistent in the present, but that the project of modernity should be

recognised as an on-going expansion of colonialism. As Moraña, Dussel and Jáuregui explain, coloniality in its very nature is critical of hierarchical power relations inherent to modernity: "Latin American coloniality originates in the transoceanic adventures from which European modernity itself was born" (Moraña et al. 2008: 6). From this stance, European modernity and colonialism cannot be theoretically unravelled. Beyond the Latin American context, it has been argued that colonially-derived power structures function today worldwide (Hall et. al. 2013, Escobar 2004) and that neoliberalism in particular represents an extant manifestation of colonialism which is unsustainable, requires an inexhaustible natural resource base to thrive, and excludes social groups (Hall et. al 2013: 15). Specifically, at the heart of neoliberalism, they argue: "is a reassertion of capital's historic imperative to profit - through financialisation, globalisation and yet further commodification" (Hall et. al 2013: 15). This chapter explores a narrative wherein a policeman, a state representative, seeks to loot a highland Pre-Hispanic ritual site, a place which belongs to the watchful Pre-Hispanic ancestors, social actors he does not recognise. Clearly, in the imaginary of Sandamianinos, there is a certain degree of continuity between the colonial looting of Pre-Hispanic ritual sites and modern-day State discourses. Therefore, the theoretical framework of coloniality likewise resonates with the narratives analysed within this chapter. For Escobar, the 'coloniality of being' represents "the ontological dimension of coloniality, on both sides of the encounter... it points at the "ontological excess" that occurs when particular beings impose on others; it also addresses critically the effectivity of the discourses with which the other responds to the suppression as a result of the encounter" (Escobar 2004: 11).⁹⁹ The narratives to which I refer may be read as anti-hegemonic discursive rebellion, and undoubtedly represent encounters of ontological excess. Nevertheless, I think it is important to be clear about the limitations of coloniality for interpreting the Andes in the modern-day.

⁹⁹ In his discussion on the suggestion of 'coloniality of being' put forward by Nelson Maldonado-Torres, 2003.

As Salvatore points out, coloniality – as a theoretical framework with which to conceptualise Latin America – has the potential to generalise the very different processes of globalisation which have taken place in the different countries, regions and cities in the region, in different periods (Salvatore 2010: 339). As he elaborates, “The colonial heritage has certainly produced important and lasting effects on national identity and cultural formations of Latin American nations. Nonetheless, it is evident that the persistence of the colonial has been processed differently in each nation or sub-region”(Salvatore 2010: 340). It is important to take Salvatore’s comments into account when reflecting upon how to frame Huarochirano narratives of rebellion theoretically. I think it is significant that these narratives indicate (and reproduce) a high degree of persistence in colonial conflicts of the sacred Andean landscape in the modern-day context. San Damián’s status as the home of the first extirpation of idolatries campaign has likely contributed to continuities in the perception of the particular domain of the animate landscape as a site of contestation.

In Huarochirí, responses to postcolonial social hierarchy are subtly yet powerfully expressed in narrative performances which revolve around the comic subversion of hegemonic discourses. I base my discussion on two key narratives from San Damián, Huarochirí, Lima wherein place-based ancestors undermine the authority of representatives of the State. The discourses that these narratives represent show that highland Lima ontology is closely associated with the past, which is accessed through, and represented by landscape and ancestral beings. This in itself constitutes a contradictory temporal outlook when viewed comparatively with discourses of modernity based on forward-looking ideologies such as progress and development, which are promoted and mediated by the State. The narratives I analyse in this chapter are expressive of the Huarochirano reality of living close to Peru’s capital city and within the wider department of Lima, yet feeling marginalised by the State, and Lima more generally. Stories wherein outsiders must conform to highland ways of life are not only a source of amusement but they succeed in re-locating moral power,

shifting it (back) to the highlands. In this sense, stories such as those I was told in San Damián are empowering as they provide a space for the inversion of a discriminatory cultural reality which permeates Peruvian society and which marks interactions between highlanders and urbanites.

In narratives discussing ancestral owners of canal systems and pre-Hispanic ruins, differing perspectives about the world, and what it consists of, are clearly expressed: an ontological dichotomy is often a feature in many stories where a non-local non-believer is forcibly converted to ancestor belief; such a transition forms the core 'moral' of many narrative reconstructions of the past. The landscape owning ancestors (*los abuelos*), are the subject of ontological debate: through advocating that resources are owned and controlled by ancestors, advocates must first recognise the existence of the *abuelos*. This ontological perspective is expressed in various ways, including through ritual practice, statements, storytelling, and daily behaviour. Departure from this understanding, i.e. professing the non-existence of the *abuelos* or (which is to simultaneously deny their powerful role in irrigation matters) is either actively expressed or perceived by others in the same contexts, for example dismissing the importance of ritual or simply failing to carry ritual out.

The narratives discussed here emphasize reciprocity as a necessary survival strategy; in modern-day Huarochirí communities, social cohesion and physical wellbeing are achieved via a relationship of exchange with ancestral inhabitants of the local landscape. Alberti and Mayer define reciprocity in the following terms:

"Definimos la reciprocidad como el intercambio normativo y continuo de bienes y servicios entre personas conocidas entre sí, en el que entre una prestación y su devolución debe transcurrir un cierto tiempo, y el proceso de negociación de las partes, en lugar de ser un abierto regateo, es más bien encubierto por formas de comportamiento ceremonial" (Alberti and Mayer 1974: 21)¹⁰⁰.

¹⁰⁰ "We define reciprocity the normative and continuous exchange of goods and services between persons known to one another, in which borrowing and returning must take place within a certain

As this chapter illustrates, human-place interaction in the Andes takes place within a relationship of reciprocity, often via ancestral beings who are either embodied in the landscape or who inhabit it. The breakdown of this relationship of reciprocity undermines social cohesion, bringing about undesirable outcomes.

5.2 An introduction to 'El guardia que no creía' (The policeman who didn't believe)¹⁰¹

One sunny day while sitting in San Damián's central plaza, I asked 92 year old Eugenio Anchelía Llata to repeat a story he had been keen to share with me a few days earlier. We had abandoned our original conversation when the local municipal council workers brought out loud, roaring paint-spraying machines to paint the plaza ahead of *fiestas patrias*. The recording that the transcription to be discussed here is based on is an elaborated version of the original story he attempted to tell me a few days earlier. I decided to bring the 'story' up again because as Eugenio, who was born in 1920, began to tell it, he repeatedly mentioned periods of five days. In the Huarochirí Manuscript, periods of five days represent a frequent organising structure of the narratives. Also present during the conversation was Rosa, a 52 year old mutual friend who takes a special interest in the story.

The narrative tells how a categorical outsider, a *guardia* (policeman) employs a local guide to take him to the pre-Hispanic ruins of Llaquistampu.¹⁰² Also known locally as Llacstambo, this site features in various sections of the Huarochirí Manuscript as a

time frame. The negotiation process those involved, rather than being open to haggling, is veiled by forms of ceremonial behaviour"

¹⁰¹ As I will explain further on, I was advised by another audience member to summarize the narrative using this phrase. I would like to thank Fernando González-Velarde who helped with transcribing this narrative.

¹⁰² Locally, the site is also spelled and pronounced as: *Llaquistambo*. According to Salomon and Niño Murcia: "The folk etymology...is hispano-Quechua. *Tambo* means way station. An Inca ruin at the site might indeed be a way station. *Llaquis* is taken in folk etymology at the verb root *llaki*- 'weep' (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 308). As the story goes on, this etymology is expressed in a comical scene where an outsider begs the sites' ancestors for forgiveness for his ritual crime.

ritual site of the Checa and pilgrimage site for other groups. The ruins are located a 40 minute walk from the village nucleus of San Damián in high-altitude Checa territory with a privileged view over the Lurín valley. When they arrive at the ruins, the policeman sets about seeking valuable objects from amongst the human remains stored in small stone house-like constructions known as *chullpas*, despite being warned by Albino, his guide, that in Llaquistampu, such behaviour is inappropriate and it would instead be necessary to perform a *costumbre* (i.e. an offering to the ancestors dwelling therein). Ignoring the warning, the policeman carries out a greed-fuelled and persistent (yet relatively fruitless) looting of the ruins and a few days later, becomes ill, succumbing to an irritating condition that he cannot comprehend, nor bear. Initially, he accuses his local guide, Albino of somehow inflicting illness upon him. However, Albino reminds him of his recommendation to perform a *costumbre*. The story tells of the policeman's subsequent humiliating process of negotiation with the *abuelo* (ancestor) where he comically begs the *abuelo* for forgiveness, thus recognising his subservience to a force that he had initially disregarded, brandishing ancestor worship as needless hogwash.¹⁰³

Since the narrative is long and features local dialect, it is divided into sections and contextualised so that the reader can grasp the central jokes. In order to understand the story, it is important to keep in mind that the *Guardia* is a Lima-based outsider, and State authority personified.

¹⁰³ Veronica Strang's book on differing attitudes to landscape among aboriginal and White communities in Australia explains that, similarly, Australian aboriginal narratives are sometimes disregarded as children's stories (Strang 1997: 194). Furthermore, her research shows that non-compliance with ancestral Law by outsiders (avoiding touching objects in ancestral lands) is problematic for the indigenous communities (Strang 1991).



Figure 11 -A chullpa mortuary structure at Llaquistambo

5.2.1 El Guardia que no creía

Eugenio: El Guardia le encontró para un Sr. llamado Albino Pacuchino. Entonces dijo a dónde está ahí esas chulpas sus abuelos, acá en Llaquistampu... allá... y de ahí se va, "me puedes enseñar" es que dijo, (high voice→)"por qué no Jefe, ¡vamos no más! Me das algo, vamos y te lo llevo". Le dio y se va (Rosa utters an affirmative 'Mmm').

Le da es que dice un par de soles, por ahí le da. Le llevaron pues, le llevaron al Guardia allá. Le llevaron, llegó donde están las calaveras, todo ahí, las chulpas están unos ventanitas, todito está adentro doblado todos los huesos, calavera (Rosa utters an affirmative 'Mmm').

¿Entonces, que hizo? "**ACÁ** DEBE HABER RIQUEZA", que dijo el Guardia (Rosa laughs). "No jefe" es que dijo, "¡aquí hay que dar COSTUMBRE!
Appendix Reference 6

Eugenio's first priority is locating the narrative at the Pre-Hispanic ruins of Llacsatambo, a pre-Hispanic ritual centre of the Checa located a 40 minute walk from San Damián at around 3400m. At this early point in the narrative, the local listener will already have some assumptions about what kind of story Eugenio is about to tell, given that ancestral ruins, the domain of the *abuelos*, are widely regarded as mysterious, and dangerous places. The plot is somewhat given away; this pre-Hispanic site features in various local myths and stories wherein ancestors are common protagonists: the site formerly hosted mummified human remains which were removed by the famous Huarochirano archaeologist Julio C. Tello in the early 20th Century and were never returned. Since Llacsatambo is a place of the ancestors, a local would not think of entering the site without ritual offerings for the ancestors dwelling at the site, or at least without addressing the *abuelos* directly out loud. The local listener will also anticipate that, for the non-local protagonist (the policeman), a ritual offering is especially important. Eugenio imitates the policeman stating emphatically "**ACÁ** DEBE HABER RIQUEZA" while standing at a section of the site with visible remains of ancestors (the *chullpas*). This sounds highly ominous to the local listener, who knows various stories of greedy, disrespectful locals and outsiders

attempting to loot local ruins and becoming ill or with fatal consequences. Hence why Rosa laughs at this point.

Eugenio: Tienes que llevar su COCA, su CIGARRO, su RON, para pedir permiso para que si te de cualquier cosa". Le dijo, (high pitched voice→) "¡NOOOooooo!" le dijo, "¡eso no ya! ¡No es un mallqui!¹⁰⁴".

Encontró una hoja, así, grande, con un hueco, nada más. Y encontró después... había sogá, con lo que se ahorcaban que decían, después encontró ahí higenio, de color, así un pedacito no más, se lo trajo. ¡Qué tiempo estará! No pasaba la calor, ya entonces, "ya vamos" que dijo. "Vamos pues". Se vinieron.

Appendix Reference 7

The objects gathered by the policeman have significance for the local listener, particularly the piece of rope. With the mention of rope, the local audience will recognise the narrative to which Eugenio refers as the one which Salomon denominates the 'mass indian suicide' (Salomon 2001). In this narrative, which a passer-by who joins our conversation partially reconstructs, the presence of numerous *abuelos* in Pre-Hispanic ruins like Llacsatambo are associated with the introduction of salt by the Europeans, where locals explain that the Pre-Hispanic population hung themselves. In making a reference to the 'material proof' of another related narrative, Eugenio is employing a strategy which is also present in the early colonial narratives of Huarochirí. This example of narrative intertextuality also give credibility to the narrative being told, since it anchors both accounts in time and space (Mannheim y Van Vleet 1998:326). As we discover, the policeman's prolonged looting of objects such as this was not inconsequential.

Eugenio: Acá ya se fue al puerto. A los cuatro días, tres días por ahí¹⁰⁵, ya le daba los picazones, por allá por acá ya, el cuerpo (crosses arms over

¹⁰⁴ Mummified ancestor remains (Bastien 1978: 158). The implication here seems to be that for the Guardia, the remains have no power.

¹⁰⁵ The first time Eugenio told me this narrative the period was 5 days. I will explain why this is significant later in the chapter.

body, enacting frantic scratching). Ya el Guardia ya "es que por qué me pica acá, ¡carajo!" se queja...[risas]. Se rascaba, hay cosas así, peor oye. Ya se orinaba ya, ya no le dejaba dormir de noche. Ay carajo, qué cosa pasa. "¡¿Qué estoy haciendo?!" [risas] Con su polaco, ya lo tenía inquieto. ¡Ah!
Appendix Reference 8

The policeman's authoritative role in the village has been subverted: his body has been seized by the ancestors: this represents a complete reversal of the quotidian schema of power since, in his ill condition, he is incapable of enforcing 'his' law and exercising corporal punishment and detainment since his own body has been seized by the highest local authority: the ancestors. Foucault has written of the ways in which States seek to control people through their bodies, a context within which prison is designed to transform individuals (Foucault 1977: 233). The code for acceptable moral behaviour in the highland context, however, is enforced by a power which pre-dates the concept of power personified by the Guardia. The *abuelos*, as a manifestation of authority, are so remote to him that he does not realise his moral crime. The policeman's inability to sleep leaves him overcome with worry ("ya le tenía inquieto"), this fear undermining his masculinity and self-assurance, attributes stereotypically applied to the police force in Peru, and indeed anywhere.

In the policeman flippantly denying the existence of the *abuelos* and from his subsequent ransacking of the site, the local listener knows that ill health will befall the policeman. Eugenio's description of the subsequent illness is comical. The policeman frantically scratches his body with both hands, he cannot sleep and we realise he has lost complete control over his own body when we are told he urinates himself. In the policeman losing control over his own body (¡¿Qué estoy haciendo?!"), he has been corporally possessed by a custodian of law which he does not recognize. The idea that the policeman is unaware of his 'crime' further emphasises his ignorance and inability to 'see'. At this point, he has no idea what has happened to him, and he has some questions to pose to Don Albino.

Eugenio: Entonces, ¿qué pasó? Ahora encontró para Don Albino, que dijo, "¿qué será don Albino?". "¡Caramba al menos que me sales tus granos!". "Uyy Jefe, ¿qué te dije? Hay que llevar su costumbre, hay que llevar su enfloro, y que esto. Todo hay que pagar", es que le dijo. "Sí", es que dijo "este es el gentil es que eso. Cómo va a hacer eso", que dijo el Guardia [risas] "Si él no está vivo, ¿cómo va a estar hueso, es que, me va a hacer eso?" es que dijo. (high pitched voice →)"Sí, Jefe, ese te ha hecho daño". (affirmative tone→)¡Ah!
Appendix Reference 9

The policeman depends on Albino to provide him with the information which will 'cure' him. He wonders: "¿Qué será Don Albino?" ("what on earth is Don Albino?"), presumably suspecting having fallen victim to sorcery. This reaffirms the policeman's status as an outsider, in that, in failing to understand the social context, he is suspicious of his local informer. The policeman's doubting of 'what' exactly Don Albino is – communicated by Eugenio in a mystified, fearful tone – further illuminates the alien status of the policeman in this encounter of cultural difference. According to Chaumeil, shamanism has traditionally been a point of focus in the cultural differentiation of different ecological regions and their people in South America and particularly Peru (Chaumeil 2012: 415). Following his initial doubts about the legitimacy of Don Albino, the policeman soon realises that his spotty rash has nothing to do with Don Albino himself.

Eugenio: "Tienes que ir pues" le dijo, "allá a pedir disculpas, y que te cura allí, su médico". Es que le dijo, entonces, que "usted me acompañará Don Albino", es que dijo. "¿Qué cosa para llevar? Te voy a pagar", le dijo. "Bueno" es que le dijo, "entonces tienes que llevarte una botella de licor, tienes que llevar tu coca, tu cigarro, tienes que llevar flores, unos cuantos claveles, y listo. Vamos." Si peor ya por la mañana, ya peor carambas, ¡se acababa hacer herida ya! A ver, entonces que ya fue pues.
Appendix Reference 10

According to Itier, the Andean *gentiles* (which are equivalent to the *abuelos* of Huarochirí), have the capacity to project themselves into the bodies of other living beings, with powerful beings tending to spill over into others of a greater ontological

weakness (Itier 2013: 75-76). The policeman is firmly established as being weak, so much so that he struggles to manage the walk back to Llacsatambo:

Allí iba decía el camino es que cansa pues [risas] ¡le picaba dice! Llegaron allá y Albino habló allí para los abuelos pues. Entonces, “usted Jefe tienes que hablar”. Oye ya se devolvió... el Guardia es que dijo “¡pero doctorcito, cúrame!” es que dijo [risas] “he cometido un error por no saber, disculpa¹⁰⁶”. ¡Pedía! [risas].

Rosa: ¿Tenía que hablar para el abuelito?

Eugenio: Para el abuelito ya... “¿Cómo es que?!” [risas] ¡Rogando! [Risas prolongadas] ¡Hágame favor! ¡CUREME!

Rosa: ¿Y de allí el granito?

Eugenio: Albino, se iba a curar del Sr. Es que dijo. “¿Ahora qué vamos a hacer? A ver vamos a ver oye, sácate la camisa, yo te voy a pasar por la calavera”, dijo. Entró pa’ dentro a la chaucaulito, sacó una calavera, y allí y se echó allí pues, y rogó el guardia “ya ¡cúreme Sr. cúreme!” [risas]

Appendix Reference 11

Recognising the policeman’s lack of ‘faith’, the local guide lives up to his role and guides the conversion of the policeman to conform with local ontological perspectives through informing him that salvation lies in ‘asking pardon’. Again, we can appreciate a subtle yet powerful parody of colonial religious history. The curative powers of the ancestor are alluded to: “que te cura allí, su medico”, as well as the *abuelo*’s role as a source of knowledge. Albino, for a price, informs the policeman of all the ritual gear he must bring (coca leaves, cigarettes, alcohol and flowers); this is the standard ritual offering which the ancestors are believed to prefer. A comic scene is (re)constructed in the way Eugenio describes the interaction between the policeman and the ancestor: “pero Doctorcito, cúrame...he cometido un error, por no saberrr disculpa!...(Rogando)...hagame favor!”. Here, the policeman admits to his crime and admits that his failing was in his lack of knowing. Begging for forgiveness, he is at the mercy of the object of his confession. It is worthwhile noting that the act

¹⁰⁶ Eugenio imitates a non-highland accent, at this comical climax, adding emphasis on the pronunciation of the letter ‘r’ in ‘error’ y ‘saber’

of speaking with the ancestor is identified as a necessary component of the ritual. Throughout my fieldwork, I was advised never to ignore the *abuelos* and to constantly speak to them while walking in the highlands. Just as in irrigation rituals performed for the *abuelos*, verbal interaction between the policeman and the *abuelo* is another ritual requisite imperative to the restoration of the policeman's wellbeing. In being instructed to speak, the policeman is being told to recognise the *abuelo* as a social actor. As we learn, the *abuelo* answers back.

Sarah: ¿Quién le ha curado, usted u otra persona?¹⁰⁷

Rosa: Otra persona

Eugenio: Don Albino que le llevó, entonces cuando he pasado por acá es que sonaba la calavera, "qachiss, qachiss..." sonaba, suena dice¹⁰⁸! Entonces que dijo, "ya está listo". Ahora sí, paga, tire su enflor, trago... le acabó tirar ron pues para la calavera, para todas [no se entiende] rogando, "¡que me sane!".

Sarah: [Risas] ¿Cómo estaba, así? (con las manos juntados 'rezando', al preguntarle '¿así?') [Risas]

Eugenio: Así, rogaba decía. "¡Cúrame!" Oye, le acabo cobrar le dió unos cuantos centavos, con monedas esas antiguas, de cobre. Se le dió dice, "aquí te pago". Ya le hecho pa dentro, su florcito le dió. Le pasó al cuerpo, le dio todas las flores adentro. Ya se vino, pidiendo disculpa. Ya se vino para acá. Ya es que dijo, "gracias Don Albinito". Tanto es que le dijo..."vas a ver" es que dijo, a los cinco días ya encontró el Guardia, se fue a hacer un, como llaman este a Sunicancha... un arreglo, y encontró con Don Albino allí en Cutucha es que le dijo, "Don Albino, ya me está aplicando, ya me está calmando el de la picazón". Y así se sanó.

[There is a lapse in the topic of conversation when a passer-by joins our conversation and Eugenio eventually returns to the topic of the policeman]

Eugenio: Así es que buscaban. Y ya el guardia se sanó. Pero ya cuando se sanó tenía morado, morado, morado...

Sarah: ¿Y por qué tenía morado?

¹⁰⁷ Eugenio used to be a *curandero*, hence my question.

¹⁰⁸ I discuss the significance of the 'sound' of the *abuelo* in Chapter 6, which focuses on Huarochirano language and vocabulary. For now, suffice to say that 'Qachis' is of Quechua etymology.

Eugenio: Ya pues cicatriz del grano, no ves que así le salió tumores grandes, pues. ¡Por eso ya no aguantaba y ¡cómo se rascaba! [risas].

Rosa: ¡Y cómo sale así ese grano!¹⁰⁹

Eugenio: Por eso nosotros cuando vamos así, bueno no es una hora mala, bueno, será, cómo será eso. Si no así a cada rato pal cerro, no, a veces le choca a uno.

Appendix Reference 12

¹⁰⁹ Rosa suffers from an illness and has had to retire from the demanding physical labour involved with agro-pastoralism. It is therefore worthy of note that her interjections express an interest on the effectiveness of this particular curing process; consultation of *curanderos* is one of, if not, *the* primary method of curing in San Damián, where like other highland communities, state-funded *Postas de salud* (health centres) are viewed with mistrust, fear and are usually a last resort, for local health care options at least. Since these kinds of ancestor stories are common, I interpret Rosa's expressions of surprise to represent her personal invested interest in stories which tell of successful healing, not a lack of knowledge of local customs.

5.2.2 Interpretation

I will now proceed to explain the significance of various aspects of the story so as to illuminate why it provoked amusement for both the storyteller and his listeners, and in order to clarify the main points of tension. What might we take to be the key comical misunderstanding? The policeman's interpretation of the place as an exploitable site ripe for plunder (an apt metaphor for colonial plunder of sacred ancestral sites), in relation to local ancestral Law (*costumbre*) which stresses that objects found in ancestral sites are of the ancestors, and so are too sacred and powerful. In narratives from San Damián, a frequently referenced moral crime involves the maltreatment of ancestral artefacts found alongside canals such as *batanes* (mortar stones) and human remains. These objects also deserve respect and taking them from the ancestral domain does not remove their imbued power.

In commenting "Eso no ya", the policeman implies that ancestor belief is out-dated and therefore irrelevant. This puts Don Albino, the local guide in an awkward, yet powerful position where he must inform the outsider of the *appropriate* kind of behaviour he should adopt, behaviour informed by local knowledge. This subjugates the authority of the policeman; his authority having already been alluded to in the way that Don Albino addresses his professional capacity and rank ('Jefe'). Already, varying discourses of power are established in Eugenio's narrative; however the unsuspecting policeman does not yet know this until he is duly informed: "No Jefe, ¡aquí hay que dar COSTUMBRE!".

Costumbre is established as an obligatory non-negotiable. This point is where we can appreciate a simultaneous conflict of interests and viewpoints, an ideological misunderstanding and a considerable tension between the representative of local knowledge and the State representative of power. It is likely that the listener already expects this cultural tension, given that policemen stationed in the highlands of Lima are drafted in from urban Lima *comisarías*. In clarifying the appropriate behaviour and knowledge base for passing through the site (although the policeman refuses to acknowledge the relevance of Albino's instructions) the policeman's power is

ideologically subverted because the listener knows that *costumbres* are non-negotiable. In stressing the importance of ancestral Law, *costumbre* to the policeman, the relevance of State judicial Law is shown to be redundant, more so as the narrative progresses. The highlands (or at least high altitude sacred sites) then, are presented as being above and outside of the State legal system. Two place-based manifestations of Law, are in opposition. The basis of the discrepancy is primarily ontological since there are patterns of behaviour which follow on from either stating that the ancestors exist, or that they do not.

Furthermore, another comic misunderstanding comes in the policeman's interpretation of Albino's instruction: "todo hay que pagar", the notion of reciprocity as an economic strategy escaping the policeman, who interprets 'to pay' as signifying a monetary payment. As Taussig explains, ritual payment is a form of asymmetric exchange of goods and services: "Rites of sacrifice and gift exchange with the mountain spirit owners...ensure the smooth flow of production, which is aimed mainly at self-subsistence and exists largely outside of capitalist market exchange" (Taussig 2010: 144).

As MacCormack points out, the organizing principles of Andean belief often elude outsiders (MacCormack 1996: 647). Although the word 'pagar' is Spanish, i.e. the language of the State, the particularly traditional Andean meanings the word is endowed with in the Andean highlands, where it may also refer to 'paying' (making a ritual offering to) the landscape, elude the policeman. When Albino recommends that the policeman 'pay' (pagar) the ancestor in order to restore his health, he naively tosses some old coins in the direction of the human remains corresponding to the ancestor he originally offended during his ransacking of the site.

In this sense, the meanings associated with the word 'pagar' in Huarochirí and throughout the Andes are due to it being an example of 'indigenized lexicon' (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011). According to Salomon and Niño-Murcia, a *pago*, i.e. a ritual or the act of 'paying', is a ritual term "which migrated from the language of Spanish accountancy to that of Andean religious reciprocity" (Salomon and Niño-

Murcia 2011: 113). Thus, although the protagonists of the narrative interact in Spanish, the meanings they invest in the word 'to pay' are meanings which are quite literally from different worlds.

In the Cusqueño story 'The Stupid Gringo' (Asnu Gringu), a foreigner with limited Quechua makes a comical mistake when he misunderstands a Quechua instruction. The gringo meant to tell a man to mount his wife onto a horse but instead he instructs the man to mount his wife, despite being warned of his linguistic error. The storyteller Miguel Waman sums up the story in the following way: "Manayá intindichu" - "He didn't really understand" - (Payne 2000: 153). As we see in Eugenio's story, likewise in Huarochirí, outsiders who ignore warnings because of ineptitude in the (nuances of the) local language are considered to be foolish and ripe for ridicule.

The misinterpretation of the idea of payment is manifest later on in the narrative when the policeman gives the ancestor an offering of ancient coins alongside his payment of ritual goods, a further comic reference to the ignorance of the policeman with regards to peasant modes of production – focused on God and fertility spirits – where the ethos of capitalism is seen to be evil and diabolic (Taussig 2010: 13). The debt was not a monetary one but a moral one resolvable only through ritual payment. Reflecting further on the idea of ritual payment and the significance of the policeman's 'corporal punishment', it will be useful to recourse to Foucault once again, since he finds relevance in the frequently heard expression that during penal sentences, one can 'pay ones debt' (Foucault 1977: 233). When the policeman's body was seized by the *abuelo*, it could be said that he too began paying his debt. The idea of exchange, value and payment is carried forward further on in our conversation when Eugenio reflects on the fate of the just-told (and recorded) narrative:

Eugenio: Oye y eso que cuentas, carambas que ganas plata...(risas)

Sarah: ¿Con cuál?

Eugenio: Con lo que te estoy contando, pues. Llevas allá y cuentas.

Sarah: Sí, sí, lo voy a llevar allá si me da su permiso.

Eugenio: '¿Oye, no quiere usted saber un cuento de allá? Pero cuánto vas a pagar' (risas).

Appendix Reference 13

Needless to say, I had difficulty responding to Eugenio's theoretically correct suspicion that his story could eventually become a product of the capitalist system that it critiques. Eugenio's question encouraged me to consider my positionality in the field, and my somewhat awkward reply reflects my discomfort with the apparent link between the (just told) narrative revolving around the exploitation of local cultural heritage by outsiders, and my own aims of 'gathering' (i.e. extracting) research data. Reflecting back on the issues of positionality discussed earlier in the methodological discussion (Chapter 3), it is clear that my own relationship with locals was perceived, to some extent, to be informed by my pursuit of tangible cultural artefacts, i.e. objects of value, worth collecting and therefore ones which might help me in my career. During a number of conversations, Eugenio and others enquired as to the value of my digital recorder-an object which surely reminded locals of my relative privilege and of my access to expensive commercial goods out of the reach of most local budgets. Nevertheless, I felt surprised at Eugenio's stream of consciousness seemingly flowing easily between the figure of the greedy policeman and myself. Perhaps I need not have been surprised: it is quite possible that my own presence - as an outsider gathering local material - in the village reminded Eugenio of the policeman (perhaps this is why he brought up the story in the first place?). Despite my concerns regarding being perceived in this way, my status as a *gringa* (along with the apparently inherent ignorance and potential for exploitative behaviour associated with *gringos*) was a fact that was ultimately inescapable, despite locals' appreciation of my enthusiasm for learning about local rituals and ways of life.

Returning to the ritual misdemeanour committed by the policeman, when Albino explains the significance of the mistake the policeman has committed, a particular ontological discourse becomes clear: "Si él no está vivo, ¿cómo va a estar hueso es que me va a hacer eso? ¿Cómo va a hacer eso?". The discrepancy relates to ideas about the afterlife, namely, the policeman cannot comprehend that human remains have agency. To him '*el abuelito*' as a living being does not exist. Later on in our conversation, Rosa and Eugenio summarized the story for me, suggesting using the

title 'El guardia que no creía, o que no tenía fe en eso'. When Rosa explains that the policeman didn't have 'faith', she refers particularly to having belief in the *abuelos*. Clearly, at some point in Huarochirí's history, the lexicon of the Christianization campaign came to be applicable to the local animate landscape. The particular Huarochirano usage of the word 'fe' in Huarochirí is something also noticed by Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011 who explain that the "use of fe, 'faith' to mean a highly specific belief, rather than a religious outlook more broadly, is common in Huarochirí" (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 309).

It is of interest that it takes the policeman 5 days to recover from the ordeal, and it is also worthwhile repeating that the first time Eugenio told me this narrative there were frequent references to periods of 5 days. 5 day periods feature heavily as a narrative sequence in the Huarochirí Manuscript. Urton has contemplated the 'model of five' which permeated the colonial Huarochirí narratives, something which he associates with the notion of genealogical hierarchy in Quechua sources, based around the mother (*mama*) and her four children classified by age (Urton 1997: 174). In the Huarochirí Manuscript there are approximately 50 instances of quinqupartition, of which 32 are specific references to periods of 5 days. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that Cinco Cerros, which hosts Pre-Hispanic ruins, is situated directly opposite San Damián on the other side of the river Lurín (the 5 hills are visible from both Llacsatambo and San Damián), this site is also associated with the genealogy of the local ethnic groups (*ayllus*). Aside from the direct references within the narrative to the ancestral past, the particular Huarochirano narrative feature of ancestors' deeds taking place in periods of 5 days represents one of the most obvious continuities in modern-day and early colonial Huarochirí narratives, significantly, having survived language loss. As far as I am aware, the continued presence of periods of 5 days in modern-day Huarochirí narratives of landscape has not yet been reported.

Having offered an in-depth analysis of Eugenio's narrative, I would now like to consider a similar oral narrative also told to me in San Damián, where knowledge

practices surrounding the management and ownership of water in particular come to the fore as a point of tension.

5.3 An introduction to 'El ingeniero que no sabía'¹¹⁰

Another story told to me in San Damián similarly undermines the knowledge and authority of another state representative: an engineer for an irrigation project. The project was seemingly geared at creating a diversion, re-directing the trajectory of a zig-zag section of a canal, effectively creating a hydraulic short cut. The story is reconstructed by two old friends, who take turns in piecing the story together and offering their interpretations, suggesting that the story is well-known. It is even possible that the narrative is inscribed on the landscape. When in San Damián, Salomon and Niño-Murcia had a particular section of a pasturing trail known locally as 'Piter' (Peter?), where an engineer reportedly got sick, pointed out to them (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 276). If the engineer of our narrative is not Piter, we can probably assume that Piter's hydraulic misdemeanour and fate was similar to that related by Luciano and Silvino. It will be useful to explain how the narrative came up in conversation, since the broader context of the conversation is key for understanding the power imbalance which underpins the story.

Luciano Alejandro, an agricultural engineer from San Damián had returned from Lima to the village to visit his elder brother when he introduced me to an old friend who he thought could give me insightful knowledge about local customs. He took me to Silvino Fernandez's restaurant where a long, animated conversation between the two men unfolded. Luciano and Silvino were discussing the superiority of pre-Hispanic irrigation methods compared with modern materials used to restore damaged canals (originally constructed from large flat stones locally known as *lajas*). As they explained, locals used to plant a strong, sturdy plant called *taraco* along canal routes to 'slide' the water along its trajectory ("¡el agua resbalaba!"). They comment that the

¹¹⁰ Despite the narrative 'title' suggested to me for Eugenio's narrative, anecdotes from recent history are not usually given a name and I did not offer a name for this story. However, were this story to have one I think that a plausible alternative title might be: 'El ingeniero confundido' ('The confused engineer' or 'The engineer who didn't get it').

roots of the plant are stronger than cement, despite cement being commonly used today.

It would seem that this practice is relatively recent, since Luciano's uncle had utilized this pre-Hispanic technology to channel water to his field sometime in recent history. This is useful to keep in mind; it suggests that traditional local irrigation technique is deemed to be more suitable and effective in facilitating irrigation (and costs nothing), whereas, as the unfolding story suggests, official, 'sophisticated' approaches to irrigation are ecologically inappropriate. According to Luciano, *taraco* roots have been known to break through cement, and as I was told during a brief return visit to San Damián in 2015, that the cement used to repair the Chaucalla canal in 2012 as part of a FONCODES project has already begun to deteriorate. Locals explained that they would prefer the State to use the '*taracos* and *lajas*' method of canal (re)construction, however it would seem that the State use of concrete is concretized, despite the fact that FONCODES will soon be returning to San Damián to re-cement the damaged sections of canal they already repaired 3 years ago. Although the deterioration of the FONCODES-repaired canal happened after I recorded Luciano and Silvino's narrative about another engineer, it will be useful to keep in mind that the employment of locally inappropriate water management methods and infrastructure is unlikely to be new. In fact, this is precisely what the narrative parodies and Luciano began to reconstruct the narrative in order to contextualise his point about the inferiority of State approaches to water compared with local, ancestral knowledge. As a home-grown engineer, Luciano's point that the local natural irrigation method has been tried and tested for centuries is a highly political statement: it is not merely an assessment of the viability of local methods of environmental engineering compared with imported methods and materials but a statement about the effectiveness of local knowledge.

The protagonist of this story is another professional outsider and representative of the State who, being a civil water engineer, logically, should be proficient in managing irrigative infrastructure. Nevertheless, this story represents a collective

remembrance of a seemingly recent encounter between the engineer and the mysterious local powers which dupe him by undermining his professional capacity to drive water through the local irrigation system. The rational logic upon which he relies fails when, confusingly for him, a canal diversion that he has overseen is a practical failure; the water cannot pass through the newly cut diversion. Luciano paints a picture of a solitary professional sat waiting all day for the water (the symbol of his professional success) to arrive: a comical image for locals who usually carry out agricultural and irrigation tasks with speed. This image conjures an entertained chuckle from Silvino, who, it turns out, knows the story that Luciano has just brought up. Together, they reconstruct an interpretation of the story and a partial re-telling which merits citing at length:

5.3.1 El ingeniero que no sabía

Luciano: Incluso cuando ya llegaron ni podían consu...ni... no salía el agua porque estaba a tal nivel ¡y el ingeniero contando todo solito todo un día no pasó el agua!

Silvino: ¡Jajajajaja! ¡Sí no, no pue!

Luciano: ¡El agua no salía!

Silvino: Y eso ha debido a que faltó costumbre. Así que los abuelos que decimos, los dueños de esos lugares, no hacen que pasa el agua, ah! Mientras usted no los regalas, como tu pajadillo, como dicen acá la coca, el cigarro, el trago.

Sarah: Así que será que no...¿no dan su ofrenda?

Silvino: ...cuando no dan sus aportes bien.

Luciano: Entonces tienen que hacer...(interrupted)

Silvino: Eso pasó también, le cortaron al ingeniero, pasó por acá por Huachupampa, no sé, ¿por allí? Dicen que, así dicen que el agua así como un cerro, ¿no? Como un codo. Así es entonces el agua hasta que ha quedado ha sido ya no par de días. Así el agua iba por su acequia así (animatedly illustrating with his arm bent at the elbow that the curve was bypassed). Entonces ahora como hay cemento y plata, han cortado dice así (indicates with arm again) para que ya no de ese curva el agua ya. ¡Ya ya no podían hacer llegar ese agua ya! (pause). ¡Tenían que hacer sus costumbres allí como debe ser! Si no, por más que ha cortado el agua, se mermaba mucho el agua. Llegó pero muy poco.

Sarah: Ah!

Silvino: Ya. ¿Porque? Por cambiar de sitio no más.

Sarah: Sin pedir permiso...

Silvino: ¡También! Eso no....

Luciano: Eso es que tienen fe en que los abuelos, si no haces la ofrenda, el abuelo no te deja pasar el agua.

Sarah: ¿Así?

Silvino: Ehhh, sí.

Luciano: ¡No te deja pasar! Por eso es que científicamente a veces no lo puedes demostrar pero en la práctica, ese ingeniero se rompió la cabeza decir "¿pero si ya está todo el canal pue, porque no avanza el agua?!"

Sarah: Ah...

Luciano: El agua se retrocedía.

Silvino: Y tenían que hacer nuevamente como la primera vez con banda y con todo.

Sarah: ¡Ahhh!

Silvino: ¡Sí!

Sarah: La gente no le habrá dicho que hay que dejar su despacho y...

Silvino: Sí, pero a veces han nombrado la junta... [speaks at same time as Luciano]

Luciano: Es que ya, los jóvenes salen '¡Ya! ¿Qué costumbre?! ¡Nada!' Entonces, o sea que el INGENIERO que acá...¡el que sabe! ¡Que ya no hicieron nada! "¡LEVANTEN EL AGUA!". ¡y el problema es que se encontraron con y!

Sarah: ¡Ah, ya!

Silvino: Sí.

Luciano: Entonces tenían que nuevamente regresar y hacer la costumbre y soltar el agua y **allí** ya llevo acá.

Appendix Reference 21

Just as in the story about the policeman, the engineer lacks the knowledge needed to resolve the place-specific problem: this time, a failed irrigation project. What is more, his University-obtained knowledge is shown to be *irrelevant* in the highland setting. Crucially, his arrogance – the story clearly associates this trait with his profession – is made clear when he commands the locals to release the water. This, coupled with his ignorance of local customs is the obstacle to water access. As the story tells, and as I have witnessed during *champerías*, irrigation access requires humility and interaction with the ancestral water owners corresponding to the particular water source, in this case, the canal which is being diverted. This means acknowledging and submitting to a higher power. However, as in the case of the policeman, the engineer is rendered comically powerless and his arrogance is subverted when he is shown to be hydraulically impotent – a pathetic state of affairs for a professional, coast-based, educated male irrigation expert. Hydraulic engineering tends to be dominated by men and is a discipline informed by the interrelated ideologies of science, masculinity and modernity (Zwartzeveen 2008). These three concepts are bound up and

personified in the engineer of the San Damián narrative, and his failed development project indicates the ideological failings of modernity and science in the domain of an older, but still relevant, form of knowledge. As Radcliffe and Laurie explain, “development policy and interventions have often assumed that successful development enhances economically and socially beneficial patterns of behaviour and attitudes, while downgrading what it sees as ‘inappropriate’ culture” (Radcliffe and Laurie 2006: 231). For Boelens, the same criticism can be applied to State and market discourses: “State and market institutions require a well-established, uniform playing field. Local water rights systems are not just incomprehensible and inadequate in relation to conventional wisdom (labelled rationality) or standard concepts of justice; in the eyes of officialdom they are most of all unmanageable-expressing ‘unruly disorder’ and going beyond official control” (Boelens 2009: 307-308). In this sense, the narrative of the engineer mocks the pretensions of modern ways of knowing, challenging the notion that the abandonment of tradition is key to achieving ‘progress’.¹¹¹ In this respect, both construction sites (development projects) and irrigation systems are sites defined by knowledge politics (Harvey and Knox 2010: 124).

Silvino’s interpretation of the engineer’s failings is illuminated upon closer analysis: one point of tension is that the engineer did not carry out a *costumbre* for the ancestors of the canal—an action that would be second nature to a local given the historic and sacred significance of the irrigation system. What other cultural failing did the engineer commit? He *moved* the canal. This faux-pas is more easily understood if we consider the local reality: the canal is an extended sacred site, over which the living possess no power and certainly no authority to manipulate its integrity—represented by its physical form. This story is useful for reminding that not only is water sacred in the Lima highlands, but so are entire canal trajectories (which,

¹¹¹ As Degregori explains, “hasta hace algunas décadas se creía que país desarrollado era sinónimo de país occidental y Cristiano; que, para desarrollarse, los pueblos tenían que olvidar sus tradiciones y volverse modernos. Tradición y modernidad se entendían como dos polos excluyentes; y el desarrollo como un proceso de modernización homogeneizadora” (2003: 213).

in San Damián can reportedly reach up to 12k in length). For this reason, irrigation systems are spaces to be protected and maintained: this being indicative of the dependence on irrigation water during the long dry season of suffering.¹¹² Tellingly, the more the engineer adapted the canal, the more the water diminished (mermaba mucho el agua). This suggests that ritual shortcomings are quantitative and measurable¹¹³, which suggests that fluctuations in irrigation water (and rainfall) are perceived to be caused by minor ritual misdemeanours. This would certainly explain why only certain members (usually only male elders) of the irrigation committees are permitted to carry out important ritual tasks such as orations in honour of the water owners, and offerings. Remembering, and respecting and honouring the demands of the water owners is crucial in gaining water access, hence why consistent and dedicated attendance at irrigation events is desirable, as is due diligence and respect, not just for the sacred actions being carried out, but also to ensure their transmission and thereby engrain this crucial form of agricultural knowledge in the collective memory.¹¹⁴

¹¹² A Facebook user from the Huarochirí province referred to the dry season as 'la época de sufrimiento'.

¹¹³ Something which was also indicated when locals recalled the time a child attended the Yanascocha Lake 'anniversary' one year, offending María Capiama and Pedro Batan, the lake owners, who they say strictly forbid children from attending. A landslide which washed away fields in Concha territory is interpreted locally as the lake owners' disapproval at the child attending. A local family lost a large number of cows, which the community equates with the seriousness of the ritual discontinuity. In 2012 I observed that a very small number of children attended the lake anniversary, however, none of them took part in the ritual and celebratory processes, including dancing.

¹¹⁴ It is worthy of note to point out that elders audibly, whether in plain view or facing away from the remainder of the *usuarios*, describe their actions while simultaneously carrying them out—a strategy which surely facilitates communication between not only the speaker and the water deities, but also between the elder and the less experienced *usuarios* who sit in watch in strict silence.



Figure 12 - (Left) The start of the Checa's Chaucalla canal, with 'alisados'. (Right) A newly refurbished section of Chaucalla canal close to the village nucleus in San Damián

Going back to the engineer's hydraulic misdemeanour, we can appreciate that the defining features of the canal system were undermined by the remodelling of the canal: its immobility and dependability were compromised. Changing the material composition of the sites undermines their integrity and power. Here, just as in the central highlands of Peru "the basic modern project of transforming the natural world through human agency (intention, capacity, skill, knowledge) produces a contested boundary between material and immaterial worlds" (Harvey and Knox 2010: 125). In Andean ways of knowing, there is no such boundary.

Fundamentally, under the irrigation project, the canal became no longer a vehicle for water to run through, but fluid and changeable in its self. In this respect, the magical break down of the canal's materiality and consequent functionality reflect the risk that non-belief in ancestors poses to highland production. This is magically expressed when the character of the water transforms and instead of gushing through the canal, it *diminishes*. Various other accounts (told to me both in 2012 and 2015) which I did

not record reported the same outcome. It is the engineer's job to know how to drive water effectively, however, he "busted his brain" ("rompió la cabeza"), indicating that the logic of the *abuelos* and *la costumbre* lies outside of the scope of the logic of the engineer. Luciano points out, as others likewise explained to me during fieldwork, that scientifically you cannot prove that the ancestors control water but that in practise they really do. Customary law (the *costumbre*), however, is not fully recognised by the State, which, in practice, does not recognise the existence of ancestral water owners. The stories which were told to me indicate that clashing approaches to water are guided by clashing beliefs about who owns water. Revealingly, the State regards itself as the only legitimate owner of water and as such, State engineers find themselves at the forefront of clashing ideologies of water when they must abandon State approaches to water in order to effectively carry out in rural Andean development projects.

It is important to point out that accounts of ritual failure and consequential punishment at the hands of the *abuelos* do not exclusively protagonist State employees. Countless times I was told a narrative, by many people, relating to a recent *champería* at the Chaucalla canal, when the ritual president failed to acknowledge the *abuelos* properly and subsequently had to return to the *toma* to perform the *costumbre*. Eugenio told another similar account wherein a ritual president does not perform a *costumbre* correctly and the canal ancestors appear in the form of two men, scaring the ritual party. In all of these accounts, it is clear that the ancestors specifically are proactive in resisting change to water practice, and they do so through withholding water. In re-producing these narratives, their descendants transmit their power and influence. It is of interest that the *abuelo* manifested itself as two men, indicating that landscape beings in Huarochirí today are manifest in multiple forms. The multiplicity of landscape beings is a key theme in the Huarochirí Manuscript, where, among Pariacaca's aliases, he was born of five eggs, as was his sister Chaupiñamoc (Itier 2013: 76, MacCormack 1996: 646). As Itier, drawing on the work of Duviols, explains, founding ancestors of lineages multiplied upon dying or

they projected themselves in multiple form into the territory they had conquered during their lifetimes (Itier 2013: 76). Could the *abuelo* who appeared from the canal in the form of two men represent a key founding ancestor? I think it is likely, given the fact that the canal owner Don Manuel Trinidad is closely associated with that of a neighbouring canal, Don Pedro Cashahuarina (Rigoberto Jimenez, San Damián). Perhaps Don Manuel Trinidad himself represents a multiple being? The continued Huarochirano conceptualisation of landscape beings as multiple— which I did not expect to encounter in modern-day Huarochirí — is yet another example of similarities between the narratives told by modern-day Huarochiranos and their ancestors.

The traumatic process of ontological conversion in the narratives explored in this chapter may be read as either an echo of, or a continuation of, the intensive colonial extirpation of idolatries campaigns trialled in Huarochirí under Avila. The relationship between the San Damián population and Avila, the key individual responsible for overseeing their Christianisation, was contentious and violent (MacCormack 2006: 642). The narrative of the poorly policeman in particular is evocative of the ideological conflict and trauma associated with this particularly violent part of the early colonial Christianisation campaign, where *huaca* worshippers were publically whipped and humiliated (Maccormack 2006: 642). The narrative is also evocative of the post-conquest epidemics (whose corporal effects included skin pox) which were taken by early colonial Huarochiranos to be corporal punishment at the hands of the abandoned *huacas* (Salomon 1991). In early colonial Huarochirí, disasters were interpreted as products of ritual failure or *falta de costumbre*, in the terminology of Sandamianinos. In the Huarochirí Manuscript, the author contemplates the decline (which in that moment was recent) of the Yunca group, something which he associates with the abandonment of a collective yunca pilgrimage towards the glacier of Pariacaca:

Es posible que los yuncas ya no se reúnan para practicar estos ritos. Sin embargo, todos los yuncas siguen observándolos, cada uno por su lado. Cuando no lo hacen, la gente dice que es por esta falta que los yuncas se extinguen. Y ellos, los yuncas, dicen: “Los habitantes de las punas siguen

observando correctamente nuestras antiguas costumbres, por ello la gente se multiplica" (Taylor 2008: 61).¹¹⁵

In this extract, we can appreciate that for early colonial Huarochiranos, it was not just the abandonment of ritual which provoked destruction, but also the issue of not carrying them out properly. In this case, the fragmentation of the collective aspect of the pilgrimage was perceived to be the cause of the decline of the Yunca group. In Huarochirí today, failure to perform ritual (properly) is said to result in skin rashes, death, landslides, illness and crop failure. It would seem that modern-day narratives of this kind are rooted in the early colonial accounts of destruction brought on by the simultaneous early colonial epidemics and Christianization campaigns. As Moraña et al. write, "The Latin American modern subject is the product of a traumatic origin. From the beginning of the conquest, the encounter of indigenous peoples with the European other was defined by violence. Territorial devastation, slavery, genocide, plundering, and exploitation name just some of the most immediate and notorious consequences of colonial expansion" (Moraña et al. 2008: 2).

The – to some extent, still violent – ideological conflict over how to interact with the landscape is colonially rooted and remains one where local ways of knowing clash with non-local ones. The local perspective on knowledge is tangible and grounded close-by. Non-local ways of knowing, i.e. those of the State and dominant Lima society are shown to be both arbitrary and static, as well as irrelevant in the local context. As the work of Harvey has pointed out, the universal laws of science are not tied to locality or place, being a form of knowledge which is "fully mobile because it is singular and detachable" (Harvey 2007:165). As these narratives stress, power and knowledge cannot be detached from the landscape, because from there, power and knowledge are ultimately derived.

¹¹⁵ Salomon and Urioste have translated this section from the Quechua into English as: Regarding this worship, it may be that the Yunca don't practice it anymore, or that not all the Yunca do. But they do perform it away from their own places. When they don't do it people speculate, saying, "It's because of that fault of theirs that the Yunca are becoming extinct" (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 75-76)

Sandamianinos see the visible outcome of negotiation with the *abuelos* gushing through the irrigation system, and in the visible rashes they induce in those they wish to punish. Chaumeil has pointed out the link between seeing and knowing in Amazonian societies: "Recordamos que en numerosas tradiciones amazónicas las nociones de ver, saber y poder son conceptualmente muy cercanas" (Chaumeil 2012: 416, citing his 1998 work).¹¹⁶ This comment can also be applied to Andean ones; narratives explaining the magical materialisation of visible manifestations of huacas' power are abundant in the Andes. The conceptual link between seeing, knowing and power is exemplified in another of Eugenio's narratives where following another past ritual failure on the Chaucalla canal, the abuelo, ready to castigate the ritual president showed himself in the form of two men.

In this respect, although the narrative is deeply critical of globalisation, we may appreciate that stories such as this one function to (re)produce local identity. I agree with Degregori's comments on globalising processes, whereby:

"En efecto, no todos se "aculturán" o no lo hacen totalmente. Por el contrario, conforme se intensifican los contactos entre pueblos y culturas diferentes se intensifica también el deseo de esos pueblos de reafirmar sus identidades propias. Esto sucede porque cualquier identidad colectiva, cualquier Nosotros, se define en contraste con los Otros, con los diferentes. Por tanto, conforme se intensifican los contactos con esos Otros diferentes, surge la necesidad o al menos la posibilidad de fortalecer ese Nosotros" (Degregori 2003: 214).¹¹⁷

Of equal relevance here is Walter Benjamin's philosophical research, which explores the role of the past in empowering tradition-based societies: "In every era an attempt must be made anew to wrest tradition away from a conformism that is about to overpower it" (Benjamin 1969: 255). In the particular context of San Damián, the

¹¹⁶ "We note that in numerous Amazonian traditions, the notions of seeing, knowing and power are conceptually very close together"

¹¹⁷ "In effect, not all "acculturate" themselves or they do not do so totally. On the contrary, just as contacts between populations and other cultures intensify, the desire of those populations to reaffirm their own identities also intensifies. This happens because any collective identity, any We, is defined in contrast to the Others, with people who are different. As such, just as contact with those different Others intensifies, the need or at least the possibility to strengthen that We also arises.

birthplace of extirpation campaigns based on systemised violent attacks on 'diabolic' idols and their adorers, morality and power are (re)positioned in the highland sphere through the narrativization of the (deeds of the) landscape. Even today.

5.4 Conclusions

My analyses of narratives of clashing world-views identified ontological tensions which inform attitudes towards ancestral beliefs associated with water and ancestral sites. I argued that highland Lima narratives about ancestral beliefs and cultural difference are underpinned by discourses of power and modernity. I offered an interpretation of such stories wherein I suggest that ancestor-conversion narratives serve to shift moral authority to the highland sphere, challenging that of the State and dominant sectors of society.

Scientific, modernist attitudes towards nature undermine the law of *costumbre*, and thus development and tradition do not sit together comfortably. In adopting such a dualist approach I do not deny that Peruvian society is completely polarised in the above respects, however I do think that the State is technically incapable of adequately representing Huarochirano beliefs about water because the State esteems itself, in its various manifestations, as the sole legal authority on water. Thus State authorities in narratives, be they policemen or water engineers (teachers and health care workers etc.), in representing officialdom and legitimate power, constitute convenient objects of ridicule and, paradoxically, are rendered as immoral and powerless, not only by the traditionally powerless through subversive narrative performances, but also by the *abuelos* who force State representatives to 'convert'.

Both the narrative of the policeman and the engineer are reconstructions of instances of 'ontological excess' where illness and non-productivity are associated with 'non-belief' in the *abuelos*. Clearly, Huarochiranos regard the abandonment of ritual to be a risk to the wellbeing of the *abuelos* as well as that of anyone who fails to acknowledge the *abuelos* properly. In this respect, the narratives from San Damián strongly suggest that negotiating tradition and modernity in postcolonial societies represents a moral dilemma, since Huarochiranos regard the *abuelos* to be an ever-

present and watchful social force who are critical of change. Both of the narratives are particularly critical of State attitudes towards local customs and towards landscape. In this respect, Huarochiranos see themselves as marginalised in relation to the State. In the Huarochirano geopolitics of power and knowledge, modern ways of knowing become irrelevant on highland turf and, moreover, they impede wellbeing. This marginalisation, conveyed as being based on ontological grounds, is therefore perceived to be damaging to local means of production and social cohesion. The tension is manifest in the landscape itself: it may protest, and challenge any contest to the authority of the *abuelos*. The local landscape demands that its specific needs be recognised and met and locals find cause for concern when this very basic fact of Andean reality is not acknowledged.

The narratives from San Damián therefore make clear the central role that land, place and irrigation infrastructure play in the construction and re-affirmation of local identity. Landscape rituals directed towards the *abuelos* represent a moral compass against which to recognise and express difference. In this sense, analyses of narrative and ritual discourse allow us to explore discourses of identity, which cannot be understood fully without exploring broader historically rooted political and ethnic tensions. In reading Sandamianino narratives through the lens of these interrelated discourses, local understandings of knowledge, power and 'otherness' come to light.

A close reading of the narratives also brought various cultural continuities to light. The oral narratives being told by Huarochiranos today are strikingly similar to those of their early colonial ancestors whose traditions are described in the Quechua text of 1608. Some narrative strategies such as intertextuality and quinquepartition have been maintained despite language loss. This in itself suggests a high degree of cultural continuity in the domain of oral narrative, i.e. in the key expressive medium for representing the past.

Moreover, the central concerns of the early colonial 'children of Pariacaca', faced with fast-paced culture change and the violent impetus of Christianisation, are very similar to those of their descendants. Just as their ancestors feared that social change would

bring about destruction, modern-day Huarochiranos share the same concern. It is a concern inherited through generations and one which makes Huarochiranos who they are, and reminds them who they do not want to become.

Chapter 6. Grounded in language, rooted in the past: expressing animate landscape in a non-indigenous tongue

“En la actualidad absolutamente todos hablan el castellano con ciertos vicios de dicción y replanas. Los razgos [sic] de los idiomas prehispánicos solo quedan en los nombres de los lugares”.

(CSSD: 1957: 200)

In 1957, a contributor to a local text, *La voz de San Damián*, wrote that the Spanish dialect of the district was spoken with “certain bad habits of speech and slangs” (CSSD: 1957: 200). The contributor then proceeded to explain that “The traces of the Pre-Hispanic languages remain only in place names”. What is one to make of this statement, especially when, even half a century later this is not the case? Was the writer indeed aware that local Spanish is heavily influenced by Quechua in its lexicon and grammatical structure, and perhaps felt the need to ‘write out’ this fact in the official domain of writing? Whatever the case, there was clearly less stigma associated with ‘bad habits’ in local Spanish than with linguistic features adopted from an indigenous language. If we assume that the Sandamianino society of the 1950s was anything like the San Damián of today in terms of attitudes towards indigenous languages, it is quite possible that the contributor genuinely believed that local peculiarities in Spanish are mistakes and have no relation to the linguistic past of the area. Huarochiranos today find it difficult to talk about the linguistic history of the province, so much so that neither locals nor national and international academics know for certain when Quechua became extinct in Huarochirí. Perhaps in this sense, the extract does indeed represent ‘the voice of San Damián’ in terms of locals’ perspectives and concerns, if not the characteristics of their spoken voices.

The text was written during the time when national road building projects (begun in the 1920s under Leguía during the initial phase of his *Oncenio*) had started to articulate remote Lima highland communities with the *Carretera Central* (Central Highway) linking Lima with the interior. Within this context, the text represents an eager attempt to insert San Damián into the national community and the first pages

are dedicated to currying the favour of State officials and celebrating national figures of past and present. This was no time to claim cultural difference. Might the distancing of the district from its linguistic past in *La voz de San Damián* represent part of a broader process of *mestizaje*? According to De la Cadena, *mestizaje* has been defined as a homogenising project: “un proyecto histórico de construcción de nación moderna: a cambio de hacer vivir la mezcla racial-cultural, que (inevitavelmente) lo antecede, promete la purificación ontológica-epistémica de su población, dejando morir aquello que estorbaba esta homogeneidad” (De la Cadena 2007:31).¹¹⁸ The San Damián text strives to make it clear that Quechua is strictly part of the district’s past and not its present, leaving no room for doubt about the district’s compatibility with national aims. Brandstater et al. point out that nation-building in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Latin America “was often based on ideas of *mestizaje* (racial and cultural mixture) which was said to produce a homogenous, whitened citizen; in this, blackness and indigenusness were generally seen as backward, primitive elements” (Brandstater et al. 2011: 9). Since Quechua has historically been seen as a marker of tradition, and even ethnic and racial inferiority (Harvey 2008: 198), the desire to clarify San Damián’s linguistic status must be understood within this context.¹¹⁹

Through confining indigenous languages to place names only, the influence of Quechua in modern-day San Damián is de-personified and relegated to an unidentified period in the past. Moreover, if we consider the local text as an attempt to seek poverty alleviation through affirming San Damián’s wholehearted inclusion within the Peruvian nation then a reading of the aforementioned reference to Quechua extinction can be understood as an affirmation of the language’s incompatibility with development and modernity, and perhaps represents an implicit

¹¹⁸ “a historical modern nation-building project: instead of bringing to life the racial-cultural mixture that (inevitably) precedes it, it promises the ontological-epistemic purification of its population, leaving that which got in the way of that homogeneity to die off”

¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, as Mannheim aptly points out, although developmentalists take Quechua to be an obstacle to economic development, Spanish-speaking peasants in the highlands of Lima reaped no financial, political or social gain from their language loss and they are stigmatised just as their Quechua speaking counterparts are (Mannheim 1991: 61).

reference to the pursuit of 'cultural improvement' extolled elsewhere in the text (CSSD 1958: 88). As Hale has pointed out, ideologies of *mestizaje* were progressive in that they "extended the promise of equality to all; its progressive glimmer, in turn, gave the political project – to assimilate Indians and marginalize those who refused – its hegemonic appeal" (Hale 2004: 16-17). A supplication in the preface to *La Voz de San Damián* for all of the villages of Peru "in this moment of grand opportunities and responsibilities, to strive for the same goal" (CSSD 1957: 12) is evidence of the local population's hopefulness that the coming of the roads would unite the nation and bring opportunities to all rural communities.¹²⁰ In Huarochirí, Quechua, or the memory of it, was not deemed to be compatible with these interests. According to Romero, in Andean scholarship between the 1940s to the 1970s, "Indians were generally described as monolingual Quechua peasants, carriers of ancient traditions, and situated at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy in the Andes" (Romero 2001: 29). Similar opinions are held in Huarochirí today. According to Salomon and Niño-Murcia, Huarochiranos today "regard those who speak Quechua as indios" (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 20).

Despite the cultural and linguistic homogenising efforts implicitly and explicitly alluded to in *La voz de San Damián*, we know that Sandamianinos have maintained some important manifestations of ancestral culture which differentiate them from dominant sectors of society, including their continued understanding that water and landscape are owned by the *abuelos*. The recognition that the landscape is animate and has agency is a fundamental point of reference in communicating difference between locals and outsiders. The perspective of Romero is valuable here for considering the case of Huarochirí as a typically Andean highland community which no longer speaks an indigenous language: "Every process of cultural *mestizaje*, as of hybridization, is similar in its launching stages, when the forces of tradition however invented, reinvented, or constructed – are confronted with the forces of the

¹²⁰ "Este llamamiento se hace también extensivo a todos los pueblos del Perú que, en esta hora de grandes realizaciones y responsabilidades, bregan por el mismo ideal" (CSSD 1957: 12)

modern, but they arrive at very different conclusions and are posited within separate wider national contexts" (Romero 2001: 23). As I will venture, Huarochirí's position as a province with a strong sense of ideologically grounded identity (as Chapter 5 illustrated), yet located within the department of Lima in an ever-increasing situation of articulation with the capital city, is crucial for understanding the reasons as to why the descendants of the 'children of Pariacaca' eventually relinquished Quechua.

Although some sociolinguists regard indigenous language loss to be both a cause and result of ethnocultural disruption, it would seem that Quechua language extinction was neither followed by, nor was a result of an erosion of the core identity that Huarochiranos express and reproduce through claiming recognition of animate landscape and adhesion to the moral law of *la costumbre* as a relational mark of difference vis-à-vis outsiders.¹²¹

The data that I present in this chapter suggests that 'Quechua ontology' (Mannheim and Salas 2014: 1) has been channelled into Huarochirí Spanish and as such, the case of Huarochirí fundamentally questions the conflation of (Quechua) language and ontology of animate Andean landscape. If so-called 'Quechua ontology' may outlive Quechua language extinction then exactly how central is language to a value system? Rather than talk of 'Quechua ontology', would it be more useful to talk of 'Andean ontology' and thus recognise the fundamental role that lived environment has on social organisation?

Furthermore, the case of Huarochirí undermines the conflation of language and ethnic identity in academic and political discourses, most notably in the current State criteria for inclusion in the indigenous people's database. This conflation may be called into question given the fact that the relational expression of identity by non-indigenous Huarochiranos is paralleled in communities in Quechua-speaking regions of the Andes (Mannheim 1986, 1991). As explained in Chapter 2, the State recognises Quechua-speaking communities to be indigenous based on their fulfilment of the

¹²¹ "Giving up a traditionally associated ethnic mother tongue is both a result of and a cause of ethnocultural dislocation" (Fishman 1999: 154)

criterion of indigenous language, as well as the criterion of self-identification as indigenous (among the other factors also explored in chapter 2), however, as previously pointed out; Quechua-speakers express their identity in similar terms to Huarochiranos, through claiming difference in ontological outlook. Nevertheless, their status as Spanish speakers means that legal discourse regards Huarochiranos to be fundamentally different to Quechua speaking highlanders in terms of their ethnicity. This is despite the fact that most of these groups would also be legally recognised by the State to be *campesinos*. Fishman points out that various factors, such as economic and political concerns can influence the extent to which people recognise their ethnicity and their mother tongue as being connected (Fishman 1999: 55). Likewise, the work of Graham has illustrated that Amazonian groups often (but not always) engage with ideas concerning what is expected of indigenous groups in the public performance of indigeneity, and that Western understandings of indigeneity inform groups' decisions over how to present themselves in terms of language choice (Graham 2002). As her work powerfully illustrates, the linguistic choices of indigenous representatives for their speeches given during public events may have profound effects on the way their ethnicity is interpreted. These interpretations regarding how an Indian 'should speak' stem from Western ideas relating to the relationship between language and ethnicity which do not reflect the reality of many ancestral groups.

Taking this into account, I echo Fishman in demonstrating that, as a case in point, Huarochirí represents a clear example of the fact that "Language and ethnicity should be understood as being linked, but by no means should be regarded as equivalent" (Fishman1999:154). This point will run through the chapter as a core argument, constructed through highly contextualised analyses of Huarochirano lexicon of landscape. The aim of the chapter is to illustrate the ontological perspective of the Spanish speakers from Huarochirí through considering the significance of words in context, taking into account both the narrative context and the broader cultural

context which insists that the landscape is a powerful presence which shapes and penetrates lives.

Much of the vocabulary used to express ideas about animate landscape in this ostensibly monolingual Spanish-speaking province is of Quechua etymology (i.e. Quechuaisms in the Spanish dialect); Spanish colonial lexicon is also used in the context of (discussing) landscape ritual. It is quite possible, in fact, that through attributing Spanish religious lexicon with autochthonous ideological function (i.e. meanings associated with key aspects of *huaca* worship), ontology of animate landscape survived colonial Christianization campaigns and did not die out alongside Quechua language. The adoption of some Spanish lexicon might have been a strategy for encouraging cultural survival, or more specifically, a strategy designed to please the ancestral landscape beings in the context of extirpation of idolatries. The strategic adoption of Christian terminology might have been instrumental in allowing communication with the sacred landscape to continue. Indeed, for the case of the Andes, Howard-Malverde points out that adaptation permits the survival of tradition:

“In the wake of colonisation, cultural hybridisation may be the only means whereby an effective indigenous discourse of resistance can evolve: the “authentically indigenous” is an inescapable anachronism in such a setting, while the alternative to hybridisation is the engulfment of the indigenous by the hegemonic cultural forms and values of the colonising society. From this point of view, hybridisation generates a space for the formulation of new meanings, by combining re-use and transformation of the indigenous, with appropriation and adaptation of symbols originating with the dominant culture” (Howard-Malverde 1997: 15)

Certainly, the notion (discussed in chapter 4) that Huarochiranos have ‘faith’ (*fe*) in working the landscape and maintaining the irrigation canals as well as having faith in the *abuelos* could suggest a potential attempt to thwart the attentions of suspicious clerics. In the words of Harvey: “each party to the [colonial] encounters used what they already knew of the world to make sense of the Other and to consider what communicative strategy to adopt in seeking to establish some kind of relationship” (Harvey 2008: 194). As mentioned in Chapter 2, early colonial Huarochiranos would

feign their conversion through deceiving local clerics in what has been described as a “highly crafted double-talk” (Paulson 1990). Neither colonial domination nor language shift has impeded the crucial communication process between landscape beings and people, upon which survival hinges.

In order to shed light on diverse aspects of Andean cosmology which are manifest in Huarochirí Spanish lexicon, the chapter will take into account the role of historical change-inducing processes which sought (but failed) to culturally assimilate the highland population. Given that “words are nothing if not spoken, and speakers are located in society, in history, and in systems of power relations” (Howard-Malverde 1998: 591), this chapter seeks to explore the ways that power relationships manifest at the level of lexicon, namely through arguing that indigenous loanwords persist in Huarochirí Spanish because a Spanish lexical repertoire alone would be incapable of communicating the characteristics of the powerful, ambivalent landscape.

I believe that the long period of language contact between Quechua and Spanish is central for understanding how ancestral ways of understanding landscape have been maintained in Huarochirí despite eventual Quechua language loss. In narrating the land, Huarochiranos echo and re-produce the vocabularies of their ancestors; continued use of particular words indicates that they are apt for communicating local life and landscape (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 157-159), whereas irrelevant, obsolete words would fall into disuse. Through detailing how landscape beings are discussed in Huarochirí Spanish dialect, the chapter also sheds light on the linguistic history of the province: Huarochirí dialect(s) are heavily influenced at the lexical and substrate level by Quechua and, to some degree, the indigenous pre-Quechua language Jaqaru, with a primary focus on loanwords and archaic Spanish vocabulary that made its way into ritual and quotidian parlance. In so doing, my discussion builds on the work of Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011), whose recent work on Huarochirí features a socio-linguistic enquiry into traditional vocabulary in common parlance in the Tupicocha and San Damián districts. The research presented in this chapter offers original insights into the ethnography of Huarochirí through a highly contextualised

approach to the analysis of words spoken within the context of narrative and conversation. Moreover, it seeks to explore the association between words and worlds through consideration of the ontological outlook that Huarochiranos express when they choose one particular word over another when narrating the local landscape. Through this approach, I demonstrate the everyday power and politics associated with words and consider the potential of sociolinguistic or 'ethnolinguistic' enquiry for the growing body of research concerned with cosmopolitics and so-called 'indigenous' ontology.

6.1 Quechua language extinction in the home of the Quechua 'bible'

In Huarochirí we find an example of relatively recent language transformation, with the main period of language shift from Quechua to Spanish probably occurring between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 23). The province that is famous for its early colonial Quechua manuscript therefore probably abandoned the language around a century to a century and a half ago, three centuries after the indigenous scribe Cristobal Choquecaxa (Durston 2007) set down the province's history and traditions in the new medium of writing and in so doing, produced the first known Quechua language book-length manuscript. Fishman's work on diglossia is useful for understanding the demise of Quechua in Huarochirí, since it refers to linguistic situations marked by a hierarchy in language function of genetically unrelated languages¹²² and "provides the impetus for language maintenance or shift" (García and Schiffman 2006: 20). Although the Huarochirí Manuscript represents a unique early colonial Quechua written source, the language eventually came to lose its literary function in Huarochirí, a situation which is clear in the work of Salomon and Niño-Murcia which notes that as yet, research of community archives [of Tupicocha and neighbouring districts] have not yielded community records in either Quechua or Jaqaru (Salomon and Niño-Murcia, 2011: 22), suggesting that Quechua and Spanish maintained alternating functions through

¹²² "diglossia is a characterization of the societal allocation of functions to different languages or varieties" (Fishman 1972: 145).

time. As this chapter will show, change-inducing processes that marked the period between the late 19th and early 20th century are crucial for understanding language shift in Huarochirí, yet the historical relationship of hierarchy between the two languages and their respective functions contributed to the relinquishment of Quechua, since: “Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the others” (Fishman 1972: 149). For Fishman, the distribution of power between linguistic groups is of central importance for understanding language maintenance, shift and also revitalization.

According to state census records, by 1940, only 0.3 percent of men and 0.8 percent of women in Huarochirí classified themselves as Quechua monolingual speakers, whereas 88.2 percent of men and 91.2 percent of women were reported to be speakers of Spanish (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 23) and we can likely assume that a portion of these people were bilingual. Based on these figures it may be reasonable to assume that the great-grandparents, or even the grandparents of some elderly Huarochiranos spoke some Quechua or at least had passive knowledge of it. Given that Julio C Tello, the renowned Huarochirí-born archaeologist and “native Quechua speaker” (Burger 2009: 3) was born in 1880 and brought up in the district¹²³, there may also have been Quechua speakers in neighbouring San Damián in the late 19th century.¹²⁴ This reflection is in line with the thinking of Salomon and Niño-Murcia on the temporality of Quechua to Spanish language shift in the province. Indeed, the Swiss naturalist and explorer Johann Jakob von Tschudi’s accounts of Huarochirí, based on his travels throughout Peru in the mid-19th century, suggest that Quechua was seemingly spoken in Huarochirí during this time. In his commissioned report of

¹²³ The Huarochirí district is within walking distance of San Damián (locals describe its location as being ‘a la espalda de San Damián’). Herders between the two districts made contact while pasturing their herds.

¹²⁴ In Huarochirí, Tello is known as ‘El Sharuko’, Quechua for ‘brave’, a nickname quite possibly inspired by his status as a Quechua speaker who achieved to insert himself in the (elite, western) domain of academia.

the San Damián district, local engineer Alejandro mentioned von Tschudi's findings on Huarochirí Quechua in a section detailing cultural deterioration in San Damián (*Deterioro de Recurso Científico-Cultural*): "Juan Jacob Tschudi al estudiar en 1853 la lengua Keswa describe muchas veces que los Huarochiranos pronunciaban en aquella época, que aún se mantiene el "A'karo o Kauki" como lengua aymara en el pueblo de Tupe provincia de Yauyos" (Alejandro 1998: 66).¹²⁵ The mentioned study was probably von Tschudi's 1853 work 'Die Kechua-Sprache', and consultation of this text would possibly throw light on the characteristics of Huarochirí Quechua and Aru (Aymara) varieties spoken during the mid-19th Century.

Huarochirí is a "linguistic contact zone where an Aymara-like vernacular coexisted, in decline, with Quechua and with another vernacular peculiar to coastal and lower valley groups" (Salomon and Grossboll 2011: 41). Huarochirí scholarship tends to pinpoint the Aymara vernacular as Jaqaru (Rostworowski 1978: 110), which is spoken today in ever-decreasing numbers in some villages in the neighbouring Yauyos province of Lima but which fell into decline in Huarochirí at an undetermined earlier period¹²⁶. We can appreciate that Huarochirí is an area which has been historically characterised by cultural contact and respective language decline even prior to European conquest. Linguistic change was something that pre-Hispanic Huarochiranos were apparently accustomed to (Rostworowski 1978: 110). However, following conquest, the importance of Spanish in colonial rule paved the way for a situation of diglossic hegemony and language contact, one that exists through to the present-day. As Howard explains:

As a result of the social, political, and economic dominance of Spanish since the colonial period, many Quechua speakers became bilingual with the European language in order to be able to communicate across the linguistic divide and in institutional spheres, while Quechua became largely associated with rural, domestic, and intimate settings. The bilingualism that

¹²⁵ "Juan Jacob Tschudi, on studying in 1853 the Quechua language, often describes that the Huarochiranos spoke at that time, Jaqaru or Kauki, as an Aymara tongue in the Tupe province of Yauyos, is still maintained"

¹²⁶ Jaqaru is spoken in Tupe, Yauyos today by some 200 speakers and is in danger of extinction.

grew from this “diglossic” situation gave rise to language mixture in the speech of many individuals. (Howard 2013: 4)

Spanish dialects spoken in Huarochirí today are so strongly shaped by local influences (such as Jaqi and Quechua language substrate) that communication between Spanish speaking Huarochiranos and Limeños may be unintelligible at times. Indeed I was told by a Sandamianina that “En Lima es otro castellano. ¡Otro castellano hablan! A veces no nos entendemos”.¹²⁷ Highland Lima communities have been strongly articulated with Lima city and with communities located along a central highway such as Cocachacra, Chosica and the province’s capital Matucana, as well as regularly receiving peddlers and traders from Huancayo. Nevertheless, it may be said that prior to infrastructural developments carried out in the early 20th century which articulated remote highland communities with the central highway and beyond, that Huarochirí dialects of Spanish developed in relative, but of course, not complete, isolation from dominant coastal dialects¹²⁸, while maintaining influence from Quechua despite a waning bilingualism and growing tendency towards Spanish.

6.2 Language, Power and the State: nation building and negotiating diversity

Linguistic domination has played a crucial role in state formation and nation-building, processes whose effects in the Lima highlands have already been discussed in chapter one. Here I will give more consideration specifically to the effects of nation-building and linguistic hegemony upon Quechua language use in Huarochirí, given that “The patterns observed across languages – of diversity, relatedness, divergence and convergence – are outcomes at the receiving end of a cause- and -effect relationship, moulded directly by ‘forces of history’ that are independent of language itself” (Heggarty 2015: 600). In this respect, linguistic change in Huarochirí must be understood within the broader context of hegemony and relationships of power that

¹²⁷ “In Lima it’s another Spanish. They speak another Spanish! Sometimes we don’t understand each other”

¹²⁸ It is even quite possible, in the context of *ayllu* (kin group) endogamy prior to the 20th century (notwithstanding interaction and trade between communities) that dialects developed at the village or supra-village parish level, and indeed locals comment that Tupicocha dialect and San Damián dialect possess their own defining features, aspects of which will be briefly discussed within this chapter.

have affected the province in its recent history, or in other words, the characteristics of the specific 'language ecology' (Haugen 1972).¹²⁹ For the context of Huarochirí, historical processes of nation building may have had greater linguistic effects than in highland provinces located further from Lima. Even prior to the republican era, highlanders resident in colonial Lima were under pressure to favour Spanish.¹³⁰

Hornberger has explored relatively recent developments in language policy (in the Andean countries and beyond) which recognise the potential of indigenous languages for nation building. Nevertheless, she points out that this attitude towards indigenous languages by states has followed a long period of linguistic hegemony defined by "the idea that a nation-state should be unified by one common language... [which] has held sway in recent Western history from the rise of the European and American nation-states in the 18th and 19th centuries on through the formation of independent African and Asian nation-states in mid-20th century and up to the present" (Hornberger 2001: 31). Through officialising the dialect of the elite, states in many societies have sought to achieve unification through linguistic dominance of the elated dialect over others spoken within state territory (Bourdieu 1982). Through language, "one could be invited into the imagined community" (Anderson 1983: 145) and it is clear from the content of *La voz de San Damián* that traces of indigenous language were not deemed to be compatible with

¹²⁹ Haugen defines language ecology as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment," going on to define the environment of the language as including both psychological ("its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers") and sociological ("its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication")(Haugen, 1972: 325), cited in Hornberger 2001: 33.

¹³⁰ As Ramos explains: "In the Lima valley the native population suffered particularly gravely in the demographic crisis unleashed upon Spanish Conquest. Alongside that precipitous collapse, however, Lima served as a magnet for sustained immigration throughout the colonial period... This [the Indian population resident in Lima, mostly migrants from the central highlands] was a multilingual community, from a very early stage under great pressure to adopt Spanish... Various factors encouraged the switch from indigenous languages to Spanish: most migrants came to Lima from a position of isolation, which only continued when they arrived; many entered the service of Spaniards from an early age, and the colonial authorities increasingly favoured the use of Spanish in most aspects of daily life" (Ramos 2011: 28)

modernisation, development and national inclusion, which, as De la Cadena points out, relied on the erasure of difference.

Similarly, for Heggarty, the emergence of nation-states in Europe in countries with a colonial past was... associated with the attitudes of those countries towards language: "The expansions of the colonial and imperialist periods emerged out of just those parts of Europe at the forefront of the rise of the nation state, precisely that form of society most characterised by inexorable language standardisation." (Heggarty 2015: 615-616). The centrality of language to nation building is such that language has been described as "the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology" (Fishman 1977-25). Such a view strongly echoes the perspective of Gramsci, for whom values and ways of understanding the world are contained within language and mediated through hegemonic relationships:

Every time that the question of language surfaces, in one way or another, it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore: the formation and enlargement of the governing class, the need to establish more intimate and secure relationships between the governing groups and the national-popular mass, in other words to recognize the cultural hegemony. (Gramsci 1985: 183-184)

This would certainly seem to be the case in the Andes, where Quechua speakers were described in 2013 by a State official as being a 'danger' and 'cancer' to citizenship due to their supposed incapacity for rational thought.¹³¹ In a vein similar to that of Gramsci, Fishman has stated that "It is difficult to oppose languages without opposing their speakers and their community interests" (Fishman 1999: 154) and this point is pertinent for the case of Peru, where attacks on Quechua language such as

¹³¹ "Durante la última jornada del Encuentro Nacional de Cultura realizado en la ciudad del Cusco el Gerente de Turismo, Cultura, Educación y Medio Ambiente de la Municipalidad del Cusco, Martín Romero, manifestó que la lengua quechua es un "peligro" y "un cáncer" para la formación de los ciudadanos y un día después ha presentado su carta de renuncia", citation taken from the 'Alerta contra racismo' Peruvian State website: <http://alertacontraelracismo.pe/ministerio-de-cultura-se-pronuncia-sobre-inaceptables-declaraciones-de-un-funcionario-de-la-municipalidad-del-cusco/> . My translation: "During the final day of the National Culture Conference taking place in the city of Cusco, the Head of Tourism, Culture, Education and Environment of the Municipalidad of Cusco, Martin Romero, stated that the Quechua language is a "danger" and "a cancer" for the formation of citizens and a day later, handed in his notice of resignation".

the aforementioned one are simultaneously attacks on Andean ways of knowing and of conceptualising the world.

In 2007, a video showing the Peruvian *congresistas* Maria Sumire and Martha Hildebrandt embroiled in a heated discussion surrounded by journalists was released on the internet. The two women, at that time, were debating a proposal for the officialisation of Peru's indigenous languages proposed within a draft of the 'Law for the preservation, use and diffusion of the aboriginal languages of Peru'.¹³² In the video, linguist Hildebrandt criticised the Quechua activist Sumire's claims to intellectual authority, claiming that her own published works written in the "lengua culta" warranted her authority that Sumire did not deserve: as Hildebrandt repeatedly stated: "Each person in their place" ("Cada uno en su sitio").¹³³ For Howard, incidents such as this one exemplify the situation of the Quechua language in Peru today, where drafts of laws on indigenous languages may be impeded by Hispanocentrism and conservatism in government (Howard 2013: 205-206).

Ethnically grounded snobbery, as we have seen, is perpetuated by State officials in Peru and is manifest in linguistic terms, pointing towards a Gramscian hegemony. Hegemonic ideals of language have not escaped the State school system: the recent work of Salomon and Niño-Murcia illustrates that national schoolbooks used relatively recently in the Huarochirí province aimed to discourage linguistic 'barbarisms' (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 195), i.e. examples of Quechua language influence on rural dialects of Castilian. Andean Spanish is a dialect which is stigmatized in Lima because it is "associated with the indigenous population of Peru" (Klee, Tight and Caravedo 2011: unpaginated).

In considering the particular situation of Huarochirí as a Highland province, yet one which is today Spanish-speaking, it is important to keep in mind the province's proximity to Lima city and of course its inclusion in the Department of Lima. Given

¹³²(Ley para La Preservación, Uso y Difusión de las Lenguas Aborígenes del Perú).

¹³³ As Oliart has pointed out, proficiency in Spanish, and particularly in styles appropriate for formal public address is a masculine attribute which is highly valued and encouraged in the Andes (Oliart 2011: 212).

that many Huarochiranos, like other *serranos* today feel compelled to conceal their Highland identity when in Lima, one can imagine that their former status as Quechua speakers likely provided a source of ridicule in the capital city. In his research of Quechua-speaking migrants in Lima, Marr points out that, at the time of his research, there were virtually no speakers of Quechua in the capital (Marr 1998: 156). This owed to the fact that "Quechua is felt to be somehow incompatible with modernity and the desired self-image of the ambitious migrant" (Marr 2011: 214), being associated with poverty.¹³⁴ As Durston explains: "Quechua is the language of the poor and marginal in a poor and marginal part of the world" (Durston 2007: 2). Huarochirí has a history of intense articulation with Lima city, especially from the early 20th Century, when the process of *mestizaje* accelerated in Peru (Romero 2001: 20) and modernising and officialising discourses emanating from the capital likely played a key part in Quechua language extinction in the province.

The work of Bourdieu has highlighted the close association between linguistic domination and state formation, pointing out that linguistic difference is measured against hegemonic state discourses mediated through manifestations of state power and discourse:

"the official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language. Obligatory on official occasions and in official places (schools, public administrations, political institutions, etc.), the state language becomes a theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured." (Bourdieu 1982: 468)

It is perhaps no coincidence that many of the contributors to *La voz de San Damián* were schoolteachers and state officials, and as previously mentioned, the text was produced in the advent of the infrastructural articulation between San Damián and the nation's capital. This intensification of national infrastructure in the early 20th century should be understood against the backdrop of the (then) recent Chilean

¹³⁴ Quechua is associated with the countryside, as well as with poverty and powerlessness (Marr 1998: 156).

occupation in Peru between 1881 and 1884. The highland population was blamed for the defeat in the War of the Pacific by the Peruvian elites who regarded the Indians' lack of patriotism and civic virtue as the cause of defeat (Larson 2004: 196). Although this period of history may seem remote for contemplating language loss in the Lima highlands, various studies have pinpointed the centrality of this period of history for understanding ethnicity and associated discourses of discrimination and homogenisation in Peru, since the aftermath of war exposed the deep ethnic and social divides that characterized and supposedly debilitated the nation (Burger 2009, Larson 2004, Montoya 1979). In Peru during the early twentieth century, the Peruvian congress was debating the "Indian problem" and solutions such as the prohibition of reproduction by indians and the importation of superior races from western Europe were seriously discussed as possible solutions" (Burger 2009: 68, citing Lumbreras 1977)

In 1924, the Peruvian sociologist Hildebrando Castro Pozo wrote of the need to incorporate Peru's Indians into the nation. In a language suggestive of defence concerns, he declared: "Hay que incorporar al indio a nuestra vida, hay que hacerlo ciudadano, hay que hacerle partícipe de los beneficios de nuestras leyes con un alto espíritu de ponderación...hay que tender como bondad de todo programa de acción nacional el unir esas fuerzas a las fuerzas conscientes de la nacionalidad" (Castro 1979: 13)¹³⁵. In order for Peru to 'unite forces', change would need to take place: as Castro pointed out, the indigenous population would need to be 'made' into citizens. Burger has pointed out that in the late 19th Century, the indigenous population was being strategically homogenised for defence interests: "The disastrous war with Chile had caused many of Peru's elite to conclude native Peruvians needed to be more fully integrated into the national framework if a recurrence of this military debacle was to be avoided" (Burger 2009: 8).

¹³⁵ "The Indian must be incorporated into our life, it must be made into a citizen, he must be made to participate in the benefits of our laws with a high degree of consideration...any national action program needs to be inclined, in kindness towards uniting those powers to the conscious powers of nationality"

I do not think it is unrealistic to venture that the military value of Lima's provincial highlanders would have increased during this time. Might discourses of national integration during this time have stimulated or accelerated language loss in the Huarochirí province? Salomon and Niño-Murcia's analysis of census records would suggest that language loss was contemporaneous with the aftermath of Chilean occupation and subsequent national integration. Certainly, the oral testimony of Gregorio Condori Mamani suggests that early 20th Century militarisation was a factor in language shift. Reflecting on his time in the Army in the 1930s, he recalls the violent way in which Spanish was enforced upon the largely *serrano* troops: "There in the army, those lieutenants and captains didn't want us speaking the runa tongue. They'd say "Dammit, Indians! Spanish! So the noncomissioned officers would beat Spanish into us" (Valderrama and Escalante 1996:52).

While indigenous uprisings in distant provinces in the late 19th century (Larson 2004: 196) challenged Lima's attempts at nation-building, Huarochiranos living in Lima's watersheds, were geographically closer to "Lima's mimetic version of Eurocentric modernity" (Larson 2004: 198) than to developing *indigenista* projects based in Cuzco. Thus, in the 1920s, while Lima strove to find a national identity, the *indigenistas* in Cuzco decided that Lima did not represent Peru (Montoya 1979; x) a development within which, as Montoya explains, "se planteó entonces la falsa alternativa costa o sierra" (Montoya 1970: x).¹³⁶ It would seem that the Lima highlands represent a wildcard in this dichotomous representation of early 20th century Peru in the sense that the situation of Huarochiranos as highlanders was not seen as being incompatible with national interests, even if indigenous language was.

The work of Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011) has shown a co-existence and merging of autochthonous and State ideologies manifest in *ayllu* texts in the Tupicocha district featuring both language associated with national state interests and ritual *ayllu* terminology with Pre-Hispanic roots. Such was the case that the language of highland *ayllu* archives began to adopt a civic flavour: "As Tupicocha's *ayllu*-structured

¹³⁶ "at that point brought up the false alternative coast or highlands".

governance came into close articulation with the national state, villagers came to perceive some local words as standing in comparable condition with national words” (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 159). This situation, therefore is similar to the aforementioned observations made by Howard regarding Aymara and Quechua-speaking Northern Potosí, Bolivia, where the irredeemable mixing of language has resulted in a context where speakers are not aware of the etymological roots of the words they give to the animate landscape (Howard-Malverde 1995: 144). As we have seen in the previous chapter, Andean meanings attached to Spanish lexicon sometimes elude State representatives, suggesting a degree of incommensurability despite the mixing of language: Huarochiranos take note of the fact that State employees interpret some words differently to them.

It will be worthwhile here to consider the wider relevance of Bourdieu’s association between state power and linguistic domination for considering the case of Huarochirí as a Spanish-speaking province whose population therefore has no right to prior consultation law. Linguistic domination by the State has been a key factor in language shift in Peru, and language shift has been particularly rapid in the Lima highlands. Given this fact, it is ironic that the Peruvian State has recently decided to use linguistic status as a determining factor in the conferral of the right to prior consultation.

In the current and on-going context of the development of the *Base de Datos de Pueblos Indígenas u Originarios* by the Peruvian State, which is based on the problematic perception that linguistic status represents ancestral groups’ senses of cultural and ethnic identity above other factors, we can appreciate that State language i.e. Spanish functions as a norm against which Peru’s many and diverse linguistic practices are being measured in order to identify those with the right to prior consultation. This brings to mind Bourdieu’s aforementioned point about State approaches to language, where State language represents the norm against which all other language practices are measured. In this (Western) ideology, “language is perceived to be a principal sign of identity based on the assumption that

monolingualism is the norm" (Graham 2002: 182-183). Similarly, for Harvey, western ideas of personhood that hold language as being indexical to identity stem from European understandings of "language itself as a transparent instrument of social connection" (Harvey 2008: 201). The Peruvian State, therefore, is currently applying Western-rooted language ideology for the identification of its indigenous peoples. As previously stated, Convention 169 makes no mention of linguistic criteria for the determination of indigenous groups, perhaps owing to the fact that identity cannot be fully reduced to language.

The International Labour Organisation's explanation of the need for ancestral groups to have prior consultation law (discussed in Chapter 1) states that Convention 169 is supposed to protect ancestral communities which are vulnerable to culture change through and following development projects on their lands. However, what the criteria for the *Base de Datos de Pueblos Indígenas u Originarios* does not take into account are the situations of communities which have already experienced severe linguistic change following nation-building projects in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries and subsequent processes of modernisation, *mestizaje* and de-indianisation, development and globalisation.¹³⁷

Despite the cultural changes experienced in Huarochirí, the landscape remains a potent presence and entity that shapes lives. This situation begs some crucial questions concerning the association between language and ontology. Namely, how and why have ontologies of animate landscape rooted in the Pre-Hispanic era found a route into the Spanish-speaking context of modern-day Huarochirí? How can the characteristics of the local (animate) Andean landscape be communicated in a language that evolved in the Iberian Peninsula? These questions are geared towards presenting a case which critically undermines polarized understandings of Quechua and Spanish, Indian and non-Indian and which calls for a re-thinking of ideas concerning the relationship between language and ontology. The postcolonial

¹³⁷ During the late 1950s to 1970s, "Avoiding self-reference as Indians became an implicit point in the indigenous agenda for an empowered identity" (De la Cadena 2000: 311)

writings of Bhabha on the liminal, hybrid nature of the representation of difference are relevant in this discussion, since from his perspective “the borderline engagements of cultural difference...may confound our definitions of tradition and modernity” (Bhabha 2004: 2). I would like to hold onto this notion and carry it forward into my discussion of the ways in which Huarochiranos today verbalise the Andean landscape in a European language.

6.3 Expressing animate landscape in a non-indigenous tongue

As we have already seen, linguistic change has not resulted in the abandonment of tradition in Huarochirí and indeed traditional customary law has a crucial and central function in Huarochirano society, production and economy. In this chapter I will show that close analysis of Huarochirí dialect (in this case, words in common parlance in the San Damián district) allows us to appreciate that the domain of landscape has been, and remains, an area of resistance in on-going processes of linguistic homogenisation. Through close analysis and contextualisation of vocabulary used to refer to the landscape I will illustrate that ontologies of animate landscape are encapsulated in both (Quechua and Aymara) loan words and in archaic Spanish terms. For this purpose, theoretical bases for arguments in linguistic superdiversity (Blommaert and Rampton 2011), which highlight global influences upon language, are also of relevance for research focusing on linguistic continuity despite change. As Blommaert and Rampton have pointed out, focusing on the links and histories of each of the ingredients in a strip of communication makes obvious “the ideological homogenization and/or erasure in national language naming...and a host of sub- and/or trans-national styles and registers come into view, most of which are themselves ideologically marked and active” (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 4).

Despite superdiversity in various contexts of strong globalisation, Huarochirí represents a case where important features of the Spanish spoken are rooted in place. In this sense, local landscapes and their characteristics (and behaviours) are manifest in local dialects, showing that linguistic diversity may at once be a result of globalising processes and change as well as a result of tradition and permanence of

local conditions and influences which are grounded in place. Both de-territorialization, as well as a strong rootedness in place, give rise to linguistic diversity in the Lima highlands. Since landscape beings emerge from the earth itself and are confined to specific places, it is clear that expressive practices describing or directed towards them are manifestations of culture intrinsically vinculated to specific points on the landscape. In this respect, theories of deterritorialisation of language (Blommaert and Rampton 2011) are not fully applicable for the theoretical representation of contexts such as that of the Andean highlands, where language is strongly rooted in place.

As Escobar points out, sociolinguistic variation in Peru challenges homogenising approaches to language: “desconfiemos del estereotipo que todavía ve la lengua como unidad homogénea o compuesta por secciones análogas a compartimientos estancos” (Escobar 1978: 101).¹³⁸ Likewise, Boasian theory, which highlights the artificiality of classification and renders it a substitute for historical contextualisation¹³⁹ (Boas 1911: 385) is of value for considering the case of Huarochirí as a monolingual Spanish-speaking province (and thus, categorically not speakers of an indigenous language) where locals do not self-define as indigenous. An in-depth focus on linguistic continuity through change illustrates that indigenous loanwords in Huarochirí Spanish reflect a semantic incommensurability of Spanish and the indigenous languages spoken locally; this resultant semantic diversity challenges the very problematic notion of monolingualism, which some have argued is associated with the rise of European nation-states and subsequently exported to their colonies (Edwards 2004). It is of utmost interest that linguistic diversity in Huarochirí is partially borne out of the permanence of indigenous terms relating to the sacred landscape, i.e. the manifestations of native culture that the colonial system saw as a threat and thus sought to eradicate. Just as the colonial extirpators of idolatries discovered, the

¹³⁸ “we are untrusting of the stereotype which still sees language as a homogenous unit or made up of analogous sections to static behaviours”

¹³⁹ “we recognise thus that every classification of mankind must be more or less artificial according to the point of view selected, and here, even more than in the domain of biology, we find that classification can only be a substitute the genesis and history of the existing type” (Boas 1911: 385)

eradication of 'superstitions' pertaining to the landscape was impossible because many features of the landscape could not be physically removed (I refer to the Cristóbal de Albornoz citation which opens Chapter 2).

The relationship between worlds and words is reflected in the permanence of indigenous and archaic Spanish words for describing the physical landscape and, relatedly, for expressing the social relations revolving around the diverse characteristics and demands of the animate landscape. As Mannheim has pointed out for Quechua-speaking areas of the Andes, "To interpret the grammar and vocabulary of particular forms of action is to do more than read a topographic map. It is to philologically enter the discursive practices through which the territory underfoot is constituted" (Mannheim 1986: 268), a statement made with reference to grammatical and lexical manifestations of the reciprocal relationship within which Andeans engage with the animate landscape. Language poses a useful entry point for understanding Andean values associated with water and landscape, given that "ontologies manifest as "stories" in which the assumptions of what kind of things and relations make up a given world are readily graspable" (Blaser 2010: 3). Moreover, the work of Howard-Malverde, through a highly contextualised approach to lexical meanings in the Quechua-speaking central highlands of Peru, has demonstrated that Spanish words used by bilingual speakers may be underpinned by Quechua values (Howard-Malverde 1990:69). Additionally, Howard-Malverde's work in Northern Potosí, drawing on Hill and Hill (1980), has pointed out that "once they judge that it [their language] has become irredeemably mixed up with the vocabulary and structures of an encroaching, socially dominant tongue, many people consciously opt to abandon the less prestigious code, that is to say, the indigenous language" (1995: 144). In this sense, the relevance of Sapirian arguments for language determinism, where people are "very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society" (Sapir 1949: 162) and where 'no two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality' (Sapir 1949: 162) have only limited relevance in postcolonial Peru. That

two languages can never portray the same social reality is a notion which will guide the line of enquiry of this chapter, since Huarochirí represents an example of beings normally associated with the 'ontological inventory of things that do and can exist' (Blaser 2010) among Quechua and Aymara-speaking groups. This situation has come about following a long period of bilingualism in the province. Like elsewhere in the Andes, extended language contact has resulted in extensive lexical borrowing and the relationship between the two languages, is one where they are always "intrinsically meaningful in relation to each other" (Harvey 2008: 203), and as such language categories in the Peruvian Andes are unstable (Harvey 2008: 203-206).

6.4 Theorizing word-world association

Theoretically, this chapter builds on the ethnolinguistic work of Leavitt (2014) who has addressed the intersection between ethnolinguistic research and the ontological turn. Of particular interest is his recognition that diverse and even incommensurable human values pertaining to differing lived worlds are reflected in the diversity of languages (Leavitt 2014: 194). This notion is of utmost interest here, and it represents a continued recognition by anthropologists that through studying language in context, one can come to understand the world that gives rise to the language being studied. As Malinowski pointed out in the 1920s, "Linguistic analysis inevitably leads us into the study of all the subjects covered by Ethnographic field-work" (Malinowski 1923: 387). Through words then, we can come to understand the broader social context within which those words are enounced. Bauman and Sherzer identify several resources available to the members of a speech community for the conduct of speaking, including linguistic varieties and their distribution (i.e. the linguistic repertoires of its members) as well as genres of speech acts available. Of special interest here is an additional aspect of the system that they identify: "the set of community norms, operating principles, strategies, and values which guide the production and interpretation of speech" (Bauman and Sherzer 1974: 7). This perspective is in line with that of Harvey, for whom meaning is expressed through linguistic form, but embedded more deeply "in the relationships through which the

[linguistic] forms are rendered significant" (Harvey 2008: 210). As I have already established, Andean society is structured around relationships of reciprocity.

The work of Mannheim is an important precedent, since it illustrates that reciprocity, including reciprocity with the land is reproduced in linguistic practices that parallel this "pervasive organizing theme of Southern Peruvian Quechua culture" (Mannheim 1986: 267). Though his work was written prior to the ontological turn, he points out the axiomatic nature of the idea that worlds inhere in worlds. The work of Mannheim has shown how horizontal ("morally neutral") relationships with entities with which Quechua speakers engage in acts of reciprocity are marked at the level of lexicon and grammar (Mannheim 1986: 268). As he points out, "Quechua speakers make the primary conceptual distinction in their social universe between Runa human being and q'ara naked, uncultured, or, uncivilized" (Mannheim 1986: 268). Despite the fact that "the defining characteristic which sets off human beings, Runa, from the uncultured other is reciprocity and its attendant etiquette" (Mannheim 1986: 268), through considering the Huarochirí data we can also appreciate that this defining feature of Andean culture and identity, through which highland Limeños distinguish themselves from dominant sectors of society is, in fact, also marked in Huarochirí Spanish at the level of lexicon and grammar.

Having already illustrated the nature of reciprocal relationships between landscape beings and people through an in-depth analysis of oral narratives (in Chapter 5), this chapter aims to further illuminate the characteristics of such relationships with a focus on how ideas about animate landscape are manifest in words.



Figure 13 - In the Concha barrio

The recent work of Mannheim and Salas pointed out that wak'as represented a specifically Quechua conceptual framework and ontology. Although I agree with their point, it is important to point out that that identical or related conceptual frameworks and ontology may also be communicated through Andean Spanish through Quechua language loanwords, as well as through archaic Spanish words which have become imbued with Andean ritualistic significance, just as the work of Salomon and Niño-Murcia has pointed out. In making this point I am conceptually conflating modern-day landscape beings with wak'as, and although this may sound problematic given a long lapse of time, the recent work of Allen (2015) has also used a similar approach, regarding landscape beings in modern-day Peru to be modern-day manifestations of wak'as. It would seem, too, that Mannheim and Salas also recognise the continuity of pre-Hispanic wak'as, in their opening question "What is, or what was a wak'a?" (Mannheim and Salas 2014: 1).

If we accept that an ontology specific to Quechua may survive Quechua language loss, and either enter or remain within the capacity of the dominating language

(Spanish), then are we forced to challenge our acceptance of language-specific ontology? Or, conversely, does the fact that Quechua loanwords in Andean Spanish are crucial for representing and expressing an ontology of animate landscape serve to strengthen the association between language and ontology? Relatedly, archaic Spanish words which feature in a similar capacity, i.e. to communicate the characteristics of animate landscape may only do so because they acquired additional meanings through a long period of bilingualism, cultural hybridisation, and for the case of Huarochirí, a situation of subversive colonial resistance; we know from the content of the Huarochirí manuscript that conversion was more apparent than it was a reality, and that local clerics could be duped by sarcastic claims to conversion in the oral repackaging of native worship of the landscape as mere agricultural tasks. As Howard has also pointed out, "...the historical experience of enforced Christianization may have led Quechua and Aymara practitioners to disguise the terminology of their own cult, dressing up the latter in the vocabulary of the would-be converters" (Howard-Malverde 1998: 590).

To return to the work of Mannheim again, it will be useful to relate to his on-going argument concerning the way that ideas about reciprocity and social agency are bound up in the way that people talk about landscape: "Bound up in any discussion of wak'a is the nature of social agency and the ways in which it is embedded in a specifically Quechua ontology—that is, specifically Quechua ideas of the kinds of objects that exist in the world and their interaction with each other". (Mannheim and Salas 2014: 2). I have already made it clear that the notion of a specifically language-associated ontology is problematic, however Mannheim and Salas' above argument rings true for the case of Huarochirí, where Quechua loan words are embedded with meanings rooted in the province's Quechua-speaking past.

To illustrate one of Mannheim and Salas' pertinent examples concerning how Quechua speakers' ontological outlook was manifest in the language of Inca-Era Cuzco, I cite them here at length since the water-focused example is of high relevance for this discussion:

“For example, in the language of the Inka capital Cuzco, until the middle of the nineteenth century, two different words were used for ‘water’, unu and yaku. Unu designated the substance water, yaku the flowing water of irrigation. Yaku was understood to flow under its own agency. An irrigation canal, then, could not “carry” water (as it does in English, but not in French); rather the canal “guided” or “led” water... (Mannheim and Salas 2014: 2)

This point is a clear example of the fact that, as units of meaning, words can provide insights into the ontological assumptions of those who make conceptual distinctions such as this one.¹⁴⁰ In this chapter I will build on this historical example and illustrate how similar lexical distinctions are made in modern-day Huarochirí, where indigenous loanwords capture the agency of water sources in a way that a Spanish language ‘synonyms’ cannot. These words are passed down through generations and irrespective of whether those who reproduce them are aware of their Quechua etymology or not, they are representative of a collective knowledge given that: “The constant use and reuse of words by socially grounded speakers over time endows those words with special qualities, whereby they transcend their secular meaning” (Howard-Malverde 1998: 591). As Mannheim points out “When a speaker invokes part of the network of lexical meanings surrounding reciprocity and other forms of cyclicity, she is unconsciously reaffirming the ontological status of the larger network of meanings” (Mannheim 1991: 90). As I mentioned earlier, meanings associated with the animate landscape may also be tied to colonial Spanish lexicon, not just indigenous language loanwords.

Recent research in translation and ethnolinguistics has argued the centrality of language to world (Leavitt 2014), where ontological incommensurability makes translation difficult or impossible, resulting in a necessity for long explanations to contextualise cross-cultural difference. Likewise, the work of Nic Craith (2012) stresses the relationship between word and world through her interdisciplinary analysis of

¹⁴⁰ As such, this point coincides with Malinowski’s work on the incommensurability of cultural difference between so-called primitive and civilised languages (read indigenous and European languages?) where word for word translation cannot communicate meaning fully (Malinowski 1923: 386-387).

landscape, language and narrative. She notes “a common association between the traditional Gaelic language and the Irish landscape, the rural heartland in particular” (Nic Craith 2012: 50).

Incommensurability of value systems is manifest in the linguistic repertoire of Huarochiranos. The linguistic influence of Quechua language past are many, and are testimony to the incapacity of the colonial language to capture or reflect the peculiarities of Andean life and landscape. Vocabulary relating to the animate landscape is rooted in the past and grounded in the physical and social characteristics of the local environment. Arguments put forward by Escobar are of relevance here since he argues that ecology obliges us to approach places from a local perspective:

“Cultural models and knowledge are based on historical, linguistic, and cultural processes that, while never isolated from broader histories, nevertheless retain certain place specificity. In addition, many of the mechanisms and practices at play in nature constructions, such as boundaries, classifications, representations, cognitive apprehensions, and spatial relations, are significantly place — specific” (Escobar 2001: 151)

Nic Craith’s work on the relationship between language and landscape is worthy of further discussion here, since it draws on the writings of Andrew Reimer, a Hungarian who emigrated to Australia as a child. After spending a period studying in England before returning to Australia, he realized the strangeness of the English language for capturing Australian reality:

I noticed, after I returned to Australia some years later, that a long, straight street in the western suburbs of Sydney is called Railway Crescent. Such oddities made me realise that for Australians, English is also an alien language, even though most of them have spoken it all their lives. It is, for them, fundamentally foreign because it encodes experiences and natural phenomena to which they have no access in their daily lives. (Reimer 1992: 182, cited in Nic Craith 2012: 50)

As we will see, toponyms and manifestations of landscape in San Damián are not easily encoded with colonial or foreign phenomena. This is because the particular

characteristics of the landscape cannot be captured from a perspective which is not locally rooted. In this sense, local ways of speaking give voice to the diversity of the landscape itself.

6.5 The Voice of San Damián

The variety of Spanish spoken in San Damián, just as elsewhere in Huarochirí, is heavily influenced by Quechua at the grammatical and lexical level. There is also still a certain degree of Jaqaru substrate in the dialect. As the contributors to *La Voz de San Damián* pointed out, local toponyms – apart from the toponyms of Toledan reducciones – derive from these indigenous languages. Indeed, as explained in the introduction, Huarochirí is an Aymara toponym associated with its Pre-Inca population's expertise in irrigative infrastructure (Cerrón Palomino, personal communication). Many Huarochirano toponyms contain the word *sica*, an Aymara word for canal (Rostworowski 1978), such as Conchastica, the Pre-Hispanic settlement of the Concha *ayllu*. Beyond toponyms, daily conversation in Huarochirí Spanish is characterised by an aru substrate, i.e. the same substrate perceivable in the author of the 1608 text's Quechua.

According to Taylor, Jaqaru was the narrator's native tongue: "transcribió en una variante de la lengua general informaciones recogidas probablemente en diferentes dialectos quechuas y aru locales; a veces afloran términos de su propio sustrato aru o localismos de origen desconocido o formas derivadas de otros dialectos quechuas" (Taylor 1996: 21). Huarochirí language has maintained this diversity through time and this chapter explores some words deriving from many of the linguistic origins which Taylor identifies in the 1608 Huarochirí text. To support my point regarding the diversity of substrates in Huarochirano Spanish, it will be useful to make reference to the insights of Véliz Alberto Cuya, a teacher and local historian from Santiago de Tuna¹⁴¹ who explained that words originating from varied indigenous languages feature in the Tuna district dialect:

¹⁴¹ Santiago de Tuna is located close to the Tupicocha district, buses between San Damián and Lima pass through it.

"En el habla de Tuna hay una fuerte presencia de las antiguas lenguas de Huarochirí. Hay palabras y expresiones de lenguas como el Garu, el quechua ancashino, el Jaqaru y otras. Como las escuchamos y pronunciamos no somos conscientes de su origen y permanencia a través del tiempo. Por ejemplo... lo que recordé hoy "Chayca", para referirse a las niñas. No solo es la palabra, sino la entonación, lo que le da especial significado a lo que decimos...Una nota: Los pobladores de los tres pueblos (Tuna, Tupicocha y San Damián) se "birlaban" por su forma de hablar...Los tuneños siempre hemos pronunciado con más énfasis los sonidos /sh/ carro=/kársho/; los totecos; es decir los tupicochanos son exageradamente vibrantes /kár rro/, los sandamaninos /kárro/. Los procesos de aculturación fueron promovidos por los maestros de escuela, desde principios del siglo XX." (Véliz Alberto Cuya, Personal communication August 12th 2014).

Appendix Reference 14

As Don Véliz explains, there is diversity in the Spanish spoken by neighbouring districts. It is worthy of note that he points out that locals are unaware of the origins of many of the words they use because they are embedded in the local Spanish and are heard and pronounced without consideration of the words' origins.

San Damián Spanish shares many characteristics with Quechua in terms of vowel sounds and sentence structure based on a subject-object-verb word order, something which has also been noted by Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011: 203)¹⁴². For example, in Lima I was asked 'Fuiste a Huarochirí?' whereas in Huarochirí I was often asked '[¿Adónde te has ido?] ¿A Lima te fuistes?' As we can see in the Huarochirano enquiry as to my whereabouts, the grammatical structure of the second question reflects Quechua influence on the organisation of the sentence. In addition, the final 's' on the second person conjugation of the verb 'to go' is a characteristic of 'Andean Spanish' (Escobar 1997). My habit of conjugating verbs this way resulted in a friend from Lima telling me that my Spanish was 'indigenous'. Moreover, when a friend showed a part of my thesis (an adaptation of Chapter 5) to her Limeño partner,

¹⁴² Their book has an in-depth section on the Tupicocha dialect of Spanish, much of which applies to San Damián. Thus, I only discuss the characteristics of Huarochirí Spanish briefly here.

he had difficulty following the narratives because he struggled to understand the variety of Spanish.

Sandamianino Spanish also has Quechua influences in the pronunciation of consonants and vowels: for example, the Checa site Osuna is pronounced 'Oshuna' and women named Jesusa are nicknamed 'Shusha'. When Don Glicerio Ricci told me the story about Julio C Tello being misrecognised in Lima (Chapter 4), I had assumed that the 'mamilucu' Tello was wearing must be a traditional highland garment, based on his pronunciation. However, the final 'u' is the way the final 'o' is often pronounced. Just as Don Véliz explained, Sandamianinos sometimes aspirate their 'k' or hard 'c', for example, 'cara' may be pronounced 'khara'. When I and some locals were being told a story about a *muki* appearance, where the malevolent landscape being reportedly 'asked for' a particular member of the narrator's family, a local woman responded: "¿!En siria?!". This exclamation demonstrates the way in which Sandamianino vowel pronunciation often represents Quechua 'trivocalism' ie the use of three vowels (i,a,u). In addition, Sandamianinos commonly mark possessions twice, for example as in the following statement: "A mí me gusta su cabello de Alfie" (I like his hair of Alfie's), a characteristic which is also derived from Quechua.

It took me time to appreciate and to be able to replicate the particularities of Sandamianino Spanish, despite having lived in the Andes before. When I returned to San Damián briefly in 2015, I was told that I spoke much more like the locals now than when I had first arrived in 2012. I do not doubt that my ability to appreciate the nuances of local Spanish improved during my analysis of narrative transcriptions since 2012, so much so that I picked up on an unusual word during the afternoon I was in San Damián in 2015.

6.5.1 "Ha qarchado bastante"

During the quick return trip to San Damián in 2015, a female irrigator expressed concern about the fact that there are no longer any local ice caps feeding the local irrigation system: "Ya no hay cordillera acá". The other women we were talking with enthusiastically agreed with this statement. The woman was keen to tell me how bad

the situation had become and she used a word that had me flummoxed; she used the word *qarcha* to refer to 'ice' in her explanation of how climate change has resulted in the melting of local ice caps. The word *qarcha* is of interest since it is a Quechua loanword. Whether locals recognise the word to be indigenous lexicon or not is beside the point, however I should point out that I simply refer here to 'the woman' because she (quite understandably) declined when I asked if I could attribute her name to the issues she wanted to explain to me.

The way in which the woman explained the word to me, a Spanish-speaking outsider, in the company of other local women speaks volumes: "la qarcha que decimos acá" ("the *qarcha* as we say here"). Thus, the word *qarcha* is described as being a local word (in the same way that Mr Chumbimuni explained the origins of his surname in Chapter 4). Clearly, there is less stigma attached to local words; their use by a mestizo population makes their local groundedness acceptable. It is worthy of comment that residents recognise the 'localness' of their speech, yet, crucially, they attribute their linguistic difference to place, perhaps because doing so avoids the need for acknowledgement of origins, of the 'old' nature of the words they use.

The word *qarcha* features in central Peruvian Quechua. A chance encounter with a speaker of central Peruvian Quechua on my return journey home confirmed that, in Huancayo Quechua, *qarcha* refers to a frost so extreme that it 'burns' crops. This explanation coincides with a(nother) Sandamianina's attempt to help me understand the word I had learned earlier that day. She explained: "Este julio ha qarchado bastante. Por eso no hay papa este año. Ha quemado toda la papa"¹⁴³. Hence the verbalisation of the highland climate relies on Quechua loanwords to adequately communicate the characteristics (and effects) of the conditions affecting production. Clearly, the Spanish word 'hielo' cannot convey the particular climactic conditions that the word *qarcha* conveys.

¹⁴³ "This July it's been rather frosty. That's why there's no potato this year. It's burned all the potato".

6.6 What language do the *abuelos* speak?

During irrigation rituals, landscape beings are addressed in Spanish, the only language spoken by many Huarochiranos. Considering that in the early 17th Century, landscape beings were still being addressed in Quechua, according to the accounts featuring in the Huarochirí Manuscript, it would appear that, at some point between then and the modern day, the language of the *abuelos* changed.

The work of Howard has discussed the historical importance of communication with deities for Andean people and has highlighted that dialogue between the two in Pre-Conquest times was mediated by shrine administrators known as huacacamayos who were empowered to enter into verbal dialogue with the huacas (Howard 1998: 588-589), this function being etymologically implied by the term huacacamayo – the verb root ‘cama’ or ‘kama’ refers to the idea of a species becoming animated and flourishing – (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 161). In the term ‘huacacamayo’, where the ‘yo’ derives from the suffix ‘yuq’ (with, possessor of), the huaca is recipient of the animating action possessed by the huacacamayos, and thus the term might be understood as ‘those with the power to make the *huacas* speak’. Ritual mediators were used in Huarochirí in the past (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 101), and to some extent, they feature in irrigation ritual today. In present-day Tupicocha, the *champería* season sees ritual costumed figures known as Huaris writing a written request for water “in the genre of a formal legal petition” (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:106) which is directed towards the ancestor water owners. Their ‘reply’ is written down by the Huaris who receive the reply telepathically, and read it out to the ritual attendees; verbalised ‘telepathic’ communication is transcribed onto paper. I find it of high importance that the Huaris of Tupicocha must temporarily remove themselves of their Christian names, adopt comic ritual names and unbaptize themselves in order to effectively communicate with the ancestor deities (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:106). As recently as the 1990s, comic names suggest a level of understanding of Quechua, one example ‘Chulla Llaqui’ (Sad without Mate) [i.e. *chulla* refers to singularity and lack of parity, my translation] (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:107).

For Tupicochans to be able to associate two closely related ideas, sadness and loneliness, we can gather that ritual procedure represents an arena where knowledge of Quechua is acceptable and used to comic effect. It is possible that these comic names are used to 'arouse' or awaken the *abuelos*, who surely also understand their meaning: the adoption of such names are part of the process of improving communication between the Huaris and the deities.

It would be difficult to find out when ritual communication shifted to Spanish, and whether this process was deemed problematic in terms of carrying forward communication with the animate landscape. What is certain is that locals would have needed to be sure that during times of intensive language shift, they could communicate properly with the *abuelos* when the last Quechua-speaking ritual specialists died out. They must have been certain that the *abuelos* would understand petitions for resources and wellbeing in Spanish and perhaps they were considered at that point, like the local population, to have been bilingual. Salomon and Niño-Murcia's aforementioned findings of ritual indigenous language names suggests that in some parts of Huarochirí, the *abuelos* are still considered to understand Quechua.

As already demonstrated in Chapter 5, ritual communication with the *abuelos* is crucial for gaining access to water, which is why outsiders' misinterpretations of ritual lexicon such as the notion of 'payment' (*pago*) can prove detrimental. Knowing how to communicate effectively with the *abuelos*, clearly, is key. The repercussions of poor communication with landscape beings was made clear to me by Eugenio and Vidal who recalled an incident during the San Damián Yanascocha lake ritual of the Concha *barrio*, where one particular year a male attendee insulted the lake deity María Capiama where his *murmurando* (critiquing) directed towards angered Capiama so much that she became incensed ("se calentó") and is said to have retorted that the insult would be repaid in kind with a *huayco* (landslide), a threat which Eugenio and Vidal concurred was carried out with a destructive landslide in the following months. According to Vidal, Capiama's words were: "Él se viene burlando de mí, vamos en el agua de una vez!". It is not clear whether the María Capiama who threatened to

trigger the landslide was the deity herself (did someone 'interpret' her response and announce it?) or whether the altercation took place between the clown figure and a ritual participant who impersonated the deity, as happens during the ritual today. Either way, the deity's verbalised threat was met with such seriousness that when the landslide came, it was understood to have been Capiama's revenge at the lack of respect given to her during the ritual.

Narrative accounts of communication with landscape beings from Huarochirí tend to represent their interjections as being onomatopoeic or in Spanish language. However, one aforementioned interjection by an *abuelo* is particularly illuminating regarding local conceptualisations of the place-owning ancestors, especially in terms of how they voice themselves. Eugenio's account, discussed in Chapter 5, where an *abuelo* at the Pre-Hispanic Checa settlement of Llaquistambo croaked out "Qachiss, qachiss", could represent Quechua onomatopoeic hissing sounds, although it is also quite likely that the *abuelo* might have been hauntingly crying out the Quechua word for 'salt' (kachi). I lean towards the latter interpretation, given the association between the reported introduction of salt by the Europeans which Huarochiranos associate with *chullpa* sites where the 'mass Indian suicide' (discussed in Chapter 4) is reported to have taken place (Salomon 2001). Although the narrative took place in recent history, it is possible that the embedded 'sounds' made by the *abuelo* of Eugenio's narrative are reaffirming both the fact and cause of ethnic disruption (signalled by his death); ie salt. If we assume that the 'qachiss, qachiss' feature of Eugenio's narrative was not spontaneous but passed down (I would argue that examples of narrative spontaneity using Quechua 'sounds' – or words? – are out of the question), then we can venture that this narrative feature is an inheritance of preceding narratives told during the long period of bilingualism in Huarochirí. Alternatively, if we interpret the *abuelo's* interjection to simply be a sound, i.e. "the raw material of speech" (Platt 1997: 221), then the crucial point to take away is that the *abuelo* is capable of vocal communication, and the sound he makes surely sounds 'old-fashioned' to the local listener.

What language do landscape beings in bilingual parts of the contemporary Andes speak? Mannheim's research has highlighted that the differing functions of Quechua and Spanish in bilingual areas of Cuzco are reflected in the languages that speakers draw on in communicative events with landscape. His work shows that in Quechua-speaking parts of Peru where Spanish is also spoken, *Pachamama* and the *apus* are addressed in Quechua, whereas State manifestations of power are addressed in Spanish. (Mannheim 1991:81). Bilingualism, therefore, does not seem to have altered the compatibility of the respective languages with these two ontologically distinct domains. Nevertheless, in Huarochirí, the local landscape deities came to be addressed primarily in Spanish, the language of the State. During fieldwork, I pondered local's seeming disdain of the Quechua language past despite adoration of the *abuelos* i.e. what, to me, seemed to be an ironic situation. While buying coca for an upcoming *champería*, I asked a local shopkeeper whether I should address the *abuelos* in Quechua, or if they would understand me in Spanish [en castellano]. She confirmed 'sí, entienden' [en castellano]. My question, it seemed, was irrelevant. Nevertheless, the issue of communicating with the landscape via Spanish has been approached on a Huarochirano website, where the Huarochirí-born author Pedro P. Inga (now based in Texas) lamented his inability to speak the Quechua language, the language he deems the local landscape to speak: "Es una lástima que yo no hable el quechua, porque creo que las montañas de Pariakaka están claramente tratando de decirnos algo".¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ Clearly, the assumption that the Huarochirí landscape talks Quechua is an etic one, since those who live in Huarochirí and who interact with the landscape on a daily basis know that they are understood by the *abuelos* and vice versa. As I was taught, it is the complete abandonment of communication with the

¹⁴⁴ Article: 'HUELLAS DE HUAROCHIRÍ' by Pedro P. Inga on: http://www.huarochirano.com/autor_primeros.html:", accessed in 2014.

¹⁴⁵ "It's a shame that I don't speak Quechua, because I think that the mountains of Pariacaca are clearly trying to tell us something"

abuelos that causes problems, hence my being advised to walk 'always talking [to the *abuelo*]' ("siempre hablando"). Silence would therefore be dangerous¹⁴⁶.

The ethnographic record for the Chancay Valley in the highlands of Lima is particularly illuminating with regards to interaction with the animate landscape in times of rapid language loss. Rivera's research on Cattle branding rituals cites Mendizábal who, in 1962, recorded a conversation with a male herder from Pacaraos (Chancay Valley) who explained the relationship between the local *auquillos* or *abuelos*, as they are also known in Pacaraos, and the cattle herds

"Los auquillos son personas que viven dentro de la tierra, salen por donde sale el agua del manantial. Los auquillos cuidan los animales... En época de rodaje sale con su tinya. / / cuando la luna está llena... sale tocando tinya, sale a ver sus animales. Cuando vamos a la altura, tienen... que invitar con coca, cigarrillo, ron, diciendo: Awkillo, aweoloy, chaqchapakuri, hirka, yaya" (Mendizábal 1964: 95-96, cited in Rivera 2005: 62)¹⁴⁷.

Mendizábal translates the Quechua lines in the following way «Señor, abuelo mío, mastica las hojas de coca, montaña, padre, ayúdame, acompáñame» (1964: 95), y (1964: 95 cited in Rivera 2005: 62), although it is unclear as to whether this translation was offered by the herder himself or not. Nevertheless, the fact that Quechua was being spoken in ritual in Pacaraos during this time (1962) is significant in itself, because by the late 1970s, Pacaraos Quechua was only being spoken by women over the age of 60 (Adelaar 2004: 242). The male herder may have conserved a passive knowledge of Quechua, yet in his explanation of local customs to Mendizábal, the herder is actively producing Quechua during a time when it was becoming extinct and not generally spoken by men, who, as Adelaar points out, were more hispanized than women. The Quechua invocation is evidence that communication with the

¹⁴⁶ Platt's work in the Bolivian Andes also points out the importance of talking when communicating with landscape beings: during séances with mountain spirits "the most important thing of all...is to keep talking" (Platt 1997: 221)

¹⁴⁷ "The auquillos are people that live beneath the earth, they come out from where the spring water comes out. The auquillos look after the animals...in the driving [herding/feeding?] season, he comes out to see his animals. When we go to the high altitude mountains, they have...to offer with coca, cigarettes, rum, saying: 'Sir, my grandfather, chew the coca leaves, mountain, father, help me, come with me'"

abuelos in the mid twentieth century in Pacaraos represented a time and space in which Quechua language continuity was seemingly deemed to be of special importance in that it was maintained. It would seem that Quechua was (most?) necessary during the moment of offering the *auquillo* the material offerings, i.e. the crucial point of invoking the *auquillo's* favour and encouraging reciprocity.¹⁴⁸

As previously mentioned, Salomon's work in Tupicocha also indicates a degree of indigenous language continuity in the context of ritual. His 2002 article detailing the proceedings of the Andean oracular game *pichca* played annually in the Tupicocha annex of Pacota centres around the discussion of an indigenous language phrase of unclear meaning and etymology. Two die are thrown in the air in turn to prompt the ancestor water owners and the *Pariacaca* to divine whether the upcoming rainy season will be prosperous or not by influencing how the die will fall to the ground. At the point of throwing the die, participants shout out "Huayra Huayra Pichcamanta!" (Salomon 2002). Salomon's article demonstrates that indigenous language phrases are still used today in irrigation rituals in Huarochirí, although he reports that Pacota villagers say they are unaware of the phrase's meaning (Salomon 2002: 14). Nevertheless, as we have already seen, Tupicochanos likely have a latent understanding of some Quechua lexicon in order to construct comical ritual names for the Huaris. It is significant that this rare ethnographic record of an indigenous language phrase (i.e. beyond a word) in modern-day usage in Huarochirí should take place within an irrigation ritual, and especially in dialogue with the water owners since it suggests that Quechua continuity is most prevalent in the domain of interaction with the (animate) landscape. Indigenous language continuity may also be observed in narratives which seek to explain local toponyms.

¹⁴⁸ It would be worthwhile to investigate whether landscape rituals in Pacaraos still feature Quechua phrases today, given that complete language extinction is thought to have already taken hold, save for the possibility of passive knowledge, especially of children who were brought up by their grandparents (Adelaar 2004: 243).

6.7 Baby lake: a mother's tragedy and linguistic vestiges of the Jaqaru past

Sandamianinos tell a story about a lake located in the Huarochirí district, and it is a story they tell with sadness and seriousness. It is an etiological narrative that serves to explain the lake's toponym, Laguna Ñaña, told to me on various occasions by different people, perhaps because they thought I may find the toponym unusual (as they apparently do).¹⁴⁹ It tells of a woman carrying her baby daughter on her back in a *cunita* who placed the baby by the lake shore while out herding her cows. When she got back from herding the cows, the baby was sinking into the lake and could not be saved. The story was narrated by a Sandamianina *comerciante* in her 50s during a small group interview also attended by her sister-in law, Leonila who is in her 40s.

Rosa: También dicen por arriba, por el cerro hay una laguna que se llama Laguna Ñaña. Y esa lagunita era porque dice que la señora 'tuvía buscando su bebe... no, era su vacas, no es cierto, cansada todavía cargaba su bebe con su cunita pue que te digo.¹⁵⁰ Ya, con su cunita entonces, estaría cansada, ya tanta andar, buscar su vaaaca y no encontrar, así. Le quedó la cunita en el canto no más de la laguna. Cuando ella volvió, así sería más allá, sin cerca, no tan lejos, allí no más le quedó porque descansó un rato ella. Cuando volvió dice que la cuna ya se iba ya más. Ya se iba más... ya no podía chapar, ya se reventó para la laguna y listo. Con toda la cunita y allí se encantó ya. Ya no le pudo sacar ya. Ya no le pudo sacar ya, no le pudo sacar ya. Ya no le pudo sacar ya. Y habrá muerto el bebito congelado, como habrá sido pe. Pero así ha sido esa leyenda de esa laguna, por eso se llama 'Laguna Ñaña'.

Para los bebes, antes se les decía Ñaña. Para los bebes les decía así. ¿No como ahora 'bebe', pe no? 'Una Ñañita'.

Leonila: 'Ñañita' hablaban los antiguos pe. Ahora en cambio decimos 'bebe'

Sarah: ¿Cuándo dejaron de decir 'Ñaña'?

¹⁴⁹ As Eugenio Anchelia Llata explained, the lake is located in Huarochirí, which he located in the following way: "ese es aquí de...de cómo se llama, este Ñaca Ñaca para más allá".

¹⁵⁰ Standard Spanish would require pluralisation of the pronoun, e.g. 'sus vacas'. Just as in Quechua, Huarochirí Spanish does not necessarily pluralise nouns; here we know that there were multiple cows being searched for.

Leonila: Ya estará tiempos, ya de los abuelos, **tiempos**.

Appendix Reference 15

The discussion clearly illustrates that during the early years of these women's lives, they were exposed to the word *Ñaña* in conversational speech, with 'bebe' (Spanish) replacing it – to an extent – during their lifetimes. This would suggest that language loss has been on-going in the second half of the twentieth century, with the word being used outside of the context of this narrative relatively recently.

Notably, Rosa and Leonila do not characterise the word as Quechua or as indigenous, again, just as in the discussion of a Quechua surname, the word is contextualised in the vague past, in the time of 'the grandparents', the time of 'the old ones'. One could venture, perhaps, that since the time of '*los abuelos*' is usually referenced by adults in reflection of their grandparents' generation, that the era when such words were spoken refers to those who were in adulthood before the culmination of the road from the central highway to San Damián (In the 1970s).

The events recounted in the narrative, which centre on the tragic death of the baby, are understood to be directly related to the lake's name: "*Ñaña*' le decimos pues". The continued use of the word *ñaña* by Huarochiranos in the contextualisation of the lake's toponym indicate an extant Jaqaru substrate in the San Damián dialect of Huarochirí Spanish. According to Belleza's Jaqaru dictionary, *ñaña* means a girl of up to five years old (Belleza1995:126). Through the re-telling of the tragedy of the drowned baby, this Jaqaru lexicon is both understood and (re)produced. The retelling of the tragic loss therefore promotes linguistic continuity since it is integral in explaining the lake's toponym. The permanence of the water source has assisted in maintaining the usage of the word in Huarochirano Spanish, and also surely, has the tragic unforgettable case of the baby who drowned in 'Baby Lake'. When I returned to San Damián in 2015, I mentioned to some local women that I had been told the story of Laguna *Ñaña* during my last trip. One of the women vouched that the narrative relates to real events, since on a full moon at midnight, the baby can be heard crying.

In this respect, the baby herself prevents locals from forgetting her, and her tragic story.¹⁵¹

6.7.1 La Yayita

I would like to focus briefly on a narrative account of the same event relating to 'Baby Lake' told by Eugenio Anchelía Llata, since his version brings up another word which is worthy of contemplation:

Eugenio: Ese es el Laguna Ñaña, dice porque había una señora que cargaba su bebé, andaba por allí buscando sus vaquitas, y entonces...este...es que hay una laguna para acá, había una piedrita así...es que donde sombreaba. Entonces quedo allí y se fue la criatura. La yayita ya se fue más abajo, más, allí no más, hacía Huallimulli (?)¹⁵². ¿Y qué pasa? Cuando mira la criatura ya se va para la laguna. Oye la mamá corrió rápido pues para chaparlo. Yaaaaaa no pudo...se fue para el centro es que se ha quedado...(mumbles)

Sarah: ¿Se fue al centro?

Eugenio: La criatura, ya. 'Ñaña' le decimos pues.

Sarah: Ay, ¡pobrecita!

Eugenio: Mmm. Por eso nombraron la laguna 'Laguna Ñaña'... [lapse in conversation] Ese es el Laguna Ñaña... lo nombraron con Laguna Ñaña, siquiera con el nombre de Laguna Ñaña

(Eugenio Anchelía Llata, 92, San Damián)

Appendix Reference 16

Eugenio's version of events communicates his surprise that a local irrigation source would have such a strange-sounding name. I would also like to draw attention to the fact that Eugenio employs another word which seems to be of either Aymara or Quechua origin. The word 'yayita' or 'yaya', which seems to be used in reference to the mother, is usually translated as 'father' in Quechua. In the introduction of the Huarochirí Manuscript, 'huk yayayuyq' (with one father) was the phrase used to refer

¹⁵¹ The importance of sound in narratives of landscape beings is discussed further on in this chapter.

¹⁵² I may have misheard Eugenio; Huallimulli (of Jaqaru etymology) is a thermal spring on Concha lands so I find it unlikely that the mother would have left her baby to walk the distance between Huarochirí village and to the lower parts of San Damián. 'Mulli' in Jaqaru refers to a fruit tree whose leaves and branches are used to cure rheumatism (Belleza Castro 1995: 114)

to Huarochiranos' shared descent from Pariacaca, the father of all Huarochiranos. Nevertheless, Eugenio's use of the word suggests that 'yaya' may also be used with reference to mothers. However, if 'yayita' here refers to the baby, it is more likely that the word is of Aymara origin, since in Aymara it is used to refer to children. Either way, we can appreciate that narratives of water generate the reproduction of indigenous language loan words, and the story of Baby Lake in particular tells us that some indigenous language kin terms are still in use in Sandamianino Spanish.

6.8 ¡Cuidado, puquio!

During my time in San Damián, many locals talked about their experiences with malevolent springs. Although the Spanish word '*manantial*' may be used to refer to subterranean springs in general, Sandamianinos frequently use the Quechua loanword *puquio* in daily parlance, especially when referring to subterranean water sources known to have a malevolent character. The term *puquio* does not just refer to the water source itself. It refers to its potential for causing illness in humans who come into contact with the water source directly, or with the malevolent rainbow which emerges from them: throughout the Andes, *puquio* also refers to the illness which derives from springs. In Huarochirí, these symptoms are known as an illness known as *agarrado de puquio* (grabbed by the spring), which likewise conveys an understanding of the landscape as animate and a social agent:

"Mmm, te diré que acá hay puquios....pero ¿serán puquios malos? ¿O qué serán, no? Pero sí te enferman. Sí te agarran como dices, te soplan. Sí, te soplan. Te puede hinchar tu cara, puede hinchar tu ojo, puede hinchar tu mano... fácil de conocer es si es de puquio" (Rosa Ríos, San Damián).

Appendix Reference 17

Hence, the Quechua word is used for referring to particularly dangerous (animate) springs: the Spanish word '*manantial*' does not convey the ontological quality of animate water sources, a fact which highlights the different geo-cosmological roots of vocabulary which Huarochiranos employ in everyday conversation. The particular qualities of *puquios* compared with *manantiales* are indicative of ontological

incommensurability manifest in language (Bray 2015: 5, Leavitt 2014, Malinowski 1923: 387), and perhaps even managed through language.

In order to consider the ways in which indigenous language loanwords carry (pre-Hispanic) notions of animate landscape, I would like to refer to Rosa Ríos' reconstruction of an event wherein a young local girl called Nena suffers from *agarrado de puquio* after approaching a malevolent subterranean spring too closely. Listening are myself and Rosa's sister in law, Leonila again.

As Rosa recalls, she was out walking in Concha territory with Nena and her mother one day when she warned Nena of the dangers of the local landscape. She did so simply by shouting: "¡No tomes ah! ¡Cuidado que te haga daño, puquio!" (Careful, the *puquio* might harm you!). (Rosa Ríos, San Damián). Worthy of note here is the fact that danger is intrinsic to local understandings of the noun: Rosa's warning about the danger that the spring poses is bound up in the very word *puquio*. Local talk of '*puquios malos*' (evil springs) however *puquio* itself conveys the idea of potential malevolence. One would have to be sure that a spring was not a *puquio malo* in order to be able to drink from it because of the risk to health that some springs pose. Furthermore, *puquio* may also relate to material located outside of, but close to the spring: when Nena suffers a swollen eye (Rosa recognises this to be a classic characteristic of *agarrado de puquio*), she advises her mother: "¡cúrale con puquio, Tía!", which a local would take to mean the common practice of using grasses growing from the spring in order to cure the illness:

Rosa: O sea la cara, sea el ojo, la mano, lo que sea. Y...después le dije 'cúrale con puquio, Tía'. Y fue, le sacó de allí las...lo que había del puquio, dice que le mandó curar porque había...hay gente curiosos pe no? Y...fue, le curó, sanó, bajó todo el ojo que estaba como una pelota, la cara, TODO bajó. ¡Y le sanó! Ese no más le sanó.

Sarah: ¿Con...con el agua?

Rosa: Hay a veces, hay hierbitas. Hay allí un, hay allí unas, unas hierbitas larguitos, algo especial que sea de puquio pe. O sino también hay unos como lanita, no?

Leonila: Sí, ¿verdecito?

Rosa: Claro, claro pe. Así como una lana así.

Leonila: ¡del agua mismo, del agua mismo!

Rosa: Claro, de este mismo pue, entonces de allí mismo cogen y ya- ¿Cómo le curarán? No sé porque hay curiosos que le curan. Hay gente curiosos que le curan.

Sarah: Y ¿por qué tiene que ser algo del mismo puquio? ¿Para curarle?

Rosa: Porque ese lugar te sopla.

Leonila: Desde el agua mismo, es de allí

Rosa: El mismo lugar, ese mismo puquicito, ese te sopla pues. (high voice)
¿Será malo o qué será? porque...yo me pregunto sola: 'a ver-¿cómo de esos puquios salen el arco iris?'

Appendix Reference 18

The *puquio* therefore, is not confined to the water source itself but also that which grows from it and of it. This usage suggests that the Andean conceptualisation of the world as being characterised by fluid material boundaries (Salomon 1991: 15) therefore, remains in San Damián today. Illnesses derived from springs may likewise be understood through considering Itier's aforementioned discussion of the Andean 'ontological permeability of beings' (see Chapter 5), where the *puquio* is able to project itself onto ontologically weaker beings (humans). Rosa, like many Andeans, therefore subscribes to a cyclical understanding of the land and the way that human interact with it. As Rosa and Leonila explain, the remedy has to be sourced from the very same *puquio* which cause the illness. As we can appreciate, this understanding of landscape is deep-rooted, complex and such, the non-indigenous (Spanish) vocabulary set cannot fully communicate the character and personality of the highland Huarochirí Landscape.

6.9 Sounds of the underground

My findings from Huarochirí support the notion put forward by Bray that *huacas'* ability to communicate and vocalise is central to their identity as well as her associated suggestion that *huacas* are associated with the verb *wakay*, to cry or to wail (Tamara Bray 2015: 9). This certainly seems to be the case in Huarochirí, where

narratives of landscape beings (if we recognise their status as former *huacas*¹⁵³) almost always allude to the noises created by those beings.¹⁵⁴ Here, landscape beings manifest themselves through sound, just as they do in Quechua-speaking parts of the Andes (Howard 2012:252, Platt 1997). It would seem that oral expression is key for inclusion in the Andean social framework, where landscape beings call out and in so doing, call out for their existence to be recognised.

In recognizing the seriousness of Huarochiranos' conviction that landscape beings manifest themselves at all, and are able to give out sounds that humans may (over)hear, it will be useful to borrow theoretically from Vivieros de Castros' theory of ontological perspectivism (Viveiros de Castro 1998) wherein animals and beings are recognised as being interpreters or perceivers of human activity (and not just vice-versa). Following this theoretical trajectory, the work of Holbraad (Holbraad 2011) is perhaps of greater relevance here, since he channels the notion of ontological perspectivism towards the debate about how to adequately represent 'things' and crucially, how to represent their voices or what they 'give out' in his article 'Can the thing speak?'. Likening this crucial question about entities underrepresented in anthropology with one posed earlier by Spivak (1998, 'can the subaltern speak?'), his reasoning is based on identifying the original point of expression: "things can speak insofar as they can set the terms of their anthropological engagement by acting as the originators (rather than the objects) of our anthropological conceptualisations. Things can speak if they can yield their own concepts" (Holbraad 2011: 17). It might be said that, since *engaños* (literally, deceivers) entice and trick humans for their own ends, narratives featuring them are human accounts based on an unsought for

¹⁵³ Catherine Allen, in her recent work, has also approached landscape beings in contemporary Cuzco province with regards to their former status as *huacas* (Allen 2015).

¹⁵⁴ The association between the power of the *huacas* and their status as oracles may be inferred through reflecting upon the Cajamarca encounter, where, according to a colonial account reported by Francisco de Xeres, the Inca Atahualpa was said to have been underwhelmed when presented with the Bible by Pizarro's accompanying priest, Valverde and being "oblivious to the form of the message" (Seed 1991: 18), prompting him to throw the book to the ground (Clements 1872: 54).

interaction with the beings that the landscape, being animate, has the potential to host.

The phenomenological approach of Ingold (2007), and of Strang (2004: 49-66) highlight the ways that sounds affect how spaces are perceived. Sound, according to Ingold, is a medium of perception borne out of interaction, since it is “neither mental nor material, but a phenomenon of *experience* – that is, of our immersion in, and commingling with, the world in which we find ourselves” (Ingold 2007, his emphasis). In Huarochirí accounts of landscape beings, knowing is conceptually associated with hearing, since the re-enactment of the audible manifestation of beings is often a key feature, one which affords the listener an insight into the reality of, and the intricacies of the event as experienced by those present at the point of the being’s emergence.

For the case of narrative reconstructions of encounters with landscape beings which capture how they manifest themselves through sound, the significance of this statement is perhaps more powerful, since the original enunciation of the sounds being re-enacted was not a storyteller him/herself but the non-human protagonist. For this reason, the narrative re-voicing of landscape beings affords authority to the words that precede and follow it, adding a sensual dimension to assist the listener in imagining ‘being there’ and thus shaping their constructed picture of the event. As Salmond has pointed out, our ontological outlook is informed on our own experiences and as such is not necessarily homogenous within communities: “absolute incommensurability of ontological outlook is unavoidable (no two people’s life experiences are identical, nor is it possible to ‘see through another’s eyes’” (Salmond 2010:312), and it would follow that accounts of interaction with landscape beings are geared at communicating an ontological perspective held by the speaker, whether they themselves witnessed the accounts or not, or heard about them second hand and hold them to be credible enough to be re-voiced.

Here I would like to give space to the diversity of beings that Sandamianinos say dwell in the local landscape, and to further explore the role of sound as a signifier of emergence for beings with a latent presence. In Huarochirí, such beings are known as

engaños, a terminology highly likely to be rooted in colonial Christianization campaigns.

6.9.1 “Allí llora ñaña allí”

In order to illustrate how landscape beings are known to make their presence known in Sandamianino narratives, I will refer to a conversation between myself, and two elderly men, Don Vidal and Don Eugenio on this aspect of local life. First of all, it is worth pointing out that as I tried to steer the topic of conversation towards a certain kind of landscape being that Eugenio had been describing to me recently (the ‘toro wakanku’), Vidal confirms that this being **does** exist, or rather that it **does** ‘come out’, as if to sweep aside any doubt about the veracity of Eugenio’s account, or indeed the very principle that such a thing could happen. As the two men list the different kinds of animals that are known to emanate from *puquios*, Eugenio begins to reconstruct the events that unfolded one day while walking home from his fields when he decided to follow the trajectory of the irrigation system in order to guide him home in the dark.

Sarah: Ud. Me estaba contando sobre los toros que salen del puquio...

Vidal: ¡Sí sale!

Eugenio: Wakanku, wakanku.¹⁵⁵

Vidal: ¡Sí sale!

Sarah: ¿Ud. sabe sobre eso?

Vidal: ¡Hasta salen carneritos!

Eugenio: ¡Chivo, chivo!

Vidal: Chivo también sale.¹⁵⁶

Eugenio: Aquí en amuna¹⁵⁷, arriba en amuna hay. Vine TARDE yo. Tapado de nube. Ya no me rentaba para acá y vine así por la punta, la punta apareció ¡Estaba TARDE oye! Entonces, dije ‘no, mejor me voy por...por su acequia oye’. Me voy, ¿!hasta qué hora estará?! No sé...y la nube estaba

¹⁵⁵ The Toro Wakanku is a local landscape being whose emergence from springs on a full moon, midnight wanderings and trickery were previously explained to me by Eugenio.

¹⁵⁶ The lack of article is an effect of Quechua language influence.

¹⁵⁷ Pre-Hispanic water storage reservoir. The word *amuna* might be Quechua since it appears to derive from the verb *hamuy* (to come).

cerradita y allí en la amuna como si fuera un toro lloraba un bebe, oye!
"¡Wah!" Yo pensaba que era una mujer pa' estar trayendo leña pue con su
criatura. Lloraba amargamente la criatura. Ya fue pue, oye estaba para
abajito, el bebé lloraba. Fui. Ya lloraba más allá. '¿Qué cosa?' Después ya
fui para allá. Nada. Oye, yo gritando pue, "¡Oiga!"..."¡Oye! [laughs],
creyendo que es una mujer con su hijo, "¡Oiga!", ¡nada! Ya lloraba más
arriba, yo ya me dio la idea ya, "Este es engaño".

Appendix Reference 19

Eugenio's narrative illustrates his original (mistaken) assumption upon hearing the noise that it could have been a woman out gathering firewood with her baby. His process of realising that this was not the case involved following the sounds throughout the *amuna* system before his analysis of the situation gave him the idea (i.e. the knowledge or reason) that the sounds were being made by an *engaño*. Through finally revealing the source of the noise towards the end of the narrative, the listener follows Eugenio's thought process, and state of bewilderment and understands why Eugenio arrived at the conclusion that 'this thing is an *engaño*'. Later on in the conversation, he explains that the baby he could hear was nowhere to be found: "pero no encontré la criatura, pe".

Crucially, the baby manifests itself through sound, but never presents itself as a visible entity. Narratives about *engaños* consistently identify the beings as such because they are said to either completely elude human vision or to disappear from view following their emergence. When Eugenio later states that "There are many *engaños* here" ("Hay muchos engaños acá"), it becomes clear that such beings are to inevitably be found in the local landscape, in the same way that *abuelos* are to be found throughout the highland landscape. During the conversation, Eugenio succeeded in recounting his uncle's reaction to his encounter with the *engaño*, this post-event interaction confirmed Eugenio's realisation about the source of the wailing: "Qué haces allí si te engaña allí? Encuentras esa criatura, supongo que te cargas pes. "Allí llora ñaña allí".¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Here, the verb 'cargar' is probably used in the sense of giving over one's body

It would seem, based on the words of Eugenio's uncle, that the *engaño* which dwells in the *amuna* is well-known owing to its potential to 'enchant' passers-by and pull them into the water. It is also worth pointing out that Eugenio's uncle used the term *ñaña* to refer to the baby, suggesting that the word was in common parlance around 150 years ago, taking into account Eugenio's status as a nonagenarian. It is also possible that Eugenio's re-voicing of his Uncle's words shows further linguistic features of indigenous language influence: the repetition of the adverb of place 'allí' in two separate statements suggests that this sentence structure was characteristic of the way Eugenio's uncle spoke, and thus the narrative potentially gives voice to former or older characteristics of the local dialect.¹⁵⁹ The space given to Eugenio's Uncle within the narrative reconstruction illustrates that the particular place (i.e. the *amuna*) poses a danger since it is known that a "(a) baby cries there" ("Allí llora ñaña allí"). Awareness about the particular noises that landscape beings produce in order to lure passers-by is therefore key for avoiding danger, since *engaños* generally manifest themselves through sound, just as in Quechua-speaking parts of the Andes.

6.10 Indigenisation of colonial lexicon

An analysis of Huarochirí lexicon of landscape makes it clear that etymologically Spanish vocabulary used in Huarochirano parlance is quite often 'indigenized'. In stating so, I concur with Salomon and Niño-Murcia, whose research represents an important precedent on this topic. As they point out, the attribution of Pre-Hispanic significance to colonial lexicon is by no means specific to Huarochirí, and indeed, has occurred in other parts of the Andes where Quechua is still spoken:

"Andeanisms such as *cumplimiento*, *derecho*, *pago* or *pagapu*...are etymologically Spanish words that mean "payment [to the mountain god]." These terms have a wide currency in the Quechua-speaking highlands, suggesting that areas far from Huarochirí also indigenized the colonial legal lexicon in order to address Andean deities" (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 113).

¹⁵⁹ Reduplication of grammatical morphemes has been described as a characteristic of Andean Spanish and a result of Quechua influence (Escobar 2011), and it is likely that the duplication of adverbs in Andean Spanish is similarly a result of Quechua influence.

This point is important since it makes clear that Huarochirí Spanish attributes (and maintains) autochthonous meanings to Spanish words (that do not exist in coastal dialects, for example). These meanings invoke principles which are central to Andean ideas about production, namely reciprocity with the land, and they have been maintained beyond the loss of the language which Mannheim and others take Andean animism to be exclusively limited to.

If we take into account Salomon and Niño-Murcia's point about the indigenization of Spanish vocabulary being far-ranging throughout the Andes, then this suggests that up to a certain point, Huarochirí had undergone similar sociolinguistic processes to areas which still speak Quechua.¹⁶⁰ Despite these parallels, however, Huarochirí is not considered to be bilingual today. Nevertheless, if we take cultural adaptation to be a crucial part of cultural maintenance (as proposed by Howard) then we can appreciate that Huarochiranos have been particularly adept in adapting and maintaining traditions associated with animate landscape to such an extent that unattuned outsiders might 'miss' or overlook the fundamental meanings, values and sentiments behind local expressions. This means of cultural survival, which Paulson has identified in the Huarochirí Manuscript and described as a "highly crafted double talk" (Paulson 1990) may be found in lexicon which is seemingly far-removed from the sphere of the animate landscape. The next section will explore one such example of historically rooted embedded meaning.

6.11 Fulfilling the abuelos' demands: reflections on an archaic Spanish word in Huarochirano parlance

In the run-up to the Checa's principal irrigation ritual in May, locals had stressed how important it would be for me to attend. By this point I had heard many stories about previous Chaucalla canal *champerías* where the ritual element of the proceedings had not been carried out properly. So when I was advised to be ready for pilgrimage at

¹⁶⁰ Salomon and Niño-Murcia's research on this topic ties in with Fishman's aforementioned work which highlights the central role that language function plays in language maintenance. What Salomon and Niño-Murcia's work indicates is that Spanish language came to adopt autochthonous function, a situation which likely contributed to the decreasing importance of Quechua language.

5am, I made sure I was ready. As it happened, the sound of the *chirisuya* and drum could be heard throughout San Damián from 4am onwards, as the ritual musicians toured each sector of the village. Shortly before 5am, I could no longer hear the music and I was worried that the ritual party may have already begun their ascent towards the high altitude Checa lands. As I hurried up through the village through the high part of the Checa *barrio*, I bumped into my *comadre*. Her husband, my *compadre*, was this year's president and she insisted I go to join the ritual party for breakfast, which she had been busy preparing. When I came to the house I had been ushered towards, there was no sign of breakfast; instead some of the ritual party (all men) were solemnly paying their respects to a cross which had been propped up at one end of the building. I greeted everyone, and unsure what to do next I decided that the best course of action would be to walk up the Inca staircase from the Checa *barrio* to Osuna (pronounced Oshuna), a (sacred) site located at the top of the staircase where I would be able to get a good view of the village and work out what had happened to the ritual musicians. Since I could no longer hear them, I wondered whether some of the ritual party had already left along the path towards the Checa pastures and cultivated lands (*chacras*) along the path that runs parallel to the Chaucalla canal.

As I stood trying to keep warm in the cold of daybreak, a few men carrying spades hurried up the steps one by one, and I wondered if I had 'missed the boat'. The next person to come up the steps was a familiar face, Rigoberto Jimenez Mendoza. Rigoberto kept me company for a few moments before he headed to work. He assured me that others were also going to their *chacra* for the day and that the ritual party had not yet left. He too would be fulfilling his ritual duty in the *champería* the following day. Rigoberto, although he seemed obviously rushed, wanted to give me a disclaimer: ideally I should have attended this event last year. He lamented that the ritual I was about to observe would not be as it was before, since a ritual specialist names Leonardo Chumbyungu had recently died. I felt disappointed but listened with

interest as he explained how his recently passed kinsman performed the ritual procedures in honour of the sacred water owners:

Rigoberto: Manuel Trinidad es el de acá del canal de Chaucalla. Ya. Y el de acá de Pachachaca es el otro, de la otra quebrada de Don Pedro Cashahuarina. Cashahuarina. Ellos son los dueños mandatarios. Y en esa introducción...es que el señor es que Leonardo Chumbiyungu, como vuelvo recalcar, él rendía este...[voice becomes more animated] justamente este es el champería principal pues! De acá del...de acá de San Damián. De esta acequia matriz de Chaucalla. Justamente él rendía tributo a...a los...a los...que le digo, a Manuel pe, a este Manuel Trinidad y...y ya todooooos los abuelos vecinos de esa...de todo lo que verdaderamente estamos acá este...preceptando, no? Que son vecinos. También de la comunidad de Concha, la laguna, este Yanascocha y después este, también tenía sus abuelitos también este Maria Capiana y Pedro Batán y Maria Capiana. También tiene una historia grande. ¿También se habrá enterrado usted, sí? Así que también ellos se hacían en febrero, ya pasó, en febrero fue primero, creo, el dos o el tres. Así, y como le digo Don...ese es la misión de esta champería, esa es su costumbre, al que viene de MUUUCHOs años atrás ya. MUCHOS años. Cuántos años ya. Yo ya llegué a San Damián y esta costumbre ya se hacía ya, desde tiempos atrás. Así es señorita.
(Rigoberto Jiménez Mendoza).

Appendix Reference 20

In Rigoberto's explanation, he explains the relationship between the *dueños mandatarios* ('Owners in charge') whom he recognizes to be the *abuelos* as *vecinos*, or neighbours. What I understand from this comment is that the *abuelos* are neighbours of each other, and as such, that the irrigation system is conceived of in human terms, with social networks. Such a conceptualization of the landscape has been noted for Quechua-speaking Pariarca, Bolivia, where Howard's analysis of oral narratives points out that: "the different points on the landscape are linked together in a network of interdependency; conceptually, it is as if the landscape were being constructed as a human-like system of relationships, produced through human discourse in the very act of speaking about it" (Howard 2002: 33).

Modern-day Huarochirano understandings of landscape, though described in Spanish, have continued through time just as in Quechua-speaking parts of the Andes, reflecting the continued conviction that the landscape is animate and owned

by ancestral beings, whom interact with one another, forming interconnected networks. The literary precedent for this feature of Andean society being, of course, the 1608 Manuscript which details interactions between the mythic *ayllu* founders of Huarochirí and where features of the landscape were understood to have been connected through kin relations (most notably shared descent through the patrilineal *yumay* line¹⁶¹), sexual encounters and enmity. At points, it seems that Rigoberto is at pains to verbalise this framework of relatedness and how this relates to the irrigation ritual which is about to take place.

The phrase which he eventually arrives at, I believe, is revealing as to the extent to which the Spanish lexicon was indigenized by the local population during the colonial era, and its usage gives insights into local conceptualisations of irrigation management. The employment of the verb 'preceptar' in the aforementioned extract sheds light on the ontological stance of the speaker, used with respect to the anticipation of the *champería*. This is an archaic Spanish word, being employed today in Huarochirí in ritual terms (i.e. to describe the relationships of power between the ancestral water owners and the local irrigators who draw water from the canal in question). A definition within the Royal Academy of Spanish is suggestive as to the syncretistic and historical underpinnings of the word's employment in Huarochirí Spanish, whence it implies fulfilling a duty mandated from a higher spiritual order¹⁶².

¹⁶¹ Salomon 1991: 19-20.

¹⁶² <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=preceptar> precepto.

(Del lat. *praeceptum*).

1. m. Mandato u orden que el superior hace observar y guardar al inferior o súbdito.

2. m. Cada una de las instrucciones o reglas que se dan o establecen para el conocimiento o manejo de un arte o facultad.

3. m. por antonom. Cada uno de los del Decálogo o mandamientos de la ley de Dios.

~ afirmativo.

1. m. Cada uno de los del Decálogo en que se manda hacer algo.

~ formal de obediencia.

1. m. precepto que en las órdenes religiosas usan los superiores para estrechar a la obediencia en alguna cosa a los súbditos.

~ negativo.

1. m. Cada uno de los del Decálogo en que se prohíbe hacer algo.

cumplir alguien con el ~.

1. loc. verb. cumplir con la Iglesia.

Given that this Spanish word is being used to describe present-day social organization of water in Checa territory, one can ascertain that at some point in colonial or post-colonial history, Spanish religious terminology came to be used in the conceptualisation of local deities or *huacas*. The word was certainly used in Huarochirí in the associated sense of teaching in the 19th Century. Don Véliz Alberco Cuya from Tuna mentioned that in the 19th Century, teachers were known as 'preceptores' in the Huarochirí province. Similarly, Salomon mentions that in the mid-19th Century, a survey of Huarochirí noted the presence of a 'preceptor', which he glosses as 'tutor' (Salomon 2011: 126). It may be worth mentioning that in the Facebook discussion generated by my call for insights into the meaning of 'preceptar', the resident mine community relations officer commented that the word does not feature in Huarochirí Spanish and is most likely a mistake in the speaker's Spanish. Of course, it is in the interest of the mining company to culturally and linguistically homogenise the local population in the current context of the Peruvian State's insistence on linguistic status in determining the eligibility of those who have the right to oppose development projects on community lands, such as mining projects. A Huarochirano who read the community relations officer's comment interpreted her interjection as an example of outsiders' attempts to erase the rich cultural tradition of the province.

Returning to the conversation with Rigoberto wherein he explained to me that the local population were 'preceptando' [the abuelos?] in the lead-up to the *champería*, I think it is clear that his usage implies some sense of conforming to orders made by a superior figure. This reading of 'preceptar' also goes hand in hand with the idea of 'fulfilling' (cumpliendo/cumplir) ritual duty, another verb frequently used within ritual when addressing the *abuelos*. Further research as to the senses in which an irrigation committee may be said to be following the orders of the *abuelos* would surely provide fascinating insights. For now I think that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that at some point in Huarochirí's history, the verb's application exceeded the confines of the Church and was conceptualised as likewise applying to the realm

of the local landscape—the domain of the *abuelos*. Perhaps this linguistic crossover is suggestive of a syncretistic conceptual blurring of the different manifestations of spiritual authority vying for Huarochiranos attention, and it is also possible that the verb’s application to the local irrigation systems may be suggestive of subtle mockery. Despite the highly visual presence of Christian imagery within *champerías*, which, during non-work related intervals revolve around the ritual adoration of a cross adorned with symbols of abundance (flowers, popcorn, vegetables, fizzy drinks; an occasional panetón), there is no doubt that the main objects of offerings and petitions of water are the ‘dueños mandatarios’. I presume that this is no innovation and this has been the case throughout time into today.

6.12 Conclusion: the permanence of words and ontological incommensurability

This chapter focused on language use in Huarochirí in order to illustrate that ontological incommensurability, rooted in the colonial era, may be perceived in the language used in daily conversation. Through highlighting an epistemological reliance on Quechua and pre-Quechua vocabulary for discussing the local landscape, I have illustrated that language and ontological outlook are closely connected, and that Spanish language cannot fully convey Huarochirano value systems relating to the local environment. Using a highly contextualised approach, I have shown words, as units of meaning, to be highly contingent on the world of the speaker, since they are expressive of the characteristics that things within that world possess. The long-standing conviction that the Huarochirano landscape is animate and that particular places pose specific dangers to people is one which is harnessed in cosmologically dense Quechua vocabulary which today represent loanwords for concepts which would be difficult, or impossible to ‘translate’ into Spanish. Despite the presence of Spanish in the Andes for four centuries, its development took place in a context of vastly different landscape, history and despite its route into the Americas, it is rooted elsewhere.

Through drawing the core chapters to a close with a close focus on vocabulary, my intention was to draw the reader into Sandamininos’ lived world at an accessible,

meaningful level. As I have shown, single words may be complex in the depth of meanings that they convey, and this is the case for words of both Pre-Hispanic and colonial origin.

The prevalence of indigenous language loanwords in narratives of the local landscape told in Huarochirano Spanish dialects is testimony to high levels of cultural continuity, especially in the ways in which people, landscape beings and animals are known to interact and testimony also to the importance of place in Andean society. In the current context of academic emphasis on linguistic diversity as a product of ever-increasing globalising processes (Blommaert and Rampton 2011) the case of Huarochirí also cautions us to keep in mind instances of linguistic diversity brought about from older processes of globalisation. Huarochirí represents a case whereby a multi-layered linguistic repertoire is testimony to strong cultural continuities through centuries of change. Crucially, these continuities are tied to the locality. The cultural significance of place cannot be denied, especially if we consider that Huarochiranos talk about their landscape using words that they could potentially be discriminated against for. These words, and the fact that they are still being voiced, I think, speak volumes about who Huarochiranos are and how they see their place in the world. Although local texts might suggest that the only traces of indigenous languages remain anchored in the local toponyms, it is clear that the 'voice' of San Damián is not completely irreducible to Spanish lexicon. The problem is that there is too much at stake in recognising this fact in an officialising medium, where the strategic 'playing down' of difference may pay dividends. One of San Damián's earliest texts, The Huarochirí Manuscript, is also testimony to this strategy for ensuring cultural survival. Continuities in Huarochiranos' ontological perspectives through and in spite of change illustrate just how important the animate landscape remains:

Huarochiranos still see themselves as part of a world made up of diverse beings. The State, however, fails to acknowledge the diversity of its domain, and since Huarochiranos speak Spanish, they are not entitled to the same rights as their (more) Quechua-speaking neighbours elsewhere in the Peruvian highlands. From the current

perspective of the Peruvian State, ancestral communities which do not (i.e. no longer) speak an indigenous language are considered to be ethnically distinct from the communities that do (still) speak Quechua. This situation brings me to wonder where in the world an indigenous language ends and a non-indigenous language begins? For considering the reality of modern-day Huarochirí, the landscape itself seems to cry out that this question is moot.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

This conclusion provides a summary of the main findings of the thesis as well as outlining its theoretical contribution to scholarship on Andean society. I will also consider the political implications of this research for understanding how Andeans express their identity in daily life and clarify how this contrasts with State and international discourses of identity.

In the Spanish speaking Lima province of Huarochirí, highlanders regard their local landscape to be animate and to be home to a diverse array of landscape beings. Production and daily life in Huarochirí requires on-going negotiation with landscape beings, and irrigation water is the product of ritual dialogue with landscape-owning ancestors known as *abuelos*. This ontological perspective is rooted in the Pre-Hispanic past, however people from Huarochirí are not officially indigenous. There are three reasons for my stating so. Firstly, local people do not define themselves this way. Secondly, because of the fact that Huarochiranos do not define themselves this way, Huarochiranos categorically do not fulfil the criteria for indigenous legislation as set out by the United Nation's International Labour Organisation. Thirdly, Huarochiranos are not indigenous because the Peruvian State only regards those who speak an indigenous language to be indigenous. Because Huarochiranos are not indigenous, they do not have the right to prior consultation law – a law for indigenous groups which aims to protect ancestral communities' traditions and lands.

This situation is both ironic and surprising if we consider that Huarochirí is the home to the first Andean book (or 'bible') written in an indigenous language by an indigenous author. The majority of the data on which this thesis is based relates to the district of San Damián where the famous Huarochirí Manuscript of 1608 was almost certainly written. This manuscript was produced within the early colonial context of a brutal and relentless Christianisation campaign, or the so-called 'extirpation of idolatries', which sought to eradicate manifestations of native Andean belief. We do not know who wrote this text, or the specific reasons why. However, the 1608 text includes detailed information – transcribed from oral narratives – on the

landscape-focused traditions of the local *ayllus* (kin groups), whose members had, under colonial rule, become 'the people called indians'. These people regarded themselves as being descended from their tutelary deity Pariacaca, a snowcapped mountain whose children founded the lineages of all of the *ayllus* of Huarochirí. The traditions described in the manuscript revolve around the ritual adoration of the founding ancestors, who were said to have created the local irrigation systems.

Despite colonial campaigns to quash native Andean belief, villagers in the home of the 1608 text maintain many of the ancestral practices of their so-called 'indian' ancestors (Salomon 1998, Salomon 2004, Ortiz Rescaniere 1980). In recent history, however, Huarochiranos abandoned Quechua language. Although Huarochirí represents a locus for understanding the indigenous Andean past because of its unique literary history, this ethnic category is just as arbitrary for the modern-day 'children of Pariacaca' as the category 'indian' was for their early colonial ancestors.

In light of the above situation, this thesis was set out to explore the expression of Huarochirano identity through the lens of narratives of water and landscape.

Specifically, the thesis addresses the following central research questions, which are posed in relation to modern-day Huarochirí:

- 1) How do Huarochiranos negotiate identity through water and landscape?
- 2) How do Huarochiranos express highly localised ideas about animate landscape despite indigenous language loss?

7.1 Findings

Huarochiranos regard themselves as being fundamentally different to members of dominant Peruvian society on the basis that they continue to acknowledge the landscape-owning ancestors through ritual offerings. They express their relational difference through oral narratives wherein the *abuelos* rebel against modernist ways of knowing through policing and punishing behaviour within their domain (Pre-Hispanic sacred sites, including irrigation systems). Landscape beings are regarded as being capable of penetrating the bodies of humans and animals who have a greater

'ontological weakness' (Itier 2013). In this way, the landscape forces those who do not recognise its agency, such as State employees, children and ignorant outsiders to acknowledge them through inflicting illness and harm. Narratives detailing these instances of 'ontological excess' (Escobar 2004:1, De la Cadena 2014) serve to shift the geopolitics of knowledge and morality to the highlands, away from Lima city-based domains of officialdom and law. As such, the material explored in this thesis is suggestive of continuity in managing cultural difference and marginalisation through a subversive but empowering means through which to resist hegemonic State discourses of power, knowing and being. The narratives related to me in San Damián overwhelmingly suggest that tensions between local and State ideologies of water centre on divergent ideas of ownership, reflecting hydrological tensions also reported in Quechua-speaking areas of Peru (Gelles 2000, De la Cadena 2010).

Although these narratives are told in Spanish language, the 'ontologies' (Holbraad 2013) which underpin them are rooted in the Quechua and Jaqaru-speaking Pre-Hispanic past. This is evidenced by a reliance on indigenous language loanwords which are employed in giving voice to the diverse material and behavioural characteristics of the landscape.

Huaro chirano ways of expressing identity through voicing relational difference to the 'other' are paralleled in Quechua-speaking parts of Peru, as evidenced by the work of Mannheim (Mannheim 1991). However, given that Quechua speakers qualify for the right to prior consultation in Peru, they have the right to negotiate projects affecting the landscape they consider sacred, whereas their non-Quechua speaking counterparts do not.

As such, I argue that Spanish speakers in ancestral communities like those in Huarochirí should have the same rights to protect their lands and their traditions as groups that speak indigenous languages. Given Peru's deep-rooted racism, I also argue against the application of 'indigenous' legislation in this country. As I have shown, it is a subjective and loaded category which is not easily applied to the Peruvian cultural and political context precisely because of the pejorative

connotations the term carries there. Moreover, indigeneity as a broad concept does not take the highly localized relationship between community and landscape into account.

In this respect, I have demonstrated the broader applicability of an argument made by Frank Salomon regarding the 'unethnic' representation of ethnicity of Andean societies in the past (Salomon 2001); the point that Andeanists do not necessarily take into account the ethnic self-representation of the groups under study in academic literature may also be applied to the representation of Andean groups in modern day. Moreover, international organisations and postcolonial states are ill-attuned to adequately represent diversity and difference as it is expressed in daily life by marginalised groups.

7.2 The contribution of this research to current debates in indigenous ontology and the expression of identity in the Andes

This thesis has illuminated some fundamental and important problems with approaching Peruvian society through the lens of indigeneity. This research finds its originality in its interdisciplinary approach to ethnography informed by the ontological turn. The principal contribution of this thesis is in its theoretical argument, which is based on my proposal for debates in 'mestizo cosmopolitics'. My argument engages with De la Cadena's proposal for an 'indigenous cosmopolitics' in the Peruvian Andes where she proposes that landscape beings should have their rights constitutionally recognized as in other Andean countries. I agree with De la Cadena's argument that Earth Beings should be taken seriously in State discourse. However, for reasons outlined above, cosmopolitical arguments based on the role of landscape beings in the modern world are applicable to groups who do not define themselves as indigenous.

Based on these points, I suggest that the academic debate centring on cosmopolitics and political ontology should be conscious of the geopolitically laden stance implied in the notions of 'indigenous ontology' and 'indigenous cosmopolitics'. Are these debates on knowledge politics limited to indigenous populations? This research has

demonstrated that this is not the case. I therefore propose a redefinition of the debate concerning the role of animate landscape in modern-day Peru to be more aptly repackaged as 'mestizo cosmopolitics' in order to account for the fact that indigeneity is neither a useful, nor relevant ethnic category for conceptualising Peruvian society in the modern day. My suggestion of a 'mestizo cosmopolitics' seeks to address this issue but does not necessarily represent a perfect solution: rather, my point is to question the exclusivity of the notion that landscape beings should be politically recognised to indigenous groups.

As I have argued throughout the thesis, taking one's landscape to be animate and to engage in ancestral ritual in order to acknowledge the power of the landscape beings does not equate to ascribing to indigenous status.

7.2.1 Summaries of chapters 4, 5 and 6

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 demonstrated cultural continuities in modern day Huarochirí, with a focus on the village of San Damián. The structure of the chapters sought to develop the argument in a sequence which would allow the reader to 'home in' on Sandamianino ways of life with an increasing level of detail in each chapter. The structure of the thesis was geared at pulling the reader in closer to the reality and lived experience of Huarochirí today.

Chapter 4 provided an ethnographic introduction to San Damián and the Concha and Checa barrios (neighbourhoods), which together make up the village. This chapter outlined the historical context of San Damián's role in the early colonial Christianisation campaigns and provided a broad ethnographic introduction to the village, with a special focus on highlighting the many ways in which daily life and identity are tied to the local landscape. The chapter drew on historical sources, local texts and accounts by locals, including oral narratives, in order to give insights into the ways that the village's postcolonial present are an inheritance of its colonial and pre-Hispanic past. In so doing, I presented San Damián as a site whose dynamic of social organisation is rooted in the pre-Hispanic era, and which has maintained many of its ancestral customs relating to water and landscape precisely because these

practices are tied to the ancestral sites of the respective Concha and Checa *ayllus*. Additionally, I referred to local texts and oral narratives in order to consider how Huarochiranos represent themselves ethnically and racially. The chapter also highlighted that Huarochirano modes of self-representation have rarely conformed to dominant ways of categorising highland Andean identity in Peru at different points in time.

Chapter 5 privileged oral narratives of culture clash relating to instances of 'ontological excess' (Escobar 2004:1, De la Cadena 2014) and held that ancestral traditions associated with water and landscape constitute one of modernity's 'blind spots' (Blaser 2009). Crucially, the ignorant outsiders who failed to recognise the existence and the power of the *abuelos* are representatives of the State. The narratives call into question the relevance of modern knowledge practices in the domain of the Pre-Hispanic ancestors, and the State employees must 'convert' to ancestral knowledge in order to appease the landscape beings which they offended through denying the existence. In doing so, they must recognise their subordinate position in relation to an authority of greater ontological strength than themselves. The narratives from San Damián therefore make clear the central role that land, place and irrigation infrastructure play in the construction and re-affirmation of local identity. Landscape rituals directed towards the *abuelos* represent a moral compass against which to recognise and express difference. In this sense, analyses of narrative and ritual discourse allow us to explore discourses of identity, which cannot be understood fully without exploring broader historically rooted political and ethnic tensions. In reading Sandamianino narratives through the lens of these interrelated discourses, local understandings of knowledge, power and 'otherness' come to light. Moreover, the ideological conflicts said to take place in the domain of the ancestors suggest that pre-Hispanic sites such as irrigation systems and ancestral ruins are sites of coloniality of power, knowing and of being.

Chapter 6 privileged the identification of Jaqaru and Quechua loanwords associated with landscape which feature in Huarochirano vocabulary. In this chapter, I developed

a highly contextualised approach to the relationship between word and world (ontology) and argued that Spanish vocabulary alone is incapable of capturing the qualities of the Andean landscape. In doing so, the chapter highlighted the relevance of linguistic anthropology for ethnographies informed by the ontological turn. I contextualised the discussion concerning linguistic diversity in a Spanish-speaking community with an in-depth critical discussion of homogenising State approaches to language. Moreover, I considered the role of infrastructural development and nation-building processes on language loss and attitudes towards Quechua language in Huarochirí.

7.3 Arguments, policy implications and suggestions

My findings make it clear that cosmopolitical marginality is not limited to groups who define themselves as indigenous. Furthermore, my findings communicate very strongly that political marginality is not limited to groups who speak in indigenous language. Marginality of the cosmopolitical kind is something which can be expressed in a non-indigenous language, however, as my findings show, indigenous language influences in the language of the State (in this case, Spanish) suggest that ontological perspectives rooted in the pre-Hispanic Era cannot be fully expressed in the (post) colonial language. The arguments I have put forward in relation to these issues suggest that language loss does not necessarily result in a simultaneous loss of identity, and sense of fundamental cultural difference. I find it unsurprising that the Peruvian State is currently using linguistic data to determine (limit) which groups within its diverse population should be entitled to prior consultation law. As I suggested at the beginning of my discussion, it is clear that the Peruvian State's free-market policies and outside influences within this context have much at stake in the definition of indigenous groups.

Given that the United Nations International Labour Organisation does not recommend that linguistic data be employed in the definition of indigenous and aboriginal groups, I ask myself whether the signatory nations of the International Labour Organisation's Convention 169 are obliged to honour the description of

elements of indigenous aboriginal people which the International Labour organisation itself uses to characterise these groups. If this is the case, then the Peruvian law promulgated with respect to Peru's status as a signatory nation of Convention 169 concerning prior consultation law (i.e. law no. 26253), is clearly in breach of the guidelines for convention 169. The Peruvian State's manipulation of the International Labour Organisation's criteria for identifying indigenous groups is clearly an outcome of the fact that the category 'indigenous' is extremely problematic in the first place. It is impossible to define, and International Labour organisation itself, in recognising this, refuses to define indigeneity in fixed terms.

What is more, in the International Labour Organisation's limiting prior consultation law to such indigenous and tribal groups, this gives freedom to States in postcolonial nations to take advantage of their marginalised people in limiting the applicability of prior consultation law to as small a group as is possible. As we have seen, the idea of indigeneity in Peru was erased from the political and public agendas in 1969 via agrarian reform, when formally so-called indigenous groups became peasants or *campesinos*. International law, its very nature, is incapable of taking into account the diverse colonial and postcolonial histories of signatory nations because it aims to be universally applicable within various national contexts. Based on the problematic nature of defining indigeneity and given the particular historical trajectory of ethnic categories in Peru (discussed in the introductory chapter), I would question the need for self-determination as indigenous to be featured as a criterion for gaining the right to prior consultation. Furthermore, in order to counter the problematic fact that indigenous peoples in Peru (and in other contexts) are stigmatised and as such distance themselves from this laden category, my suggestion would be that international law for indigenous or aboriginal groups be broadened to 'ancestral' groups. It is clear that indigeneity is neither a useful, nor relevant concept for approaching or conceptualising highland Peruvian society. In this respect my findings echo Howard's argument for a performative approach to identity which goes beyond 'the lexicon of difference' in Andean countries (Howard 2009).

Problematization of the fact that some Spanish speaking Andean groups such as those in Huarochirí do not self-identity as indigenous will potentially become more important while Peru's neoliberal economic model continues to privilege investment in mining as a path to development and economic growth. The ethnographic data on which this thesis is based comes from San Damián, a district which is currently being explored by an Australian mining company's multi-billion dollar concession Inca Minerales through its Chanape project on lands owned by the Checa Peasant Community. Many Sandamianinos are concerned about the impact that this project, and long-standing illegal mining projects may have on their health and mode of production.

To where else in Peru might my argument in mestizo cosmopolitics apply? The north of Peru has experienced language loss, yet some sources suggest that northern communities have not maintained their pre-Hispanic traditions when compared with the central and southern Andes (Apel 1996: 18, Hocquenghem 1989: 3). Nevertheless, these observations contrast with those of Alva for whom northerners have a distinct sense of identity rooted in the Pre-Hispanic (Moche) past and a regional variety of Spanish which is highly influenced by – the now extinct – Mochica language (Alva 2004: 14). The on-going Yanacocha (Conga) mining conflict in the department of Cajamarca, where Quechua language use is rapidly diminishing, means that discussions concerning cultural continuities rooted in the pre-Hispanic Era (especially those associated with the sacred animate landscape) in Spanish speaking communities are of heightened importance. The release in 2015 of the documentary film 'Hija de la Laguna' (Ernesto Cabellos 2015) is testimony to this. Moreover, literature which explores ethnic identity in Spanish speaking provinces of north of Peru, such as the aforementioned work of Alva (Alva 2004) is of increasing interest following the adoption of linguistic criteria for prior consultation law by the Peruvian State. The continued civil unrest in Cajamarca makes the question of whether some Spanish-speaking groups should be entitled to prior consultation law an all the more urgent one.

What is more, the issue of whether all Peruvian school children should be taught Quechua is, in 2015, currently being debated in Peru, where a member of congress seeks to put the proposal that Quechua be taught in all of Peru's schools to congress.¹⁶³ This situation begs some fundamental questions: if this proposal were to go ahead, would Huarochiranos and other Highland Limeños, be considered indigenous if they gained a moderate level of Quechua language? I suspect that this issue is of concern that the State, taking into account the current context of neoliberal policies promoting intensive mineral extraction in Peru, where language status has become a deciding factor in determining whether groups are entitled to negotiate development projects such as mining concessions.

7.4 Recommendations for future research

Based on the findings of this thesis, and the avenues that this research has opened up, I have identified the following potentially fruitful foci for Huarochirí research:

- Further linguistically attuned ethnography would potentially throw more light on the extent of Quechua and Jaqaru substrate in Huarochirano Spanish, particularly research in rural annexes. I believe that this area of research may also help us to gain a better understanding of the Huarochirí Manuscript.
- A Concha and Checa-focused reception study of relevant sections of the Huarochirí Manuscript would serve an ethical purpose in that many Huarochiranos do not have access to their own history. I also think it likely that locals would have valuable insights on the sacred ancestral sites which feature in the 1608 text.
- A focus on articulation and infrastructural development, particularly road building from the 1920s onwards, would illuminate processes of change and their effects on daily life in Huarochirí and notions of identity and difference.

¹⁶³ El Comercio, 'Proponen que idioma quechua se enseñe en todos los colegios' <http://elcomercio.pe/peru/pais/proponen-que-idioma-quechua-se-ensene-todos-colegios-noticia-1820170>, accessed 15/9/15

- Research on the nature of current tensions in San Damián concerning the Australian-owned Inca Minerals Chanape mining project on Checa lands would allow for insights into whether locals would deem mineral extraction in the reference of the *abuelos* to be conflicting interests. This research would also shed light on the relationships between the *independientes*, the Concha Peasant Community and the Checa peasant Community, since all of these groups draw water from Checa irrigation sources (but not vice-versa).

7.5 Final remarks

One of the driving forces of this research was my curiosity over whether the irrigation rituals described in the Huarochirí Manuscript were still being practised today. Prior to carrying out fieldwork in Huarochirí, I wondered if Quechua might still be spoken, or at least understood in some rural parts of the province. In some ways, this suspicion was to some extent correct, but not in such a straightforward way. I could not practice my Quechua in San Damián, but my training in the language allowed me to understand both the Spanish spoken in the village, as well Huarochirano ways of life. I certainly did not expect the *abuelos*, the sacred ancestors to hold as much power in the modern day as they clearly do. I had arrived in San Damián expecting to focus on the content and discourses of irrigation rituals. As I found out, this topic was of interest to locals, but not as much as the very basic debate over whether the landscape is animate or not. Let us recall Don Gustavo Flores's confusion over my interest in how local rituals have changed over time. Why did I keep asking him about it? He wanted to make sure that I would write about something relevant and he steered the conversation towards the topic of dangerous beings which emerge from the local lakes and mines. Gustavo and the other Sandamianinos who guided me through the local landscape and ways of life taught me to give voice to "what does exist in all the villages of Huarochirí". The fact that I would do so in another language was not an issue of concern to them. The most important thing is to acknowledge the animate landscape, no matter what the language.

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Appendix: Translations into English

The following translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

Appendix Reference 1.

"what is happening now is a revision process of the communities. It is not about publishing [the database] today and then tomorrow half of Peru having communities. Firstly, in the coast there are basically no native communities because of the migration process towards the coast, where 60% of the population is located. What native communities do you [actually] have? For example, Chilca; Chilca is not a native community, you find people from all over the country. In the highlands the majority are agrarian communities-a product of the Agrarian Reform etc. More than anything, native communities are found in jungle regions with the peoples who, much of the time, or in the past, were called uncontacted, right? But today, what with infrastructure and modernity, we are trying to articulate all of the communities."

Appendix Reference 2.

"There are real peasant farmer communities, but there are also artificial communities that own 200,000 hectares on paper but only farm 10,000 hectares while the rest is idle property, unworked, while the inhabitants live in extreme poverty and wait for the State to give them all the help they need instead of developing the hillsides and lands themselves, or leasing them, trading them, because if the land is unproductive for them it could be productive with a high level of investment or know-how brought in by a new buyer. But demagoguery and deception say that the lands cannot be touched because they are sacred objects and that this communal organization is the original Peruvian organization, without realizing that it was a creation of Viceroy Toledo to corner the indigenous communities into unproductive lands" (Alan García Pérez, Ex President of the Republic of Peru, 28th October 2007)

Appendix Reference 3.

Gustavo: "Some other time I'd like to...possibly next week? To tell you about something which *does* exist in all the villages of Huarochirí. By that I mean talking about devils as they're called, right? Or rather talking about all that *muki* stuff.

Sarah: *Mukis* as well, right?

Gustavo: Yes, precisely that, I have experienced that in person myself.

Appendix Reference 4.

Guillermo-All the youth have gone off to Lima. There aren't any PEOPLE here anymore. You don't find people here anymore! There are some real weirdos! In the neighbourhood (*barrio*) over there, yes, because it's got its own water... Water, river water, from the river as well, right, where...Laguna Negra! Surucocha Lake! They've got more water! Even if they maybe wanted to give water away, they don't want to give! Here we're full of envy! Full of greed, selfishness, here in our village, Madam...

Sarah-Really?

Guillermo-Yes! It's not like what they have in other villages, which are really united. They love each other like brothers, it's just that dear God doesn't want those things-to be separated, to be far away, those among families of father and brother. Here, noooo! There's disunity! Here there's no... what do you call it, no? Union! Because of that, in what kind of state is the village in?! The village is in a bad way.

[Lapse in conversation]

Sarah-And tell me Guillermo, why aren't they united, the people? Concha and Checa-why?

Guillermo-There's that question! Right? Why don't they come together? We're in disunity! The pass the *cargo* (ritual duty) of the village authority, each person does it for (the benefit of) their own neighbourhood, the other for his or hers. For the Kings (festival), each one, his own neighbourhood. We are not friends, there is no...but... union. That's how the Spanish left it, you see. If not, it's... because in the

old days, they said Llaquistampu, the old...of the Incas, the old, the Incas of Llaquistampu and over here Conchasica as well by the Incas, yes, and at that point they say a father from Cusco came. A Spaniard-I don't know which Spaniard? He didn't agree so he came here to unite, to make the village, perhaps they wanted to be here-they went, they went, they went! Each one-it's the history of the village, isn't it? The ancients didn't want to be here, they came here, united here, that's why we live the way we do, disunited. There is no union here, Madam. There's no union. I realise myself that there's no union.

Sarah-And this side has less water, you say?

Guillermo-Leeesssss water! Less water! It's a lake... over there, right. And they have river water. The river brings it to them.

Appendix Reference 5.

Glicerio: Max Uhle or someone like that came by this way, then... another German archaeologist. This German...Julio C Tello was living in Miraflores, his house. And when he got there... because Julio C Tello had already become renowned, he was an archaeologist. And the German came and enquired where Julio C Tello lived. He founded and so he knocked on the door. And Julio C Tello, with his...Before, there was a 'mamilucu' dress, they called it, with all these bits: 'mamilucu'. For working in mainly, it had all his bits, all of his things. And so he asks him 'Sir, does the Doctor Julio C Tello live here?', 'It's me', he replied (laughs).

Sarah-Oh! He didn't recognise him?

Glicerio-It's because he was like any old person, wasn't he?! So he took his things already, but he was utterly... what's it called? Huaco, right. Because he had all of this (Glicerio gestures to his own face). That's what the history says, about Julio C Tello.

Appendix Reference 6.

Eugenio-The policeman met with a man called Albino Pacuchino. So he said, where those *chulpas* are, their ancestors, here in Llaquistampu, over there. And from there he goes "can you show me?" he said (high voice →) "why not, Chief,

lets just go! You give me something, sorted, I'll take you". He gave him and he goes (Rosa utters an affirmative 'mmm').

He gives him, or so they say, a couple of *soles*, he gave him it over there. So they took him, they took the policeman there. They took him, he arrived to where all the skulls are, all in there (in) the *chulpas* are these little windows, every little bit is inside, the bones all folded, skulls (Rosa utters an affirmative 'mmm').

So, what did he do? "There must be loot here!", said the policeman (Rosa laughs). "No, Chief", he said, "here you have to give a ritual!".

Appendix Reference 7.

Eugenio-"You've got to take their COCA, their CIGARETTE, their RUM, to ask for permission in case they make something happen to you. He said (high pitched voice →) "NOOOOOooooo!", he said, "Not that anymore! It's not a mummy!". He found a leaf, big, like this, with a hole, nothing else. And afterwards, he found... there was rope, that the hung themselves with, as they used to say. Then he found coloured hygiene [toilet paper?], just a little bit like this, he brought it back. How long must he have been at it! The heat didn't wane so soon enough, "all right, let's go!", he said. "Let's head off". They came.

Appendix Reference 8.

Eugenio- Here he went to the mountain pass [tentative translation, the original transcription has '*al puerto*']. By the time three or four days, or about that, had passed, he started to get an itchy rash already, over there, on here, the body (crosses arms over body, enacting frantic scratching). So, the policeman goes "It's just that- why does it itch me here, dammit! He complains...(laughs). He was itching himself, hey, there are things like that, or worse. He started to wet himself, it wouldn't let him sleep at night. What the hell is happening? "What am I doing?!" (Laughs). With his uniform, it had him all worried. Right!

Appendix Reference 9.

Eugenio-So, what happened? Then he met with Don Albino, he said "what on earth is Don Ambino?" "Caramba, you've got me coming out in spots here!". "Oh Chief, what did I tell you? You have to take their ritual (goods), you have to take

their floral offerings, and all of that. Everything must be paid", he said to him. "Yes", he said, "this is the ancestor, it's this, it's that. How's it going to do that?" said the policeman (laughs). "If he's not alive, how are the bones going to... I mean, going to do that to me?" he said. (high pitched voice →) "Yes, Chief, that one has harmed you". (Affirmative tone →) Right!

Appendix Reference 10.

Eugenio-"You have to go then" he said, "back there to ask for forgiveness, and to ask that his doctor cure you there", he told him, then: "You will come with me, Don Albino", he said. "What stuff to bring? I'm going to pay you", he said to him. "Well", he said, "then you yourself have to bring a bottle of liquor, you have to take your coca, your cigarette, you have to take flowers, some carnations, and you're sorted. Let's go". Worse by the time the morning came, carambas, already worse. He was ending up wounded already! Let's see, so he left.

Appendix Reference 11.

Eugenio-He went along path gets tired [laughs]. It was itching him, they say! They got there and Albino spoke to the ancestors there. Then, "Chief, you have to speak". Hey, he started to throw up... the policeman said "But dear Doctor, cure me! He said (laughs). "I've made a mistake, from not knowing, have forgiveness". He asked! (laughs).

Rosa-He had to speak to the ancestor?

Eugenio-To the ancestor, right..."How on earth?!" (laughs). Begging! (intense laughter). "Do me a favour! CURE ME!"

Rosa-And what about the rash?

Eugenio-Albino was going to cure him. He said: "Now, what are we going to do? Let's see, we're going to see, hey, take off your shirt, I'm going to take you in past the skulls", he said. He went inside the little *chaucalito*, he took out a skull and he lied down there, so he did, and the policeman begged "Alright, cure me Sir, cure me!" (laughs).

Appendix Reference 12.

Sarah-Who cured him, you or another person?

Rosa-Another person

Eugenio-Don Albino who took him, so when he passed by here the skull made a noise, "Qachiss, qachiss..." it went, it makes a noise they say! So he said "It's already ready". Now he does it, he pays, throws his floral offering, drink...he had just finished throwing rum (down) towards the skull, for all [following words unclear] begging "bring me back to health!".

Sarah-[laughs] How was he, like this? (with hands together 'praying', when asking 'like this?'). (Laughs)

Eugenio-He prayed like that, he [Albino?] said. "Cure me!". Hey, he'd just charged him, he gave him a few cents, with those old fashioned coins, made from copper. He said he gave him one, saying "Here, I pay you". He put it inside already, he gave him his little flowers. He went over the entire body, he gave him all the flowers inside. He came back already, asking for forgiveness. He got back here already. So he said "Thank you dear Don Albino!". He said it so many times..."You'll see", he said, five days later he already bumped into the policeman- he went to do a...what do they call it, in Sunicancha, a job, and he bumped into Don Albino there in Cutucha, saying to him "Don Albino, it's starting to work already, the rash business is already starting to calm down". And he got better, just like that.

[Lapse in conversation]

Eugenio-So they were searching. And the policeman got better already. But even when he was better again he had bruise after bruise after bruise...

Sarah-And why did he have bruises?

Eugenio-The scar from the rash of course, don't you see that that's how he came out in big lumps? That's what he couldn't stand it and he scratched himself something rotten! (laughs).

Rosa-And the rash goes away just like that!

Eugenio-That's why, when we go out like that, well-it's not a witching hour [literally, bad hour], well, however must that be. If not always acknowledging the hill each moment, sometimes it can affect people.

Appendix Reference 13.

Eugenio: Hey and if you tell that, carambas, you'll earn money (laughs).

Sarah: With which one?

Eugenio: With the one I'm telling you. You'll take it over there and tell the story.

Sarah: Yes, yes-I'm going to take it over there if you give me your permission.

Eugenio: "Hey, wouldn't you like to know a story from over there? But how much will you pay?"

Appendix Reference 14.

"In the speech of Tuna there's a strong presence of the ancient languages of Huarochirí. There are words and expressions from languages such as Garu, Ancash Quechua, Jaqaru and others. Because we listen to them and speak them, we aren't aware of their origin and permanence through time. For example...what I remembered today 'Chayca', to refer to girls. It's not just the word, but also the intonation which gives special significance to what we say. One note: the inhabitants of the three villages (Tuna, Tupicocha and San Damián) would make fun of each other for their respective way of speaking...Those of us from Tuna have always pronounced the sounds /sh/carro=/kársho with more emphasis; the Tutecos, that's to say those from Tupicocha are exaggeratedly vibrous/ kárr rro/, the Sandamianinos/ káhrro/. The processes of acculturation were promoted by the school teachers from the start of the XXth Century"

Appendix Reference 15.

Rosa: They also say that above, in the hills there's a lake that's called Laguna Ñaña. And that wee lake was because, they say that the woman was searching for her baby...not-it was her cows, right? Tired, she still carried her baby in its carrier on her back, I tell you. So, with her baby carrier then, she'd be tired, so much walking, looking for her cows and not finding, in that way.

She left the wee carrier just that the shore of the lake. When she returned, it must have been further out, not close, not so far, she left her just there because she rested for a moment. When she got back they say that the carrier was already getting further away. It was getting further away, she couldn't grab it anymore, it

sank into the lake already and that's it. With the carrier and everything, she became enchanted there. She couldn't get her out anymore, she couldn't get her out anymore, she couldn't get her out anymore. And the baby must've died frozen-however must it have been eh? But the story of that lake has been like that-that's why it's called 'Laguna Ñaña' (Baby Lake).

Before, babies used to get called 'ñaña'. Babies used to get called that. Not like now 'baby', huh? 'una ñañita'

Leonila: 'Ñañita' was spoken by the old folks. Whereas today, we say 'baby'.

Sarah: When did they stop saying 'ñaña'?

Leonila: That must be ages now, in the olden days, **ages** ago.

Appendix Reference 16.

Eugenio: That one is Laguna Ñaña, because, they say, there was a woman who carried her baby on her back, she was walking around looking for her cows and then...ummm...there's a lake around about here, there was a wee stone like this-where there was shade. So she stayed there and the lass went. The yayita already went further down, further, just there, towards Huallimulli. And what happens? When she looks, the lass is already headed towards the lake. Hey, the mum ran fast to try to catch her. She couldn't anymore, she went towards the middle-she stayed (mumbles).

Sarah: She went to the middle?

Eugenio: The lassie, yes. 'ñaña', we call them (i.e. baby girls).

Sarah: Oh, poor wee girl!

Eugenio: Mmm. That's why they named the lake 'Laguna Ñaña'...[lapse in conversation]. That one is the Laguna Ñaña ...they named it Laguna Ñaña, even with the name of Laguna Ñaña.

Appendix Reference 17.

"Mmm, I'll tell you that here there are springs...but might they be evil springs? Or whatever can they be, right? But yes, they make you ill. Yes, they grab you like you say, they blow [into] you. Yes, they blow [into] you. It can swell your face up, it can swell your eye, it can swell your hand...it's easier to tell if it's from a spring.

Appendix Reference 18.

Rosa: Or rather, the face, the eye, that hand, whatever it might be.

And...afterwards I said to her "cure her with the spring, aunt!" [here, 'Tía' is challenging to translate, since as previously explained, it is used to refer to kin relations loosely, not necessarily someone's aunt]. And she went, from there she took the...the stuff that the spring had, she said that they brought in a healer because there was...there are strange people, no? And that happened, he [or she] cured her, she got better, all the swelling in the eye that was like a ball went down, the face, it ALL went down. And he cured her! That alone cured her.

Sarah: With...with the water?

Rosa: Sometimes there are...there are wee grasses [or herbs]. In that place there are some long wee grasses, something special that has to be from the spring. Or if not, there are also some that are like wool, aren't there?

Leonila: Yes, wee green ones?

Rosa: Yes, exactly. Just like a bit of wool.

Leonila: From the water itself! From the water itself!

Rosa: Exactly, from this one itself, so from precisely that spot they grab [the grass] and well-however must they cure them? I don't know because there are wise ones that cure them. There are wise folk¹⁶⁴ that cure them.

Sarah: And why does it have to be from the same spring itself? To cure her?

Rosa: Because that place blows [into] you.

Leonila: From the water itself. It's from there.

Rosa: The same place, that same wee spring, that's the one that blows [into] you. (high voice→) Might it be evil or whatever can it be? Because...I alone ask myself: "So let's see, how does the rainbow come out of those springs?"

¹⁶⁴ Literally, 'gente curiosos' might be translated as 'strange people' but in Huarochirano parlance, the term refers to the knowledge, power and wisdom of experts (such as healers) to solve a particular problem. My thanks go to Huarochirano 'curiosos' Véliz Alberco Cuya and Alfonso Bernable Naupa for advising me not to directly translate this term to 'curandero' but to seek to convey the sense that the 'strangeness' of a 'persona curiosa' lies in their wisdom, rather than in a negative quality.

Appendix Reference 19.

Sarah: You were telling me about the bulls that come out of the spring...

Vidal: They do come out!

Eugenio: *Wakanku, wakanku*

Vidal: They do come out!

Sarah: Do you know about that?

Vidal: Even wee goats come out!

Eugenio: Goat kids, goat kids!

Vidal: Kids come out as well...

Eugenio: Here in *amuna* [see footnote 122], above in the *amuna* there are some. I came home LATE. [Everything was] Covered in cloud. There weren't any more crop yields left for me to harvest over here so I came over this way, by the edge. It appeared at the edge. Hey, it was LATE! So, I said 'best not to go along by...by the canal, hey'. I go, what time must I have been there until?! I don't know...and the cloud was all closed in and hey, there in the *amuna* as if it were a bull was a baby crying! "Wah!". I thought that it was a woman for to bring her firewood with her wee lassie. The wee lassie cried bitterly. That was it then, it was down the way, the baby cried. I went. So it started to cry further along the way. 'What the heck?'. Afterwards I went over that way. Nothing. Hey, there was me shouting, "Hey!"..."Hey!" [laughs], thinking that it's a women with her child, "Hey!", nothing! So it started crying higher up, I myself realised at that moment, "This is a trick".

Appendix Reference 20.

Rigoberto: Manuel Trinidad is the one from here, from the Chaucalla canal. Right. And the one from over here in Pachachaca is a different one, from the other ravine of Don Pedro Cashahuaranga. Cashahuaranga. They are the owners in charge. And in that introduction...the...the Sir who was Leonardo Chimbiyungu, as I stress again, he performed this...(voice becomes more animated) this very one is the main canal, you see! From here, from over here in San Damián. From that mother canal of Chaucalla. He used to perform tributes to just that...to....to...to the...what do I tell you, to Manuel, to this Manuel Trinidad and...and aaaaalllll the

neighbouring ancestors of that...of all the things we're really...umm...obliged to carry out [see in-text discussion on the verb 'preceptar'], right? They're neighbours. Also from the Concha community, the lake, the Yanascocha one, and then umm, it also had its wee ancestors, María Capiana and Pedro Batán and María Capiana. It's also got a very big history. You yourself also must have found that out, right? Therefore, also they too did it in February, it happened already, February came first, I think the 2nd or 3rd. So, as I tell you, Don...that's the mission of the *champería* [irrigation ritual], that's its ritual, which comes from MAAAAANY years ago now. MANY years. How **many** years now? I came to San Damián already and that ritual was already happening back then, since many years back. That's how it is, Señorita.

Appendix Reference 21.

Luciano- Even when they got here they couldn't...the water wasn't coming out because it was at a certain level. And the engineer was counting all alone the whole day-the water didn't pass through!

Silvino-Hahahahahaha, Yes! It didn't.

Luciano-The water wasn't coming out!

Silvino-And that's because they missed out the ritual. Therefore, the grandparents, as we call them, the owners of those places don't let the water pass, ah! If you don't give them a gift, like people here say-coca leaves, cigarettes, a drink of alcohol.

Sarah-So it's because people don't give a ritual offering?

Silvino-When they don't give their contributions the right way.

Luciano-Then they have to... (interrupted)

Silvino-That happened too, the ancestors cut the engineer off. It happened around here, near Huachupampa, I don't know, somewhere around there? They say that, as they say apparently the water was like a hill, right? Like an elbow. So then, the water as it was, it had stayed there for not quite a couple of days. The water used to go through the canal like this (animatedly illustrating, with his arm bent at elbow that the curve was bypassed). So, because nowadays there's cement

and money, they cut the canal like this (indicates with arm again) so that the canal didn't curve like that anymore. They just couldn't get that water to pass through anymore! They needed to do the ritual there-that's how it must be done! If not...the more he altered the water [system], the water diminished a lot. It trickled down, but only a tiny bit.

Sarah-Ah!

Silvino-Right. And why? Just because he switched the place around!

Sarah-Without asking permission...

Silvino-That too! That doesn't...

Luciano-That's because they believe that the grandparents, if you don't do the offering, the grandparents won't let you channel the water out.

Sarah-Is that so?

Silvino-Umm, yes.

Luciano-They don't let you channel the water out! For that reason, scientifically, sometimes you can't prove it, but in practice, that engineer busted his brain saying "but if the canal is ready, why won't the water advance?!"

Sarah-Ah...

Luciano-The water was retreating! [of its own accord]

Silvino-And they had to do it all again, as if from the beginning, with a band playing and everything.

Sarah-Ahhh!

Silvino-Yes!

Sarah-The people mustn't have told him that you have to leave an offering...

Silvino-Yes, but sometimes they've named the ritual committee... (speaks at same time as Luciano)

Luciano-It's because, right, the young people go around saying "Ritual-what ritual?! Whatever!" So, or in other words, the ENGINEER, who here, the one who knows! They didn't even do anything! [The engineer just shouted:] "RELEASE THE WATER!". And the problem is that they met with...

Sarah-Oh, right!

Silvino-Yes.

Luciano-So they had to return once again, and do the ritual and release the water. **Only then** did the water eventually arrive here.