

"CABALLERITOS" AND MAIZ CABANITA: COLONIAL CATEGORIES AND ANDEAN ETHNICITY IN THE QUINCENTENNIAL YEAR

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Introduction

In this paper I wish to discuss what has been called the Peruvian "system of stratification," represented by the terms *indio*, *cholo*, *mestizo*, and *criollo* (Bourricaud 1975), by reviewing the dynamics of ethnicity in the highland peasant community of Cabanaconde (Caylloma, Arequipa), Perú.¹ Combining interpretive and political-economy frameworks, the essay attempts to evoke the situational and fluid nature of ethnicity as experienced by the Cabanefios, as well as the enduring cultural frameworks that at another level underwrite their communal and ethnic identities.

By examining trade and ethnic relations between two highland groups, I wish to decenter prevailing views concerning Peruvian stratification and shift to Andean views of ethnicity and identity. To date, analyses of the categories *indio*, *mestizo*, *cholo*, *criollo* have largely reflected a Lima-based perspective. The ways in which these categories have been reified by social scientists does not usually do justice to the colonial nature of these terms nor to the varied uses of these (and other) ethnic categories by different groups within Peru. The essay emphasizes the constructed nature of these ethnic categories as well as the ways that they are situationally defined.

The paper is divided into four parts. The first part briefly reviews different theoretical perspectives on Andean ethnicity. The second section defines important historical factors that contributed to current ethnic dynamics and categorization within Cabanaconde. These include prehispanic and post-conquest mountain worship, the ethnic categories and communal identities established during the colonial period, and the way in which colonial and contemporary social processes have shaped notions of ethnicity in the community today.

The third section illustrates the situational nature of ethnic categories by looking at the barter relationships and ethnic differentiation between the maize cultivators of Cabanaconde and highland herders. The pastoralists, who come from the communities of the upper Colca valley and from other regions in southern Perú, arrive at harvest time. In addition to bartering their goods—such as wool, potatoes, and llamas—many herders trade their labor for

Cabanaconde's most renowned and valued commodity, maize, which is known throughout the region as "maiz cabanita." This section examines the reasons that the Cabanefios, who are sometimes denigrated as *indios* or *caballeritos* by higher status peoples, apply these same terms to the highland herders.

In the fourth section, I discuss the implications of my analysis. One of the conclusions reached is that an analysis of ethnic dynamics in the Andes should examine the differentially positioned uses of the terms *indio*, *cholo*, *mestizo*, and *criollo*, as well as other fundamental notions that Andean peoples use to differentiate social groups.

Andean Ethnicity

The legacy of 1492 is still very much alive in Peru, a country in which a disenfranchised cultural majority cannot seek legal redress nor receive education in its mother tongue, Quechua. Quechua, which was the lingua franca of the Inca empire and which is still spoken by millions of people, is a "fenced in" or "oppressed" language, one which receives little institutional support (see, for example, Albo 1973, Mannheim 1991). M.G. Smith, who has theorized the relationship between ethnicity and the public sphere (e.g., Smith 1982), has even compared Perú to South Africa in terms of the differential incorporation of the Andean majority. Indeed, Perú is a nation in which a dominant cultural minority deploys its notion of what the Peruvian nation is—its world view—throughout the provinces in the educational system, civic ceremonies, and even, as I have shown elsewhere (Gelles 1990), through land and water use systems. Andean peasants—often because of their ethnicity—are today objects of massacres by the Peruvian military and Shining Path in the dirty war being fought in Perú. The region I will be discussing has, thankfully, been spared this violence—at least thus far.

In Peruvian and Andean studies, ethnicity has been dealt with in many ways, including primordialist, cultural pluralist, and structuralist approaches. Some wish to view ethnicity in terms of origin-linked symbols, the shared transcendental and mystical elements that differentiate members from outsiders. Others look at the differential incorporation of Andean culture within the public domain and study how indigenous cultural forms and values are denigrated by, and at the same time resist, different forms of nationalism in the Andean nations (e.g., Isbell 1978, Rasnake 1988, Murra 1982).

Other, more structural, approaches such as those found in the Peruvian "sociology of dependence" school (e.g., Fuenzalida 1971) view the changing access to the benefits of communication and transportation as determining ethnic dynamics. Others have suggested that we look at the "plural identities" of Andean peasants (Starn 1991), or have characterized the Peruvian system of stratification as "strangely combining great rigidity with great fluidity" (Bourricaud 1975: 353). Fuenzalida (1971), reviewing the categories *indio*, *cholo*, *mestizo*, and *criollo*, has said that race in Perú is something of an optical illusion, in that "the higher one is on the social ladder, the whiter one appears; the lower one is, the darker" (1971:20). Moreover, there is often a modification in the self-image of these individuals, an internalization of "false racial consciousness."

Though these structural approaches insert different notions of process into the analysis of ethnic stratification, they generally fall into the error of occidentalizing Andean cultural identities, neglecting the strength of Andean cultural frameworks in both rural and urban areas. In Cabanaconde, an analysis of ethnicity must encompass increasingly fragmented, plural, and even transnational identities, as well as enduring cultural frameworks.

Overview of Cabanaconde

Located at 3,270 meters above sea level in the Colca valley on the semi-arid west slope of the southern Peruvian Andes (Figure 1), Cabanaconde was established as a nucleated settlement (*reducción*) in the 1570s and today has a population of over 4,000 people. The Cabaneños today are bilingual Quechua and Spanish speakers.

While government officials and outsiders tend to consider the community to be a remote outpost and yet another timeless village, Cabanaconde is regarded by the people who live in the region as a large urban center and major thoroughfare. This is expressed in the Cabaneños' common reference to other communities in the Colca valley as "in the Provinces." Cabanaconde, never a static entity, has experienced especially rapid social change since 1965, when the road finally reached the community.

The territory of Cabanaconde is environmentally diverse. There are over 1,200 hectares of irrigated fields, approximately three quarters of which are dedicated to the Cabanita maize, which is famous throughout the southern Peruvian Andes for its taste and quality. Trade patterns are ancient and well established, and the exchange of Cabanita maize with other regions is a major axis of the regional economy during the harvest months.

Two major polities, the Cavanos (the seat of which was in Cabanaconde) and the Collaguas, occupied the Colca valley at the time of the conquest (Figure 2). There have been great differences, ethnic and otherwise, between the Cavanos and the Collaguas before and since the Spanish invasion. The elaborate female dress and the hats for both men and women are today important ethnic markers between Cabanaconde and the Colca valley communities that are located in what is the former Collaguas region. There are also differences in many practices such as funeral rituals, sowing rituals, weaving, sewing, and to a certain degree, language. There are also fundamental ecological differences between the upper and lower valley which result in different productive strategies and which are also associated with this ethnic differentiation.

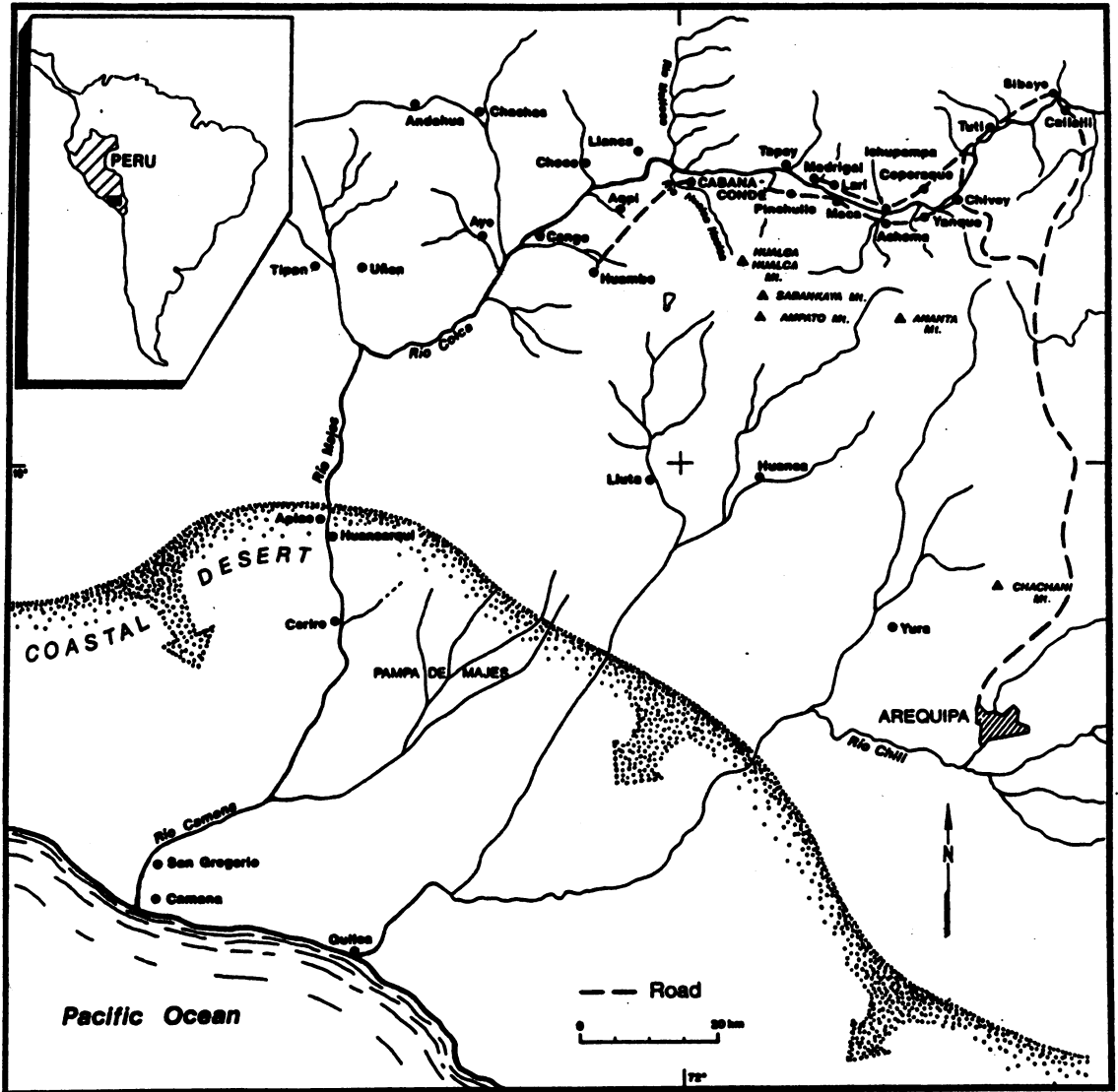


Figure 1: Location of Cabanaconde in Peru

Mountains and Ethnicity

The ethnic differentiation between these groups also expresses a "primordial" type of communal and ethnic identity, one related to mountain worship. What can be called "intercommunity ethnicity" throughout much of the Andes today, and what Rostworowski (1983) has in passing called "microethnicity" for Andean polities in prehispanic and colonial times, is intimately tied to the wider set of religious beliefs and practices concerning mountains and irrigation water. This peculiarly Andean definition of ethnicity, which has prehispanic roots, continues to find expression in the ritual life of Andean communities. As Sherbondy (1982) and Reinhard (1985) have demonstrated, religion and ethnicity, worship and identity were and are intimately tied to mountains and water in many regions of the Andes.

These meanings were probably not apparent to a Spanish Corregidor who, in his 1586 description of the "province of the Collaguas and Cavanaconde," describes "two types of people, different in their language and vestment." He wrote that "according to their ancient beliefs, those of the province of the Cavañas came to the place where the town of Cavana is today *from a mountain* which is in front of it, snow-capped and crowned, which is called Gualca-Gualca ... they take advantage of the water from its snow-melt for their irrigated fields" (Ulloa Mogollón 1965 [1586], emphasis added). This contrasted with the origins of the neighboring Collaguas polity, which emerged from a different holy shrine (*waka*), "a snow-capped mountain in the form of a volcano...called Collaguata; they say that near this mountain *or from inside of it* many people emerged and came down to this province and valley" (Ulloa Mogollón 1965).

Hualca-Hualca mountain, 6000 meters high, today continues to be a principle deity and the object of much worship and ritual for the people of Cabanaconde. In Cabanaconde, and throughout a good part of the Andes, mountains are sacred. They are also gendered. Hualca-Hualca is considered to be the most important mountain of the community and the irrigation water she provides is likened to mother's milk. Myriad prayers and offerings are made to her during the irrigation cycle and throughout the agricultural and pastoral activities of the community. The Cabanefios see Hualca-Hualca as theirs, and as one very important mountain in a regional configuration of mountains, each of which is the protector and ethnic emblem for other communities.

The cultural importance of Hualca-Hualca extends beyond the community's borders. Cabanaconde's most commercially successful musical group, Los Laureles de Cabanaconde, named their first record "Nevadito Hualca-Hualca." Another example is that of a migrant from the community who won an international hair styling contest with the "Hualca-Hualca haircut," a multitiered three-layered cut modeled on the form of the mountain.

Colonial Categories: "Indian" as Tribute Payer

Andean ethnicity and ethnic categorization was, of course, irreversibly changed with the Spanish invasion. The category "Indian" was introduced, gathering under its term a multitude

of ethnically distinct people. It now served the purpose of delimiting the conquered and the children of the conquered, those who had to pay tribute and service to the conquerors.

Cabanaconde had a larger concentration of Spaniards than any other community in the Colca valley with the exception of Caylloma, a large mining center. The large presence of Spaniards in Cabanaconde, which is probably due to its large maize and grain production, has influenced the history, culture, and ethnic categories of Cabanaconde in ways fundamentally different from those of other communities.

Little appears to have changed in Cabanaconde in the decades following Independence. Many of the same Spaniards retained control and Indians were forced to pay tribute along ethnic lines. Baptism continued to be recorded in terms of the categories *indio*, *mestizo*, *blanco*, and some type of contribution continued to be taken along these lines even into the first decades of this century. The colonial and exploitative nature of these ethnic categories is apparent, the term "Indian" being synonymous with "tribute payer" and thus basic to the political economies of the Spanish and early republican states.

Status and Ethnicity in a Transnational Community

Neither today nor in the past has Cabanaconde ever been a "closed corporate community." Nor is Cabanaconde an homogeneous and undifferentiated entity. Cabanefios possess many different material and social means to acquire power, status, and wealth within and outside of the community. Perhaps the most obvious expression of Cabanaconde's link with larger cultural and economic worlds is the large migrant colonies of Cabanefios in Arequipa, Lima, and Washington, D.C. The populations of these colonies are estimated to be 1000, 3000, and 200 respectively.

Today migrants bring Cabanefio culture to these cities, and return with urban influences that affect Cabanaconde's cultural landscape. Every year for the principal *fiestas* of the community, migrants return from Arequipa, Lima, and the United States. While many migrants speak to their kin of their successes in the big city, these same individuals are often anxious to fall into step with the local rhythms and practices once again. Many even return from as far away as Washington to sponsor religious festivals in the community. They also bring tape and video recorders. These are used to capture *la costumbre* or the "customs" of the town, and in distant Washington—with a Coors beer or some toasted Cabanita maize (*cancha*) in hand—the customs are replayed over time and time again.

Obviously the Cabanefios in Washington are also faced with new ethnic identities and must renew and renegotiate their old ones. On the one hand, they become "Latinos," a marginalized ethnic group within the U.S. As with the term *indio* during the colonial period and within the Peruvian system of stratification today, the category "Latino" becomes a catch-all for extremely diverse peoples. At the same time, the asymmetric relationship of the Cabanefios with *blancos* or *criollos* in Perú gets reproduced and transformed in many ways.²

The status system of the community is not a closed one, but one that has a dynamic, ambivalent, and variable relationship with the status system of the outside world. Given the constant outmigration which has culminated in the Washington-based Cabanefios, it is not surprising that one can delineate two separate criteria for assigning status in Cabanaconde.

One is applied to those people who remain within the community and is measured, among other things, by an individual's participation in the *cargo* system (religious and political offices that are assumed as a form of community service) and by his or her land and cattle holdings. The other is applied to *mistis*, that is those individuals who migrate to and adopt the lifestyles of urban areas in Perú or the United States.

The term *misti*, as Sallnow (1987) has pointed out for the neighboring Cuzco area, is one of two dominant ethnic stereotypes in the southern Andes, one that generally designates the bearers of the Hispanic cultural tradition. At a more general level it is also, I would argue, the Quechua gloss for "non-peasant," encompassing the categories of *blanco*, *criollo*, and *gringo* and the economic activities associated with these categories. The ethnic stereotype that is the polar opposite of *misti* is that of *indio*, a term which has a negative connotation and which can be used as an insult. The Cabanefíos do not use *indio* for self-reference, but rather the words "comunero," "serrano," "campesino," and most frequently "Cabanefío" or "Cabanacondino."³ Though the Cabanefíos do not consider themselves *indios*, they are aware that for the dominant members of national society, that is for the people they define as *mistis*, *criollos*, or *gringos* the terms *comunero*, *serrano*, and *campesino* ("community member," "highlander," and "peasant" respectively) are associated with, and are easily collapsed into, the denigrating category of *indio* and *cholo*. The people of Cabanaconde, then, are acutely aware of their status within the larger Peruvian society and of the negative stereotypes that accompany this status. They are also aware that the internal status system of the community itself (*cargos*, etc.) is not accorded much status within national society. Thus, the goal of many people within the community is to educate their children so that they can escape their peasant respect and become a "professional"—someone with a steady salary in a "respectable" job (which includes everything from a schoolteacher, policeman, or secretary to a doctor or lawyer).

Nevertheless, because of the culturally and economically valued maize that they grow, the Cabanefíos have a good deal of power and enjoy a relatively high status within the regional economy, and indeed are relatively prosperous when compared to many other highland peoples. What is more, the denigrating terms reviewed above, as well as the concept of race (*raza*), are used as an idiom of power by the Cabanefíos to differentiate themselves from the herders that arrive every year for the harvest.

Caballeritos and Maíz Cabanita

Highland herders descend from communities in the upper Colca valley such as Sibayo and Callalli (see Figure 1), as well as from neighboring regions such as Yauri and Puno at harvest time, and in addition to bartering their goods—such as wool, potatoes, and llama and alpaca meat—many trade their labor for Cabanaconde's most renowned and valued commodity, Cabanita maize. The herders arrive either on foot accompanied by large llama and alpaca caravans (which takes several days and as long as two weeks) or in trucks and buses. Many herders have steady trading partners within the community and stay at the same house each year. Both the Cabanefíos and the pastoralists seek out stable relationships; in the case of the herders this is to secure a reliable supply of maize for the upcoming year, and in the case of the Cabanefíos to secure meat, wool, and tubers (usually *chuño*, freeze-dried potatoes).

As opposed to those who come only to barter their goods, the herders that help with the harvest are treated as migrant workers by the Cabanefios. Treatment varies considerably from one household to the next, the pastoralists being paid anywhere between 40 and 100 cobs of corn per day plus room and board. Some Cabanefios have the herders help only with loading maize on burros, which are then driven to storage places (*chaleras*) in town. Other employers use the pastoralists themselves as beasts of burden: strapped across their backs with a piece of rope, the herders run to and from the fields loaded down with maize. The herders (now migrant workers) who cannot find an employer wait on street corners or in the plaza looking for work in the harvest.

Among themselves, many Cabanefios refer to those that help with the harvesting of their maize as "caballeritos." The first time I heard them use this word I was surprised. The word *caballero* is a term of respect, meaning "gentleman" or "sir." "Ito" is a diminutive, making *caballerito* an ironic commentary on a person's status. I had only heard the term used once before, in a communal assembly by a Ministry of Agriculture official who fit the ethnic stereotype of *criollo* and *misti*. He was a tall man, fairly white with Hispanic features and dark sun glasses, someone clearly more at home in the urban areas of Arequipa and Lima than in highland communities. By the way he presented himself and spoke to the group, it was clear that he, like many *criollos*, considered the peasants to be beneath him economically, culturally and racially, in short to be *indios* or *cholos*. When one of his assertions was challenged, he affected a sarcastic insulting tone, saying "escúchenme caballeritos," ("listen here, my little friends").

Why, then, would Cabanefios use this same term ("caballerito")—as well as the word *indio*—to describe the herders who come from the high pastures? This is because a good many Cabanefios consider the pastoralists—who, together with herding, cultivate less nutritious and less culturally valued crops, are often physically darker and shorter, are extremely poor in many cases, and are associated with the harsh, savage, and less civilized realms of the high pastures—to be economically, culturally, and even racially, inferior. The words "callallino" or "yaurino" (a person from the herding communities of Callalli and Yauri) as well as "llamero" (llama herder) are even used as insults between the people of Cabanaconde.

As intimated above, the reasons for the Cabanefio's superior attitude are many. Besides the fact that throughout the Andes, agriculture is generally conceived of as a higher status activity than herding, maize is particularly valued for its nutritious and ritual value, as well as for making maize beer. While Cabanefios do not make *chuno*, they do cultivate potatoes as well as have alpaca and llama herds of their own. The herders, on the other hand, must buy or trade for maize. This fact, as well as the abundance and relative cheapness of maize during the harvest, explains why the herders come to the Cabanefios and not the other way around. It also explains why the Cabanefios are in a position to hire many of the workers as *migrant laborers in their fields*.

Another reason that Cabanefios refer to the herders as *caballeritos* (emphasis on the "ito") is that the herders are often smaller in stature and relatively dark. These characteristics, especially the "darkness" of the herders, is contrasted with the "whiteness" of the Cabanefios. These physical differences are largely the result of a greater miscegenation in Cabanaconde where, as mentioned above, there was a much higher number of Spanish residents than in

other areas. Indeed, Cabanefios are known throughout the region for generally being taller, whiter, and in some cases even having green or blue eyes.

Another factor for the Cabanefios' relative attitude of superiority is that, unlike most of the herding communities and the small hamlets that surround them, Cabanaconde is a large nucleated settlement, firmly connected to national society in many ways. One of the most important signs of this greater connectedness, as well as of the Cabanefios' relative prosperity, is the high school that exists in Cabanaconde. There are no high schools and often no schools at all in many of the herders' villages. People from pastoralist communities or hamlets will occasionally leave their children in Cabanaconde to work as servants or househelp (*criados*) so that they can obtain an education. The Cabanefios who receive these children are obliged to feed, clothe, and pay for their education. They basically become foster parents.

Some of the herders feel that they are mistreated by the relatively wealthy and powerful valley people of Cabanaconde, who are viewed as more *criollo* and more coastal. Ironically, a dynamic similar to that between the Cabanefios and the herders takes place between herders that live in villages or communities such as Callalli and those who live in the surrounding herders hamlets, who are sometimes extremely poor, even shoeless (*q'alapata*). Yet the latter view the people of the neighboring Yauri region as even more savage!⁴

While the Cabanefios consider the herders to be more savage, the pastoralists are also viewed as being closer to the untamed power of the mountain spirits, and as providing the most accomplished spiritualists. Taussig (1987) has found that in other Andean regions, savagery and healing powers are attributed to lowland peoples. In Cabanaconde and throughout the southern Andes, the lowlands are conceived of in a similar way. However, and as mentioned earlier, mountains are sacred throughout the southern Peruvian Andes and the much more immediate regions of savagery, healing, and spiritualism are in the high mountain reaches. Indeed, the high mountain herding areas are viewed as more savage and undomesticated, and for that very reason more powerful; it is from the latter areas that the most renowned ritual specialists (*karpayuqs*) come. Savagery is again associated with healing and spiritualism, but in this case the direction is up and not down the mountain.

While the Cabanefios and the pastoralists are aware of the different mountains that each worships, this worship has little to do with the economics and ethnic typecasting at harvest time. Rather, mountain and earth worship represents a common link shared by the maize farmers of Cabanaconde with the herders of Callalli and even with the smallest hamlets in the most isolated regions, a link that differentiates all of these groups from mainstream national society.

Indeed, it is mountain worship, together with other ethnic diacritics such as language, dress, diet, and coca chewing that differentiates maize farmers and herders alike from *criollos*, *blancos*, and *mistis*, that is, from representatives of the dominant culture, a culture that denies the validity of Andean cultural values.⁵ When Cabanefios visit the high reaches for extended periods of time (to trade or work), they make offerings to the mountain gods that are worshipped by the people in that area. Similarly, and as I was told many times, one of the first things that herders do upon arriving to Cabanaconde is to make an offering to Hualca-Hualca mountain.

Conclusions

In the Colca valley, different forms of agro-pastoral production play an integral part in the differentiation of communal and ethnic identities. Yet, while the Cabanefios are thoroughly associated with maize as are the herders with their flocks and tubers (and this pattern is hundreds of years old), it would be a mistake to view trade and ethnic relations between these two groups as mutually constitutive in some mechanical way. Rather, ethnic categorization must be understood in terms of both local historical processes and cultural factors, as well as in terms of the larger political economy of the colonial period and the cultural politics of the contemporary Peruvian state. It is clear that the ethnic categories and identities of *indio*, *cholo*, *mestizo*, and *criollo* are the result of Spanish hegemony and administration, a system of stratification used for the extraction of tribute which was carried over into the republican period. It is also clear that the large concentration of Spaniards in Cabanaconde during the colonial period has greatly influenced the ethnic dynamics of the region.

The particular ways that the ethnic categories used in the Peruvian system of stratification have mutated in different regions and the different meanings assigned to these terms should make us wary of reifying these colonial categories in any absolute way. Rather, ethnicity is always relative to the people who are doing the categorizing. Cabanefios do not consider themselves *indios* though they realize that others do. They see themselves as "Cabanefios," a term which has a distinct meaning within the region they live in—relatively urban, educated, bilingual maize farmers who contrast with people of the high pastures who are more "Indian"—monolingual Quechua speakers who herd cattle and grow the less culturally valued and nutritious potatoes.

Thus, the terms that define the lower end of the Peruvian system of stratification—such as *indio*—and the associated stereotypes of cultural, economic, and racial inferiority get downshifted here. In fact these terms are used by Cabanefios towards the highland herders in much the same way that they are used by *criollos*. Though the terms are not used as direct insults by the Cabanefios as they often are by *criollos*, their restricted usage among the Cabanefios when referring to the herders nevertheless reflects an attitude of relative power, wealth, and even cultural superiority.

However, the construction of identity and ethnicity in the Andes involves much more than just the differentially positioned usages of *indio*, *cholo*, *mestizo*, *criollo*. It in fact involves an ethnic dynamic totally separate from the Peruvian system of stratification, one that figures importantly for Andean peoples. As we saw above, a fundamental part of being a Cabanefio, and of one's social and spiritual self, is the worship of Hualca-Hualca mountain. This religious cult is at least four hundred years old. In the past and today, localized cults such as this one are at the core of both Andean cultural identity and ethnic differentiation.

On the one hand, because of the ways that these widespread beliefs and practices atomize power into thousands of mountains, each with a subject population dependent upon it for fertility and prosperity, there is an almost endless differentiation of ethnic identity between social groups in the Andes. On the other hand, it is the shared conviction that mountains and the earth possess spiritual properties which, together with language, dress, diet, and coca-chewing among other things, unite diverse Andean peoples and differentiates them from *mistis*

and mainstream *criollo* society. Indeed, the cultural and ethnic dynamics associated with mountain and earth worship is denigrated and ignored by national mainstream Peruvian society which views the people and natural resources of the Andean highlands as inferior to the Hispanic coast.

Ethnic stratification and the politics of cultural pluralism are of course intimately linked together. The ways in which colonial categories have been internalized by Andean peasants is joined to the process whereby the cultural frameworks that Andean peoples use to assert their own sense of identity are marginalized by the Peruvian nationalism. The colonial categories and racist attitudes that were instituted in Peru during the colonial period, and which were intimately linked to tribute exactions, have survived with incredible virulence.

The everyday speech of Limeños and Cabanefios alike is laced with reference to race, and the negative stereotypes associated with the term *indio* have been internalized by Andean peoples. In this sense, the Cabanefios reference to the pastoralists as *indios* and *caballeritos* mirrors their own subordination within the larger system of stratification. Because the Cabanefios and the pastoralists, and Andean peoples in general, are denied opportunities within Peru because of their cultural orientation, many choose to sacrifice their cultural identity to achieve greater prosperity and status. While the change to *misti* status may signify personal progress for the individual, it helps reproduce the structures that marginalize and stigmatize the cultural identity of Andean peoples.

Notes

1 The material presented here is based on fieldwork carried out in the central Peruvian Andes between 1982 and 1984, and in the southern Peruvian Andes between 1987 and 1988. The Fulbright-Hays Commission, the Social Science Research Council, and the Interamerican Foundation provided financial support for the 1987-1988 field season. During the different periods of research, I was affiliated with the Anthropology Department of the Pontificia Universidad Católica of Lima. I would like to express my thanks to these institutions, and to the Ciriacy-Wantrup Post-Doctoral Fellowship of the University of California at Berkeley for current support. All of the translations are mine, except where noted. The maps were drawn by Nancy Lambert-Brown. See Gelles (1990) for more detail on the general culture and history of Cabanaconde.

2 I am currently conducting research on the topic of Cabanefio transnationalism. This is also the subject of a collaborative film project that I am undertaking with Wilton Martínez, entitled "Images of a Transnational Fiesta: 1992." Here we explore the multiple identities of an extended family now living in Washington D.C., the members of which recently returned to sponsor a large *fiesta* in Cabanaconde. See Altimirano (1990) and Walker (1988) for interesting discussions of the general dynamics of Peruvian migration to the United States. See also Kearney and Nagengast (1989) and Hero (1992) for comparative material on transnationalism in, and ethnic dynamics between, other "Latino" communities.

3 The term *runa* is not used for self reference in Cabanaconde. Though *runa* is reportedly used for self-reference in other parts of the Andes, Sallnow (1987) questions whether this is the case.

4 These observations are based largely on personal communications with Miguel Martínez, Carmen Escalante, and Ricardo Valderrama, anthropologists who have worked in communities located in the upper part of the Colca valley.

5 On the importance of coca to Andean culture, see Allen (1988) and Gelles (1985). For the importance of dress in ethnic distinctions in the Colca valley see Femenias (1987).

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