

ANDEAN ETHNOLOGY IN THE 1970s: A Retrospective

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The 1970s witnessed an outpouring of research on the Andean cultural tradition sufficient to place Andean studies among the well-established regional subspecialties of anthropology. Among the historic factors converging to produce this abundance was the emergence of a generation of fieldworkers trained by ethnohistorians such as John Murra, John Rowe, Herman Trimborn, and R. T. Zuidema. Their understanding of historical and intellectual activity in past Andean communities made it possible, even in the heyday of development theories, to appreciate the modern Andean tradition as an active and creative rather than merely resistant presence. At the same time, events within the Andean republics called forth new interest in the indigenous tradition. In Peru the Velasco regime (1968–75), with its far-reaching intervention into rural institutions, received both support and criticism from those whose knowledge of the Quechua countryside seemed suddenly valuable. In Ecuador the post-1974 oil boom awakened hope for a more “integrated” national state, thereby provoking debate (as yet inconclusive) between pluralist and assimilationist approaches to the problems of the multiethnic highlands. In all the Andean countries regional and national research institutions with periodicals and monographs of their own took form. Generally outside universities, and sometimes with support from sectors of the Catholic Church increasingly open to the study of local belief, they produced distinctive schools of thought fruitfully different from the academic tradition proper. Regional meetings such as the *Congresos del Hombre Andino* indicated the coalescence of an Andean field of study across national boundaries. In some places, self-mobilization of Andean communities and experimentation with bilingual media and institutions raised hopes for a definition of the Andean situation from the Andean side, a definition not precast in terms familiar to the Hispanic-oriented outsider.

The purpose of the following bibliographic essay is to point out several areas of progress in Andean ethnology during the 1970s and to identify significant contributions in each. Coverage is extensive but not exhaustive. The main criteria for selection are three: first, works in-

cluded treat the Andean (Quechua or Aymara) cultural tradition as the prime subject matter rather than as a background to other problems; second, they are based on fresh field research or substantial field experience; and third, they are substantially contemporary in focus, i.e., not primarily ethnohistorical or archaeological. No attempt is made to treat neighboring lowland societies or highland societies outside the Quechua- and Aymara-speaking regions, or to cover the literature on folklore.

For readers in need of further bibliography, the section "Ethnology: South America—Highlands" in the odd-numbered (social science) issues of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, ably edited by Leslie Ann Brownrigg from its inception in 1973 to 1979, remains basic. Bibliographies postdating Webster's (1970) annotated coverage and the 1971 Peruvian compendium by Matos Mar and Ravines include an anthropological section by Carlos Eduardo Aramburu in Podesta's (1978) general guide to Peruvian scientific literature, a specialized but very helpful guide to studies of Andean religion by Luís Millones (1977), and a highly selective, magisterially annotated handbook by Franklin Pease G.Y. (1979a). The special Andean issue of *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* (1978), edited by John Murra and Nathan Wachtel, provided a superb conspectus of the Andean field, including ethnohistory, as it stood toward the close of the decade. Researchers who combine historical with ethnographic investigation will also find Grieshaber's (1979) and TePaske's (1981) guides to Andean sources exceptionally valuable.

VISIONS OF ANDEAN DIVERSITY

Andean studies inherited, at first rather uncritically, and certainly with distortion, the Inca system of typologizing highland groups as a panorama of named regional-ethnic groups (Rowe 1946, p. 185). Without discarding the terminology of regional-ethnic foci (the Qolla, the Cañari, etc.), ethnographers of the 1970s both expanded this typology and departed from it. Expansion took the form of treating named "ethnicities" as only one level in a tree of oppositions whose finer and more local ramifications, the medial and minimal *ayllu* (Platt 1976) or localized descent group, now came into view as significant frames of action. Expansion in the other direction has been slower. We still know almost nothing about the widest categories of classification in Andean thought, making do instead with imported concepts such as language group, (Aymara/Quechua, etc.), ecological region (*puna/páramo* Andes, etc.), or assigned ethnic status (*indio/mestizo*, etc.). In fact we still do not know in what Andean class such words as *Qolla* belong. To find Andean concepts about the extent and major divisions of the Andean world remains unfinished business.

Departures from the traditional classification took many directions, each proceeding from the adoption of a nonethnic scheme for dividing up the Andean universe. The simplest of these departures was the reversal of gender-oriented assumptions, so that "the other essential half" (Isbell 1976), the female role in a universe where "everything is male and female," could be considered as something other than a dependent variable in kinship or productive systems. Special numbers of two journals (*América Indígena* 35[3], 1975, and *Estudios Andinos* 12, 1976) attempted the shift. Nonetheless, progress toward a female perspective was uneven. Treatments of Andean women in rural settings remained sketchy at best (Miranda Baldivia 1975; Nuñez del Prado Béjar 1975a, b.; Llanque Chana 1972; Suárez Guerra 1975). Rich portraits and self-portraits depicting women in mines and cities (Nash and Rocca 1976; Valderrama Fernández and Escalante Gutiérrez [eds.] 1977, pp. 91–116; Barrios de Chungara 1977), while providing moving testimonies of women's insight into male-dominated settings, were largely narratives rather than analyses of female experience. Fresh awareness of specifically female potentials sometimes arose from the study of moments where sexual subordination came into question (Crespi 1976). One hopeful sign was the emergence of some Andean women as scholars and polemical writers (Jiménez 1976; Punín de Jiménez 1974, 1975).

Another way of capturing Andean diversity was to slice up the Andean world by adaptive patterns (taking adaptations in a broad sense to include the human environment as well as the natural). The study of changes in adaptive strategy at the individual or household level, whose foundations were laid by earlier work on migrations to cities and coastal estates, remained an established subfield and produced retrospective syntheses of findings on rural proletarians (Greaves 1972) and "peasants in cities" (Mangin [ed.] 1970). Urban issues stimulating the most interest included the barely begun investigation of the servant class (Smith 1973), the reciprocal relations of urban Andeans with their village-mates at home (Buechler 1976, 1980; Flores Ochoa 1972; Hickman 1974–76; Isbell 1973; Myers 1971–72), and the institutions that urban Andeans create (Buechler and Buechler 1977, Collier 1973, Durand 1979, Jongkind 1974). Awareness of such institutions and of a distinctively urban variant of Andean culture (Doughty 1972, León Caparó 1973, Montaña Aragón 1972b) shifted treatment of urban adaptations away from individual or family-mobility perspectives toward perspectives focused on community level or class formations.

In the countryside, the striking success of Protestantism among certain groups was also seen in the early seventies as an individual or family-level strategy for adapting to painful local circumstances (Nor-dyke 1972). Later work (Buechler and Buechler 1978, Casagrande 1978)

suggests that Protestantism serves to remobilize collective energies within, but also against, the constraints of regional highland social structure.

In mine communities, the transition from in-migration to a new collective identity and social mobilization has been made several times over in the span of four centuries. Thanks mostly to June Nash's tenacious study of Bolivian tin miners, synthesized in *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us* (1979; see also Nash and Rocca 1976, Barrios de Chungara 1977, De Wind 1974), it is here that we know the most about the role of Andean myth as a means for sizing up the realities of a class society. This aspect of Nash's work is most explicit in a 1977 article, "Myth and Ideology in the Andean Highlands"; her conclusion that "Ideology, cut off from this primary consciousness expressed in myth, lacks the power to mobilize" serves as a useful caution against the debunking attitude common to most change-oriented studies (Stein 1977a). Alongside the literature describing miners' ritual and secular responses to the mine setting (Helmer 1978, Iriarte 1972, Nash 1974–76), a small but intriguing group of studies concerns areas where miners interact with rural Andeans (Brown 1976). Two outstanding ethnologists, Olivia Harris and Javier Albó (1976), have contributed to the consistently excellent CIPCA publications a study of miner-peasant relations in the Norte de Potosí, Bolivia. Going far beyond the impediments to worker-peasant alliance noted by Stavenhagen, they deal in rich cultural detail with the relationships that militate for and against this problematic but enduring tie.

Perhaps the greatest single advance toward recognizing the diversity of communal adaptations was the rapid emergence of Andean camellid pastoralism as a field of study in its own right. Jorge Flores Ochoa's (1979a) small classic, *Pastores de Paratia*, which first appeared in 1968 and has now been beautifully translated by Ralph Bolton as *Pastoralists of the Andes*, makes a rewarding introduction to the field elsewhere covered in synoptic condensation by Browman (1974) and in detail by the contributors to Flores Ochoa (ed.) *Pastores de puna, uywamichiq punarunakuna* (1977). Taken on a diachronic plane, the study of camellid pastoralism introduces questions about the process by which wholly or almost wholly pastoral communities came into being. Browman and Flores agree in essentials—that such groups are not margined survivors of agricultural villages (Nachtigall 1975), but inheritors of a pristine tradition of pastoral nomadism comparable to that of the Old World (Flores Ochoa 1977b).

Taken synchronically, the new evidence on pastoralism raises a number of other issues. At the most basic level, it raises the question of how to define a workable unit of human geography for pastoral Andean

people. The sacred geography of pastoralist ceremony seems much more fixed (by the location of holy places and the rarely-lived-in nucleated village) than the secular space of their daily work, whose orientation changes with the herds' movements. To deal with such realities the concept of community must be partially detached from assumptions of sedentarism (Agüero Blanch 1969–70, Webster 1973). Another question concerns the distinctive, widely diffused body of ritual and symbolism attached to camellids, treated at length in *Allpanchis Phuturinga* (see especially Aranguren Paz 1975, Gow and Gow 1975), where the emphasis is on rites creating social ties between people and animals. How are the Andean power-concepts like *enqa* (the generative principle and origin of good fortune) related to economic behavior among pastoralists and cultivators (Flores Ochoa 1976)? Under the leadership of Paul Baker, a third concern, the adaptation of human communities to extreme high-altitude ecosystems, has been explored with such precision that we now possess a more complete biological understanding of one herding community (Nuñoa, Peru), than of any agricultural settlement (Baker and Little 1976). Brooke Thomas' subtle and encompassing systems-theoretical rendering of the adaptive complex (1977), using calories as the unit of account, clarifies herders' reasons for tolerating a generally unfavorable system of exchange with townspeople.

Other varieties of pastoral-agricultural complementarity gave rise to studies in the tradition of "vertical organization" (Murra 1975). These works concentrate in part on systems which achieve intracommunal self-sufficiency via vertical diversification (Webster 1972 provided a striking case from Q'ero, near Cuzco), but also on areas where the articulation of herding with tuber and maize zones at lower altitudes takes place either through personalized bartering partnerships (Casaverde Rojas 1977, Concha Contreras 1976) or through participation in the cash market (Flores Ochoa 1977a). The inclusion of camellid products in the national and international cash market creates problems of its own, to which a fifth group of studies responds. Among these, Benjamin Orlove's *Alpacas, Sheep, and Men* (1977) is the most ambitious, offering a "sectorial model" that is especially valuable for explaining when non-Hispanic institutions will or will not prove situationally useful. Critics of the Velasco Alvarado government's agrarian reforms pointed out that the terms of exchange between state agencies and the herding communities reduce herders, despite their lasting separateness, to a proletarian status vis-à-vis the national economy. This tendency, alien to the regime's announced aim of fostering noncapitalist institutions (Gómez Rodríguez 1977, Mejía 1977), has been aggravated by "desmedida ovinización" of the puna habitat as foreign promoters and ethnocentric developers turn high-altitude pastureland over to sheep grazing (Flores Ochoa 1979c).

LINEAMENTS OF ANDEAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

During the 1970s a harvest of ethnographic projects brought the study of Andean social structure to a level of detailed description that bears comparison with longer-established areas of study. For convenience these studies are here grouped according to their dominant focus on intra-communal, intercommunal and regional, or national and international frames of reference.

One breakthrough to greater authenticity in describing small-scale social order was achieved at a 1974 panel organized by Ralph Bolton and Enrique Mayer, published as *Andean Kinship and Marriage* (1977). There a partial consensus on the nature of the hitherto puzzling unit named *ayllu* began to emerge. An Andean informant's remark to Billy Jean Isbell that "*ayllu* is any group with a head" (1978, p. 105) stimulated the realization that *ayllu* is a formal concept, relative to two contextual variables, namely, ego/ancestor focus, and minimal/medial/maximal scale. These and associated findings summarized by Lambert (1977) aided in the interpretation of puzzling Andean formations which appeared to have both corporate and noncorporate properties (Earls 1971, Montgomery 1971). The model of *ayllu* as a bilateral kinship network of four generations' depth owes much to Zuidema's exegesis of pre-Columbian representations and has proven useful in explaining modern rules of exogamy. Nonetheless it has drawn a dissent from Casaverde Rojas (1978) who objects to the neglect of the communal order's "omnilineal" properties.

Reports of the complex, multistaged ritual sequence that makes a marriage (Vivanco Flores 1972), which earlier had elicited the notion of Andean "trial marriage," found sounder interpretations (Bolton 1977a, Carter 1977) in light of the notion of "marriage process." Little is yet known of how Andean marriages endure or break down (Bolton and Bolton 1975). Much more progress was made on the rules of exogamy and affinity (Albó 1972, Albó and Mamani 1976). Earlier demonstrations that alliance formation is generally framed by strategies for dealing with resource scarcity (Webster 1977) and specifically conditioned by the desire to spread ecological risk without marrying afar (Bastien 1978b, Bolton 1973b) were elegantly fleshed out by Harris' (1978b) study of a Bolivian group whose members, unequally divided between two ecological zones, conduct a delicate policy of alliance for which exogamy furnishes an armature. Earls and Silverblatt (1977a) offered a radical thesis on the nature of wife-exchanging affinal groups, and Flores Ochoa (1978c) described an unusual extension of "marriage" relations to relations between men. The roles of affines in ceremonially demonstrating the nature of alliance emerges with similar lucidity in Mayer's (1974a) study of a community in Pasco department, Peru. The creation of alli-

ance by fictive means, an old warhorse of Latin American studies, was brought closer to Andean concerns through the elucidation of its non-Hispanic ritual foci, e.g., *rutuchikuy*, the haircutting ceremony, and through describing its economic context (Belote and Belote 1977a, Brownrigg 1977b, Christinat 1976b, Michaud 1973). An unusual form of alliance, *tawanku*, "among four," which creates a durable pairing between two married couples, was described by Bolton (1973c).

Kin-based reciprocity as the matrix for solving supply-demand problems, especially those concerning labor, proved a fruitful area of comparison between ethnohistoric and ethnographic data (see the panel organized by Flores Ochoa [1978b] at the 1976 Congress of Americanists). Reciprocal transactions of a few pan-Andean types (Mayer 1974b), though now largely displaced from political relationships, remain embedded in ties of kinship and alliance to such a degree that these are rightly termed "relations of production" (Custred 1977a, Esteva Fabregat 1972, Fioravanti-Molinié 1975b, Fonseca Martel 1974, Isbell 1974, Mayer 1974b, Mayer and Zamalloa 1974). In these transactions the household is normally the unit of organization. Guillet (1978) raises the intriguing question of how modern, politically truncated versions of Andean political economy nonetheless can consistently make productive power serve needs at the collective level.

Andean variants of the civil-religious hierarchy (INDICEP 1973, Belote and Belote 1977b, Sánchez Farfán 1976) in some respects reflect ideologies of egalitarianism (offices are obligatory for males and rotate among them; Provoste Fernández 1979), while in others they produce a clearcut elite stratum (in a community of 370, about ten to twenty elders constitute a de facto government, according to Webster 1974–76; see also McEwen 1971–72). Diachronic study may elucidate some of the tendencies characteristic of communities artificially depoliticized from without. The Andean-rooted role of "traditional leaders," until recently obscured by developmentalist prejudices (Bolton 1970), has found more penetrating treatment (Isbell 1972) under the aegis of ecological and symbolic study. New institutional means of reinforcing communal boundaries and hierarchies appear in the form of clubs and modern rituals (Guillet 1974).

In turning to the intercommunal and regional levels of organization, many ethnologists note the existence of two qualitatively different, but coexisting and at times even functionally complementary, systems for articulating supply and demand beyond the village level. The more properly Andean system (that is, the one connecting only indigenous producers) tends to articulate places which in other times might have formed a "vertical archipelago" (Murra 1975; Fioravante-Molinié 1973, 1975a). It creates social bonds between partners in different ecological zones and establishes norms of barter between them that are not directly

affected by current conditions in the marketplace (amply treated in Alberti and Mayer 1974, in which see especially Long's paper on "Commerce and Kinship," Burchard's on the role of lowland coca, Custred's on highland herds, and Scott's ingenious formalist treatment of problems studied earlier under the assumptions of substantivism). Mayer's (1972) treatment of conventional equivalences occupies a key place in this discussion. Malengreau (1978) takes note of the degree to which aspirations for communal self-sufficiency limit potentials for horizontal solidarity among communities. Camino's (1977) study of *correrias* from the Cuzco highlands deep into Amazonia displays the extraordinary vitality of extramarket systems of economic articulation.

The same communities engaged in barter and reciprocal trade also trade in cash markets, and the relation between these modes has become a lastingly productive vein of Andean research. New evidence indicates that shadowy (perhaps non-Inca) institutions of pre-Columbian "merchant" exchange, known from ethnohistoric sources, are not lacking in contemporary counterparts (Hartmann 1971) which now interlock with the money economy. Flores Ochoa and Nájjar Vizcarra (1976) offer data on a type of transzonal peddling whose name *likira* suggests affinities with a type of trading sponsored by Inca-period ethnic lords (Ortiz de Zuñiga [1562] 1972, 2:102). Fioravanti-Molinié (1973) suggests that market participation is not in itself erosive of reciprocal institutions. These considerations indicate the inadequacy of the dichotomy of market versus reciprocal systems. Nonetheless most studies of the regional markets at which Quechua- and Aymara-speakers trade treat marketing as being ipso facto an interethnic matter (Esteva Fabregat 1970b). The liminal or broker roles of market traders in Andean communities has been researched by Dubly (1973), Long (1975a, b) and Malengreau (1974).

The old latifundist order tended to limit the direct participation of Andean producers in the marketplace. Because this fact was seen as a hindrance to national economic expansion as well as a cause of immiseration, it received considerable attention in the early 1970s, including an anthology edited by José Matos Mar (1970b; see also Díaz Martínez 1970). Under the impact of agrarian reform and the decadence of the estate economy, some areas once treated as "regions of refuge" (Castillo Ardiles 1970) were reexamined as examples of the infiltration of Andean "tradition" by market-borne "change" (Gutiérrez Araya et al. 1977). Among the results attracting attention were the balancing-off of contrasting modes of complementarity (Villafuerte 1978), urban-oriented cultural revisions (Conlin 1974; G. Escobar 1971, 1973), and emigration from regions bypassed by market arteries (Orlove 1976).

Studies of relationships between Andean groups and national or international institutions tended, with a few exceptions, to treat Andean

tradition as a background factor rather than an active force (explicitly so in Long and Roberts' 1978 team study; see also its precursor, Alberti and Sánchez 1974). Peru's agrarian reform was a major axis of discussion. At the dawn of the reform era, several studies outlined the Quechua peasantry's place in an insufficiently dynamic, overly exploitive rural economy (Bourricaud 1970b, Dobyns 1970, G. Escobar 1970a, Matos Mar [ed.] 1970a, Tullis 1970). Works published during the period of agrarian innovation display a gamut of views about mechanisms and value of change; foci included migration as a motor of structural change (Altamirano Rúa 1972, Celestino 1972), and political mobilization by peasant syndicates, parties, etc. (Crespi 1971, Dandler 1975, Handelman 1975). In the wake of agrarian reform the plural society model (Leons 1977) was attacked from all sides. While some critics adapted dependency theory to the study of agrarian problems within Peru (Degregori and Golte 1973, Long 1975b), and others (Stein 1974) upheld more strictly class-based critiques, adherents of older Weberian-Parsonian approaches were not lacking (Lewellen 1978). Orlove (1974, 1977) claims for his "sectorial model" independence from all of these. Research aimed, inter alia, at the improvement of reform practice brought heightened awareness of the internal diversity of the class called *campesina* (Fonseca Martel 1976a).

Writings that treat the agrarian reform period retrospectively register major changes inside Andean communities (Gow 1973; Guillet 1974, 1979). Writers familiar with Andean needs have acidly criticized some of these changes. Matos Mar (1977) and Fonseca Martel (1975) conclude that reformed institutions of agrarian finance and marketing, planned in ignorance of highland realities, undercut those Andean institutions which could not only have coexisted with a noncapitalist economy, but enriched and stabilized it. In such discussion, works from Bolivia, whose period of agrarian reform euphoria now lies a quarter century in the past, deserve a special place (Simmons 1974). Hans and Judith-Maria Buechler's studies of Aymara communities near La Paz (1971, 1971-72) developed a network-analysis method which, by dispensing with arbitrarily imposed units of study, shows that the adaptive viability of Andean culture during periods of change cannot be predicted by looking only at collective or intracommunal functions. An enormous team-organized comparative study of Bolivian communities edited by William J. McEwen (1975) shows examples of one tendency noted by disillusioned Bolivians, the retention of town dominance over rural communities in spite of reforms (Bracamonte 1976), but also illustrates widely different outcomes dependent (among other things) on the character of intra-Andean local institutions.

A final problem, still little explored, is the need for the reevaluation of the basic unit of social-structural study, the so-called community. Disjunctions between named rural communities, evident in intercom-

munal legal feuding (Brush 1974), have been convenient for the making of monographs but perhaps derive from imposed institutions and not from the inner dynamic of Andean social structure. A telling critique by Fioravanti-Molinié (1978) suggests that the convention of treating “communities” as unitary, homogeneous, and durable results from an ignorance of history on the local scale. Albó (1976b) offers complementary insights, suggesting how Aymara collectivities paradoxically derive cohesiveness from their own internal fractiousness.

CONTROVERSY OVER ANDEAN ETHNICITY

During the 1970s the Euro-American intelligentsia’s long-overdue loss of confidence in its own old folk taxonomy of highland cultures—*blanco*, *mestizo*, *indio*, and sometimes *cholo*—evoked attempts at a more authentic description of the differences which these words had reified without explaining (Greaves 1973). Landmarks in the debate include the anthology *El Indio y el poder en el Perú rural*, in which the explanatory value of power concepts (as opposed to race or social race) was tellingly explored (Fuenzalida et al. 1970); Pierre van den Berghe’s revindications of ethnicity as an explanatory variable not reducible to class factors (1973, 1974); and Leslie Brownrigg’s position papers (1973, 1975, 1977a), in which she held that neither ethnicity nor class were “natural” categories but analytical constructs that should be evaluated in the light of ethnographic findings. Toward the end of the decade, sharp critiques of the *indigenista* heritage (Degregori et al. 1978) were complemented by pioneer attempts at the elucidation of human categories used inside Andean discourse (Albó 1977).

Class analyses, in which ethnic differences were seen as aspects of relations of production (where stable and rigid class barriers allow the extensive elaboration of “class culture”), proved attractive to analysts of several tendencies. The idea that the economic betterment of the campesino class would in itself remove cultural obstacles to national unity led, at an extreme, to left-nationalist assaults on the validity of pro-Andean positions and on what was called “culturalista” anthropology (Ugarte 1978). Stein (1977b) exemplifies a similar view among some foreign scholars that “Indian” self-definition is merely a paraphrase for class identity. Others, while conceding indigenous culture a reality in its own right, sought to show how folk terminology about cultural differences is frequently a mystification of class relationships (Espinoza-Zeballos 1975, Hellbom 1976). At its best, class-informed anthropology produced outstanding explorations of true “class culture,” such as the concept “noble” (Brownrigg 1978) among those who dominate Andean peoples, and of class-conditioned religious expressions of urban workers (Albó 1974b). With a few exceptions (Nash 1977), however, it tended to explain ethnic

consciousness away as an obsolete or false consciousness (Lindoso and Silveira 1976) whose continued existence becomes both problematic and undesirable. These questions are also the focus of *Peasants, Primitives, and Proletariats* (Browman and Schwarz 1979a).

Most of the successful work on ethnic phenomena was done by researchers who regarded both ethnic and class categories as “real” for the purposes at hand, neither being reducible to the other. The type of “reality” depended on the theoretical orientation. Andean ethnic groups are realities both “in themselves” and “for themselves” when examined from a historical point of view, insofar as they continue using means of production derived from autonomous pre-Columbian sources, practice internal relations of production not reducible to European ones, and conceive of these using ideas derived from the same experience that generated them. In this light they do have the character of “natural categories,” discovered and not imposed. The older traditions of *indigenismo*—political (Reinaga 1978) and ethnological (Burgos Guevara 1970, Villavicencio 1973)—although no longer creative, helped conserve for Andean studies a home ground hospitable to the study of ethnicity so conceived. Marxists sensitive to Andean historical peculiarities (Cueva Jaramillo 1974) succeeded in recognizing that the integration of the Andean world into the capitalist economy sets the ethnic problem into a new context but does not dissolve it.

The bulk of the work on Andean ethnicity as such was carried out by writers who, to one degree or another, accept “plural societies” models. In these, named, self-conscious, ethnolinguistically distinct, and usually internally stratified groups confront each other to form a post-colonial society. Exemplified in Ecuador by Casagrande (1971a, b), it was later championed by Van den Berghe and Primov in *Inequality in the Peruvian Andes* (1977) as being, despite the imperfect fit caused by the Andean culture’s margination into rural agricultural sectors and the consequent poverty of internal stratification, the best way to respect ethnic-cultural facts rather than define them out of view. The persistence of an ethnic “doble personalidad social” is a major theme of Hickman’s (1975) Aymara community study. Another approach, little explored since the eclipse of *casta* as a descriptive category, is the use of genealogy as a way of clarifying for outsiders the reference of ethnic terms peculiar to a given group (Casaverde 1979).

Some Peruvian writers have explored the fact that ethnic tags continue to be applied to self and others even when they cannot be operationalized in terms of permanent personal attributes. Any given person may label and be labeled differently according to the context of conversation; a given term may not only be assigned to dissimilar groups in different locales, but even to dissimilar groups within one locale on different occasions (Flores Ochoa 1974, Fuenzalida 1970, Mayer 1970).

The situational and phenomenological approaches to which these insights open the way have turned out to be especially useful in dealing with problematic terms like *cholo*, *mestizo*, *chazo*, *chaupi-mishu*, etc. Avoiding Van den Berghe and Primov's unnecessary assumption that tag-terms locate fixed intermediate points on an ethnic "continuum," writers sensitive to the (historically or momentarily) contingent and relative use of ethnic terms have opened the way for approaches freer of presuppositions derived from studies of Afro-mulato-European "racial" relations (Bourricaud 1970a, Crespi 1973, G. Escobar 1970b, Masson 1977, Matos Mar 1970, Weinstock 1970).

The most intriguing aspects of ethnicity, however, have been barely outlined. These include, first and foremost, the unaccountably neglected question of how Andean peoples define their self-reference groups (the sacred dimensions of this topic are treated below). Javier Albó, in his essay "Khitipxtansa? Quiénes somos?" (1977), suggests that ethnic self-reference (*Jaqi*, i.e., Aymara) does not mystify the objective terminologies of language, social race, and class, but is set critically against them. An exceptionally fertile treatment of the way in which Andean thought generates boundaries is Ossio's (1978a) essay on the local ecology of a small valley, whose shape serves as a template for self-other distinctions. In regard to intraindigenous boundaries, ritual combat (Brownrigg 1971, Hartmann 1972), celebrating the existence of spatial and social limits, is felt to be a vivifying and future-enhancing event. Communal feeding (Domínguez Condezo 1975) also expresses group self-definition. Aymara-Quechua relations in Puno (Primov 1974) and Potosí (Harris 1975) have gotten enough attention to demonstrate that some social structures may overlap ethnic boundaries without disturbing what are conceived of as important differences in the realm of culture. The internal unity of named regional ethnic groups has hardly been questioned but should be. It is notable everywhere in the Andes that local-based ethnologists (e.g., Montaña Aragón 1972a, 1975) and ethnic Andeans themselves tend to split regional groups into many more named groups than outsiders do. This suggests the existence of a ramifying system of cultural self-other distinctions. Andean concepts about non-Andean peoples (lowland Indians, blacks, mestizos, foreigners) have been better elaborated ethnohistorically than ethnologically; folkloric reports constitute most of the rare exceptions (Orellana Valeriano 1972, Rosales Huatuco 1975). An exception is the Ch'uncho (Amazonian) dance complex (Gow 1974) in which highlanders impersonate *montaña* lowlanders and thereby express a rich range of ideas about relations between ethnic differences and cosmological oppositions.

INTERPRETING ANDEAN WORLD VIEWS

The seventies witnessed signal advances in unfolding elements of Andean thought and meaning. These advances were due in large part to three changes: the growth of cultural anthropology at South American teaching institutions, the education of Europeans and North Americans in Andean languages, and the inspiration of structuralism, giving anthropologists a means to analyze detailed data on myth and ritual previously in the custody only of folklorists. In the following paragraphs the fruits of this movement are classified (only for convenience) as relating (1) to the creation of meanings; (2) to their perpetuation and representation as world view, first on a collective and then on an individual level; and, (3) to their restoration under the impact of disruptions.

It is on the first of these points, the creation of new meanings, that we remain most ignorant. Even if one holds that new myths essentially retell old ones, it would be interesting to know how new versions arise and are validated. Gutiérrez Estevez (1979) is almost alone in exploring the transformation from extraordinary subjective experience to shared mythic experience. The few examples of visual arts (e.g., illustrations in Gow, Gow, and Condori 1976), and Cereceda's excellent exegesis (1978b) of textiles as encoded representations of living beings, do not tell how their makers chose among possible variants of traditional messages. In verbal representation, Isbell and Roncalla Fernández (1978) gave fresh insight into the "ontogenesis" of meaning at an individual level, through study of children's guessing games; riddling (Bolton 1977b) may reward further study on these lines. Regarding other verbal genres, most works concentrated on conventions and formal rules: rhetorical conventions of Quechua verbal art (McDowell 1974), Aymara verbal etiquette (Llanque Chana 1973), and semiotic structures in Quechua storytelling (Ballón and Campodónico 1977, 1978). Carvalho-Neto (1977) took note of the verbal "erosion" of Andean folk drama, an art in need of study; and only scant attention has been paid to other verbal arts, including the New Year's pasquinade (Orbegozo Rodríguez 1975, Bedregal 1976). These works should stimulate interest in this drastically understudied field.

The attempt to describe collectively held and established world views, however, received lavish attention and indeed emerged as a distinctive ethnographic genre: see, for example, "Apuntes sobre el mundo sobrenatural de Llavini" (Cáceres Olazo 1970), "El mundo sobrenatural en una comunidad" (Casaverde Rojas 1970), *Mundo quechua* (Cereceda 1978a), and the various articles of this type in *Allpanchis Phuturinga*. These cosmological works differed, however, in emphasis. Jiménez Borja's "Imagen del mundo andino" relates modern mythology to sixteenth-century sources (1973). Millones' "El mundo sobrenatural de Yaután"

(1975b) deals with the mythology of a region located on the sierran-coastal frontier and accordingly preoccupied with water motifs. Juan Víctor Nuñez del Prado Béjar's "El mundo sobrenatural de los Quechuas del sur del Perú a través de la comunidad de Qotobamba" (1969–70), Morissette and Racine's "La Hiérarchie des Wamani" (1973), and the lovely bilingual compendium *Kay Pacha* by David Gow, Rosalind Gow, and Bernabé Condori, all emphasize the "sacred geography" of the spirit lords immanent in mountains. Manuel Marzal's compendious *El mundo religioso de Urcos* (1971) is notable for its treatment of the uneasy interaction between the immanent pantheon of Andean thought and Catholicism's emphasis on transcendence (see also Cadorette 1977).

Impressive, too, was the mounting corpus on Andean ceremonies that demonstrate the form of the conceived world or equilibrate the worshippers' relation with it. Bolton and Sharon (1976), and Albó's "El ciclo ceremonial anual en el mundo de los Llapuni (Bolivia)" (1976a) set ritual acts in their social and calendric cycles (the former appears in a special issue of the *Journal of Latin American Lore* on the use of the *mesa* or array of power talismans). In accord, perhaps, with the upsurge of interest in Andean pastoralism, one of the best-studied types of ritual was that concerning livestock fertility. Reports from the Cuzco region (Delgado Aragón 1971), Apurímac (Valderrama Fernández and Escalante Gutiérrez 1976), Huancayo (Quijada Jara 1977, Canchanya Porras et al. 1975), and Azuay, Ecuador (Agro 1974), together with data in full-scale ethnographies (Bastien 1978a, b), demonstrate the existence of a far-reaching complex of pastoral ritual. *Pachamama*, mother earth, figures in reports on agrarian rites (Della Santa 1973, Mariscotti de Görlitz 1978). New year and the midsummer cycles were documented in the south highlands of Peru (Dalle 1971; Zelenka 1973), as well as various annual rites of the Jauja region (Orellana Valeriano 1971, 1973a, 1973b).

Ethnohistorians have demonstrated that the diachronic element in the Andean world view consists not of a past seen as having caused the present and then being displaced by it, but rather of a past implicit within the present and permanently interacting with it. The conviction that ancestors are living presences is vividly conveyed in articles by Muñoz de Bernand (1979a) and Fuenzalida (1977). These elements are accompanied by a millenarian, catastrophic, or sometimes Joachite concept of the nature of change, and a sense of the future as transformation rather than continuation. A large and growing corpus concerns the *Inkarri* myth (Ortiz Rescaniere 1973a), in which the head of the Inca, severed at Cajamarca, will reunite with his body to produce a counter-cataclysm (Ferrero 1973, Flores Ochoa 1973a, López-Baralt 1979, Nuñez del Prado 1973b, Valderrama Fernández and Escalante Gutiérrez 1978, Valencia Espinoza 1973). Other treatments of the persistence of pre-Hispanic mythological thought referred to continuities between the be-

liefs documented in early colonial sources (the Huarochirí myths, Molina, etc.) and modern data (Paredes Candía 1972, Pinto 1972, Santisteban Tello 1972). Three excellent studies of Andean pilgrimages to the lakes and mountains, whose reciprocal ties with humanity constitute the "vertebral column" of social reality, demonstrated the ritual means to "volver a ordenar constantemente las fuerzas cósmicas incontrolables" (Sallnow 1974; see also Sharon 1978a, Gow 1974). Throughout the Andes it is felt that pre-Christian ancestors eternally inhabit their archaeological remains, and it is to be hoped that someone will follow up Quispe's (1972) sketchily executed project for an ethno-exegesis of the great monumental ruins.

A promising and little-studied problem, the ways in which myth acts in conscious and unconscious thought to orient secular action, received attention in Zorrilla Eguren's unusual (1978b) study of dreams, which helped propel an Ayacucho community into a major public works project. Bode (1977) sketched the role of myth in dealing with earthquake disaster, and Flores Ochoa (1973b) explored a case in which the birth of an "illegitimate" child was attributed to the mischief of a pagan ancestor so as to neutralize a transgression.

On a broader canvas, the best view of myth, as it operates in mental process, and of Andean world view in action was the extraordinary oral autobiography of a Cuzco cargo porter, Gregorio Condori Mamani. The impeccably translated bilingual edition by Valderrama Fernández and Escalante Gutiérrez (1977) conveys, in the true tone of a talented Quechua raconteur, the first apparition of airplanes in the Andean air, a conscript's-eye view of Peruvian militarism, life in the lower reaches of a market economy, and much more. An equally compelling second part contains the testimony of Condori's wife. Several oral autobiographies of miners (Nash and Rocca 1976; Barrios de Chungara 1977) and peasant activists (Neira Samanez 1974) have also been published.

A third inventory of studies on Andean symbols and meanings emerged from observation of rites of restoration, the means for repairing world order damaged by untoward events. Among the signs indicating the existence of sociomedical ills are apparitions of spooks: the *ñak'aq* or slaughterer (Engl and Engl 1975; Vallée and Palomino Flores 1973a), the *gagones* who persecute incestuous Cañaris (Landívar 1971; Masson 1979), and the water-source troll *ichij olljo* (Millones 1975a). Andean shamanism and sorcery emerged as a full-blown area of inquiry, led by Sharon's intensive study of a north-coast spirit healer *Wizard of the Four Winds* (1978b). This work contrasts intriguingly with another study of the same man (Gushiken 1977); joint reading suggests the magnitude of exegetical problems. Some studies of Titicaca-area sorcery (Bolton 1974b, 1974c; Bolton and Bolton 1976b) illustrate other uses of apparently very ancient concepts (Sharon and Donnan 1977; Braun 1971). The literature on eth-

nomedical and ethnopsychiatric practice now spans a wide sample of Andean regions. Muñoz de Bernand's jewel-like studies of disease etiology relate traumas of personal experience to those of communal history in the Cañari country of Ecuador (1976, 1979b; see also Sal y Rosas 1972). A study of "L'imaginaire dans les thérapeutiques populaires" draws on the magical centrality of highland lakes in north Peru (Friedberg 1979), recognized in coastal and Amazonian medicine also. Two studies from Chinchero, near Cuzco, emphasize the role of the diviner or *paqo* (Contreras Hernández 1974, Esteva Fabregat 1970a; see also Valdivia Ponce 1975). Homero Palma (1973) reports on ethnomedicine in the Argentine puna, related to Kallaway practice in Bolivia (Oblitas Poblete 1971; Overgaard 1976; see also Bastien 1978a). Specialized studies emphasizing ethnopharmacology, including that of the Kallaway (Girault 1975), proliferated. Ishpingo (Iriarte Brenner 1975), ayahuasca (Naranjo 1975), and other psychotropics (Yarrow 1971–72) received special though not necessarily rigorous attention (for the all-important role of coca, see below). Browman and Schwarz (1979b) brings together essays on psychotropic drugs, medical anthropology, and shamanism. Chávez Velásquez' study of Inca materia medica (1977) will probably prove useful to contemporary studies as well as archaeology and ethnohistory. A well-illustrated study describes several types of soapstone amulets from the Titicaca basin (Haley and Grollig 1976).

Among other rites of restoration, those concerning the dead proved exceptionally interesting. Like marriage, funerary rites are multi-staged (Ibérico Mas 1975). The spirit doubles of the deceased (Santana Jiménez 1975), glossed as "souls" in Catholicism, remain in durable relationship with the living (Hartmann 1973, 1974). Rites for establishing correct ties with them include ritual washing and burning (Ibañez-Novión 1970), ritual gambling (Sánchez C., Matayoshi, and Tillmann 1977), and reinterment (Van den Berghe 1978).

ANDEAN MAN AND ANDEAN ECOSYSTEMS

Baker and Little's (1976) *Man in the Andes: A Multidisciplinary Study of High-Altitude Quechua* signaled the emergence of ecologically informed Andean studies from the stage which Anderson (1973) called "incidental ecology" to that of the rigorous use of ecological systems theory and the methods of field biology. In part because of its relative biotic simplicity, and in part because of the self-sufficiency that historic margination has forced upon its inhabitants, the high puna served as an apt laboratory for totalizing projects such as Thomas' energy-flow treatment (1976). While more regionally oriented studies are not lacking (Gade 1975, Winterhalder and Thomas 1978), local ecosystem studies treating lower-lying productive zones with comparable rigor are still needed. Even a tenta-

tive rendering of a full Andean vertical system at this level of precision remains remote.

Nonetheless progress in working out the socioeconomic relationships proper to vertical systems of adaptive diversification, as Murra first outlined them from ethnohistoric evidence, continued apace. The broad ethnographic confirmation given his model proved a dramatic demonstration of the continuing distinctiveness and viability of the Andean adaptive repertory. Three authors sought to typologize modern variants of the vertical archipelago strategy. Stephen Brush, in his community ethnography *Mountain, Field and Family: The Economy and Human Ecology of an Andean Valley* (1977), outlined variants keyed to differing landscapes and differing degrees of autarchy, dealing in detail with kinship as a means of organizing labor under a given vertical regimen. Fonseca Martel and Mayer (1978) and Custred (1977b) offer more specialized classifications, the former defining four kinds of communal adaptation to middle-altitude environments, and the latter concentrating on differences among strategies of interzonal articulation used by high puna inhabitants (see also Saignes 1977, Villafuerte 1978, and Williams 1977, dealing with more general aspects of land use). Webster's (1972) brief but penetrating study of a small community which conducts an astonishingly diverse vertical economy has become the locus classicus for puna-based organization. Other telling studies of Andean institutions for management of land, labor, and water (these at lower altitudes predominantly) appear in studies by Locker (1975) of the Chancay Valley, Peru, and Barrette (1972) of an Ayacucho community. In all of these the ethnoecological description of resource areas (Vallée 1971) has displaced imported taxonomies, without, however, achieving full description of the intracultural processes by which adaptive systems are framed. Earls' (1979) study of relations between Andean astronomy and maize agriculture signals progress in this direction.

The dynamics of cultural change in the realm of ecosystem adaptation received provocative attention. An attack on the vertical archipelago model (Sánchez 1978) claimed that in practice verticality functions as an ideological description of unequal landholdings, not a principle by which Andean producers orient their decisions. Studies from other areas (Cáceres-Olazo Monroy 1978) suggest that this finding reflects latifundist deformations of an Andean system. Several studies by William Mitchell (1976, 1977) proposed irrigation practice in Ayacucho as an ethnographic laboratory for study of the Wittfogel "hydraulic" hypothesis. Results indicate that much infrastructural work is achieved at an informally politicized, nonstate level. The literature on Andean migration to subtropical coastal and Amazonian regions may be used as, among other things, a source for understanding the creation of diversified livelihood analogous to older systems already truncated by latifun-

dism and sometimes further undercut by agrarian reform (CIPCA 1976a, Del Pino Díaz 1975, Leons 1974–76, Tual 1979). Casagrande (1974) portrays Ecuadorian Quichua means of exploiting “social-ecological” settings through varied “strategies for survival.”

A number of studies signalled advances toward understanding Andean uses of more specific domains of nature. The realm of the “natural,” often a potent paradigm for belief systems, was sketched in the first fruitful studies of Andean ethnoastronomy (Urton 1978) and ethno-climatology (Gallegos 1980). “Natural” resources, those collected in the wild, constitute a distinct category in Andean economic reckoning and deserve more study, especially where scarce and crucial resources are concerned (see Custred 1979 on hunting). Mineral resources got scant study save for rising interest among Ecuadorianists in the extraction of salt (Caillavet 1979), which derived special urgency from its relation to the endemic thyroid disorders afflicting highland communities (Greene 1977, Ramírez et al. 1977). Lacustrine adaptation, sketched in Manelis de Klein’s (1973) study of the Uru, remains one of the areas where ethno-historic work, even in its incipient state (Wachtel 1978, Zevallos and Del Río de Calmell 1979), has yet to be equalled by current field data. That there are surprises in store appears from Forman’s demonstration of rapid change in what had been thought to be conservative usages of water resources (1977).

Human geographical and ethnobotanical approaches continued to shed light on the agrarian bases of Andean societies (Gade 1975). Technical considerations such as the role of disease in determining land use (Gade 1973), and the tool kit of Andean farmers (Gade and Ríos 1976) received significant treatment. Sánchez Farfán’s fascinating (1979) treatment of ethnobotanical criteria for potato varieties and Valencia Espinoza’s study of maize ethnobotany (1979), which contains rich material on the symbolic associations of cob size and shape, give detailed insights into agriculture as a domain of meaning. Gade’s (1970b) “Ethnobotany of Cañihua” called attention to the neglected study of the altitude-resistant, protein-rich chenopod grain crops. By conducting chemical analyses of foods ethnohistorically identified as Inca staples and condiments, Antúnez de Mayolo (1979) afforded valuable clues to the means of achieving balanced diets today in regions where imported cultigens appear ill-adapted. Stress and conflict in Andean agriculture also emerged as ethnographic themes, for example in Gade’s study of crop robbery (1970a), Orlove’s (1973) study of rustlers, and Bolton’s controversial thesis on the relation between hypoglycemia and aggression among the Qolla (1973a), which should be read in the context of his clarifications of nonnutritional correlates of aggression (1974a; see also Bolton and Bolton 1974). Lewellen (1981) reviews the discussion.

Among domesticated animals, the camellids predictably received the most attention. Gade's (1977) introduction to camellid livestock technology was complemented by Flores Ochoa's exposition of camellid ethnozoology (1978a). By demonstrating the essential value of camellid dung for fuel and fertilizer in an energy-scarce adaptive system, Winterhalder, Larsen, and Thomas (1974) called attention to a variable previously neglected in analyzing land use patterns. Palacios Rios' lucid treatment of irrigated high pasture (*bofedales*) for camellids (1977) sheds light on both the factors that limit camellid herding and on the sources of territorial conflict and solidarity among pastoralists. A close study of methods for slaughtering and butchering camellids (Miller 1977) brings *ch'illa*, removal of the beating heart, known from ethnohistorical sources, into both utilitarian and ritual focus. Although based on older data, Escobar and Escobar's (1976) study of the *kuy* or guinea pig also affords fresh insights into the relation between culinary and ritualistic, household-sector and exchange-sector uses of meat animals.

Culturally-informed treatment of bodily adaptation to and protection against altitude stresses remained relatively scarce. Some light was shed on characteristic stresses in childbearing (Christinat 1976a, Bolton and Bolton 1976a, Zamalloa González 1972), with, however, little ecological context.

Ravines' *Tecnología andina* (1978) helped relate such findings to archaeological data. Interesting clues to other dimensions of the Andean techno-environmental achievement were published regarding the art of ceramics (Arnold 1972), and especially in three studies of vernacular architecture, two concerned with modern buildings (Bouchard 1976, Contreras Alvarez 1974) and one integrating modern findings with a magnificent study of Inca ruins (Gasparini and Margolies 1977). A charming and pertinent idea for a study on how Andean people sleep was unfortunately carried out only sketchily (Sabogal Wiese 1976). Meisch (1980a, b) reported ethnologically on weaving in the Ecuadorian highlands. The economic role of artisan production remains, however, relatively little-known (Sabogal Wiese 1978, Salomon 1973).

GRAND HOMOLOGIES

As early as 1973, Leslie Brownrigg noted that the unification of ecological perspectives, derived from Murra's work, with structuralist insights, from Zuidema's, was becoming a common goal of ethnologists (1973, p. 106). This virtual consensus emerged simultaneously in several countries as if in response to a self-evident need, and has yielded an enormous harvest.

Wachtel (1971) provided a theoretical justification and a method-

ological path for such ventures when the movement was already well underway. By that time, research starting from different points had produced widely differing results. Nonetheless there is a strong family resemblance among much of the best work. All accept the validity of abstracting from Andean behavior and speech certain formal constellations of relationships, whose recurrent importance justifies labeling them as basic structures. A good example is the model of the bilateral ayllu of four generations from the head, whose most famous source is Pachacuti Yamqui's (1613) drawing of the icons in Cuzco's solar temple, usually interpreted as expressing the prototype mythic relationship among elemental forces. Such structures are then traced through evidence from several realms of behavior and belief, including, usually, social structural norms (descent and alliance rules), diachronicity (the successive "worlds" of Andean cosmogony), and ecology (the multi-tiered landscape of the mountainside). Calendric cycles and mythic series of events are also often included. The coherence of such a general homological model when applied in multiple spheres of activity is in itself taken to be a demonstration that analysis has indeed isolated the latent, conscious or unconscious rationality of Andean action. Little critical attention has been given to the question of which theoretical perspectives allow such conclusions. As they attain the convincing status of consensual representations, there is some danger of such models' becoming reified ideas rather than the data-organizing suggestions originally warranted.

Nonetheless these works included the broadest and most useful recent contributions to general ethnology. Because exponents of the homological synthesis aspire to approximately the same goal, it is inappropriate to magnify their differences into major oppositions. In the following paragraphs they are separated according to characteristic differences of emphasis, which no doubt lie partly in the eye of the beholder.

Although the most famous of the structural matrices found in Andean organization are the moiety division, tripartition, quadripartition, the bilateral ayllu, and the radial system of *ceques*, stimulating work has also emerged from the study of structures that use the attributes of the human person as a paradigm. Albó's study of "Dinámica en la estructura intercomunitaria de Jesús de Machaca" (1972) describes a conjunction of twelve localized communities in two *parcialidades*, whose parts form what is imagined as a likeness of a human body, so that the corresponding body-parts of each *parcialidad* stand in moiety-like opposition to each other and have counterpoised political roles. Bastien's *Mountain of the Condor* (1978a), concentrating on Ayllu Kaata in the Bolivian Kallawayaya country, could perhaps have been called "Human Mountain," since its sustaining motif is the exegesis of beliefs about the

home mountain as a living anthropomorphic personage through whom all vital forces circulate.

The exceptionally subtle and convincing studies of Platt (1976, 1978) and Harris (1978a) form neat complements to each other insofar as they describe the unlike structures of two neighboring ethnic groups in the Norte de Potosí, Bolivia from similar theoretical viewpoints. Platt describes for the Macha a "quadripartite model which represents ecological and moiety organization in terms of conjugal relationships." Their prototype is the formal concept *yanantin*, mirror opposition of symmetrical complements (see also Fonseca Martel 1974). For the Laymi, Harris also takes the male-female bond as paradigmatic, but finds in Laymi structure an emphasis on the asymmetrical and hierarchical aspects of the opposition which requires a formally dissimilar route to "balanced multiplicity." Something of the same emphasis on ways in which the working-out of intragroup dependencies manifests a drive toward structural equilibrium can be felt in Palomino Flores' lapidary essay on the rebuilding of an Inca-style rope bridge in a community near Ayacucho (1974). In a larger compass he suggests left- and right-handedness as a prototype of moiety relationships and a general model of hierarchical yanantin dualism which, when projected on many planes, unites them into a synoptic whole (1972).

A somewhat different turn of mind animates the work of researchers interested in showing how repetitive cycles in several domains of activity manifest, to Andean thinkers, an eternal constellation of relationships behind and beyond the apparent succession of changes. Delrán (1974), taking as his point of departure the well-known myth of solar ages whose inhabitants succeed each other but do not disappear, argues that the Andean "sentido de la historia" posits a present in which the whole of past and future time is implicit and efficacious. Earls and Silverblatt (1977b, 1978) hold that we can imagine the Andean notion of relationship between the transient and the eternal by thinking of the physical world as having some of the properties of a Klein bottle; while it is not clear whether this is intended as metaphor or explanation, the exposition of phenomena as circulating through the world's mountainous center to its oceanic periphery is provocative. Lionel Vallée (1972) offers an ingenious model relating the ecological levels of Manchiri agriculture and the seasonal round of labor to the concepts of upper, middle, and lower mythic-ceremonial space, so that secular and sacred activity are seen to circulate together through a single patterned space-time.

Some of the same ideas crop up in Douglas Sharon's *Wizard of the Four Winds* (1978b). However his explication of the shamanistic mesa as a microcosm of elemental forces (see also Mayorga, Palacios and Samaniego 1976) departs theoretically from other structuralist studies inso-

far as he supposes Andean structures to manifest archetypes latent in American religion generally, and, ultimately, Jungian universals of the unconscious human psyche.

Because geographical features are inherently more idiosyncratic than biological or calendric cycles, research which focuses on the sacred uses of Andean topography and hydrology highlights peculiar properties of each group's cultural structure. The studies of Fock and Krener (1978, 1979) demonstrate how watersheds and the broken topography of the Cañari country can be at once the actual theater of hydraulic politics and the model of political relationships in the abstract, because they concretize the principles of segmentary opposition; politics may culturally transform structure as waterworks do watersheds (see also Ossio 1978b). Gabriel Martínez (1976) shows that each of the twelve minimal communities forming Isluga, Chile, uses its position vis-à-vis four named types of sacred geographical features (mountains, ruins, dry holes, and water sources) to give itself a unique cosmological locus, and also that the twelve loci taken together form an ordered "juego de mensajes." Gow (1978) organizes a set of transformations connecting the four vertical ecological zones of one village with its fourfold periodization of mythic time, in order to demonstrate how certain features of the pan-Andean bear-boy myth and of pilgrimage dances at the Qoyllur Rit'i shrine express an Andean sense of the human locus in the supratemporal matrix of space-time. Fonseca Martel's (1976b) Chaupiwara data illustrate the superimposition of moiety division on an idealized *arriba/abajo* rendering of herding versus farming terrains to create a quadripartite frame for related ceremonial, social, and productive schemata.

A large and talented group of researchers emphasized the usefulness of structural exegesis to show how myth, while it demonstrates the nature of the eternal within the flux of events, also functions to motivate people in shaping future events; in other words, their interest is less in Andean thought as a constant, separate from Andean history, than in Andean thought as a historic force in its own right, explaining, resisting, and sometimes furthering change. Ethnohistorians who double in ethnology logically form a leading part of this current. Ossio, whose compendium *Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino* (1973) juxtaposed the modern Inkarrí myth with Guaman Poma's millenarist aspirations for a transformation of political order, in a 1977 essay turned to the way in which an Ayacucho community uses hydrographic facts as the matrix for a group of origin myths defining and defending their rights to certain agricultural lands. Likewise, the prolific ethnohistorian Pease uncovered "una versión ecológica del mito de Inkarrí" (1979b) near Arequipa, in which the ostensibly dead but soon-to-return monarch gave different communities their rightful ecological niches. Urbano, in his *Allpanchis Phuturinga* essays (1974a, 1974b, 1976a, 1976b, 1977) and in

two general syntheses (1974c, 1978) has been emphatic in elucidating the potential of Andean space-time reckoning for critical thinking independent of gradualist and assimilationist assumptions dominant in media-propagated mestizo culture.

The critical potential of Andean thought has enjoyed the ethnological spotlight since Ortiz Rescaniere's general interpretation of the omnipresent Inkarrí and "school" myths (1973a, 1973b; see also Earls 1973). It has reached its fullest exposition in Isbell's *To Defend Ourselves* (1978), a comprehensive community ethnography which treats ecologico-spiritual myth and ritual both in their order-conserving function, as defenses against the erosive power of events beyond the community's control, and in their order-creating function, as a means to resolve the apparent chaos caused by cityward migration and political interference. Andean thought is displayed in the very process of generating an active ideology that enabled villagers to take command of their dangerous situation. A less optimistic, but related, perspective emerges in Marie France Houdart-Morizot's (1976) "Tradition et Pouvoir à Cuenca" (Mantaro Valley), in which a structuralist rendering of egalitarian Andean ideology is counterposed to an empirical treatment of institutions described in Marxist terms. By giving internal stress within Andean culture an important explanatory role, she departs from the prevalent homological style.

CRITICAL, APPLIED, AND ADVOCACY ANTHROPOLOGY

That research should help to lift the burden of oppression under which the Andean tradition labors has become a majority opinion if one is to judge by the sentiments expressed in prefaces to leading studies. Ideas about how it might do so came from several currents of thought. First, an older meliorist tradition of community development through social-scientific intervention—the Vicos legacy—continued to produce programmatic statements. Alongside it, however, an internationalist movement for the defense of cultural minority rights, rooted in part in the critique of modernization theory and typified by the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, questioned the viability of local reform apart from recognition of deep-rooted conflict between national institutions and ethnic minorities. Within each of the Andean nations, too, nationalist and Marxist critics judged earlier reforms severely as they entered into the debate about the terms on which Quechua and Aymara speakers may be "integrated" into a more equitable order. Several specialists in Andean productive and cultural organization attacked local government and outside foreign aid policies as based on misinformation about Andean peoples, as well as wasteful of accumulated expertise. Some bilingual writers took the first steps toward a systematic

critique and prospectus worked out from the indigenous side. Self-criticism within the Catholic church was directed in part to the creation of an anthropologically informed "iglesia-pueblo." Each of these developments merits discussion.

At the most general level, the 1970s found the Andean countries profoundly uncertain as to whether ethnic plurality would prove a hindrance or an asset to economic development. A half-century of inconclusive efforts at "Indian integration" (Davies 1974) had left the proponents of cultural assimilation open to severe criticism. Nonetheless the reforms of Peru's Velasco Alvarado government rested on essentially the same premises as earlier reforms, manifested, despite curtsies to the memory of Tupac Amaru II, in its determination to reformulate "indigenous" problems as "peasant" problems (Meyers 1977). In his essay on "Etnología de urgencia" (1975), Varese eloquently attacked such policies as evasions promoting bourgeois nationalism instead of building new and firmer bases for political coherence.

Agrarian problems were the chief focus of applied and critical research. Retrospective treatments of the Vicos project, some brief and suitable as introductions for students (Mangin 1971, Stein 1973), others extensive (Dobyns, Doughy, and Lasswell 1971), suggest that the Vicos experience may have contributed to defining the terms of discussion as the Velasco government sought to create successor institutions replacing latifundios. Woods (1975) published a guide to the project's immense archive. A purely Peruvian project in "microregional" applied anthropology was described in Oscar Núñez del Prado's *Kuyo Chico* (1973a). Containing a frank apologia for paternalist manipulation, it describes the author's efforts to "integrate" Písaq-area Andeans into the market system by inculcating new norms of consumption.

One hallmark of innovative attitudes toward criticism and application was attentiveness to the variety and idiosyncrasy of Andean communities. Albó's (1978a) minutely detailed study of local history in an Aymara community, which felt the revolutionary wave from Cochabamba early on, sets a high standard for the type of background study that activism or community service demands. A complementary task, the definition of the landlord class' equivocal position in the age of agrarian reform (Guerrero 1977), still needs cultural elaboration. Programmatic statements on agrarian reform rested increasingly on insights into the demands of contemporary Andean social structure (Alberti and Cotler 1969–70). Hector Martínez (1973) detailed the unintentional effects of an agrarian law which failed to recognize Andean norms about land rights. A critique of Bolivian cooperativism by Iriarte (1979) argues that this would-be panacea fails to serve Andean communities because it demands a reorganization which sacrifices the very features of Andean structure that could have achieved cooperativist goals. Disaster relief

(Oliver-Smith 1977) is another area of research in which study of cultural realities can point to sounder practice.

Advances in understanding the ecological bases of Andean livelihood led to devastating criticism of conventional "modernization" policies. Forman's indispensable essay on "The Future Value of the 'Verticality' Concept" (1978) argues that mechanized agricultural technologies developed for flatlands are neither affordable nor efficient in highland communities. Brush (1980) argues that, by maximizing the number of cultivated microclimate niches, the vertical regime accumulates a store of genetic variation which is being dangerously eroded by the promotion of standardized nonlocal varieties. Incentives for the conservation of variants, as raw material for future stock improvement, are proposed. The dryer tracts of the puna could be made more productive, Browman (1980) suggests, if irrigation goals were redirected to the use of traditional aquacultural crops and the recovery of ancient ridged-field technology. Flores Ochoa (1979c) denounces three disastrous kinds of puna mismanagement: the massive slaughter of alpacas, government-promoted international schemes for the ovinización of former camellid pastures; and the replacement of camellid-sustaining grasses with ill-adapted foreign grasses.

In the "coca debate" of the 1970s anthropologists scored telling points (Carter et al. 1978). Anthropological effort may yet prove effective in deflecting the anti-Andean "coca eradication" program engineered by a coalition of North American drug law enforcers with Peruvian legislators. Coca policy has long oscillated between fear of Andean cultural distinctiveness, seen as a defect in national unity, and the will to exploit a lucrative coca market (Naranjo 1974). Ideological reflections of these constants include the perception of coca as mentally incapacitating and addictive (Gagliano 1978, García 1978). A host of meritorious studies demonstrated that coca is neither. Wagner's graceful essay "Coca y estructura cultural en los Andes peruanos" (1976) and contributions by Albó, Cáceres, Carter and Mamani, Hulshof, Mayer, and Zorrilla Egueren to a special number of *América Indígena* (38[4], 1978; see also Gifford and Hoggarth 1976) provided rich detail on coca's indispensable function as the token of sociability, respect, and reciprocal commitment between people, or between humans and supernaturals. As early as the mid-1970s, initial information was available suggesting that the European fixation on cocaine had misled us concerning the coca leaf's physiological effects (Hanna 1974, Lobb 1974, Martin 1970). A pioneering essay by Burchard (1975) suggested that the difference may be one of kind rather than degree, insofar as active ingredients other than cocaine are crucial. Despite these findings, Flores Ochoa was obliged to report (1979b) that coca suppression in Lima had gone far enough to create a gangster-dominated black market. Ugarte (1978) entered a dissent against the pro-

coca anthropologists, suggesting that coca agriculture is a byproduct of land tenure systems which impede peasants from attaining self-sufficiency in food crops. Save for a preliminary report on alcoholism in the Apurimac valley (Velapatiño Ortega 1976), little comparable research on alcohol use was forthcoming.

Another area in which anthropologists contributed studies of practical importance was that of Andean language and culture in public institutions (Albó 1979). The debate on Andean multilingualism (Escobar [ed.] 1972) by no means ended with Peru's officialization of Quechua, nor did officialization solve the sociolinguistic dilemmas afflicting speakers (Albó 1974a) and educators (Riedmiller 1979). The contributors to Almeida et al.'s *Lengua y cultura en el Ecuador* (1979), including notably the sociolinguist José Pereira, outlined the different but also difficult conditions faced by officialization projects in Ecuador. A number of Bolivian reports and studies suggest growing sensitivity to the need for ethnological training of educators and other development functionaries (Instituto de Investigación Cultural para la Educación Popular 1977, Albó 1979, Ayma Rójas 1977, Primera Reunión de Antropología de los Países del Area Andina 1976, Ponce Sanginés 1975). A chapter barely begun is the publishing of critiques and programs from the indigenous side. Two Bolivian Aymara writers pioneer the field (Jiménez 1976; Tumiri Apaza 1976, 1978); occasional journalistic pieces in Andean languages (Yacelga 1976) give grounds for hope that there will be much more.

The Vatican II mandate for a reexamination of relations between Catholicism and non-Christian religions gave rise to a literature in which churchmen employed anthropological ideas (albeit only instrumentally) as aids to the formulation of a pastoral practice adequate for harnessing the immense vitality of folk devotion. Critics noted the duplication in the religious sphere of alienating relations prevalent elsewhere (Barnadas 1976) and pointed out that Hispanic-oriented clergy had neither satisfied parishioners' needs for rich symbolic representation of the sacred (Merino de Zela 1975, Sánchez-Arjona 1974), nor provided an adequate institutional base for communal self-defense and development (Berthelot 1972). The degree to which Andean ritual could be accommodated remained controversial because of dogmatic strictures on "syncretism." Responses ranged from proposals of stringent tests (Comblin 1972) through the contemplation of an "iglesia indígena en el Perú" (Marzal 1973) to a call for a fundamental self-examination of Western relations with the sphere of sacred experience (Kusch 1972). In practice, innovative priests seem often to have felt themselves in a dilemma insofar as their aspirations for a church respectful of Andean culture clashed with their disapproval of some Andean cultural demands (e.g., use of ritual as a vehicle for upward mobility; Zalles 1976). Zalles notes,

too, that the Church, because of its international structure, has special possibilities for transcending the artificial dismemberment of the Andean cultural orbit into national minorities.

CONCLUSIONS

Several benefits can reasonably be expected from the establishment of Andean ethnology as a developed subfield, but it remains to be seen how fully they will be realized. For one, the task of relating Andean findings to each other has scarcely begun; Hans Buechler's (1970) comparison of Ecuadorian with Peruvian highland communities remains isolated and insufficient. We do not know, for example, whether or how the variety of ethnoconcepts about cultural self and cultural other relates to the wide variety of sociolinguistic, rural-urban, and class-ethnic situations in which it occurs. We have no systematic comparison between adaptive regimens in the dryer "puna Andes" of the south and the northern "páramo Andes," no Andean-wide data on use of particular resource bases (e.g., lacustrine), and no comparative study of ethnoecologies. A promising area of 1980s research, too, is the relation between certain Andean-wide cultural expressions of group definition (e.g., ritual combat) and the organizational or productive institutions with which they are linked; so far study of this question has been purely local. In practice, many Andean researchers have individually proposed ideal types for "the Andean," without anyone having identified systemic axes of variation or verifiable areas of commonality.

Comparison of Andean findings with areas beyond the Andes is also in infancy. Work already in progress on the likenesses between highland and other New World (especially Amazonian) cosmologies and mythologies will yield fruit which may, in turn, prove relevant to the interpretation of the most far-flung New World patterns known archaeologically or otherwise. But possibilities for comparison with non-American societies remain barely adumbrated save for Rhoades and Thompson's pioneering work on high-altitude agrarian systems (1975). Van den Berghe's explicit juxtaposition of African with Andean data on ethnicity in European-dominated non-Western areas might be complemented by an Andean-informed account of such phenomena elsewhere.

Comparisons over time, too, remain incomplete. Because ethnohistory has explored primarily the late Inca and early colonial periods, we know very little about Andean society in the period between the decline of the *ladino* intelligentsia, c. 1650, and the awakening of anthropological interest in the Andes in our century. While recent studies of the late-colonial Andean insurrections provide a bridgehead, it is still not possible to correlate ethnographic findings with a full diachrony. The practice of eliciting from the oldest sources an archaic cultural con-

stellation which is then shown to persist in the present owes its currency more to lack of an alternative than to any merit. Successive transformations of Andean themes need to be demonstrated and explained, so that we can comprehend their durability rather than assume them to be indestructible Andean essences.

By 1980 it could be said that most of anthropology's main areas of inquiry had been undertaken in the Andean world, and that Andean studies had achieved a variety and solidity sufficient to make them a core area of the ethnographic literature. Urgently needed in the coming years will be the formulation of an Andean critique of the methods which have been acquired from Europe and North America. This discussion, perhaps a turbulent one, may herald the emergence of a distinctively Andean current in the human sciences.

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AP = Allpanchis Phuturinga (Cuzco)

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