

ASPECTS OF ANDEAN NATIVE LIFE¹

Oscar Núñez del Prado

This paper is an anthropological report on certain aspects of native life in the mountain communities of the Andean territory occupied by Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. As the reader will quickly note, it consists mostly of general impressions. These impressions are the result of my experience in the native areas of Peru where I live, of observations made in the course of the International Labor Office's Andean Indian Mission survey of 1952 of which I formed a part, and of study of reports written for the Ecuadorian Institute of Anthropology and the Section of Anthropology of the University of Cuzco, Peru. I have also used the results of studies by my colleagues in the three countries of the area considered.

The descriptive and statistical data available on Andean native communities are very inadequate, and perhaps the chief virtue of a summary like the present one is that it can call attention to gaps and problems on which more work needs to be done. In the three countries visited by the Andean Indian Mission a beginning is only now being made to survey community land holdings, and it is still not possible to get many specific data on concentrations of native population and the relations between it and the land. We lack measurements of cultivable and uncultivable land and have no figures on how much of the cultivable land is actually cultivated. We need data on the number of families living on large estates, the number of small landowners, etc. All we have so far are impressionistic estimates which vary considerably. Furthermore, very few anthropological studies have been made, and the handful of anthropologists who have done field work in the area have had to concentrate on small areas and have usually worked quite far apart. It is thus difficult to get a picture of local variations and to see the isolated studies in some sort of perspective.

In the following summary, I will place a certain amount of emphasis on the land question because I believe that it is a problem to which most of the others are directly or indirectly related.

Uniform and variable factors. The native population lives for the most part isolated from frequent contacts with the mestizos; it forms a world apart, and a very different one. This segregation may be attributed to historical, geographical, economic or cultural factors, or to a combination of all of them; the facts are that the native population is more involved in production than in consumption and has no part in the political life of the country in which it occupies the lowest social level and usually lives under the most unfavorable conditions. In the rural areas, the native is shy, reticent and distrustful in dealings with whites and mestizos; he is hospitable, communicative, and open with those of his own social group. It is difficult to persuade him to forget an injury, and if he has a chance to retaliate, he takes it without hesitation. on the other hand, he is loyal and affectionate as a friend, and docile

and cooperative with anyone he finds he can trust. He is fond of jokes and is often ironical and biting in his criticisms. His dedication to agriculture leads him to live in the country, in communities of scattered houses, in even more scattered houses on large estates, or in towns or villages dominated by mestizos in which the natives occupy the outskirts.

We can ask first whether there is any cultural unity among the natives in the area included in the three countries with which we are concerned. The answer is yes, for although we must recognize a series of differential factors, they do not seriously affect the unity, being limited to differences in dress and house type related to climate or to certain "deviations" in habitual occupations. We will say little about dress, although it has an important function in marking the social status of individuals within the area in which they live and their degree of acculturation. Obviously, there is a general tendency for dress to be most Europeanized in the more acculturated areas, while traditional native styles are commoner in areas less affected by the acculturation process.

House type varies not only in relation to climate but also to the availability of resources. Thus, in the Lake Titicaca basin we find construction methods as different as the use of sod blocks (tepe, or ch'ampa) for both walls and roof and the use of a wooden frame with a thatch or tile roof. In all cases, the floors are of earth; the interiors lack ventilation and most of them are blackened with soot from cooking fires on the floor. Dwellings commonly consist of only one or two rooms, utilized without distinction for cooking, sleeping, and raising chickens and guinea pigs. Sleeping is done on the floor or on a platform of poles or of stones and mud; bedding consists of sheepskins and a few home-woven blankets in varying stages of wear and disintegration. In Ecuador, while 52% to 82% of the houses are of the same simple type, it is worth noting that most of the native houses are more attractive than those of Peru and Bolivia, some even having ceilings and wooden floors. The natives bathe rarely; personal cleanliness consists in some washing about once a week. It is not uncommon for the women to wash their hair with urine because of a belief in its magical or medicinal value. In most of Ecuador standards of cleanliness are somewhat higher than in the other two countries.

Marriage is preferably within the community, and the conjugal family forms the smallest work unit, but consanguineous, affinal, and ceremonial kinship is also very important. Paternal authority is strong, and paternal kinsmen have a certain priority. Division of labor is by sex and age. Children begin to work very young, and it is not unusual to find children three to four years old in charge of a flock which they have to follow several kilometers in a day, especially if the pasturage is poor. Boys accompany their fathers to the fields where they are generally assigned a specific amount of work which they have to complete without objections or excuses; alternatively, they may be required to provide wood for fuel, irrigate a field, carry water for household use, etc. The girls go out with the domestic animals or help their mothers at spinning, weaving, and cooking, when the women are not needed to help in sowing. The women's part is to break up clods, distribute the seed, and help to cover it.

During the day, the family moves around as the work requires, dividing its time between the care of the fields and herds, repair of fences, weaving, and spinning or other handicrafts, or, in the case of tenant farmers, working for the estate. People go out at night only rarely, when participating in a fiesta; on other days, the parents discuss their problems briefly around the fire in the evening and then all go to bed. The bed itself is usually a family affair.

Social life is organized around kinship ties, whether consanguineous, affinal, or ceremonial, and usually involves patterns of cooperative labor. There is a constant interchange of rights and obligations to help in the family work which provides a certain esprit de corps in the work exchange group. Ceremonial kinship is especially important. Godparents and compadres are treated with special respect and deference, and it is difficult to refuse a request from them. Kinship by oath is somewhat rarer, but occurs in cases where two friends treat each other as brothers (wawqechakuy) and establishes a closer relationship than between brothers born.

Whether segregated in the country or living near them in towns and cities, the natives' relations with whites and mestizos are strongly conditioned by barriers of fear on the one side and prejudice on the other. In the country, the relationship is that between serf and lord, and contacts are limited to the superficial ones occasioned by the rendering of service or a visit by the mestizo for reasons of his own convenience. When the native goes to live in a mestizo town or in the city, because of the loss of his land, the attraction of a good salary, or some other reason, he lives in the outskirts, crowded into miserable and filthy houses which he shares with other natives in the same condition as his own. He is merely an Indian, which means that he occupies the lowest social and economic level and is subject to strong social pressures from all sides. In many places (e.g., Paucartambo) he may be taken by any mestizo who wants his services without his wishes being consulted in the matter. The contemptuous attitude of the mestizo toward the Indian is constantly met with in all social levels. It is not uncommon to hear such remarks as: "The Indian is a dead weight, an amorphous class outside the economy; he neither produces nor consumes anything" (Ecuador); "The Indians are parasites on the country" (Bolivia); and many mestizos speak in terms of exterminating the Indians or preventing them from reproducing. In all three countries contempt for everything Indian is habitual. No one wants to belong to this class, and it is very nearly an insult to suggest to a mestizo that he has an Indian relative; the Indian himself, when he has passed to the "cholo" social class, wishes to wipe out his Indian connections or cover them up as much as possible, because he knows that society condemns the Indian to an inferior position and that even his legal rights are obstructed. He becomes ashamed of his language and even abuses his relatives who maintain their Indian status.

When the native moves to other rural areas his problems change little socially but his health is likely to be in greater danger. Such migrations are usually to lower altitudes in the tropical forest valleys where

he goes to work on an estate (Quillabamba), gets a job washing gold (Quincomil), or colonizes land belonging to the government (Tambopata). In any case, he comes to these areas without proper protection or prophylaxis and readily acquires a series of diseases to which he has no native resistance and against which he knows no way of protecting himself. Because of frequent movements back and forth between some of the highland communities and these tropical valleys, it is not uncommon to find cases of malaria and hookworm in the highlands, as the ILO Mission noted at Wamanruru in Puno whence there is constant emigration to Quincomil. Some of the emigrants stay permanently in the valleys, while others come back to their old homes from time to time to recoup their forces. We know little about the causes of these movements, the numbers of people involved, and the areas preferred for settlement, but such movements are frequently reported.

There appear to be regional differences in native attitudes which we can illustrate by notes on the Cuzco area in Peru, the Lake Titicaca region in Bolivia, and Otavalo in Ecuador. The description given for the Cuzco area is the most reliable, since it is based on my personal experience; my information on the other two areas is mostly second hand and comparatively superficial.

The Inca speaking native of the Cuzco area behaves in two different ways, depending on whom he is dealing with. With mestizos, he is suspicious, silent, withdrawn, and nearly inaccessible; he offers a passive and systematic resistance. He is humble, fearful, and inattentive; reticent and evasive in his answers, indecisive in his attitudes. He suppresses and hides his emotions and rarely reveals his disagreement even when he finds himself in fundamental opposition. He is obsequious at times, but this attitude implies that he wants something very specific, that he expects an almost immediate reward. With other natives he is open, communicative, fond of practical jokes; he makes a display of his industry and is ready and willing to cooperate; he shows his feelings and states his opinions without reserve. He is fond of fiestas and enjoys himself in them. When he is drunk, he is impulsive and courageous in a fight; he bears grudges, is vengeful, astute, and often mocking. He is sober and moderate in his sex life, frugal in eating, and tranquil in daily affairs.

As a general observation, we can say that he is extremely conservative; he allows no sudden changes and is openly resistive to traits, techniques and practices different from those to which he is accustomed, at least until he has a chance to convince himself personally and objectively of the advantages he might gain from an innovation. Even so, he vacillates for a long time before deciding to accept the new practice. He has lived in a closed circle in which tradition and custom are his basic schools, and it is a nearly static circle which gives him no opportunity to grasp other possibilities or take initiative in unfamiliar matters. His accumulated knowledge is limited to the circumscribed round of relationships in his community, and his world is limited to the community, the estate, or the nearest town where he usually trades. His interests are likewise limited by these circumstances and by the possibilities which he has found in these circles. It is logical to think that initiative

requires a favorable experience and innovation a previous tradition of change; as long as these conditions are not found, it is natural for us as outsiders to regard the native communities as "asleep" or "backward." Most of the native's activities consist of repeating routine behavior. His manual skill is considerable but used with a limited technology. The products of his handicrafts are elegant but little diversified, and they are made for local consumption. Textiles and pottery furnish good examples; the weaving is done on a backstrap loom and the pottery made entirely by hand. An important factor in the situation is that most of the natives speak no language but Inca and the proportion of illiterates is overwhelming. Illiteracy limits the native's sources of information to conversations in the evening or in rest periods during cooperative labor.

In the Aymará area of Lake Titicaca, the native gives an impression of greater personal security; instead of timidity, he has a rather arrogant manner, and his speech and attitudes are emphatic and peremptory. He is less shy than the Inca speaker and more quarrelsome when drunk. A clearer difference, perhaps, is his greater mobility. Although traditionally a farmer, he is less closely attached to the soil and can leave it temporarily or even permanently without regarding the fact as a catastrophe. He sometimes travels hundreds of kilometers to exchange his products and not infrequently settles down in a region far removed from his community of origin. He is skillful in trade when he devotes himself to it. Fiestas fascinate him, and he will go to great lengths to maintain his reputation as a generous spender on such occasions. His handicrafts are somewhat more diversified than those of the Inca speakers and show a certain tendency toward commercialization, although his production techniques are quite limited and he is also very conservative about changing them.

The differences we have noted seem to be the result of less strong pressures by the mestizo class in the Aymará area, providing a different social environment.

In the area around Otavalo, the studies of Professor Rubio suggest a close similarity of attitudes to those we have noted among the Inca speakers of Cuzco. He says, for example, "The Indian behaves differently with whites from the way he does in his private life...; he reacts with difficulty when he is alone, but in a group he finds strength in numbers; his savings, if any, are invested in land or in animals.... The Indian is slow and lazy when working for whites...; when he has a definite task to accomplish in a day, he is quick and efficient...; his lack of foresight shows up in fiestas, for which he will spend all he has, go into debt, and sell his labor for trifling wages even though he ends in virtual slavery...; his attitude is one of concentrated and latent dissimulation, and it gives him good results; in self protection he resorts to volubility and adapts himself to the conditions imposed...; he is sometimes docile to the point of humility" (Rubio, 1946, pp. 262-269). On the other hand, I have noticed that he is much more accessible than the other groups with which we are comparing him; he is affable and does not show such extreme reserve

and reticence toward whites. He is less conservative, more disposed to accept outside influences, and takes occasional suggestions with less difficulty.

One of his most notable characteristics is his great manual dexterity. All the Ecuadorian natives are very skillful and have developed their handicrafts into successful commercial activities, but the natives of Imbabura and especially of Otavalo are outstanding in this respect. Their success depends on their skill, for they lack adequate tools and their production is unorganized; furthermore, the market for their products is not great. Handicrafts and small industries are organized almost exclusively on a family basis, although there are also a few small factories. The market for their products is restricted by the existence of speculators who control the raw materials and often oblige the craftsmen to sell their products only to the speculator. Also, many of their products, such as ponchos, mufflers, coarse woolen yard goods, etc., are consumed by one social class only. Even when they make good quality woollens, the goods cannot compete in the market with machine made materials. In general, the natives do not produce for the taste of the white and mestizo market. A great diversification of handicrafts is now taking place in Otavalo, and there is some talk of industrialization.

Land and agriculture. In the three countries we are considering, the distribution of land is highly unequal. The large estates, usually occupying the most productive land, have only small portions under cultivation, while the greater part is not utilized (Cisneros, 1948, p. 151; Flores, 1950, p. 380). Alongside the large estates one finds the small properties of natives who have been pushed out onto the less productive land. The increase of the population and the division of land between children required by law have produced an excessive fractionation of native land so that in many areas native families do not have enough land to live on. In the areas studied by the ILO Mission, the poorest farm land was found in Bolivia and Peru; here, native life is virtually conditioned by the land problem, because of the dependence of the natives on agriculture. Even where, as occurs in some regions, the natives own large tracts of land, the yield is still inadequate because of the poor quality of the soil; this situation is common in southern Peru and Bolivia. Elsewhere in highland Peru and Ecuador, the land is more productive but the native farms are hopelessly small.

A distinction must be made between systems of landholding among the natives. Native farmers can be grouped in general into three classes in this respect: those who live in native communities (commune, 'aynoga, or 'ayllu) protected by special legislation; small independent proprietors; and the tenant farmers attached to the big estates.

The community system can further be subdivided into three types:
(1) a type in which the agricultural land and pastures are regarded as belonging to the community and are distributed annually among the members;
(2) a type in which farm land is owned individually while the pastures

and irrigation water are held for common use; and (3) a type in which all members are fully independent landowners but maintain the community organization as a means of defending their titles. In the first type, the community lands are divided into a number of sections corresponding to the number of crops in the rotation series plus the number of years a field must lie fallow after use. Thus, if the rotation series consists of potatoes, quinoa, and barley and the fields must lie fallow for four years, the community lands must be divided into seven sections, as at Kogra in Puno. Each section in turn is divided into as many lots (qall-pira) as there are heads of families, and each receives a specific lot. An example will help to explain the working of this system. In a given year, all lots in one section will be planted to potatoes, all lots in another to quinoa, and a third will be planted to barley. The other four are left fallow. The following year, potatoes are planted in a new section, quinoa sown in the section previously devoted to potatoes, and barley in the place of the quinoa. The section which had barley is now left fallow, and will be planted to potatoes after four years. In any given field, a given crop is repeated every eighth year.

In communities of class two, the common pasture and firewood resources are generally used freely by the members. In this type and in the third, the individual farmers have complete liberty to arrange whatever rotation of their crops they regard as most convenient. In all three types, irrigation is regulated by local usage depending on the availability of water.

The first type of community system has the disadvantage that the crops of a single family are scattered and correspondingly difficult to control and care for. The community needs to control a considerable area of land in order to allow part of it to lie fallow. In the second and third types, a family's land is likely to be concentrated and readily accessible.

In most of Ecuador, and in the Vilcanota and Apurimac valleys in Peru, land is not left fallow and its productivity is regulated only by crop rotation and manuring. This practice implies that the land is of better quality.

It may be safely asserted that the natives who live under the community system enjoy a privileged position with respect to those who do not, for they are free to use their lands as they think fit, live with a greater sense of security because of the legal guarantees which protect the communities, and above all have greater opportunities to work on a large scale because they can count on the cooperation of other members of the community. It is also plain that this type of collective defense has prevented the liquidation of native landownership, constantly menaced by neighboring mestizos, with whom the community is forever engaged in long and costly litigation. Frequently, the excessive fractionation of property due to growth of the community population forces many of the inhabitants to sell their lots to other members because they find themselves without sufficient land for subsistence. The sellers must then emigrate, often to distant regions, and become tenants or day laborers on the big estates (Rubio, 1946, pp. 229-230; Núñez del Prado, 1949, p. 194).

The small native landowners who do not belong to an ayllu or commune are usually grouped in small villages, classed administratively as districts or cantons, and are at the mercy of the mestizos, who despise, exploit, molest and deceive them. They almost always lack pasture land for their animals and have to ask for the use of pasture land on some big estate, assuming in return obligations of personal service, money payments, or loan of work animals, depending on the circumstances. This type of small landowner who lacks sufficient land to support his family is an important element of the free labor force, hiring himself out to a big estate or working as a day laborer in the city or a nearby town. This supplementary work gives him an opportunity to learn some construction skills, such as working with building stone or making tiles or adobes, which enable him to earn more money. If he then decides to settle permanently in town, he becomes a member of the social class called "cholo" in Peru and Bolivia.

The tenant farmers of large estates live on estate land and are considered virtually part of the property, since the general practice is that the sale value of an estate is determined by the number of Native tenants attached to it.

The huasipunguero in Ecuador, the sayaña in Bolivia, and the tenant in Peru live under almost identical conditions. In payment for the farm lands and house which they receive from the estate, they owe a fixed number of days' work a week at wages which are usually far below what they could earn elsewhere. Tenant families live on the same lot for generations, chained to a series of obligations which absorb their time and energy to such an extent, in some cases, that they have little left with which to work for the support of their own families. In Ecuador, the tenant is expected to work from five to six days a week for the estate, at a minimum of eight hours a day, and he receives in wages one fifth of the going rate for free labor (Buitrón and Buitrón, 1947, table XIX). For two to three months a year he takes his turn as "huasicama" or "cuentayo." The huasicama serves the estate doing domestic service, repairing fences, looking out for the smaller animals, running errands to nearby towns, milking, etc., working from dawn to dark without a single day off, at the same rate he gets for other work for the estate. The cuentayo looks out for the cattle of the estate, and is fully responsible for it. There are some estates on which the management prohibits even members of the tenants' families from working off the estate where they can earn a better salary. The rule is enforced by threat of eviction (Flores, 1950, p. 380).

In Peru and Bolivia, the conditions of servitude under which native tenants live are somewhat worse than in Ecuador, with more variability in Peru than in Bolivia. In Bolivia, the native receives two to three hectares of fertile soil and in return must work four days a week for the estate without pay, but he receives wages for work on the remaining days. The tenant is also allowed to plant as much of the less fertile land of the estate as he wishes, turning over one half of the harvest to the owner (United Nations, 1951, p. 94). The tenants also take turns serving as pongos, at tasks similar to those assigned to the huasicama in Ecuador, and the young women of tenant families serve the estate as mitanis. The

mitanis serve for turns of seven to fifteen days, spinning, weaving, making chicha, cooking food for the dogs, etc., without pay. The boys similarly serve as messengers (lloqalla).

In Peru there is more variation. Around Cuzco, especially in Paucartambo, Anta, and Quispicanchi, the native tenant receives from half a hectare to one hectare of land from the estate and is expected to work for it from three to six days a week, depending on the season. His wages vary from 10 to 30 centavos a day (unskilled labor in the city is paid 5 soles--about twenty times as much). The tenants also serve weekly turns as pongos, which means that they go to live at the big house on the estate or in the owner's town house, whichever the owner prefers. On the estate, the pongos take care of the horses and pigs, carry firewood, milk the cows and carry the milk to nearby towns for sale, cut and carry forage for the animals, and do errands around the house. Other obligations are divided between the tenants and other laborers on the estate; these include the jobs of irrigator, 'arariwa (field guardian), qollana (foreman), and supervisor. The women do domestic service as mitanis, care for the chickens, and spin wool belonging to the estate, the combination varying according to the area (Morote, 1951, p. 108). On top of all this, on many estates the laborers are obliged to harvest the crops, load them on their own animals, and deliver them to the town or city designated by the owner, sometimes two or three day's journey on foot. They also serve as "propios", private letter carriers who deliver messages for the owner on foot. On some estates, the tenants are forbidden to sell their products to anyone but the owner, and it is quite common for the owner to give his tenants pigs or chickens to take care of with the obligation of returning them at the end of a certain period with all the young they have had in the meantime.

The herding tasks are those least desired by the tenants because of the responsibilities involved. In many cases, if a sheep dies from illness or as the result of an accident, the native is supposed to bring it in, show it to the owner, give him the skin, take the meat home, and replace the dead sheep with a live one. The tenant's animals work for the estate in return for the pasturage they consume.

Conditions are distinctly better in Ancash, Junín, Ayacucho and Apurímac. In these areas, the tenants receive from one to five hectares of land and are expected to work three to four days a week for the estate at a wage of 2.50 to 3 soles. Their work for the estate is done in the fields, and they rarely have to take turns as domestic servants besides. Even where such service is given, the working conditions are much less difficult than in the south.

Landholding and the conditions under which land is held are matters of outstanding importance in native life. One of the most important measures of personal prestige is the amount of land owned, and the more land a man has the better able he is to meet social obligations which, in turn, bring him further prestige. The more land a man has, the more help he needs in cultivating it. He can expect such help from relatives, so he

is inclined to be especially considerate of them. With larger harvests, he is able to serve more and better food and drinks to cooperative work parties than a man with less land would be able to do. Furthermore, he has opportunities to acquire new relatives through the pattern of ceremonial kinship, and relations with ceremonial kinsmen are even closer than those with real kinsmen. There is a belief that godchildren acquire the virtues and the luck of their godparents. Owning land is the native's dearest dream, so that, as we shall see in discussing religion, he cannot conceive of paradise without land ownership. He naturally wants the good fortune of land ownership for his children, and will not neglect the magical possibilities of choosing a godfather who is well provided with land. Thus, the persons who have the most land are the ones who are asked to be godfathers to most children in the community, and they thus acquire large numbers of compadres who respect them and are happy to join their work parties.

Land is a major factor not only in prestige but also in security. The semi-feudal situations found on the estates mean that the native tenants who cultivate estate land are virtually bound to it, without any chance of making new contacts or seeking new opportunities. In order to maintain their rights to estate land, the tenants have to put in most of their time working for the estate and their movements are severely restricted. The contrast between the opportunities of tenants and those of members of free communities can be clearly seen in the case of the community of Recuayhuanca and the neighboring estate of Vicos in the Callejón de Huaylas. Recuayhuanca is a community of small landowners, while Vicos is an estate belonging to the Charitable Foundation of Huaraz, which leases it as a whole instead of administering it directly. The traditional arrangement at Vicos before its lease was taken up by Cornell University was that the tenants owed three days' work a week to the estate and were paid wages for it. Some 90% of the men of Recuayhuanca leave for the coast in the slack season to supplement their income by day labor on the coastal estates. The tenants of Vicos, on the other hand, could not make such trips because they would be immediately evicted from the estate if they did. The greater economic opportunity in Recuayhuanca gives a sense of security which is reflected in the fact that the people are better dressed and their houses are somewhat cleaner and better kept up. They own their houses, while the tenants' houses at Vicos are furnished by the estate. More of the Recuayhuanca people are bilingual and literate.

The principal and almost exclusive occupation of the native is agriculture, whether he is a tenant on an estate, a member of a community, or a small independent landowner. The labor of a tenant farmer is directed by the estate owner if the work is being done for the estate, and the tenant merely carries out plans in which he has no interest beyond fulfilling his contracted obligations or bowing to circumstances. The small independent landowner works with the cooperation of his family and requests aid on a small scale from other individuals, to whom he repays work with work. Because of the small extent of his holdings, the help of his family is usually sufficient to take care of the crops. There are, however, some independent proprietors who have managed to keep or acquire enough

land so that they need extra labor, which they get through the institutions of 'ayni and minga, which we will discuss in describing the work patterns of native communities.

The community ('ayllu, 'aynoga, or commune) is a grouping of many families which owns or controls varying amounts of land. The variation in size of holdings is particularly notable in those communities in which land is owned individually. In this type of community, the division of property among all the children, which is enforced by law, has resulted, as previously noted, in holdings so small as to be virtually useless in some cases. The only solution is for some owners to sell their lots to other members of the community, while the sellers leave to become tenant farmers on some estate or emigrate to the tropical valleys looking for jobs. The problem varies greatly from one community to another, for some control considerable areas of good land while others have far too little. A classic example of the latter extreme is Kupir 'Ayllu at Chinchero, some members of which have received by inheritance no more than two or three furrows of cultivable land (Núñez del Prado, 1949, p. 194). In spite of these differences, in most communities the members live in harmony and cooperate effectively with one another.

Those who possess small lots cultivate them in the same way as small independent landowners, with the help of the conjugal family or by entering into an 'ayni relationship with consanguineous relatives or friends. 'Ayni (makimanachiy in Ecuador) is the loan of work repaid by work of the same kind. Those who have more land need more help to work it, and get this help by means of a minga (mink'a in Peru, 'uyariy in Ecuador), which consists of services given in return for food and a fiesta. The word "minga" is used in Ecuador in a different sense, to designate obligatory work done free on public works, community projects, or for an estate. This type of work is known in Peru as "faena;" both terms imply some degree of coercion.

The mechanization of agriculture has scarcely touched the highland estates, and on most of them agricultural work is done with tools and methods of colonial or ancient native origin. The same is true of native farmers, to whom, however, farm machinery is beginning to be demonstrated by special agricultural improvement programs under international, state, or private mission auspices (Warisata, Chuquibambilla, Watahata, etc.). In general, however, cultivation on relatively level land is done with a wooden plow to which a steel share is attached; this implement is drawn by oxen. The seed is covered with the plow during the cutting of the next furrow, and re-covered with a drag consisting of a log which is attached transversely to the plowing team in place of the plow.

On steeper land and at higher altitudes, potatoes are planted with the chaki-taklla (foot-plow), an implement of pre-conquest origin which consists of a shaft about 1.60 m. long with a foot rest near the lower end. The point is shod with a flat metal share to penetrate the earth. The instrument is thrust almost vertically into the earth with the foot and then pulled down like a lever to turn up a clod of earth. The men

manipulate the foot-plow and the women work in front of them with wooden clubs to break up the clods. Two men and a woman can plow an area 20 by 20 meters in a full day's work. Other agricultural implements consist of short-handled hoes of different sizes, forked sticks, spades, and a variety of smaller implements made by the natives of wood.

For the most part, the natives raise food crops, the crops varying in kind and importance according to the altitude and the climate. At the highest altitudes (10,000 to 13,000 feet), potatoes, ocas, and ullucus are the staple crops; cereals like maize, wheat, and barley predominate from 5000 to 10,000 feet; and at lower altitudes maize is grown with manioc, unkucha, and a variety of squashes.

The farmer's year begins in August or September and ends with the last harvests in May or June. The highland rainy season lasts from about December to April. Usually only a single crop is grown per season. The smallest fruits or tubers are selected from the harvest for seed, the largest ones sold, and the medium sized ones eaten. Methods of cultivation vary according to the depth of the soil and the water supply. In most cases, irrigation water is not available and crops must be grown without it. Animal manure is the only fertilizer available, and it is little used except on some estates. The manure is furnished in part by sheep belonging to the tenants, and some estate owners in Bolivia will not accept a new tenant who does not have a certain number of sheep which will produce manure for fertilizer. The manure question can then be used to keep the tenants on the land, for a land owner can refuse to allow a tenant who wishes to leave to take his sheep with him, and no other estate would accept the tenant without them.

From the point of view of land utilization, the major problem in the situation we have been describing is that the big estates, which own much of the best land, make a minimum use of it, while the native farmers, who practice an intensive cultivation, have comparatively little land to work with and what they have is often poor. At the same time, land is a major symbol of social prestige among mestizos as well as natives, and this factor causes it to be priced for sale, in some cases, at exorbitant figures which bear no relation to its productivity. Aníbal Buitrón tells me that this situation occurs in Imbabura (Ecuador), for example.

In spite of the difficulties involved, there have been some interesting recent cases in which the tenants on an estate formed a cooperative organization to purchase the whole estate for distribution in individual lots. I am thinking of the Hacienda Chunazaná in Azuay, Ecuador (Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, ms.) and the Hacienda Lucmos in Apurimac, Peru. In both cases, the sale was negotiated directly between the native tenants and owners who were willing to be paid in installments. The natives made heroic efforts to raise the necessary money, selling everything that they had in order to do so, and in many cases borrowing money at very high interest to meet the later payments. The relatively defenseless condition of the natives leaves them at the mercy of mestizo speculators in situations of this kind.

Education. Informal education among the natives is given by the parents according to sex, and is supplemented by full participation in the activities of the community. During the earliest years, the mother guides the child's discipline by caresses and affection, while later it learns by imitation and personal experience in the activities appropriate to its sex. A boy learns first from his father and then from other men with whom he works. A girl learns chiefly from her mother's example and teaching, with a somewhat lesser opportunity to imitate the behavior of other adult women. Fiestas and cooperative labor give good opportunities to broaden and stimulate the children's development. Education is thus strongly traditional and especially oriented to teach the children how to work. A life close to the flocks, frequent attendance at adult fiestas, frank discussion by adults of pregnancy and birth, and the opportunities provided by life in a one-room house to be present at these events, give the children a perfectly natural introduction to everything connected with normal sex life. This perhaps is the reason why they lack the restless curiosity and concern with such matters which are so frequent in mestizo children. They have never been taught any special valuation on virginity and, at adolescence, have a certain liberty to satisfy their urges, since pre-matrimonial sex relations are permissible within limits at the proper age. They are thus well prepared for adult sex life, and prostitution is very rare. Adultery and sex crimes are even more unusual.

On the other hand, their participation in community activities and frequent dealings with adults give them an early understanding of all matters relating to the functioning of their society. It is not unusual to find children of seven or eight years of age who can give very exact and detailed information about community problems, the local authorities who govern them, and even the specific duties of these authorities. Granting the difference in the scope of knowledge required, it may be said that a native man knows more of his culture than a white man does of his.

Native children almost never play. It is not that they have no desire to play, nor that they are "sad" or "melancholy" as is often said, but that the values of their culture are directed toward work. The native believes that games are nothing but a preparation for indolence and hence is displeased when children play and puts pressure on them to stop it. This attitude is not the result of a concern for time wasted but rather of a traditional concept of the nature and function of playing.

Formal education for natives is generally very deficient and its results meager. The schools are provided by the state or by religious bodies and are mestizo, not native institutions. The mestizos are not particularly concerned about native education and the natives are suspicious of mestizo efforts in this direction. In all the places visited by the ILO Mission where there were schools, the number of literates is minimum. We found one case in which a school had been functioning for more than ten years without teaching a single person to read. Among the factors responsible for this type of situation, the following may be noted:

- (1) lack of understanding of rural conditions on the part of the teachers,
- (2) resistance on the part of the natives to sending their children to

school, (3) teaching methods poorly adapted to the conditions, and (4) the language difference. Each of these factors deserves some comment.

(1) In the three countries with which we are concerned, native education is in the hands of three types of teachers: untrained ones, religious teachers, and teachers with a certificate. Untrained teachers are persons with no qualifications for the work, usually from the towns, who secure appointments through personal influence and worry about learning how to teach when they enter the schools to which they were appointed. Religious teachers are primarily interested in "saving souls" and are little concerned with matters that might be useful to the natives in this life. An exception must be made here for a few Protestant mission schools which are doing something along these lines. However, in many cases their work only increases the natives' problems since conversion produces conflicts between religious groups and division within the communities.

The training of certificated teachers takes place in two types of centers: schools for urban teachers and schools for rural teachers. Graduates of schools for urban teachers have been trained to work in a cultural situation quite different from that of the natives, but some get sent to rural schools because there are no vacancies in the urban ones. They accept these appointments as a stopgap until they can get an urban job, have no interest in their work, and take the first opportunity to get back into the kind of teaching they were trained for. There are two kinds of normal schools for rural teachers, one in the cities (the Normal Rural de Santa Rosa in Cuzco is an example) and the other in the country. The students at both types of schools are whites and mestizos of urban background. The training given in the city normal schools is highly sophisticated and bookish, with no opportunities to observe, let alone participate in, the life of the people whom they will be expected to teach in the future. They know nothing of the conditions of rural life and receive no orientation in the subject. There is a similar narrowness about the training given in the normal schools located in the country; it is mainly theoretical, with some instruction in farming practice given on the school grounds. In many cases, the student teachers see natives only when the latter come to the school to sell some of their products. Such schools are an extension of city life which is in the country but not of it. One of the few cases in which a normal school has attempted to prepare teachers for rural problems is the Centro Normal Rural of Warisata, Bolivia.

The main problem involved is the existence of marked cultural differences between the mestizos who staff the schools and the natives who are expected to attend them. The teachers are not fully aware of these differences, have not been trained to deal with them, and do not succeed in crossing the gulf which separates them from their students.

(2) The resistance of the natives to sending their children to school is notorious. There have been many cases in which it was necessary to use the police power to get the children to school. There are very good reasons for this resistance, however. In the first place, the school

is a mestizo institution, as we have noted, and the natives are suspicious of it as such. In the second place, native children begin very young to contribute to family subsistence by helping in the fields or with the care of the animals, and their help can be ill spared at home. Finally, the unsatisfactory results of existing school programs have discredited the school system. Absenteeism is somewhat less now than formerly and is commoner in the case of girls than of boys. The natives explained to me that it was because the girls were needed for herding.

(3) The greater part of the teaching methods used in the schools are ones devised for West European type conditions and cultural values. No attempt has yet been made to study the conditions and cultural values of native life with a view to adapting teaching methods to them. An outstanding example of the problems involved is provided by the general application in the schools of the method of recreational teaching, that is, combining teaching with games. This practice conflicts directly with the native attitude toward games, which are regarded as a preparation for indolence. When parents find out that their children go to school to play games, they tend to take them out of school immediately. The experience creates antagonism in the community toward the school. In Taraco (Puno, Peru) the parents all complained to me that the teachers were teaching their children to play games and accustoming them to this type of behavior.

(4) In the regions visited by the ILO Mission, most of the natives speak the Inca language (Quechua), except in northern Bolivia and part of the Department of Puno in Peru where Aymará is spoken. The vast majority of the native population speaks no Spanish, and the percentage is higher among women than among men. This situation affects the schools directly, for school text books are uniform by law and the texts are in Spanish. Native parents are generally interested in having their children learn Spanish as a measure of protection or to better their social position, but it is difficult to find school time for this subject in a school system in which the rules were devised for children who know Spanish to begin with.

Religion. It is not possible to classify native religion as wholly Christian or wholly pagan. Catholic worship coexists with a series of practices and beliefs which constitute perhaps the strongest and most influential part of native spiritual life. The native's supernatural world is populated by spirits of the earth, of the mountains, of springs, of animals, and of plants, and he dedicates to them a series of practices directed sometimes toward warding off their powers and sometimes to making them propitious. These practices are often confused or mixed with Catholic ideas and rites, but certain distinctions can nevertheless be made. Life on this earth is more closely linked with natural forces and the spirits which govern them. The success of the harvest depends in large part on the offerings which have been made to the earth, on the farmer's relation with the 'awki' and the 'apu' (mountain spirits), and on whether or not the winds, the hail and the frost are favorably inclined toward him. Health and sickness depend in large part on springs, rocks, and

trees, and on unknown beings provided with evil spirits. On the other hand, there is a second aspect of native spiritual life which revolves around Catholic worship and which is concerned with social relations and their expression in the fiesta, and with life after death. Both types of religious behavior have their own specialists. Those of the world of native spirits are the pago, the 'altu-misayoq, and the "brujo" (witch), followed by a school of curers and herbalists or people who "know" certain practices (Morote, 1951, p. 156; Rubio, 1946, p. 309; Núñez del Prado, 1952, p. 8). The world of Catholic worship is directed by the Catholic priest and the sacristan.

Beliefs and practices relating to agriculture and health include propitiatory rites for the crops, prayers for rain, exorcism of frost, hail, and evil winds, the etiology of diseases, and their diagnosis and treatment. A great variety of causes of illness are recognized. The patient himself may even have caused the illness by some action, and he may in some cases be the source of his cure, when for example he is treated with his own urine or a woman is treated with menstrual fluid.

These concepts of the forces of nature play a very important role in native life, and it is worth while commenting in greater detail on curing practices and their function. The pago, 'altu-misayoq, or "brujo" is a person of great prestige in society, feared because of the supernatural source of his powers. Persons who have been struck by lightning without being killed, for example, thereby acquire supernatural powers. The pago has the power to summon the mountain spirits ('awki and 'apu) and ask them to punish someone with sickness, cure someone, or carry off his soul so that he will go on living without it. His power is enormous and he belongs to the highest rank of curers. His reputation often extends over wide areas and his fees are high. He is generally consulted only in the most serious cases, and his treatment is of a magical nature. Less dangerous illnesses are diagnosed and treated by a less awe inspiring person, the maych'a or curer. His diagnoses nearly always contain a magical element, for he makes them by finding out first the symptoms and the possible causes of sickness and then choosing between the causes by divination. For divining, he may use coca leaves or grains of maize, or boil the patient's urine with certain salts, or rub the patient with a guinea pig and then cut it open and look for organs affected by the patient's illness. His treatment is based on herbal and other medicines, and follows the principle of the hot and cold classification of medicines and diseases, according to which a "hot" remedy is given for a "cold" disease and vice versa (Morote, 1951, p. 123). The medicines are administered as liquids to be drunk, poultices, etc., usually with prayers and invocations, and clearly require faith on the part of the patient. These curers have great prestige among the natives. In both Peru and Ecuador, the curers claim that there is a difference in the effectiveness of their medicines as applied to natives or mestizos, and that the bodies of the two groups react differently to them. It is widely believed that what is good for the white man will harm the Indian and vice versa.

The elaborate and highly rationalized system of native medicine just described naturally provides resistance to Western medicine and public health measures. Nevertheless, campaigns in which the objective utility of vaccination and D.D.T. were successfully demonstrated have brought about the acceptance of both these measures by the natives to such an extent that they request the treatment in some cases.

The aspect of native religion most closely connected with Catholic worship is that relating to the future life. Heaven is conceived of as a fertile region of productive land and abundant irrigation water where people work and have abundant harvests. God lives there in a special place, surrounded by the saints who are his relatives. Hell is a land of fire. A person's destination in the other life is determined by his conduct in this life and the contributions he has made for the support of the Catholic cult. God or the saints can also send punishments and grant rewards on earth. The natives believe in God and the saints and frequently invoke them together with the 'apu and 'awki.

People seek to establish relationships to God and the saints through the Catholic church, and these relationships are expressed in fiestas which are occasions of pleasure and provide relief from the troubles of everyday life. The fiesta is organized in the name of a saint by a person who accepts the responsibility of making the arrangements and paying the expenses. This responsibility is called a "cargó" (obligation), "alferazgo", or "mayordomía" in different parts of the Andean area, and it is a fixed point of reference by which a person's social position is determined. No one who has been designated by the community to undertake a cargo would dare to refuse, for to do so would entail a sort of moral death and absolute renunciation of all chances of gaining community respect. No excuse whatever would save him from the condemnation and ill will of his neighbors. As Professor Rubio says, "An Indian is not considered a man among his fellows until he has sponsored at least one fiesta. The epithet 'Mana cargu yallishca' (one who has held no cargo) is not only the worst insult that can be offered among them but implies a sort of dishonesty" (Rubio, 1946, p. 299). Cargos are expensive, and often the person designated has to spend all that he has, sell his animals and land, mortgage them, or emigrate for a year or more to some other region where wages are high in order to earn enough to pay for it. Families in this situation often move for a time to the tropical valleys, the gold washings, or the mines to earn money for a fiesta and come home with malaria or tuberculosis acquired under difficult work conditions in an unfamiliar climate. Even after the cargo is paid for, the family faces a long struggle to recover its former economic position--and then very likely is designated for another cargo.

It should be noted that men very rarely volunteer for a cargo. In most cases a man is chosen against his will and persuaded to accept it when he is drunk. Social pressure then keeps him from backing out. Both church and state have laws against forcing an unwilling man to accept a cargo, but social pressure is a very difficult phenomenon to control by legislation. Furthermore, many mestizos have a financial interest in

the fiestas, and hence in the cargo system which pays for them, so that the system is not entirely unrelated to the picture of exploitation which we drew in discussing land and agriculture.

Several important aspects of native life, such as local government and military service, have not been covered in this review, but enough has been said to indicate the importance of considering the social and economic relationships between natives and mestizos in any study in which either group is the main focus of interest. The problems are important ones, and they will not go away simply because we ignore them.

ENDNOTE

1. This paper is a translation and abridgement by John H. Rowe of an article entitled: "Problemas antropológicos del área andina (Peru-Bolivia-Ecuador)," published in Cuzco in 1953. A full reference to the original will be found in the bibliography. The translator has made a few changes and brief additions necessitated by the process of abridgement and by the differences in background between an English speaking and an Andean Spanish speaking public; these changes are based on conversations with the author.

The term "native" is used throughout to translate "indígena" in the original. In some contexts, the author is using this term in deliberate contrast to "indio" (Indian) which, in the Cuzco area, is now used almost exclusively as a social class term.

Underlined words are written in the Inca alphabet (Rowe, 1950); other non-English words are not especially designated. Some of them are Spanish, others Inca or Aymará or a mixture of Spanish and Inca elements. These words are given in their commonest Spanish spelling.

The author is Professor of Anthropology in the National University of Cuzco, Peru.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buitrón, Aníbal, and Buitrón, Barbara Salisbury

- 1947 El campesino de la provincia de Pichincha. Instituto Nacional de Previsión, Departamento de Propaganda, Quito.

Cisneros Cisneros, César

- 1948 Demografía y estadística sobre el indio ecuatoriano. Talleres Gráficos Nacionales, Quito.

Flores, Edmundo

- 1950 El problema agrario del Perú. El Trimestre Económico, vol. XVII, no. 3, pp. 355-395. Mexico.

Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía

- ms. Chunazaná; informe del Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, Quito, 1952.

Morote Best, Efraín

- 1951 La vivienda campesina en Sallaq; con un panorama de la cultura total. Tradición, año II, vol. III, nos. 7-10, pp. 96-193. Cuzco.

Núñez del Prado, Oscar

- 1949 Chinchero; un pueblo andino del sur (algunos aspectos). Revista Universitaria, año XXXVIII, no. 97, segundo semestre, pp. 177-230. Cuzco.
- 1952 La vida y la muerte en Chinchero. Talleres Gráficos "La Económica," Cuzco.
- 1953 Problemas antropológicas del área andina (Perú-Bolivia-Ecuador). Revista Universitaria, año XLII, no. 104, primer semestre, pp. 272-320. Cuzco.

Rowe, John Howland

- 1950 Sound patterns in three Inca dialects. International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. XVI, no. 3, pp. 137-148. Baltimore.

Rubio Orbe, Gonzalo

- 1946 Nuestros indios (estudio geográfico, histórico y social de los indios ecuatorianos, especialmente aplicado a la provincia de Imbabura). Imprenta de la Universidad, Quito. (Issued in 1947.)

United Nations

- 1951 Report of the United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance to Bolivia. United Nations, Technical Assistance Administration, ST/TAA/K/Bolivia/1. New York.