



NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

A SEARCH FOR BALANCE:
DUALITY IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES OF PERU
AS A FACTOR IN THE LIFE, WORKS AND AIMS
OF JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS

by

Sheila Macdonald McLardy

M.A.(Honours), University of St. Andrews, 1941

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
under
Special Arrangements

© Sheila Macdonald McLardy 1988

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

September 1988

All rights reserved. This work may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without permission of the author.

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-48807-7

APPROVAL

NAME: SHEILA McLARDY

DEGREE: MASTER OF ARTS

TITLE OF THESIS: A Search for Balance: Duality in the Southern
Andes of Peru as a Factor in the Life, Works
and Aims of José María Arguedas

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

CHAIRMAN: DR. WILLIAM KRANE, PSYCHOLOGY

DR. MARILYN GATES
SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY

DR. JORGE GARCIA
LANGUAGES, LITERATURES & LINGUISTICS

DR. PHILIP WAGNER
GEOGRAPHY

DR. ANTONIO URRELLO
EXTERNAL EXAMINER
HISPANIC AND ITALIAN STUDIES, UBC

DATE APPROVED:

Oct 27/88

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

A Search for Balance: Duality in the Southern Andes of Peru

as a Factor in the Life, Works and Aims of José María Arguedas

Author:

(signature)

Sheila Macdonald McLardy

(name)

November 15, 1988

(date)

ABSTRACT

It is the purpose of this interdisciplinary thesis to show how José María Arguedas (1911-1969), the Peruvian novelist and ethnologist, uses the structure of duality in his writings on the Quechua speaking Southern Andes of Peru to interpret the order and chaos which, he believed, characterized the Andean world. The mediation of the principle of duality has been used internally over the centuries by the Quechua to symbolize an order-creating process in the ecological, social and cosmological dimensions of their society. Such order was reduced to chaotic social inequality by the Conquest. Conflictive duality in the rural Andes originated on the practical level with the resistance of the indigenous community to hacienda encroachment, and on the conceptual level with the dichotomy existing between Hispanic secular thought and Quechua mythical thought. Arguedas attempted to create a balance between Hispanic and Quechua cultures through the symbolic mediation of conflictive duality. He maintained that their qualities entitled the Quechua people to incorporation into a new order in Peru.

The circumstances which led Arguedas to adopt a Quechua perspective are first discussed. Subsequently, modern ecological and anthropological studies are juxtaposed to and contrasted with comparable ethnological writings of Arguedas. Together, these works testify to the "action and creativity" of the Quechua in their effort to mediate duality, and thus achieve successful subsistence whilst combatting hacienda oppression.

Finally, three works of fiction by Arguedas have been chosen to demonstrate the use of mediated duality, of irreconcilable conflictive duality, and of conflictive duality which Arguedas attempted to mediate symbolically.

Ultimately, Arguedas became pessimistic about the future of the Andes as many communities were disintegrating owing to lack of land, forcing members to migrate. Arguedas believed that in the chaotic coastal cities, the Quechua migrants would finally recreate order through their traditional organizational abilities. Today, unrest still characterizes the Andes. On the coast, however, increasing numbers of migrants continue to use their initiative, and may yet contribute to the formation of a new order in Peru.

v

Está cantando el río,
está llorando la calandria,
está dando vueltas el viento;
día y noche la paja de la estepa vibra;
nuestro río sagrado está bramando;
en las crestas de nuestros Wamanis montañas,
en sus dientes, la nieve gotea y brilla.

¿En dónde estás desde que te mataron por
nosotros?

Padre nuestro, escucha atentamente la voz de nuestros
ríos; escucha a los temibles árboles de la gran selva; el
canto endemoniado, blanquísimo del mar; escúchalos,
padre mío, Serpiente Dios. ¡Estamos vivos; todavía
somos! Del movimiento de los ríos y las piedras, de la
danza de árboles y montañas, de su movimiento, bebemos
sangre poderosa, cada vez más fuerte.

José María Arguedas, "A nuestro
Padre Creador Tupac Amaru,"
himno-canción, 1962.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my Supervisory Committee. Professor Marilyn Gates offered me constant encouragement, advice and constructive criticism during the writing of this thesis. By introducing me not only to Latin American literature but also to the Peruvian Andes, Professor Jorge García motivated me to further study of that region. I appreciate deeply the help I received from Professor Philip L. Wagner.

I also wish to acknowledge the assistance of Sylvia I. Bell and the staff of Inter-Library Loans, Simon Fraser University.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
QUOTATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	x
CHAPTER	
I JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS: A QUECHUA PERSPECTIVE	1
A VISION OF THE ANDES: THE DICHOTOMY OF CHAOS AND ORDER	3
A LIFE OF ACTION AND CREATIVITY	7
DUALITY: A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	10
II JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS: BETWEEN TWO WORLDS	16
A CHILDHOOD SPENT AMONGST THE QUECHUA	20
QUECHUA: THE MOTHER TONGUE	22
THE RELATIONSHIP OF ARGUEDAS TO <u>INDIGENISMO</u> IN PERU	29
III ANDEAN COSMOLOGY	44
ARGUEDAS THE ETHNOLOGIST	45
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW OF THE ANDEAN STRUCTURE OF DUALITY	48
THE CONTENT OF QUECHUA COSMOLOGY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL	52
THE ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES OF ANDEAN ORDER	55
THE ANDEAN PRINCIPLES OF INTERACTION	62
THE INCA COSMOGRAM: THE KEY TO THE STRUCTURE OF ANDEAN THOUGHT	79

CHAPTER		PAGE
IV	THE LAND OF THE ANDES: MEDIATION OF "HIGH" AND "LOW"	87
	THE RURAL SOUTHERN ANDES	90
	THE SOUTHERN ANDES: "THE INDIAN STAIN"	92
	HUMAN RESPONSE TO ENVIRONMENTAL CONSTRAINTS IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES	93
	THE IMPLICATIONS OF "VERTICALITY" IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES	100
	"HIGH" AND "LOW": THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF ANDEAN ECOLOGY	106
	THE MEDIATION OF ECOLOGICAL DUALITY	107
	UTEK' PAMPA	112
	ANDEAN ECOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY EXPRESSED IN RITUAL	117
	THE YARKA ASPIY	121
V	CONFLICTIVE DUALITY IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES	131
	THE CONCEPT OF ANDEAN ORDER	132
	CHAOS IN THE ANDES: THE LEGACY OF THE CONQUEST	136
	THE <u>HACIENDA</u> IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES	139
	THE COMMUNITY	149
	THE POSSESSION OF LAND: THE CRUCIAL FACTOR IN QUECHUA COSMOVISION	164
VI	THE RESOLUTION OF DUALITY IN THE FICTION OF JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS	170
	THE LITERARY VISION OF JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS	173
	THE SEARCH FOR EQUILIBRIUM: THE CREATION OF A NEW STRUCTURE	176
	"LA AGONÍA DE RASU-ÑITI": QUECHUA MEDIATION OF THE ULTIMATE DUALITY	182

CHAPTER	PAGE
ANDEAN COSMOLOGICAL ELEMENTS IN "LA AGONÍA DE RASU-ÑITI"	187
RASU-ÑITI; HUSBAND, <u>DANSAK'</u> AND SON OF THE <u>WAMANI</u>	190
EQUILIBRIUM ACHIEVED THROUGH THE MYTHICAL CONCEPT OF DEATH	199
"AGUA": CONFLICTIVE DUALITY WHICH DEFIES MEDIATION	206
"LOS RÍOS PROFUNDOS": THE SYMBOLIC MEDIATION OF CONFLICTIVE DUALITY	211
THE <u>YAWAR MAYU</u> : A SYNTHESIS OF THE QUECHUA UNIVERSE	213
CUZCO: THE PROFANE AND THE SACRED	215
ERNESTO: POTENTIAL MEDIATION OR THE REALITY OF RESISTANCE	217
HERMANO MIGUEL, THE <u>ZUMBAYLLU</u> AND THE UPRISING: A SYMBOLIC END TO CONFLICTIVE DUALITY?	222
THE <u>PACHAKUTI</u> RE-ENACTED: MYTH INITIATES ETHICAL ACTION	226
VII BEYOND THE BULWARK OF THE ANDES	233
DUALITY: THE STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLE OF THE ANDES	233
SOCIAL CRISIS IN THE ANDES	236
CHIMBOTE: "A MIXTURE OF DEATH AND DAWNING"	240
THE MODIFICATION OF ANDEAN PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION	244
THE FUTURE: ORDER OR CHAOS?	247
NOTES	251
GLOSSARY: SPANISH TERMS	256
QUECHUA TERMS	258
BIBLIOGRAPHY	262

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1	THE CENTRE PATH	51
	INCA KINSHIP SYSTEM	65
2a	Diagram of Pérez Bocanegra (1631)	
2b	Diagram of the Cosmogram of Salcamaygua (1613)	
3	A WAMANI	72
4	INCA COSMOGRAM AS DEPICTED IN THE CÓRICANCHA	79
5	"THE INDIAN STAIN"	92
6	PAMPAS RIVER AND COMMUNITY OF CHUSCHI	100
7	CLIMATE-ECOLOGICAL GRADATION OF THE HIGH ANDES OF SOUTHERN PERU AND NORTHERN BOLIVIA	104
8	THE CHEQEC ETHNIC REGION	157

CHAPTER I

JOSE MARÍA ARGUEDAS: A QUECHUA PERSPECTIVE

José María Arguedas (1911-1969), the Peruvian novelist and ethnologist, is widely recognized as the foremost writer on the the Quechua people of the rural Southern Andes of Peru. In his literature, the author interprets his commitment to the indigenous Andes through the Quechua reality of the interrelated ecology and cosmology of the region, which he personally had experienced. Quechua thought is conveyed through the mythical consciousness of Arguedas' characters and the cosmovision of the Quechua speaking indigenous community.

Born in Andahuaylas, Department of Apurímac, Arguedas was Andean by birth, Hispanic by lineage and Quechua by early upbringing. The author considered Quechua to be his "mother tongue" (1976n:48) which he spoke during his childhood spent with the Indians on the hacienda of Lucanas, Department of Ayacucho. From the Quechua servants of his stepmother's hacienda the author absorbed values and attitudes which remained with him throughout his life.

Arguedas employed a system of oppositions in the content and structure of his works as well as in his personal cosmovision. The author recognized that when mediated, the organizing principle of duality had been used internally over centuries by the rural society of the Quechua speaking Andes to produce balance and order in the natural and social spheres of the Andean universe. Today, to varying degrees, the concept

of duality, generating a system of oppositions, still orders the way of life in traditional Quechua speaking communities of the Southern Andes (Zuidema and Quispé 1973; Isbell 1978; Ossio 1978; Randall 1980; Urton 1981). Through his writings, Arguedas combatted the problem of disequilibrium created in Andean Peru by Hispanic and Quechua realities which, instead of achieving complementarity, interacted assymmetrically; since the Conquest, the Quechua people remained dominated but neither assimilated nor destroyed by the European conquerors and their descendents. Arguedas was committed to the implementation of social justice for the Quechua people whom he knew and saw as a vital and creative force in the future formation of a new order in Peru. It is the purpose of this thesis to show that duality which has formed the preferred organizational principle of the Quechua people of the Southern Andes of Peru also provided a major structural principle in the life, works and aims of José María Arguedas the Peruvian author and ethnologist.

The principle of duality can represent the state of being double, or it can signify preferences or opposition between the two extremes. When such opposition cannot be mediated, conflictive duality results. The abstract form of mediated duality, however, presupposes two extremes which are in opposition, one to the other. In order to resolve the tension existing between these two poles, a process is initiated in each extreme, involving movement towards the centre of the imaginary joining line; in this way the ideal of equilibrium which mediates duality is achieved. Jaffé notes that the four or

eight rayed circle is used as an instrument of meditation in India and that this form of the circle symbolizes "wholeness as such, an existing entity" (1964:241). The principle of mediated duality, however, directed towards reaching equilibrium, implies the process of "becoming."

A VISION OF THE ANDES: THE DICHOTOMY OF CHAOS AND ORDER

A phrase of José María Arguedas provided the model for this thesis, and determined the form and content of the study. In the first diary of his posthumous novel, El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo, Arguedas wrote that his purpose in life was to write; to do so he had to live free from restrictions in order to interpret chaos and order (1971:26).¹ The latter dichotomy symbolises the age-old problem of conflictive duality in the Andes which originated in the Spanish Conquest. The personal opinion of an author is frequently given little credence, as it is deemed to be an overly subjective way of perceiving reality. This study asserts, however, that the above statement of Arguedas' purpose in life encapsulates the all-consuming effort of the author, conveyed through his writings, to testify to the merits of the Quechua people and to help solve the impasse created by two irreconcilable cultures sharing the same land of Peru. The thesis has attempted in a more objective manner to establish a structure--a cohesive whole resulting from the interaction of the author's life, work and purpose with the Quechua people of the Southern Andes of Peru, and subsequently with Quechua migrants on the coast.

In order to develop this structure, it was first necessary to isolate and examine the different components of the four factors named in Arguedas' statement--the author's life, his work, the principle of order representing the Quechua world of the rural Andes, and the principle of chaos--a metaphor signifying conflictive duality in the Andes. An examination was made of the components of each of the above four factors to describe what Lévi-Strauss describes as "the invariant element amongst superficial differences" (1978:8-9). It was then taken into account how the significance of the invariant element within each of the above four factors related to each of the three remaining factors to form a common structure. This structure was found to be that of duality. Arguedas' posthumous novel "El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo" was situated on the coast. Chaotic conditions in coastal Chimbote entailed the struggle of the Quechua migrants for survival against the foreign control of the fish meal industry. Thus, whilst the structure of duality still applies to this novel, that of mediated duality can no longer interpret the new situation involving the absence of the land of the Andes and the Quechua cosmology closely associated with it. Events have made it necessary to create a new structural theme originating in the effort intrinsic to the process of mediating duality. This effort relates to the dynamic energy inherent in Arguedas' life and works, and to that demonstrated by the Quechua people.

Jaffé notes that abstract forms such as the circle and the square can assume symbolic significance (1964:232) whilst

Eliade maintains that the majority of religious symbols relate to the cosmic structure or to the human condition (1965:209). The opposition hanan/hurin (upper/lower), prevailing in the vertical world of the Andes since Inca times, has been called the basic structure of Andean culture by López-Baralt (Adorno 1982:116). This structure was embodied in the Inca cosmogram on the walls of the Coricancha, the Temple of the Sun, in Cuzco; the cosmogram, structured by mediated duality, was both a religious and mythical symbol of the Andean universe.

Guaman Poma (1613), the native Andean chronicler, perceived the universal order in terms of the hierarchical categories of hanan (high) and hurin (low). When kept apart in equilibrium, these two categories symbolized order in the Andean universe. According to Ossio the only unifying principle capable of mediating the duality hanan/hurin and thus producing equilibrium and order was the metaphysical concept of Inca (1977:54).

Exterior to the Andes, the importance of duality used historically as a structuring principle is likewise recorded in China. In this case, the metaphysical being who acted as a mediator of opposing principles embodied the idea of Tao, operating between the principles of Ying and Yang. The opposition in the Andes was conceived primarily in terms of high/low and in China of light/darkness (Ossio 1973:XXXIX; Randall 1980:49).

For Guaman Poma, the arrival of the Spaniards signalled the onset of a reign of chaos in the Andes. The invaders had usurped the hanan position belonging to the native people, and had turned the orderly world "upside-down" in the process.

To the chronicler, thinking in terms of Andean mythical categories, the Conquest appeared to be a pachakuti, the cosmic cataclysm which periodically reversed the order of the universe, including social relationships, and ushered in a new age. Ossio maintains that, in the eyes of Guaman Poma, if chaos was to be remedied, not only had the two races to be kept apart, but the two principles hanan/hurin must not intermingle. Order and equilibrium could only be restored by keeping these principles separate; only in this way could the Indian people return to their legitimate position of hanan (1977:82).

When Arguedas stated that he was going to interpret chaos and order, he was using the same terms as did Guaman Poma, three hundred and fifty years earlier. Urbano declares that the past, not the future, precedes the Andean like a model (1978: 344). This statement appears to be true of Arguedas who, although planning constantly for the future of the Andes, looked to the past for orientation. Vázquez states that the Conquest has not yet terminated, neither has the resistance to the Conquest (1982:175). Arguedas worked towards a time when conflictive duality in the Andes would be peacefully resolved, but thought in terms of rebellion when all else had failed.

The form of mediated duality symbolizes a tension existing between the extremes; a process of movement is also initiated towards the centre, signifying a "becoming" in comparison with the static state of "existing." This quality, inherent in the principle of mediated duality, characterized not only the Quechua people but also Arguedas himself. In the conclusion to

his doctoral thesis in anthropology, Arguedas claimed that the ancient traditions of the native Andeans demonstrated the qualities of "action and creativity" (1968c:347), a key to their persistence as a people. The author demonstrated this same "action and creativity" in his effort to attain his goal of freedom for the Quechua people. When he felt unable to write and struggle further, Arguedas refused a static existence of imposed uselessness; he declared he could not live without striving, without using his calling for the benefit of others, and without weakening the power of the perverse egoists who had transformed millions of human beings into conditioned work-oxen (1971:14).

A LIFE OF ACTION AND CREATIVITY

A review of the salient facts of Arguedas' life² will indicate the direction of the author's career. Arguedas was born in 1911 in Andahuaylas, Department of Apurímac, in the Southern Andes of Peru. His father, Victor Manuel Arguedas, was a lawyer from Cuzco, whilst his mother, Victoria Altamirano, belonged to Andahuaylas. Arguedas' mother died when he was three years old, and in 1917 his father married doña Grimanesa Arangoitia, a widow landowner from Lucanas, who had three children from her first marriage. She lacked affection for the small José María, relegating him to the hacienda kitchen amongst the Quechua servants. This period in Arguedas' early life forged his close bond with the Quechua people. The child participated in the Quechua love of the earth, of animals,

and of music as he played and worked with the Indian children. To José María, the Indians were his real family. The Quechua people could also hate, and the child shared their anger against the landowners who acted as though they had a divine right to maltreat the hacienda workers. Thus, at an early age, Arguedas began to think in terms of conflictive duality. His step-brother tormented him unrelentingly until the child sought refuge in the neighbouring community of Utek'pampa. Later in his works, Arguedas portrays Utek' as independent and self-sufficient, unfettered by hacienda influence. In 1923, Arguedas' father, absent as a result of political difficulties, returned to Lucanas and took the twelve year old Arguedas on a journey through the Andes. When fifteen years old, Arguedas stayed on one of the sugar-cane haciendas of his uncle, Manuel María Guillén, in the Apurímac valley. On this estate Arguedas experienced the senseless cruelty, both physical and psychological, towards the colonos (hacienda workers), which further strengthened his support for the Quechua people.

In 1927, Arguedas studied in a college in Ica on the coast before moving to Lima. His father died in 1931. In the capital, Arguedas felt isolated, a spiritual state which recurred during his life and which he mentioned to Castro Klarén at the end of his career. On arrival in Lima, the author had not yet mastered the Spanish language and shared the stigma of coming from the provincial and backward Andes. He came to Lima, however, at the time of the intellectual movement of indigenismo which demonstrated concern for the Indian. Indigenismo was

expressed in many ways and the student identified himself with the teachings of Mariátegui.³ Arguedas entered the University of San Marcos in 1931 and obtained a position in the Post Office to earn necessary money. In 1935 his short story "Agua" was published and well received. As the result of a University protest against a visiting representative of the fascist regime in Italy, Arguedas spent thirteen months in the "El Sexto" prison in Lima. This incident formed the basis for his later novel El Sexto (1961), which protested the inhumanity of prison existence. In 1939 he married Celia Bustamante Bernal and became a teacher in the Colegio Nacional in Sicuani near Cuzco. His novel, Yawar Fiesta, whose subject matter was the four ayllus of Puquio, Department of Ayacucho, was published in 1941. In 1947, the author, who had continued studying at San Marcos, graduated in the Institute of Ethnology of which he became Director in 1951. In 1953 he was named Director of the Institute of Ethnological Studies of the Museum of Peruvian Culture, and in 1960 became Secretary of the Interamerican Committee for Folklore. These two appointments demonstrate the recognition given to Arguedas' ethnological career. After a pause in his literary production, he wrote Diamantes y pedernales in 1954. His culminating work from the Andean perspective, Los ríos profundos, appeared in 1958. In the latter year, he went to Spain to research the project for his doctoral thesis -- Las comunidades de España y del Perú. He graduated as Doctor of Anthropology in 1963. The author obtained the post of senior Professor of Ethnology in the Agrarian University in Lima, where he remained until his death

in 1969. Arguedas' novel Todas las sangres was published in 1964; many critics consider this work to be his finest. In 1966, Arguedas was divorced, and married Sybila Arredondo from Chile the following year. His collection of short stories, Amor mundo, appeared in 1967, and included three stories recently written in 1966. Arguedas ended his own life in 1969.

DUALITY: A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

This thesis resulted from work done at Simon Fraser University in the Latin American Studies Program and in Peru. Courses in Latin American Literature prepared me for the experience of Peruvian reality as a participant in the Simon Fraser Field School of the Andes in 1981. The rural Andes in turn provided a point of reference for subsequent courses in Anthropology of Latin America taken after my return.

Amongst my many impressions of Peru, that of an isolated town persists. Vilcashuaman (Department of Ayacucho) seemed a microcosm of the Andean world. Peru is a land of vivid contrasts. In the Southern Andes the climatic conditions of ice on the road in the early June morning at Vilcashuaman at 3600 meters, and the extreme heat at the bottom of the narrow canyon-like valley of the river Mayopampa were separated by only a short distance but by a great difference in altitude. In a field of quinoa above the town, ecology and cosmology were juxtaposed. A slanting stone slab incised with two amarus (serpents), joined in a cup at the lower extreme, represented the Quechua concept of tinku. Vilcashuaman was one of the four centres of the Inca

Empire; history and the future met, as boys played around the ushñu, the seat of the Inca at the top of the pyramid from where he surveyed the garrison of 30,000 soldiers. The nearby community of Pomacocha in the valley of the Mayopampa dates from Inca times. Today it cultivates the land of an ex-hacienda which belonged to the Order of Saint Clare (Santa Clara).⁴ The men of the community were building an enlarged medical clinic. The harvest had been collected and the fields made an orderly pattern on the hillside. The school was a modern building and had a flat playing field. Litter was completely absent, and Pomacocha exemplified the concept of progressive order. The community, however, was "radical," having had a history of rebellious movements. Such contrasts made me begin to think of Peru in terms of duality. In Vilcashuaman I became aware of many aspects of the rural Andes which Arguedas had incorporated into his works. He had declared that he was going to write on the Andes as it was, and he had done so. I also realized that Arguedas is a living legend in the minds of people from all levels of Peruvian society.

As a result of these experiences I have attempted to examine selected works of Arguedas set in the Andes in the context of Quechua reality and in the context of the National sector as it affected Arguedas and the Andes. I also found that Arguedas' experience, his works, and the Quechua land and people of the Andes form an indivisible whole. Lévi-Strauss maintains that mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions towards their resolution (1968:224).

Arguedas frequently expressed his meaning through symbols involving duality whilst the Quechua people conceptualized their ecology, society and cosmology in terms of "high" and "low." I found that the understanding of the resolution of oppositions by Arguedas and the Quechua people lay in their respective efforts to achieve balance rather than in their ability to sustain an equilibrium, which events had rendered untenable.

The framework of this thesis is provided by the organizational principle of duality. Duality provides a key to the meaning of Arguedas' relationship to the Quechua speaking Andes and fuses the content and structure of the author's works. The principle of duality has been researched using literature on structuralism and mythical thought. Autobiographical literature by Arguedas demonstrates the Andean perspective of the author, and how, from the outset, he thought of Quechua and Hispanic society in terms of a dichotomy. Mediated duality is an intrinsic component of Andean cosmological thought which still influences the modern ecology of the Andes. Ethnohistoric literature and studies on Andean symbolism clarify the recorded importance of the concept of mediated duality in the Andes as it appears in the works of native Andean chroniclers of the seventeenth century. Monographs and articles on research done in the Department of Ayacucho were selected to complement literature of Arguedas based on this area. Anthropological studies show how the Quechua conceptualized their ecology in terms of "high" and "low." Successful subsistence depended on principles of interaction which mediated the vertical terrain.

Today, literature on cultural ecology demonstrates how these socio-economic mechanisms are vital to the Andean rural economy. It is shown how Arguedas' description of the community of Utek' pampa corresponds to the findings of modern anthropological studies, confirming that Arguedas' view of the Andes coincided with ethnological reality. Ecology is closely bound to cosmology, and Quechua ritual expresses the importance of water to the inhabitants of the dry Western slopes of the Ayacucho region. Three independent anthropological studies and an ethnological account by Arguedas are used to give insight into the Yarka Aspiy, the festival dedicated to the source of water. (Mitchell 1977; Ossio 1978; B.J. Isbell 1978; Arguedas 1956).

The concept of Andean order is researched through ethno-historical accounts, as is subsequently the concept of chaos, symbolizing the effect of the Conquest on the Andes. Anthropologists view the hacienda, one of the legacies of the Conquest, either in terms of domination or symbiosis. The content of Arguedas' writings--fictional, ethnological and other-- are related to these two perspectives. In order to assess the strength of the indigenous community in the Southern Andes, the characteristics of three communities are compared to those of the corporate community of Wolf's typology (1955). Myths gathered by Arguedas and Rescaniere are used to clarify the cosmovision of members of independent Quechua speaking communities, as opposed to that of the Quechua colonos of the haciendas.

One section of the Peruvian people thinks according to Western secular concepts whilst the other thinks in terms of

mythical categories (Ossio 1973:XIII). In Arguedas' fiction two parallel configurations can be detected which correspond-- one to Andean mythical reality and the other to Western empirical reality. Autobiographical accounts are used to determine duality and the resolution of duality in Arguedas' literary vision. Selected works by the author are divided between Chapters VI and VII of this study. Three works located in the Andes and structured according to the concept of Andean duality with a mythical perspective are first examined. This thesis demonstrates how the ability to mediate duality and achieve equilibrium is inherent in the first story which has almost purely Quechua content. In the second story, where the conflictive duality of the hacienda and the community represents the dichotomy of two irreconcilable worlds, duality cannot be mediated. Thirdly, in a novel, Arguedas attempts to mediate the dichotomy of Hispanic and Quechua realities but has to acknowledge revolt as the ultimate solution. In accordance with the content of Quechua mythical thought in the above works, studies on the philosophy of mythical thought and religious symbolism have been used to clarify certain passages. Literary critics, anchored in the Western tradition, have tended to underestimate the implications of the Quechua mythical perspective of Arguedas' fiction. Therefore, studies of literary criticism have been read to assess the validity of conclusions reached in this thesis.

Arguedas' two final novels are dedicated to change in Quechua society. The first, located in the Andes, is transitional while the second records the struggle of the new Quechua

migrant society on the coast. Anthropological literature on this period in Peru testifies to the validity of Arguedas' interpretation of the severity of social problems. In both novels, according to the new reality, the mythical element is weakened. The principle of conflictive duality is still viable, as the Quechua migrants, now viewed as workers, are placed in opposition to the owners of foreign enterprises. The structure of mediated duality, implying the realization of equilibrium, has to be modified as it no longer applies to the ecology and cosmology of the Andes. The emphasis is now placed on "action and creativity" (Arguedas 1968c:347), in effect, on the energy expended in combatting chaos rather than on the goal of reaching equilibrium. "Action and creativity" involves the process of "becoming" which negates stasis. This process can be expressed as a structural theme applicable to Arguedas' life of action, the creativity inherent in his works, and the unwavering commitment of his relationship to the Quechua people, whom Arguedas, in turn, characterized as active and creative.

JOSE MARÍA ARGUEDAS: BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

The personal cosmovision of José María Arguedas was formed by a complex view of reality. For Arguedas, one aspect was determined by his experience of "Peruvian reality" which he perceived as the world of nature, the landscape, the social world of the people who inhabited this landscape, as well as the relationship of the external world to this society. It is clear that Arguedas envisaged this world in terms of a dichotomy when he remarked how differently the Peruvian of the Andes experienced reality from the inhabitant of the coast, and the native person in the Andes from the landowner of that region (Primer encuentro 1969:105-108). This reality, relating to the objective world, was essentially concrete as perceived by Arguedas; he focussed on the physical and political aspects of the land of the Andes as differing from those of national Peru centred in Lima, and on the social and economic hardships in the daily life of the Quechua people, as well as on their future place in the formation of a new order in Peru. Arguedas' interpretation of reality was dynamic, not static, as reflected in the urgency of his articles proposing the need for constructive social change in the indigenous Andes to remedy conditions which he personally had experienced.

The study of Arguedas' writings indicates how the above view of reality corresponds to his interpretation of the circumstances of his early life, thus emphasising the importance of personal experience as an element in the author's construction

of reality. From his earliest years spent in the Southern Andes, Arguedas' personal cosmovision became structured according to his daily awareness of a series of oppositions characterizing his world. Travelling as a child with his father, the author came to know the natural complexity of the high Andes where mountain heights contrasted with deep valleys, sunlit communities with those existing in the constant shadows of the mountain slopes, and the biting winds and freezing nights of the puna contrasted with the relentless heat of the sugarcane fields of the Apurímac valley. Arguedas as a child lived amongst Quechua community members and hacienda servants for whom the history of rebellions and conflict in the region continued and intensified in the bitter social confrontation between the mestizo⁵ owned hacienda and the indigenous community. At an early age he began to share Quechua antagonism to the misti, the powerful, often ruthless representative of his own social class. The basic organizational principle used by the Quechua to order their existence was that of duality which they practiced in their agriculture and herding, as relayed through their language and cosmovision. To Arguedas, who claimed Quechua as his "mother tongue" and who studied the language throughout his life, thinking and writing in terms of dichotomies became a natural means of expression.

Arguedas also had the ability to experience Quechua reality which was in essence mythical and opposed to the Hispanic world view. As a child, his emotional ties to the Quechua people were strong; José María began to relate intimately to the Indians rather than to the landowning families, and in so doing absorbed

Quechua beliefs and values. The author maintained, "They were my family, I never understood my father's world properly."

(Castro Klaren 1975:47). Arguedas saw the universe and life from the Indian point of view. This concept seemed strange to the landowners and contrary to their way of comprehending the world. To Arguedas, rivers, trees, precipices, many insects, and certain rocks had a special life and significance; good fortune or evil could emanate from them (1966a:7-8). Throughout his career, he never lost this ability to experience reality as did the Quechua. In an interview with Ariel Dorfman, Arguedas related how he had had the good fortune to spend his childhood in villages and towns with a high percentage of Quechua inhabitants, and how he was, in essence, a Quechua until adolescence. Although he acknowledged it as a limitation, Arguedas knew he would never be able to rid himself of the persistence of his first concept of the universe.⁶ For the monolingual Quechua people, the world was alive; since everything was a living entity there was little difference between a mountain, an insect, a huge rock and a human being (Larco 1976b:28). For Arguedas, when thinking and feeling in terms of Quechua concepts, myth and reality were interdependent.

Beyond the Andes lay the coast. These two regions remained apart, not only physically, but also through the social dichotomy of the criollo of the coast as opposed to the Indian of the Andes. Cultural differences were expressed through the Spanish as distinct from the Quechua language. The coast and the sierra also represented the economic dichotomy existing between the modern capitalist landed estate of the coast and the almost

feudal character of the Andean hacienda, especially in Southern Peru.

This divided world in which Arguedas lived can be seen as a mirror image of the emotional trauma the author suffered as a result of having roots in two conflictive cultures, the Quechua and the Hispanic. During his life, Arguedas attempted to integrate with Hispanic society to which he belonged by birth, and within which he worked. However, as late as 1967, in an interview in Lima with Castro Klarén, Arguedas confided that he could find neither consolation nor comfort in a hostile world. (Castro Klarén 1975:45). The Southern Andes remained Arguedas' spiritual home but the author also realized he was not a Quechua. From the coast, Arguedas made repeated journeys back to the sierra, but he never again lived with the Indians.

Arguedas' early years were not typical of those of the son of a privileged Hispanic family in the Andes, and neither was the view of the world that he formed during this period. Speaking Spanish with difficulty, Arguedas moved to Ica in 1926 to begin his secondary education on the coast, and in 1931 he entered the University of San Marcos in Lima, living in the capital from that time onwards. As a student in Lima he came into contact with Peruvian intellectuals who were engaged in an ideological debate on modernization and the entry into Peru of foreign capital; they were also preoccupied with the backward agriculture and the marginalization of the Indian in the Andes. Concern for the Indian formed the theme of the pro-Indian intellectual movement, indigenismo, originating in Lima. It will be seen how Arguedas' ideas coincided with and differed from the varying

points of view of the protagonists of indigenismo.

A CHILDHOOD SPENT AMONGST THE QUECHUA

Arguedas' father, Victor Manuel Arguedas, was a lawyer from Cuzco and also a circuit judge; he had his office in Puquio, Department of Ayacucho, and travelled frequently, visiting various districts of the Province of Lucanas. Arguedas related how the chief authorities in order of importance in Puquio were the judge, the subprefect, and the mayor (Castro Klarén 1975:45) he recalled how his father was received as a "superior being" in the towns of the districts that he visited (1966a:8). However, in 1920, with the advent of the government of Leguía (1910-1930), Arguedas' father, who supported the opposition party, ceased to be a judge, and had to move to another province. Arguedas' mother, Victoria Altamirano, who belonged to Andahuaylas, died when he was two and a half years old, and in 1917 his father subsequently married a widow with a family who had large landholdings including herding and agricultural haciendas at varying altitudes. To all appearances, Arguedas, the child, belonged to a wealthy and prestigious family of the Andes. José María, being so young, stayed with his stepmother on her hacienda of Lucanas, Department of Ayacucho, whilst his elder brother lived with his father in Puquio. José María was rejected by his new family, and relegated to the kitchen where he lived and ate with the Indian servants of the hacienda, even sleeping in the bread trough. While Arguedas' stepmother neglected the child, she was not harsh towards the Indians, but both José María and the Indian servants suffered at the hands of Arguedas' stepbrother, don Pablo, a seventeen year old

adolescent who already possessed the characteristics of a self-indulgent, ruthless gamonal (Andean landowner), tormenting José María in so many ways that the child finally hid in the maize field and begged the Virgin to allow him to die (Arguedas 1971: 16-17). By sharing the lot of the Indians, Arguedas learned at an early age what oppression and humiliation meant as imposed by the dominant society to which by birth he belonged. The child thus became emotionally aware of the division between the Quechua and the Hispanic population of the Andes; the Quechua suffering but resilient, the Hispanic convinced of its mandate to dominate. During this period Arguedas developed a spirit of rebellion that directly or indirectly characterized the total content of his future literary output (Primer encuentro 1969:37).

As a result of this constant contact with the native people, Arguedas became an author who could speak, think, and write with equal ease in Quechua and in Spanish; he was also the only writer of his generation in Peru who had experienced the social and cultural reality of Quechua existence from within Quechua society. Ciro Alegría also knew the indigenous world well, but his novels are located in the North of Peru where only Spanish is spoken. Oviedo, the Peruvian author, remarked how Alegría and Arguedas were established within the indigenous world, how their view of this world was holistic because they perceived it as though they were Indians, seeing life from the indigenous point of view, and how such an interior vision, created from within, did not misrepresent the Indian world (Primer encuentro 1969:232). This first hand experience of Quechua culture, allied to his life-long preoccupation with the Quechua language,

allowed Arguedas to use Quechua symbolic forms in his fiction to designate Quechua cosmovision. In contrast with other Western ethnologists, Arguedas did not need to divest himself of deeply rooted ways of perceiving reality to understand the Quechua world, nor did he attempt in his fiction to present this world in terms of Western perception patterns. For Arguedas, the Quechua language was a key to the understanding of Quechua reality, which, when opposed to Spanish reality, intensified the clash of cultures in the Southern Andes.

QUECHUA: THE MOTHER TONGUE

The Quechua language, embodying Quechua concepts, represents a basic element of the cultural dichotomy in the Andes, originating in two different concepts of reality, one secular and the other mythical.

Throughout his career, Arguedas referred constantly to his affinity with the Quechua speaking Southern Andes. In the prologue to Diamantes y pedernales written in 1953, he stated that "Agua" had been published nineteen years previously; "when the author had entered university and was still essentially a Quechua" (1975:7). He remained in personal contact with Quechua speakers when his career took him to a teaching post in 1939 in Sicuani (Department of Cuzco), and when, as an ethnologist, he worked in the Mantaro valley, in Puquio, and in the boom-town of Chimbote amongst Andean migrants from the Department of Ancash. He gathered Quechua folklore, legends and songs, as well as several versions of the widely disseminated Andean myth, "Inkarri". Much of this information was published in articles to

acquaint the Hispanic public with the depth of Quechua culture. Murra maintains that ethnology confirms what Arguedas had suspected--that one cannot understand the life and institutions of the man of the Andes without being able to converse with him in his native tongue. Further, the claim made by ethnologists that fieldwork must be lengthy revealed to Arguedas that his intimate knowledge of Andean life was considered indispensable by the scientists (1983:45).

Arguedas wrote his fiction and ethnological works in Spanish, but he also composed poetry in Quechua and translated the Quechua legends of Huarochirí.⁷ Arguedas' knowledge of the Quechua language was profound and the introduction to the first edition of his poem written in Quechua, "Tupac Amaru Kamaq Taytanchisman" (To our Father Creator, Tupac Amaru), provides an insight into Arguedas' mastery of the idiom. The author stated how the haylli-taki, - the hymn-song, was composed originally in Chanka, the form of Quechua which Arguedas described as his "mother tongue"; subsequently, Arguedas translated the poem into Spanish, demonstrating that he worked with equal facility in both languages. Whilst developing the theme of the hymn, Arguedas realized that Quechua was a more powerful language than Spanish in which to express spiritual crises and courage; for him, Quechua words, dense and vital, contained the essence of man and nature and the intense bond which fortunately still existed between them (1976a:47-50).

From the beginning of the Conquest (1532) onwards, the Spanish conquerors understood the value of the Quechua language

as an instrument of control in the Southern Andes. In Lima, a chair of Quechua was created in 1551 in the Cathedral, the same year in which the University of San Marcos was founded. The Catholic Church realized that it could reach the spirit of the Indians of the Southern Andes only through their language, predominantly Quechua. Arguedas explained that the missionaries knew how to touch the Indian soul by using excellent Quechua in texts suffused with the Catholic spirit. When composing hymns they combined the texts with native Quechua music, although the native music was considered by the Church to be heretical and diabolical. The hymns, in conjunction with sermons in Quechua, won over the new congregation for the purposes of the Conquest. Arguedas maintained that once the Quechua people had been converted to meekness and blind obedience, the successors to the missionaries dedicated their efforts exclusively to administering their flock and to the harvest. The first document published in Peru, according to Arguedas, was a catechism in the Quechua language (1976g:191-195).

The Quechua language was at once a means of Hispanic domination and a form of Quechua defense operating within the social dichotomy which characterized the Southern Andes. The conquerors from peninsular Spain spoke Spanish, but it was they who learned Quechua, the language of the subjugated native people. In Southern Peru, the Andes formed a bastion making the region geographically inaccessible, thus helping to perpetuate the monolingual Quechua status of the rural native population. The Quechua people were seen in terms of an anonymous, expendable

but nevertheless indispensable work-force by the new rulers. Denied access to the Spanish language, the Quechua population could not acquire a Hispanic education to facilitate its upward mobility in the National sector. However, the retention of Quechua, whilst instrumental in isolating the communities, also provided a form of defense for the native people. The Quechua language reinforced the continuity of traditional values within the communities, which, Arguedas claimed, impelled members to "action and creativity" (1968c:345-347). When these values were allied to successful subsistence agriculture, the communities established order within their boundaries and if able to resist territorial encroachment from haciendas, enjoyed local autonomy (Isbell 1978:51; Webster 1980:135-153).

The use of Quechua by landowners and mestizo supervisors usually implied a social stigma. It was the language in which they gave orders to inferiors--the Indians, including those who spoke Spanish. The knowledge of Quechua acquired by the owner of an Andean hacienda separated him in several ways from his counterpart on the coast. Andean hacendados came to appreciate Quechua music and tradition, as Arguedas demonstrates in the case of don Julián Arangüena (Yawar Fiesta 1941) and don Aparicio (Diamantes y pedernales 1954). Landowners of the coast who frequented Lima considered such Andean hacendados as aquechuados or aindiados, that is, tainted with Quechua or Indian culture. Certain Andean landowners, as Pantigoso remarks, were proficient in Quechua; however, they retained the spiritual values of their Hispanic heritage and lacked the emotional

animistic content which the Quechua Indian conveys in his speech; thus communication between landowner and Indian remained restricted (1981:27).

Juan Ossio declares that not all Peruvians think in the same way, neither are they obliged to do so. One sector of society follows the lines of a dynamically and empirically orientated secular way of thinking, but another exists, whose orientation is symbolic in the sense that it expresses itself mainly in metaphors and analogies, and is bound by mythical categories. Although these ways of thinking are different, one is as valid as the other; neither can claim superiority, and the only relationship which should exist between them is that of the dialogue (1973:XII).

The Quechua language expresses Andean concepts frequently in the form of duality, which differ from those present in Western thought. According to Occidental thought, time and space are considered as two separate dimensions, a distinction which is reflected in the semantic and grammatical structure of European languages. According to Andean thought, time and space are interrelated, the Quechua word pacha meaning both space and time. Earls and Silverblatt demonstrate how the words nawpa and qipa incorporate even more specific space-time references which contradict the intuitive associations of European languages.⁸ Nawpa in its temporal aspects means "before," "formerly," whilst its spatial meaning is "in front of." Qipa in temporal terms means "next," "following" or "posterity," whilst its spatial meaning indicates "behind." In the Andean reckoning of time

and space, the future is placed behind the observer whilst the past continues ahead (1978:301). This dichotomization of "space-time" is a result of the Andean perception of time as cyclical; the concept of "space-time" is defined by Isbell as a "regulatory principle that orders reversible time on to space." (1978:259).

The ideological duality of life as opposed to death is symbolized by a single Quechua word mallqui, with the double meaning of "mummy" (cadaver) and "young plant", "tree", or "seed." Each mallqui belonging to a heroic ancestor has its double, a granite monolith termed huanca. The huanca incorporates a fertilizing property and the mallqui, the property of germination. The huanca symbolically fertilizes the mallqui, contributing to its germination for future life (Duviols 1978:361). In Western thought, death implies separation from life; in Andean thought, death is necessary for regeneration.

While the one word mallqui has two meanings, two terms can also express one concept in the Quechua language--one term with a secular connotation and the second with a metaphysical connotation, an opposition being perceived between the secular and the metaphysical meanings. The "earth" is designated in secular use as allpa, whilst pacha has a metaphysical meaning (Ossio 1978b:380). The religious connotation of the word "earth" is further emphasised in the contrast between allpa (earth) and Pachamama (the spirit of the earth) (J. Nuñez del Prado 1974:243). Ossio notes that "water" is also referred to as yaku in every day speech and as Unu when designated

metaphysically, adding that Guaman Poma makes the distinction between water for irrigation, yaku, and Uno yaku Pachacuti (the mythical deluge), signifying the origin of the world (1978b:380). Arguedas also found that the name for water in the hymns of the aukis (priests representing the spirit of the mountains), sung during La Sequia (the festival of the irrigation system), was Aguay Unu,⁹ the fertilizing water of the veins of the Wamani (the mountain gods), and their gift to mankind (1956:200-205). On the empirical level, the power of fertility interconnects allpa (the earth) and yaku (irrigation water) so that crops and herds can provide subsistence. On the cosmological level the Wamanis, the mountain peaks, fertilize the Pachamama with the Aguay Unu (the sacred water from within the mountain). To ensure continuing productivity, man makes ritual offerings which constitute a form of asymmetric reciprocity between himself and supernatural beings. Thus, on the empirical and supernatural levels, a balanced Andean universe is created.

Rama quotes a paragraph of Arguedas who was commenting on the difficulty of translating Quechua concepts, strange to Western thought, into Spanish. Arguedas declared that he was a novelist whose maternal language had been and still was Quechua. He described how the language of his novels and short stories differed from that of the Quechua tales which he had translated, showing that in these tales he had remained true to content and form. His purpose was to achieve a faithful rather than a literary translation. The author cited as an example the Quechua phrase conveying the meaning of twilight--pin kanki hora, and

the literal Spanish translation--La hora quien eres, or still more literally--Quién eres hora (the time, who are you?).

Arguedas, however, translated the thought inherent in the phrase as "the time when it is impossible to see a person's face and when it is necessary to ask 'who are you?'" (Rama 1976:32).

Twilight (English), Zwielicht (German), and Entre dos luces (Spanish) are European concepts which belong entirely to the physical world, whereas in the above Quechua phrase, which stresses the importance of interrelationship, the physical order interacts with the social order.

Arguedas' immersion and continuous work in the Quechua language meant that he spent much of his life in contact with what he regarded as "another world." It has been seen above how the Quechua language reflects the basic Andean principle of duality, mediated to achieve equilibrium. Later in this thesis it will be discussed how, in his fiction, Arguedas uses dichotomies originating in Quechua concepts, and how he attempts, through language, to mediate the separation existing between Quechua and Spanish speech and thought.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ARGUEDAS TO INDIGENISMO IN PERU

Arguedas' view of the Southern Andes, as linked to National Peru, was complex within the framework of his personal cosmo-vision structured by duality. This complexity can only be appreciated when placed in the context of the Peru of his generation.

In the early twentieth century, political circles in Lima were preoccupied with modernization resulting from a new

emphasis on world markets. Power in Lima lay in the hands of Peruvian businessmen and coastal hacienda owners; sugar and cotton from coastal plantations and mineral products from the Andes were now produced for export. Railroads were built to take wool, meat and minerals from the Andes to the coast, whilst new roads facilitated the movement of Andean migrants to the coast to work on plantations and in the cities. Conscription involved young Andeans with the National sector, and education became more available in the rural Andes. In Lima, a major concern was the integration of the Andean people into the National sector. Quechua and Aymara speaking rural areas were considered to be backward and underdeveloped with an exceedingly low average income, high illiteracy and infant mortality rates (Van den Berghe and Primov 1977:26). The conspicuous absence of a strong middle class, the fact that only Spanish speakers could vote, and the culmination of the power of the large estates (1910-1940) in the Southern Andes, meant that the dominant elite still firmly controlled the Quechua speaking sierra. The opposition between Hispanic and Indian was mirrored in the contrast between the man of the coast and the man of the Andes, between the secular and the mythical, between the urban and the rural, and between modernization and the conservative tradition.

Peruvian independence (1821) had done nothing to resolve this dichotomy, as the new government favoured the continuation of post-Conquest Hispanic supremacy. Communal ownership of Indian lands was revoked, the land was divided amongst community members and thus freed for

sale. As a result of this law, much of the already limited land available for rural indigenous subsistence agriculture was virtually expropriated by the landowners through token payments and the manipulation of legal claims. In Yawar Fiesta, Arguedas gives a documentary account of the usurption of Indian lands in the puna, the high pastures above 4000 meters (1968a:25-31). Nevertheless, in spite of the hardship of a curtailed economy, Quechua community organization frequently persisted owing to the non-implementation of the laws by the Central Government, as well as to defences adopted by the community (Yambert 1980:68).

In 1883, Peru suffered defeat at the hands of Chile in the War of the Pacific, which resulted in a questioning of Government policy, of economic progress, and of the persistence of the traditional form of Andean society apparently incapable of rapid modernization. A certain sector of the public, the emerging mestizo middle class open to socialist ideas, was horrified by the accounts of cruelty in quelling of Andean Indian uprisings, and of conditions within certain Andean haciendas which were closed social systems. An answer to this national soul-searching was indigenismo, an intellectual movement originating in Lima, based on the need to change the old order and focussing on the plight of the Indian of the Andes. As Rama (1974:147-162), Wise (1983:159-169) and Yambert (1980:68-70) point out, indigenismo became the centre of the political debate in Peru during the years 1920-1930. The implications of indigenismo varied according to the intellectual and social group which adopted it, in certain cases having little bearing

on the life of the contemporary Quechua people of the Andes. The manner in which indigenismo was conceptualized--by the Government of Leguía (1910-1930), by the elite, by the emerging mestizo class, and by Mariátegui¹⁰ is discussed below. Finally, the ideology of literary indigenismo will be outlined.

Leguía's policy, which marked the peak of official preoccupation with the native people of the Andes, appeared to be pro-Indian. The government gave legal recognition to indigenous communities in the Peruvian Constitution of 1919, created a Department of Indian Affairs and, in 1930, proclaimed June 24th as el día del Indio. However, Leguía did nothing to halt the seizure of Indian land by the haciendas; the resulting shortage of community land was largely responsible for the initial exodus of Andean migrants to Lima and the coast. Whilst Leguía sponsored land reform, he did not return land to the Indians. Murra sees the recognition by Leguía of the comunidades indígenas (1925) as a calculated response to Andean rebellion and an effort to destroy the presence of Andean self-government which was deemed to have aided the uprisings. Murra likens Leguía's action to that of Toledo (1570), who created the reducciones; in both cases the necessary land was taken from the acreage of the ethnic group, the new limits of communities were guaranteed against outside encroachment, and the community leaders were made accountable. Leguía's decree meant that many communally held resources such as pastures, canals and lowland holdings distanced from the community had to be forfeited (1984:128). In order to link the interior to the coast by road,

Leguía introduced the conscripción vial (obligatory roadwork), which, likened to the colonial mita, amounted to a labour levy on the indigenous communities. Alfajeme and Valderrama noted that "modernization," which preoccupied this Government, was often synonymous with exploitation, and implied integrating the native people into the National economy, both as a work force and as consumers, to achieve the expansion of the internal market (Wise 1983:161-162).

Whilst the gamonal, the exploitive owner of the Andean hacienda, was the prime target for socialist indigenismo, this same landowning elite participated in the movement. It has been noted how in Arguedas' novels, Yawar Fiesta (1941) and Diamantes y pedernales (1954), the landowners felt drawn to Quechua culture which nevertheless did not impel them to improve existing conditions for the colonos, the hacienda Indians. In Todas las sangres, however, don Bruno, guided by religious fervour, envisages the future as "an association of Indians directed by benevolent landowners." (Arguedas 1964:228). Don Bruno does not seek to change the system, but rather to modify it. On the coast, Wise notes how Larco Herrera, the progressive owner of the sugar-cane hacienda Chiclín, contributed to "Sierra" (1927-1930), one of several periodicals published in Lima, and dedicated to the theme of indigenismo (1983:166). The academic and professional elite also wrote for "Sierra", and Wise quotes an article written by Victor J. Guevara, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Cuzco, who described the Indian of the Andes as being "in a state of backwardness, almost

of degeneration." Guevara suggested prohibition as a means of eliminating the excessive use of alcohol in conjunction with laws to control native dress, hygiene, customs and public spectacles. To supplement legislative action, the professor also proposed miscegenation with European races to counteract a list of biological defects which he ascribed to the Indian¹¹ (1983:167). This essentially racist outlook was widespread during the period, even amongst those professing sympathy with the native people. Arguedas had nothing in common with this type of indigenismo directed from above; the author criticised the elite who admired Incaic art but scorned modern indigenous art because they despised the creators of this art, considering the present day Indian incapable of producing anything of value; the elite believed that there was a definite rupture of continuity between the ancient Peruvian and the "degenerate" Indian of the present (1976h:215-219). The indigenismo of the elite was at best paternalistic, but also racist and denigrating, as this class was intent on maintaining the advantages of cheap Indian labour enjoyed by their own kind.

The most ardent adherents of indigenismo came from the newly emerging social class of mestizo Peru, although even within this group, the character of indigenismo varies. The urban-based mestizo forming the lower middle class in Lima endorsed the policy of Leguía; they proposed the modernization of agriculture in the sierra, and the integration of the native people of the Andes into national life through education. In this way, they hoped to change the rigidity of traditional

Andean society as well as the archaic life-style of the Quechua people of the Andes. Needless to say, this reform was to be implemented by the new mestizo class. Rama believes that, whilst espousing the cause of the Indian, the mestizos were indirectly claiming redress for their own disadvantaged position. The new lower middle class of the coast believed that their upward movement had been impeded by the inflexible structure of Peruvian society in the same way that the Indian had been immobilized by the conservative tradition of Andean society. They proposed a program of acculturation for the Quechua Indian that indirectly would benefit their own future by integrating the new progressive Indian into the mestizo class. This program, as envisaged by the new lower middle class, was totally devoid of Indian input. Arguedas described a similar situation in his novel Yawar Fiesta. The migrant students belonging to the Club Lucanas in Lima and originally from the Department of Ayacucho returned to Puquio, eager to enlighten the Quechua people. They believed that the turupukllay, the Indian bullfight, was a barbarous and archaic spectacle which should be modified. Gradually, however, they came to understand that their reforming zeal was superfluous, as the Quechua of the ayllus (traditional Indian communities) demonstrated their self-sufficiency whilst continuing to live their lives as they saw fit.

Other members of the new mestizo middle class regarded indigenismo from an ideological point of view. As an emerging social class, the mestizos lacked a defined culture such as the Hispanic or the Quechua. Indeed, from the time of Guaman Poma

(1613), they were shunned in the Quechua communities, and despised by Hispanic society (Ossio 1977:59). By glorifying their pre-Hispanic roots in the Inca past, they established historical continuity and a definite identity. The mestizos supporting this type of indigenismo were little interested in either the present day Quechua inhabitant of the Andes or in Quechua culture, which remained vital and authentic in spite of poverty and oppressive injustice (Rama 1974:151). Such mestizos were urban, external to the Andes, and their knowledge of the region usually originated in the literary works of authors such as Calderón, who presents an idealized picture of rural Andean life in La venganza del cóndor (1924); and Albújar in Cuentos andinos (1920), who depicts the Indian as brutalized by the use of coca and alcohol. Arguedas, having experienced life amongst the Quechua, had a totally different concept of the native people, originating in his personal knowledge of their physical endurance, of their active life, of their creativity, and of their spiritual strength and will to resist.

The mestizos of the middle class, resident in the provinces, were much more radical in outlook than members of the same class living in the capital. They rejected the policy of the Leguía government and the spread of foreign capital investment in Peru. Arguedas' views coincided with this standpoint. Writing on Puquio, Department of Ayacucho, the author approved of the prosperity and social change in the town, evident since the construction of the modern highway that linked Puquio to the coast. Now Indians and mestizos worked together whilst the

economic power of the Indians had risen, owing to the demand for livestock on the coast (1956:187). Arguedas, however, decried the type of modernization in the Andes imposed from Lima by the Leguía government. The author's novels, Todas las sangres and El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo clearly illustrated Arguedas' rejection of the entry of foreign capital into Peru, which he believed resulted in the moral and physical destruction of the Quechua inhabitants of the Andes and Quechua migrants to the coast. Davies (1974:92), Murra (1984:128), and Wise (1983:161) all note the contradictory nature of Leguía's supposedly pro-Indian policy, which did little to help the Quechua people. Arguedas described the disastrous effects--economic, social and spiritual--of the lack of land in Andean communities, which caused the disintegration of Quechua families and migration to the coast, over highways the Indians themselves had helped to build (1963:21-22).

During the period 1910-1930 the most reactionary region of Peru was that of the South to which Arguedas belonged. The Southern Andes was seen by the progressive coast as "the Indian stain," owing to its outmoded rural economy and general backwardness. Escobar notes how in the South of Peru, the region matters as much to the lower middle and upper classes as does the community to the indigenous population. According to Peruvian sociologists, Southern Peru represents the most intense "regional spirit" of the entire country. The Department of Arequipa is both liberal and Catholic; nevertheless, the inhabitants identify themselves with the region, and have a

historical tradition of confrontation with Lima (1967:87-89). The ideological expression of sierra orientation has always been found in its support of political movements directed against the centralist tendencies of the state. It is therefore not surprising that a new wave of regional awareness in the South produced strong pro-indigenist and anti-gamonal sentiments. This attitude continued even after the Reform Law of 1969 signalled the demise of the hacienda. In 1975, Hugo Blanco, the Trotskyite guerilla, belonging to the Cuzco middle class, praised the Confederación Campesina Peruana (C.C.P.) with its centre of support in Cuzco, for the organization's independence from the Central Government, and for its committed struggle against ongoing capitalistic exploitation (Isbell 1978:40). It is significant that shortly before his death, Arguedas wrote a letter to Hugo Blanco, then in prison, recalling the occupation of the haciendas in the Convención valley (1961) by the agricultural workers under the leadership of Blanco, then a student activist. The author remarked how the mythical uprising of the colonos in his novel Los ríos profundos had foreshadowed the reality of that of the Convención valley, and how he and Blanco shared a close bond with the Quechua and a hatred of the gamonales (Cornejo Polar 1973:150-151). Arguedas and Blanco, although separated by age, belonged to the region of the Southern Andes, spoke Quechua, and, in the decade of the sixties, still viewed the relationship between the Andes and the coast in terms of an unresolved dichotomy.

Mariátegui (1895-1930) was the foremost intellectual force and the most influential adherent of indigenismo in Peru. He belonged to the lower middle class and in 1918 went to study in Europe where he allied himself with Marxism. However, he always stressed that socialism in America should be creative rather than a copy of other people's socialism (Gutiérrez 1973:90). Mariátegui's approach to the agrarian problem of indigenous Peru was economic, but also took into account the history of the pre-Columbian ayllu, and that of the Andes since the Conquest. He was convinced that conditions in the sierra could be improved only by destroying the feudal power of the gamonales. To Mariátegui, other ways of attacking the problem appeared superficial. He denied that help could be expected from the Church, as it was too closely allied with the hacienda in the Andes; nor would the educational approach work, as hacienda owners were largely against educating their colonos, whilst teachers in the Andes relayed only the ideas of the dominant society. For Mariátegui, no progress was possible without the expropriation of the hacienda, and the return of land to the native people. He saw the community, the ayllu founded in Inca times, as the most important agricultural unit in the indigenous Andes. The socialist orientation of many supporters of indigenismo caused an emphasis to be laid on the collectivity as opposed to the individual economic undertaking as supported by liberalism. For this reason the Andean community, with its socio-economic base of group participation in agriculture through the mechanisms of reciprocity and exchange, appeared to be a suitable focus for

future economic action.

The concept of Andean reality founded on personal experience remained the basis of Arguedas' cosmovision but the author's perception of the Andes gained in meaning as a result of Mariátegui's emphasis on the socio-economic and historical factors in the region. Arguedas found a "permanent order in things" in the works of Mariátegui and Lenin, which may have helped the author to formulate his ideas in his ethnological writings (1971:297-298). In 1965, in Arequipa, Arguedas declared that his life spent amongst the Indians was only one factor in his inner interpretation of the Andean world; other two factors were "Amauta" (1926), the journal published by Mariátegui, and the socialist doctrine disseminated after the First World War (Primer encuentro 1969:235). Whilst socialist ideology gave direction and a goal to his youthful energy, Arguedas became neither a politician nor a member of a party.

"How well did I understand socialism?" he asks. "I don't really know, but it did not destroy the magical within me."

(1971:298). It would appear that Arguedas is referring here to the mythical world of the Quechua Andes, which he saw as an extension of self. It is at this point that the ideas of Arguedas diverge from those of Mariátegui. Arguedas states that Mariátegui had no knowledge of indigenous culture which the latter never studied, having neither the time nor the opportunity to do so (1981f:192). Compared with Mariátegui's standpoint, Arguedas' concept of the Andes was holistic; he understood how, according to Quechua cosmovision, the physical,

social and ideological dimensions inherent in the Quechua economy were closely related, how they interacted constantly, and how it was therefore not possible to single out the purely economic sphere. Arguedas was convinced that, in spite of changes brought about by four hundred years of Spanish colonial rule, the rural Quechua speaking communities had retained a strong link with the totality of their traditions and that a communal ethic and ancient beliefs had continued to inspire community members to action and creativity (1968c:347).

Whilst Arguedas wanted the benefits of modernization for the Andes, he also recognized the detrimental effects that violent and sudden socio-economic changes would have on traditional Quechua society. He saw the threatened destruction of the communities and their traditions as a loss of hope for the future of the Quechua Andes. For Arguedas, the annihilation of Andean roots meant that a balanced culture would be replaced by chaos. Community collectivity would cede to an emphasis on the individual, and acculturation would destroy Quechua identity. According to Arguedas, the decision of the elite to proceed rapidly with the integration of the native people into the National sector, would convert the Quechua into "factory fodder" and house-servants, whilst condemning them to the bottom rung of the national economic ladder. In the Quechua Andes, Arguedas saw socio-economic progress as inseparable from Quechua culture, which should change only in accordance with Quechua perception; such change should not be imposed by Lima.

The pro-Indian movement of indigenismo, centred in Lima, succeeded in directing National Government concern to conditions existing in the Andes. The literary expression of indigenismo served the same ideological ends by arousing the conscience of the Peruvian reading public regarding the misery in which the Andean Indians lived. The first author who sought to improve the plight of the native people was Clorinda Matto de Turner (1854-1909). Her fiction was based on personal experience gathered during fifteen years spent as the wife of a medical practitioner in Tinta, near Cuzco. In her novel "Aves sin nido" (1889) she exposed the extortion exacted from the defenceless Indian by the "brutalizing trinity" comprising the governor, the priest and the justice of the peace. Clorinda paid dearly for her temerity in attacking the establishment. Her books were burned publically whilst she was excommunicated and condemned to exile. At the beginning of the twentieth century, González Prada (1848-1919) provided a new vision of the Andean world, although he wrote from Lima without a deep understanding of Quechua culture. Mariátegui structured the emotional content of this vision according to Marxist principles, thus converting indigenismo into a methodical, militant and political movement.

Revolutionary indigenismo inspired the novel of protest written by committed authors between 1934 and 1950. They chose certain recurring themes which together characterized this genre. These themes included the loss of community land and water through expropriation by the landowner, government authorities and foreign enterprises (Ciro Alegría 1941; López y

Fuentes 1935; Icaza 1934). Exploitation of the Indian as a labourer on the land or in the mines formed another aspect of indigenist literature (Icaza 1934; Caspedes 1946). The Church was deemed to have betrayed its mission, as it supported the oppression of the Indian at the hands of the landowner and the Government (Icaza 1934). These authors believed that, as a result of such concerted exploitation, it had become impossible for the Indian to defend himself successfully.

Arguedas was totally committed throughout his life to the cause of social justice for the Quechua people whom he knew and understood better than any other writer on the Andes of his generation. His early short stories recounted examples of extortion by the landowner at the expense of the rural Quechua Indian. Such oppression had its roots in Andean history and was still in force in the Southern Andes during Arguedas' career. He also described the interaction between the Quechua and the other inhabitants of the Andes "who had made the Indian what he was." (Primer encuentro 1969:172). Arguedas' writings thus gained in depth in comparison with the stereotyped content of many indigenist novels.

In his fiction, Arguedas incorporated his own vision into his novels and short stories. Relying on his personal experience, he attempted to reveal the Andes in its complexity to the Peruvian public who knew little about the region. Arguedas rejected the paternalistic attitude of many indigenists. He emphasised, rather, the positive values of Quechua strength and creativity necessary for success in their struggle for freedom.

CHAPTER III

ANDEAN COSMOLOGY

This thesis deals with duality in Arguedas' works not only as providing a structure for his fiction but as a universal principle through which Arguedas' thought finds its ultimate expression. In that author's writings, conflictive duality results from the clash of two cultures--the coastal Hispanic and the Andean Quechua--which embody different languages, values, lifestyles and distinctive economies; these differences have prevented the formation of a truly integrated Peruvian nation. Mediated duality, however, is the basic Andean cosmological structure which has endured internally in the rural Andes and which still manifests itself today in the agricultural, socio-economic and religious aspects of Quechua existence. To show how the structure of mediated duality reveals itself in the Quechua themes and content of Arguedas' fiction, it is necessary to examine aspects of Andean cosmological thought, and to determine in which forms the structure of mediated duality persists within the environment of a culture content, modified first by the Conquest and recently by the uneven penetration of modernization into the Andes.

In his critical study of Arguedas' literary works, Rowe believes that language is the source of the inventive ability of Arguedas, and he attempts to demonstrate that structures derived from Quechua culture are present in the language used by Arguedas (1979:7). Angel Rama, who knew Arguedas personally, maintained that the unity of Arguedas' literary production

depended on the manipulation of one single theme, the socio-cultural totality of the Andes which Arguedas considered was structured by native culture, and which in turn Arguedas interpreted through the cosmovision of the Indian communities (1976 :7). This thesis agrees with the emphasis placed on Quechua elements in Arguedas' works by Rowe and Rama; an attempt will be made to show that Arguedas structures the form and content of his works not only through Quechua cosmovision, as suggested by Rama, but above all, through a particular aspect of that cosmovision, the structure of duality.

ARGUEDAS THE ETHNOLOGIST

The influence of Arguedas' ethnological career on his fiction must be emphasised, especially on his novels and short stories dealing in depth with the Quechua people. In 1963, Arguedas obtained the degree of Doctor of Anthropology from the University of San Marcos in Lima and was appointed professor of Ethnology at the Agrarian University, a position he held until his death in 1969. The theme of Arguedas' doctoral thesis (1968) elaborated the similarities and differences between certain communities in Spain and Peru. The author compared La Muga and Bermillo on the high plain of Sayago, province of Zamora in Spain, with the four communities or ayllus forming the town of Puquio, Department of Ayacucho in Peru (Arguedas 1968c: 18). At the time of his research in Zamora, Arguedas found that in both Spain and Peru, the cooperative bonds within the communities were being eroded; the communities were tending to

become societies which valued personal gain above service to the community. However, in Puquio, and even more so in the valley of the Mantaro in Peru, Arguedas believed that the community ethos had persisted, resulting in cooperation and cohesion between Indians and mestizos. Such communities had defined themselves as Indian or mestizo in opposition to the groups who considered themselves as señores (the 'elite).

Arguedas believed that indigenous community identity in the Andes was also reinforced by the persistence of traditions rooted in pre-Inca times. However, in the communities of Zamora (Spain) the ethnic factor was lacking. This aspect differentiated the Spanish communities from the indigenous Andean communities who had been segregated from National Peru since the time of the Spanish Conquest until the third decade of the twentieth century. Andean indigenous communities had governed themselves by values different from those of the vecinos, the Peruvian nationals, resident within the same community. Although the Indians had learned to dissimulate and appear humble and apologetic, Arguedas remained convinced that the native people still retained an inexhaustible store of energy which originated in their ancient roots. Such energy found its practical expression in "action and creativity." (1968c:345-347).

Arguedas' ethnological work in the region of the Southern Andes of Peru, when allied to his mastery of the Quechua language, made his contribution to the understanding of the Quechua people unique. Angel Rama tried to convey the

relationship between Arguedas the ethnologist and Arguedas the novelist. Rama believed that Arguedas' "theoretical" works gave proof of the author's lucidity of thinking and fundamental knowledge of the problems which characterized his generation, and that these works presented a well researched intellectual proposition of what ought to be the mission of a Peruvian author belonging to Arguedas' period in history. Rama also believed that these writings (largely ethnological), did much to dispel the stereotyped image of Arguedas as "an intuitive and inspired primitive, obsessed by a passion for everything indigenous, rather like an Indian who speaks Spanish correctly" (1974:169).

This thesis maintains that the study of Arguedas' fiction necessitates the consideration of its Quechua content as having a base not simply in Andean folklore and cosmology, but also in the landscape and people of the Quechua speaking Andes. Such a knowledge arises from the author's personal experience, from his unremitting study of the Quechua language and Quechua values, and from the interviews Arguedas conducted in the Andes with Quechua speaking inhabitants during his ethnographic career. It is doubtful if Arguedas ever imparted the full depth of his store of Andean knowledge in his short stories and novels. The author knew that the average Spanish speaking reader had only limited interest in the intricacies of the indigenous world which implied a different way of thinking, different values and a different life style from that of the Hispanic world, and which for centuries had been considered socially inferior by Lima and the coast. Arguedas' primary purpose in writing

fiction was to convey to Spanish speaking Peru the worth and creativity of the Quechua people as well as their ability to maintain order in their communities, and be self-sufficient. Essentially lyrical, Arguedas also sought to reveal the evocative beauty of Quechua poetry inspired by the interaction of the native people with the natural majesty of the Andes. Further, he hoped to be instrumental in persuading Hispanic Peru to consider the Southern Andes as an integrated partner in a new order in Peru.

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW OF THE ANDEAN STRUCTURE OF DUALITY

Modern anthropologists such as T. Zuidema (1962), G. Escobar (1967), J. Ossio (1978), B.J. Isbell (1978) and G. Urton (1981) are unanimous in their belief that in the Southern Andes of Peru, elements are present in the daily experience of the Quechua people which reflect age-old aspects of Inca religion and social organization. In many self-sufficient communities of the Southern Andes, the inhabitants still regulate their activities according to the structural patterns of cosmological order, handed down from Incaic and pre-Incaic times. Arguedas, as has been noted, maintained that it was these ancient beliefs and traditions which inspired the members of Andean Quechua speaking communities to creativity and action. It is significant that the above authors who deal with different elements of the Inca and present day Quechua way of life have come to similar conclusions regarding the importance of the structure of duality in Andean thought. Remarking on the difference between the religion of the Inca and of the civilization of the Chimu in Northern coastal Peru,

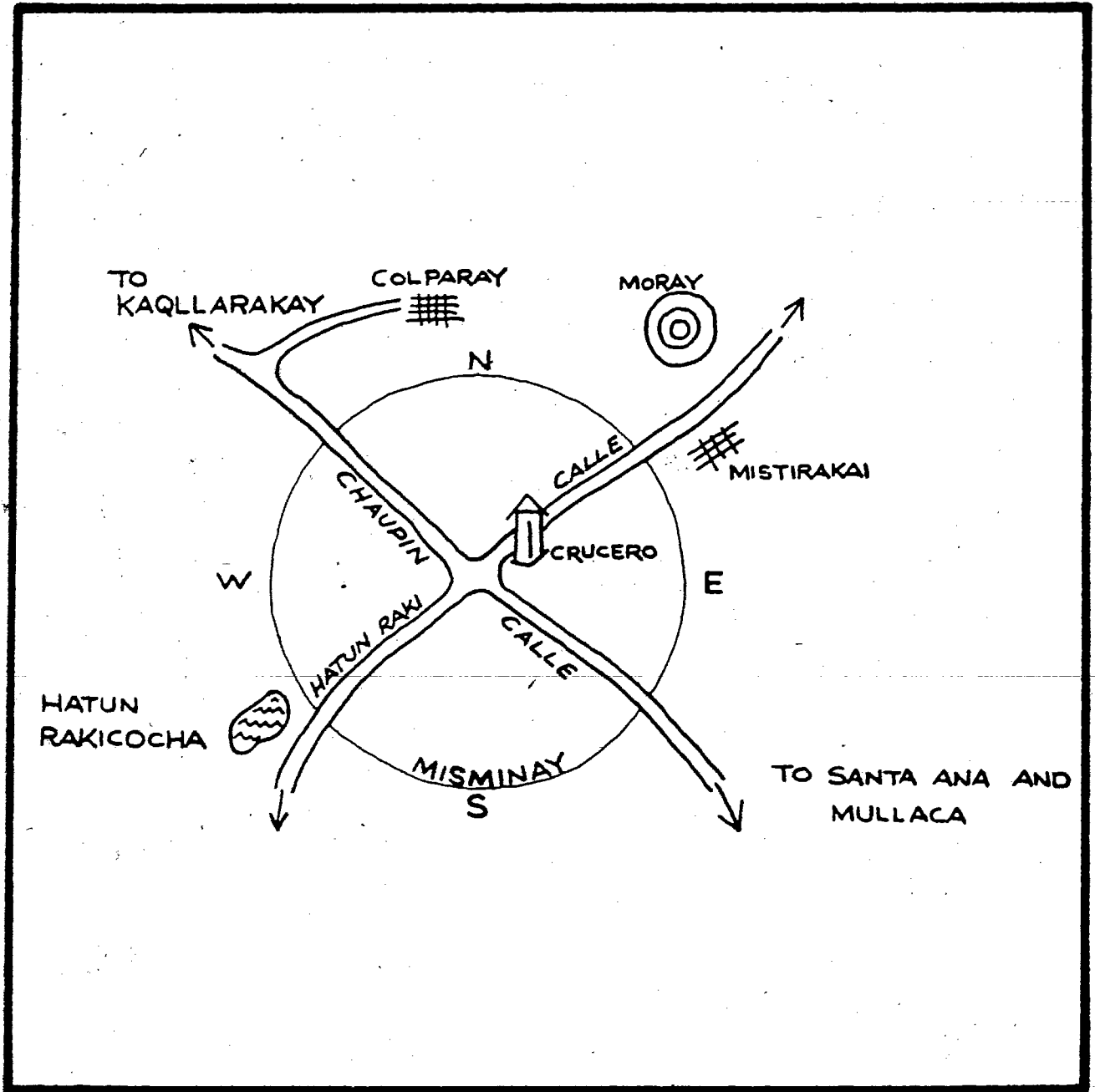
Zuidema believes that this difference did not represent an isolated or chance fact, but rather one which expressed the opposition between the mountains and the coast; Zuidema sees this opposition as being a fundamental characteristic of Peruvian cultures and as being in existence before the Inca extended their rule over the whole country (1962:157). Escobar remarks how the present day inhabitants of the Southern Andes still see themselves as different from the inhabitants of Lima and the coast (1967:88).

Ossio insists that the interpretation of the dichotomies present in the Andean world necessitates an evaluation of the context in which these dichotomies appear, since the most important characteristic of Andean symbols is their multivocality (1978b:389). During her field research in the Quechua speaking community of Chuschi, on the slopes of the Pampas river valley (Department of Ayacucho), B.J. Isbell came to the conclusion that one of the major principles of construction which Chuschinos used was duality, and she set herself the task of finding out variations on the theme of duality (1978:11). Sharon studied shamanism in present day coastal Peru through the person of Eduardo and his mesa or table on which objects generating power were placed. Sharon was struck by the fact that in contemporary mesas, the tripartite zoning of icons reflected the mediated dualism of Quechua religious ideology in which "complementary opposites are brought together in a meaningful interaction that sustains life." (1978:82,89). Urton discusses the organization and structure

of terrestrial space in Misminay, a Quechua speaking community (Dept. of Cuzco). Figure 1 shows how the middle or centre path, Chaupin Calle, fulfils two functions: it forms the horizontal South/East - North/West axis which links Misminay to other communities on the horizontal plane; it is also the axis for the vertical division of space because half the community to the South and West of Chaupin Calle is higher than that to the North and East. Chaupin Calle is therefore the principle axis for the division of Misminay into upper and lower moieties (1981:40-42). Isbell also records how Chuschi is divided into an upper and lower moiety; the author sees these moieties as being mirror images of one another, thus revealing the mirror image as one of the various forms expressing the Andean structure of duality (1978:11). Urton comes to a similar conclusion regarding Misminay. He states how in Quechua, chaupin quilla signifies the half-moon, so that chaupin refers to the division of objects into two equal parts, or to the union of two equal units. At the centre of Misminay is a chapel called the Crucero, and here a path termed, "the path of the great division into quarters," Hatun Raki Calle, passes through the community from South/West to North/East and forms an axis which intersects the one created by Chaupin Calle, thus further dividing the two moieties into quarters. This spatial organization reflects that of the Inca empire, Tawantinsuyu, the land of the four quarters (1981:42). Arguedas noted how, since ancient times, the Andean town of Puquio (Department of Ayacucho) had been made up of four indigenous communities or

FIGURE 1

THE CENTRE PATH



Redrawn after Gary Urton, At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky: An Andean Cosmology. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981.

ayllus: Qollana and Chaupi; Pichqachuri and Qayao (1956:184-185).

THE CONTENT OF QUECHUA COSMOLOGY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The world of Quechua ideology is directed according to a mythical way of thinking. It is symbolic in expression and rests, as Cassirer states in his description of myth, "on the conviction of the fundamental and indelible solidarity of life which overrules the multiplicity of its individual forms." (1955:127-128). The Western scientific approach on the other hand is based on isolating fragments of a complex and interdependent world and studying them as independent entities. Each method of thinking is as rational as the other, but the difference between them requires a dialogue (Ossio 1973:XIII). Earls and Silverblatt note that in Western classical science a clear distinction has been made between laws governing the natural order and those which operate in the social order. Any relationship between these orders has usually been expressed in reductionist or mechanical terms. Whilst distinguishing between these spheres, Andean cultures explicitly recognize the existence of a common domain in which operates a single set of laws. The authors further regard cosmology as a framework "which permits the ordering of the natural and social forces in the universe and thus facilitates its manipulation by the members of a society." (1978:299-303).

The earth, man and the supernatural are actively and creatively interrelated in the Quechua view of an interdependent world. The force which binds man to the universe is that of

huaca. Huaca is both a localization of power and the power itself resident in an object (Brundage 1963:47). Stars, earth, stones and rivers possess the fertilizing power that sustains all living beings on earth. Urton tells how in Misminay (Department of Cuzco), a boy pasturing sheep told him that the village was watching the constellation of the Pleiades each night. When Urton asked the reason for this, the boy answered, "because we want to live." (1981:3). The particular aspect of the Pleiades dictates the time to plant crops and thus assures the success of subsistence agriculture in the community. This incident related by Urton is an example of the vital relationship between the night sky, the earth and man in the Southern Andes of Peru.

Arguedas explained the dynamics of human and natural interaction in his novel Los ríos profundos. Ernesto, the young protagonist relates that when the Indians of Lucanas are in great danger, they call on the spirit of the mountain K'arwarasu, and strengthened by its power, they no longer fear death (1970: 100). Ancient Peruvians believed that man evolved from the living rock and that the concept of huaca inherent in the rock implied the ability to multiply (Sharon 1978:137). In Cuzco, the original Inca stones feel alive to Ernesto, but lose their power once they are chiselled by the Spaniards. The changing face of the stones reminds Arguedas' young hero of the Andean yawar mayu, the river whose turbulent water courses like blood in the veins of man (Arguedas 1967a:23). The river is also huaca, having the power to combat illness and purify sin

(Murra 1980:15); (Sharon 1978:91-92). Through the eyes of Ernesto, Arguedas describes the Pachachaca river as carrying the typhus fever "to the Great Selva, the land of the dead." In Los ríos profundos, Ernesto becomes deeply despondent as a result of the sordid atmosphere of the patio in the college he attends at Abancay. However, after descending to the river Pachachaca, the power of the great river clears and strengthens his soul; he feels renewed and able once again to confront life confidently (1970:81-82). After the Conquest, the extirpators of idolatries, such as Pablo José de Arriago (1621), destroyed every visible huaca of symbolic value to the Andean people. Recently, however, O. Nuñez del Prado found in Kuyo Chico (Department of Cuzco), that natural engaychus, such as stones in the form of a bull were still considered as having the power to fertilize herds (1973:38)..

The most vital source of the creative force of huaca for The Quechua Indian was the centre of all life, the Pachamama or "Earth Mother." The man of the Andes invoked her life-giving power as he tilled the ground to provide for his family, himself and his animals. He repayed the fertility she granted by burning an offering of corn, coca and llama fat, by burying coca leaves and by sprinkling alcohol on the ground. The Pachamama, although not mentioned in the Inca pantheon, remained the principle deity underlying all Quechua religion. As Brundage states:

Not only was she a deity or rather a series of deities and therefore capable of being mythologically and humanly understood, she was also a prodigious religious abstraction. She was 'the experience' of the Peruvian Indian as he moved wonderingly, humbly,

delightedly and fearfully from the cradle to the grave (1963:46).

Other aspects of nature which manifested the power of the Pachamama were considered sacred by the Quechua people; the spirits of the high mountains of the Andes, the snow covered apus (powerful ones), and the spirits of the lesser ranking aukis or local mountains were kindly disposed towards man, and watched over his herds. The force of the storms originating in the mountains accompanied by hail, lightning and thunder was revered by the people, and subsequently, thunder was given the status of the deity Illapa in the Inca pantheon. Locally, stones, springs and trees were considered to have the same creative power as their centre of origin, the Pachamama--the elemental life force.

THE ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES OF ANDEAN ORDER

The Inca Empire based its mythology and religion on that of the Andean people at the local level, but reinterpreted traditions and beliefs so as to express the cosmovision of a politically structured and essentially hierarchal society. Guaman Poma (1613) and Salcamaygua (1613), the native chroniclers who wrote immediately following the Conquest, were instrumental in providing information not only as to the content of Andean cosmological thought, but also as to how it was ordered and structured.

W.H. Isbell believes that cosmic structures endure in areas where a people experiences little competition with foreign

cosmological traditions. He proposes the hypothesis that "Structural patterns which are the organizational principles of cosmologies will manifest extreme resistance to change through time, and will transcend major changes in culture content." (1978:270). L.Thompson maintains that every people's world image represents their version of reality and that the traditional world image of a relatively isolated population tends to mirror the effective universe as it has been perceived and conceptualized by successive generations. The author also believes that people adhere to the structure of their culture as long as possible and alter it only as a last resort; if they do change they resist altering the culture in its entirety and change as few details in the culture pattern as possible. Such changes are "as few, as long delayed, and as superficial as possible." Thompson further states that when a population is obliged to alter its traditional culture only superficially to solve new practical problems, this form of stress may act as a stimulus to cultural creativity (1969:300-313). Arguedas' appraisal of the Quechua world view coincides with the opinions of W.H. Isbell and Thompson. Arguedas relates how the Quechua people absorbed the impact of an external culture into their own world view and retained zealously the unity of their culture which was being confronted by a fanatical force (the Hispanic landowners) (1968b:12-13).

Andean space was ordered ideologically according to three dimensions--horizontal, vertical and the idea of the centre. Horizontal space, representing a unified world, was divided into

four parts which formed the concept of the whole (Ossio 1977:59). Two intersecting diagonal lines divided the territory--the diagonal running from South/East to North/West being of greater significance than that from South/West to North/East, since it delineated the path of the sun as related to the earth. The place where these horizontal lines intersected was the centre, the position of highest importance, whilst the position to right of centre was assigned greater value than that to the left. The first diagonal, South/East to North/West, separates the upper and lower fields of this graphic model of Andean space, with the upper section being considered superior. The second intersecting diagonal determines the positions to right and left. However, as Wachtel emphasises, "the superiority/inferiority dichotomy does not signify absolute values, but rather articulates a system of oppositions and a hierarchy of preferences in which the concept of opposition is substantive because it is structural" (Adorno 1982:116). As a result of the differentiation between "upper" and "lower", elements of contrast and complementarity were introduced to the apparently static pattern of a universe where, as Salomon explains, "similar events were seen as renewed sightings of constant points." (1982:11). Andean history was envisaged as a pattern of events recurring in cyclical form; each cycle began and ended with a Pachakuti or cataclysm, such as the Uno Pachakuti, the great flood, which was the beginning of a new cycle of creation. Guaman Poma (1613) used this fundamental design of Andean spatial symbolism in his mapamundi, the symbolic representation of the Andean universe (Adorno 1982:

115). Tawantinsuyu (the Four Quarters), the Quechua name given to the Inca Empire, was organized according to the above conceptual pattern of Andean space. However, although Guaman Poma created a paradigmatic view of Andean space, where events are seen as a pattern rather than a chain resulting from cause and effect, his use of the diagonals also divided the territory into upper and lower, left and right, thus implying opposition and preference.

In Inca times the South/East to North/West axis had particular orientation and cosmological importance. Mason recounts how the Inca recognized the directions East and West, identified with the rising and setting of the sun, as the only two ceremonial directions (1957:210). Thus the South/East to North/West diagonal intersecting Andean space not only represented the passage of the sun through the sky, but as Zuidema points out, was important on account of the three sacred places located on that line: the temple of Vilcanota, the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca, and the ruins of Tiahuanaco, all associated with the origin of the Sun and of Viracocha the Creator (1978:349-352).

According to Quechua thought, the universe is divided vertically into three realms: Hanakpacha (Upper World), the land of promise and abundance; Kaypacha (The here and now), comprising the earth, Roal the Creator, the spirits of the mountains, evil spirits, man, animals, plants and inanimate objects; and Ukhupacha (The Lower or Inner World), inhabited by small people. When there is daylight on earth, there is darkness

in Ukhupacha (J. Nuñez del Prado 1974:238). This model of the universe can also be reduced to "Upper" and "Lower" with the inhabited earth viewed as the area between. Vertical Andean space is designated by the Quechua terms, hanan (upper) and hurin (lower). In the vertical world of the Andes, the dichotomy hanan/hurin has been called the basic structure of Andean culture by López-Baralt (Adorno 1982:116).

The Incas employed the hanan/hurin concept in the political and religious structure of the Empire, whilst the chronicler Salcamaygua (1613) used the same dichotomy in the cosmogram which he reproduced in his narrative, from the image on the wall of the Coricancha, the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco. Guaman Poma (1613) illustrated how he considered the native people to be in the hanan position both geographically and socially in relation to the Spaniards. Ossio notes how "The dual categories of 'hanan' and 'hurin' defined both the organization of the universe and the relationship between individuals in the Andean world." (1977:72). Zuidema maintains that the opposition between mountains and coast in Inca Peru had both a religious and political origin. Viracocha, whose name was associated with the sea, with foam and mist, and with the Milky Way, was the Creator of the Incas, but the highest god in their pantheon was Inti (the Sun). The Incas worshipped the Sun and the Thunder (Illapa), whilst the Chimú, the civilization on the coast, contemporary with the Incas, revered the Moon and the Sea. The Incas, who divided Cuzco into the exogamous moieties, Hanan-Cuzco and Hurin-Cuzco, also divided the area of many provinces into

a hanan part and a hurin part. The political relationship between the Incas in Cuzco and the defeated people outside the city was also seen in terms of hanan/hurin. A similar relationship was created by the Incas between a mountain province and a coastal province, but here the emphasis was laid on the economic exchange of products, which stresses the concept of complementarity rather than opposition (1962:158-162). Thus the Incas ordered the spatial, religious and social relations of Cuzco with the outside world according to the opposition of hanan/hurin whilst Salcamaygua, through his depiction of Andean cosmology, ordered the internally related world of the Andes according to the same dual categories.

The concept of the centre is of the utmost importance to the Andean world in which the quadripartite division of space, divided by two diagonals, intersecting at the "centre," represented the concept of the whole. The city of Cuzco was considered "the navel of the world," the symbolical centre of the Inca realm. Four roads, the physical expression of the four imaginary lines which radiated from the Plaza of Huacapata, the axis and centre of the city, divided Tawantinsuyu into four suyus (regions), and communicated with Chinchaysuyu (North/West), Antisuyu (North/East), Cuntisuyu (South/West), and Collasuyu (South/East). As seen from Cuzco, Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu to the North were in the upper and superior position hanan, whilst Cuntisuyu and Collasuyu belonged to the lower and inferior field hurin. Cuzco was also divided into four quarters, which corresponded to those of the Empire; the two Northern quarters

of Cuzco between the Coricancha (The Temple of the Sun) and Sachsahuaman (the fortress) were designated as Hanan-Cuzco (Upper Cuzco) where the royal kin resided, whilst the two Southern quarters, termed Hurin-Cuzco (Lower Cuzco), were peopled by the less important nobles (Zuidema 1962:161, Ossio 1977:71).

Cuzco mediated the duality of the region Chinchaysuyu (North/West), considered as hanan, with its centre Vilcashuaman, Department of Ayacucho, as opposed to the region of Collasuyu, seen as hurin, which had as its centre, Lake Titicaca. In Southern Peru, three places were considered to be centres of the world when judged from different standpoints. Cuzco was regarded as the social centre, whilst Lake Titicaca was revered as the centre of origin and linked to the ancient civilization of Tiahuanaco. The Incas venerated both ancestors and former civilizations, and for that reason Vilcashuaman was considered as a centre, being in the proximity of the site of the former Wari Empire. This town was also regarded as equidistant from Quito in the North, and Chile in the South.

The individual places himself at the symbolic centre of the universe when he observes the ritual of tinkapu, which consists in dispersing alcohol towards the four directions of the earth. This ritual stresses the interaction between the individual and the cosmos (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:300).

THE ANDEAN PRINCIPLES OF INTERACTION

The dynamics of social and natural interactions are governed in the Andes by a series of conceptual principles known as: mita, pallqa, tinku, and ayni. These principles represent elements of control and equilibrium in human and cosmic spheres. The fifth principle, however, known as amaru, represents an unfettered force which defies regulation (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:309-313).

In the Andes, time and space are designated by the one word pacha, and B.J. Isbell notes how several authors conclude that the two concepts are really one; they form a regulatory principle that orders reversible time on to space (1978:259). Earls and Silverblatt quote a paper of Wolk and Soto (1973) showing that, in the Andean world, where space and time are two aspects of a single idea, the "future" is placed "behind" the observer, whilst the "past" continues ahead. They also quote Zuidema (1974) who indicated the tendency of Andean society to structure its history beginning with the here and now, and continuing backwards, contrary to the method commonly used in Western society. On the empirical level, the distance between two places in the rural Andes is always measured in the time necessary to make a journey between them (ibid.:302). Mita, signifying "rotation" or "turn" is one of the Andean principles of interaction which serves to express the realm of space in terms of time, thus creating interaction between the two orders. In the rural Andes, the time designated by the agricultural calendar determines the rotative cycles for

planting and harvesting. The rotation of planting is called mita. In the high Andes where the danger of frost is always present, crops are sown and planted at spaced intervals to avoid disaster. Mita also applies to the fields which lie fallow in rotation to avoid soil exhaustion. The periods of the year when the animals give birth to their young are termed mita, while the same term is used for the newly born animals themselves. In the social sphere, service given in turn is termed mita. Work was obligatory in the Inca state and one of the forms it took was mita, when able bodied men took turns for a month each year to work on public projects such as the construction of bridges and roads (Espinoza and Díaz 1980:144). The Inca system is not to be confused with the mita of colonial times when unremitting forced labour only ended with the death of the conscripted indigenous workers in the mines. The principle of mita has persisted into the twentieth century. Isbell cites the case of Chuschi, Department of Ayacucho, where two forms of public reciprocity are termed faena and mita. Faena is communal labour used by government bureaucracies for public work projects, and was in force in Chuschi in 1970. Mita, labour in rotation, is still given by community members to the Church; in 1967 mita labour provided for repairs and a new tile floor for the church in Chuschi. The political office of varayok (member of prestige hierarchy) is taken in turn and demonstrates how mita operates at the community level.

The social aspect of mita is also inherent in the rotation of the Quechua ayllu or kinship group. This system, originating

with the Incas, can still be found in some communities near Cuzco. A patrilineal lineage for men and a matrilineal lineage for women, when combined, form two parallel lineages as displayed in the diagram of Bocanegra (1631) [Figure 2a]. In Figure 2b the Inca cosmogram of Salcamaygua (1613) depicts Andean duality as including the opposition between male and female, which is mediated by complementarity. In Andean indigenous communities which are largely endogenous, Zuidema states that "the concept of incest prohibits marriage between descendents of a couple up to the great-great-grandchildren, that is, the fourth generation can marry." (Zuidema and Quispé 1973:371-372).

The Andean use of the concept of mita, implying rotation or turn, is one more reminder that the indigenous community member works as a member of a group to strengthen the collectivity, and not as a single individual seeking private gain. According to established order, the community members observe a specified rotation of crops to keep the soil fertile for future generations. The indigenous community member is but one unit in a society which prescribes a rotating genealogical system to regulate marriage, and thus protects the future energy and persistence of the group.

The other related Andean principles of interaction are pallqa, signifying the bifurcation of one object into two, or two into one, without specifying direction, and tinku, involving the meeting of two entities which then form one unit whose direction is irreversible. These two concepts relate to the order of space-time and are important in both the natural and

INCA KINSHIP SYSTEM

FIGURE 2a

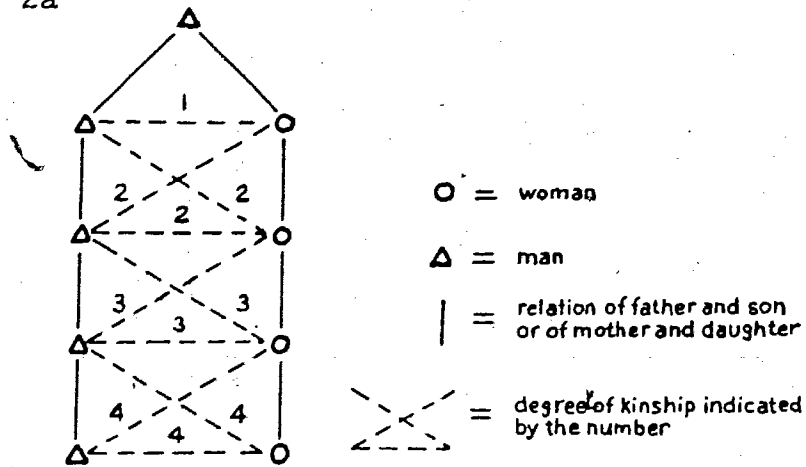
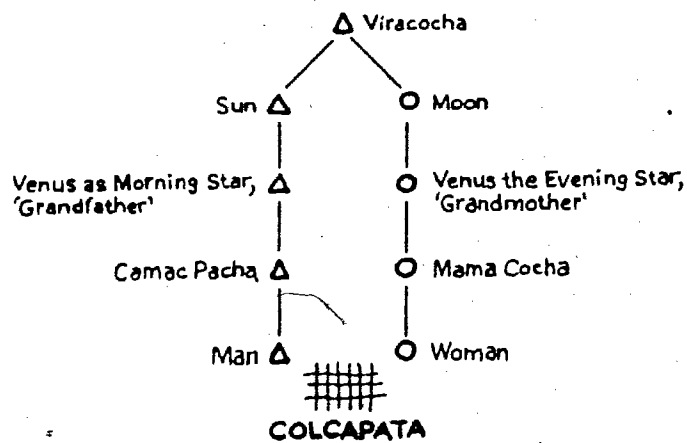


Diagram of Pérez Bocanegra (1631)

FIGURE 2b

Diagram of the Cosmogram of Salcamaygua (1613)



Both diagrams redrawn from R.T. Zuidema and U. Quispé, "A Visit to God," in Peoples and Cultures of Native South America, ed. Daniel R. Gross, Doubleday, New York, 1973.

social spheres.

Tinku, implying "encounter," embodies the idea of the irreversibility of direction and time. This is true of the point of confluence of two rivers, a place which was considered of religious and ritual importance during the period of Inca rule. Sharon notes how in Inca ritual, a sick person was expected to wash himself with white maize flour at the junction of two rivers (1978:91). Once joined, the waters of the river can never again be separated; a new current has been formed which man cannot reverse and the active power of nature has been confirmed.

Marriage provides an example in the social sphere of the principle of tinku. In an Andean indigenous community, two separate lineages are united after a period spanning four generations when no marriage has taken place. New life is created, and as in the case of the river in the physical sphere, direction and time are irreversible.

In comparison with the concept of tinku, the interaction expressed by pallqa is brought about by the intervention of the work of man. This concept lacks the action and force inherent in tinku, as it is static, while time and space are reversible. Earls and Silverblatt compare pallqa to a road; two roads may converge to form one, or, unlike the river, one road may branch into two. A road is static and does not involve movement in a given direction (1978:311). The use of the road by man supplies the element of action; travellers can pass each other going in opposite directions or they can retrace their steps.

Irrigation canals also demonstrate the principle of pallqa, and thus form a contrast with the river which exemplifies tinku. Through mechanical means, the Andean community member can halt the flow of water, channel it in different directions, and make the water courses converge or bifurcate. The Incas mediated between the high mountains and the earth below, intricately channelling the water to the terraces they had constructed, in order to grow corn along the Urubamba valley, Department of Cuzco.

The awesome turbulence of the yawar mayu, the Andean river in spate, commanded the fear and reverence of the Andean people faced with the irresistible force and the divinity of the river. The point of confluence of the river and its tributary, expressed by the principle of tinku, was considered sacred, and man made offerings to the river at this point (Murra 1980:11). In this way, man hoped to enlist the huaca, or power of the river, which he regarded as supernatural and beyond his control. The principles of interaction of mita and pallqa, however, stressed communication between man and nature through work.

In the Andes, they say that "life is an ayni, or, as an inhabitant of Choque Huarcaya, Department of Ayacucho, remarked to Earls and Silverblatt, "the whole universe is 'ayni'" (1978:309). Ayni signifies the Andean concept of reciprocity or complementarity which weaves together all aspects of existence. O. Nuñez del Prado, writing on the Southern Andes, states that "Ayni is something pervasive and profound built into the very nature of things. Life itself is an ayni and must be

returned at death" (1973:31).

Ayni can indicate an exchange of labour where the service given is the same as the service rendered by the other person. In this case, ayni is symmetrical. Instead of returning the service, a person may repay the service by a certain quantity of goods. If the goods and service are not deemed equivalent, the ayni has become asymmetrical. Non-reciprocal labour implies that the individual who works is paid in produce; this form of labour exchange continues to be prevalent in the Andes where there is a constant shortage of cash. Ayni exists between close friends and relatives who support each other freely, with the tacit understanding, however, that some time the gift or kind deed will be returned. Such reciprocity is termed "generalized ayni." (Alberti, G. and Mayer, E., 1974:299).

In the social sphere of the indigenous Andes, ayni can be characterized by complementarity as well as by reciprocity. This is essentially true in marriage. B.J. Isbell describes mediation of the opposition present between man and woman, as that contained in the concept of "the essential other half." (1978:11). In Western society, marriage is conceived ideally in terms of unity and fusion between the partners; in the Andes the bond is one of complementarity. Division of labour is complementary; man and wife undertake different tasks; when the wife works in the fields with her husband, the apparently shared tasks are differentiated by ritual. The man plows the earth, but the woman places the seeds in the ground as she is closer to the Pachamama (the Earth Mother). The woman may pasture the

sheep, but the man will shear them; she will then spin the wool and weave on the back-strap loom, whilst the man uses the upright loom introduced by the Spaniards. Gifts exchanged by spouses in an indigenous community are reciprocal, but duality is maintained in the native inheritance system of the Southern Andes, where the daughters inherit from the mother and the sons from the father. An indigenous woman who brings goods and wealth to a marriage retains control over these assets.

Whilst generalized ayni often involves a simple gesture of kindness or the voluntary repayment of some favour received, ayni can also entail violence--when vengeance implies punishing the perpetrator of a crime. According to the values upheld in the indigenous communities, retribution follows evil-doing in this world, not in the next.

Ayni is even considered as a bond existing between man and his animals. In the Andes, animals who render service to their owners are called hermanos (brothers) or mi familia (my family). Arguedas, in conversation with Castro Klaren, commented that in the Western world a man tended to judge a domestic animal or a tool or utensil by its "usefulness," whereas a Quechua felt a debt of gratitude towards the animal or object which had served him and given him a sense of well-being. Arguedas admitted to being influenced by the Indian's fraternal relationship with his animals, and that this attitude, based on ayni, led him to abhor the cruelty towards animals which he witnessed on the streets of Lima (Castro Klaren 1975:49-50).

The principles of interaction represented by mita, tinku, pallqa, and ayni relied on communication through work between man and the natural world and man and the social world. In this way, order, stability and balance were maintained within the socio-economic organization of the rural indigenous community.

Work, according to Arguedas, had a special significance in indigenous Peru and Bolivia. Writing on La Paz, the capital of Bolivia, the author stated that the soil was hard and difficult to work, and that man had to exert himself to the utmost to control the icy lands of the puna, the precipitous mountain slopes, the coastal desert and the selva. In past centuries, the inhabitant of this region of America had transformed work into a sacred obligation, and in so doing had changed canyons into gardens and rocks into impressive walls (1976b:62).

Escobar also remarks how the indigenous community members of Southern Peru take pride in their physical endurance and capacity for hard manual labour (1967:89).

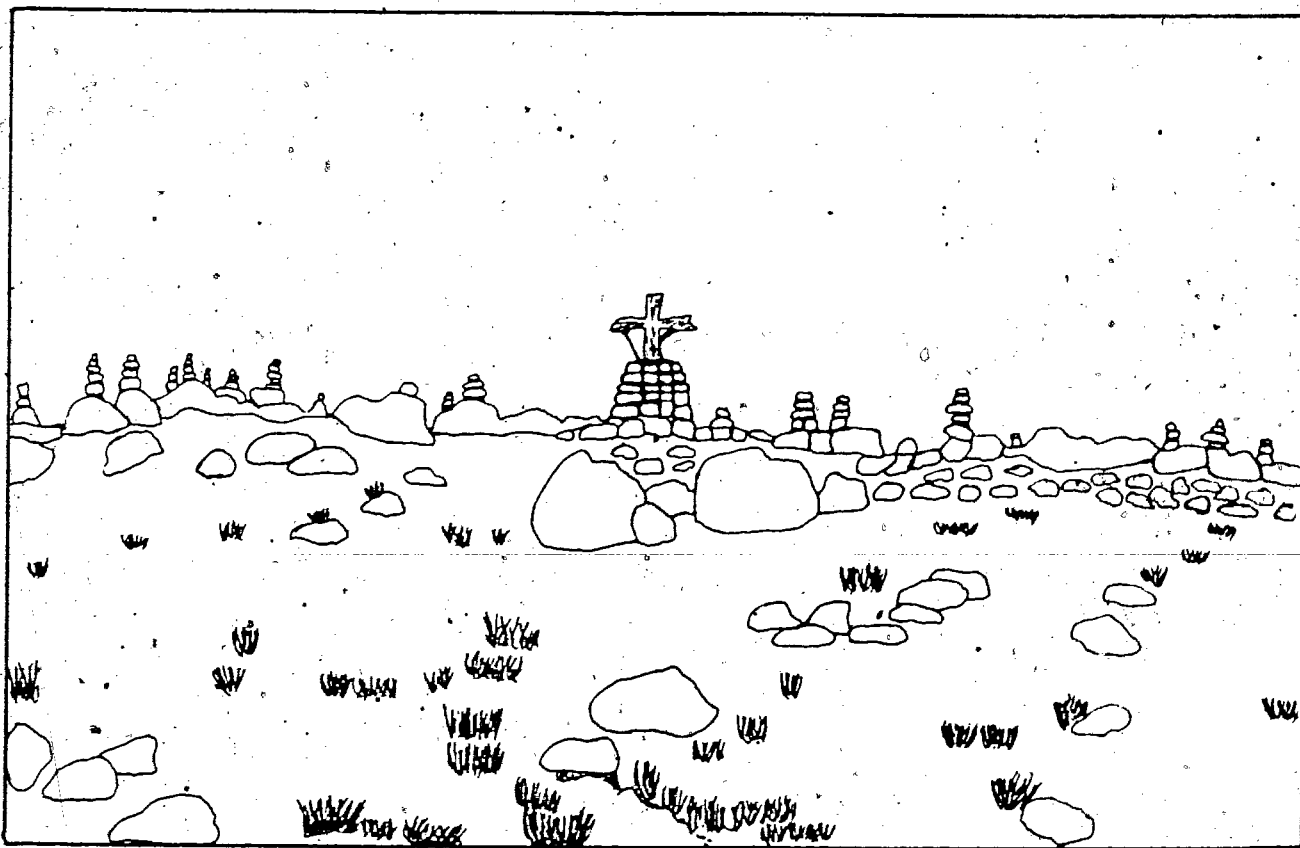
The relationship between man and the supernatural world was also founded on the concept of ayni. In the Quechua world of the Andes, man worshipped the spirits of the mountains, rivers, rocks and streams which originated in the Pachamama, the Earth Mother. Reverence for the earth permeated the different levels of indigenous Andean society. Guaman Pomá (1613), the native chronicler, who was both educated and literate, also considered the land of the Andes as sacred (Ossio 1977:60). Interaction between these aspects of the

divine order and human beings was characterized by reciprocity. In the Ayacucho region, where Arguedas spent his childhood, the mountains watched over the well-being of men and their herds. In Arguedas' short story, "Agua", the mountain Chitulla was seen as being more receptive to human misery than either Inti the Sun god or the Christian God (1967a:40). In "Los escoleros," the local peaks were depicted as human beings who entered into competition with each other, and roamed the earth at night in human disguise (1967b:45). The snow peaks, like the rivers, have the power to forgive sin and restore tranquility to the spiritually troubled. In Arguedas' short story, "La huerta," Santiago, the adolescent, talked with the priest without achieving the emotional peace which should have resulted from the assurance of absolution. The youth had to climb to the snow line of the mountain Tayta Arayá (Father Arayá), where his turbulent emotions interacted with the healing power of the spirit of the mountain; Santiago then experienced an inward state of balance, an equilibrium made possible by his ability to receive the beneficent force of nature emanating from Tayta Arayá (1967f:188). In this instance, the power of the mountain deity mediates the warring duality of good and evil in Santiago's soul.

The Wamanis are the most revered high mountain deities in the Ayacucho region, and in the neighbourhood of Puquio the mountain K'arwarasu is considered the most powerful. (Figure 3). Arguedas related how in Puquio, don Wamancha, the former mayor of the ayllu of Chaupi, discussed the powers of the Wamani with

FIGURE 3

A WAMANI



Redrawn from photograph after Billie Jean Isbell,
To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village.
University of Texas Press, Austin, 1978.

the ~~author~~. Don Wamancha believed that the Catholic God was "separate," and did not concern Himself with the life of the Indians. He was the God of the landowners, and for this reason, social but not religious, He deserved respect and belonged to the top hierarchy. Nevertheless, He was not God, as man received neither good nor evil from Him. Man was protected by the Wamani, and even the landowner would have been unable to live, unless the Wamani had gifted him the sacred water of his veins. The Wamani distributed his sacred water through the varayok, the senior member of the civil-religious hierarchy in the indigenous community, without favouring either the Indian or the landowner (1956:189). Thus the Wamanis, the deities of the high mountains, send the water from the springs and the surface of the high mountains (hanan), to fertilize the Pachamama, the earth below (hurin), and the agricultural cycle of sowing, germination, growing and harvesting begins again. An emphasis on water in this region arises from the fact that the Western slope of the Andes is dry, as the prevailing moisture-laden winds originate over the Atlantic and shed rain on the Eastern slopes of the Andes. This cosmological explanation of the ecological opposition between high and low in the Southern Andes is in accordance with the interaction present in Andean mythological thought. The duality existing between the high mountains (hanan) and the community below in the cereal zone (hurin), is mediated by the life-giving properties of water which makes the socio-economic existence of the rural indigenous people possible.

In order to communicate with the unseen powers active in the universe, man made offerings of the tokens of the fruits of his labours. This gift to the gods implied asymmetric ayni, as the rural Andean hoped in return to have health, good crops, and an increase in livestock bestowed on him and his family by benevolent unseen spirits who inhabit nature. Halperin states that a peasant economy has physical, social and cultural dimensions (1977:6). In the rural Andes, the integrated universe, as conceived by the Quechua, signifies the interaction of man not only with the land (the physical dimension), and with other men in reciprocal labour and exchange relationships (the social dimension), but also with the unseen forces of nature as perceived according to Quechua cosmovision (cultural dimension). The latter dimension, expressed in ritual, is as real and necessary to conservative indigenous communities as the observation of the agricultural calendar. It has already been noted how the constellation of the Pleiades still plays a vital role in planting in the present day Southern Andes (Urton 1981:3). The prevalence of the ritual festival of the Yarka Aspiy, the cleaning of the irrigation canals in the Department of Ayacucho, has been investigated by Arguedas (1956:204-218); Isbell (1978:138-145); Mitchell (1977:52-53); and Ossio (1978:377-396).

Quechua cosmology acknowledges that there are forces in nature beyond human control which do not conform to a principle of order, and are therefore out of balance. These forces, when unleashed, are dangerous to man, bringing disruption, destruction and sickness in their wake. They are symbolized by the amaru,

the huge mythical serpent which frequents the bottom of lakes in the high Andes, and bursts forth with explosive force. Such power recalls the destruction in 1941 of the town of Huaráz, Callejón de Huaylas, when a lake in the high mountains burst its banks. However, the amaru also mediates the duality between high and low in the Andes. The word amaru is associated with the violent rush of water and mud that descends from the high mountain at the beginning of the rainy season, and is channelled into irrigation canals to the valley below. The amaru conveys the water, gifted to man by the Wamanis, the masculine mountain gods, which fertilizes the Pachamama, the feminine earth below, so that life can continue. In the Quechua speaking Andes where the multivocality of symbols is frequent, the amaru can also be represented by the bull, symbolic of potentially destructive force. In Los ríos profundos, Arguedas relates the myth of the bulls, which, chained to the bottom of the lakes in the high puna, arise at the sound of bells which chime at midnight; dragging their chains, they climb to the snow clad peaks of the high Andes where they bellow in the icy air (1970:29). It is interesting to speculate whether the bellowing of the bulls represents the sound of avalanches heard in adjacent communities. Natural phenomena such as floods, landslides and hail, which are injurious to the life and efforts of man, are associated with the uncontrollable power of the amaru. In rural areas in the Southern Andes, the vindictive supernatural cat, another embodiment of the amaru, is a widespread symbol denoting the dreaded hail and lightning. It lives in springs in the high

mountains, and is known in the Pampas river valley, Department of Ayacucho, as the choquechinchay (Isbell 1978:209).¹² In Vischongo, also in the Department of Ayacucho, Earls and Silverblatt found that modern tradition attributed the deep canyon leading down to the village of Pomacocha on the valley floor, to the action of the amaru located in the mountain above the village, causing the waters to gush down to the land below, forming the wayku or steep narrow valley (1978:315). In the social world, such disequilibrium is caused by asymmetric ayni, which occasions wars and rebellions. Pomacocha was formerly an hacienda belonging to the religious Order of Saint Clare; today, however, the community has a history of revolutionary disturbances.

The chaos and disruption caused by the uncontrollable natural force of the amaru are, however, often followed by a new state of equilibrium. Arguedas believed that, after the chaos entailed by the Conquest, the indigenous communities of the Southern Andes gradually reinstated order in their social and ecological organization. Owing to the increasing shortage of land in the rural Andes, community stability was again threatened in the twentieth century by the migration of members to the chaotic conditions present in Lima and other coastal cities. Arguedas described the bitterness accompanying such migration, but the author was convinced that a new world would arise out of this "magma", inspired by the energy of the migrants and the depth of their age-old tradition, which would not be satisfied merely with cement and tears (1963:25).

Lévi-Strauss maintains that peoples considered "primitive" by Western society are capable of disinterested thinking, and are moved by a need to understand the nature of the world and of their society. To do this, they proceed by intellectual means as would a philosopher or to a certain degree, a scientist. By means of an intellectual way of thinking these people attempt to acquire a total understanding of the universe. In Lévi-Strauss' opinion, such thinking implies that nothing can be understood unless everything is explained (1978:16-17)

According to the criteria of Lévi-Strauss, the principles of Andean cosmological order, as well as those of natural and social interaction, form an intellectual attempt on the part of the Quechua to explain the totality of the integrated Andean universe, thus establishing order, and therefore meaning, in their particular world. These cosmological principles also indicate underlying structure which Lévi-Strauss terms "...the invariant elements among superficial differences" (ibid.: 8). It has been seen how in the physical sphere, water is the element which mediates the opposition between high mountains and low valleys. In the social sphere in rural indigenous communities, the socio-economic mechanism of exchange mediates between the products of the puna, derived from herding and tuber production and the cereals of the lower qichwa zone, thus providing families with a balanced diet. Ritual serves to mediate between man and spiritual beings in the supernatural sphere. The above examples demonstrate that the "invariant elements" forming the structure of Andean thought are in fact the components of mediated duality.

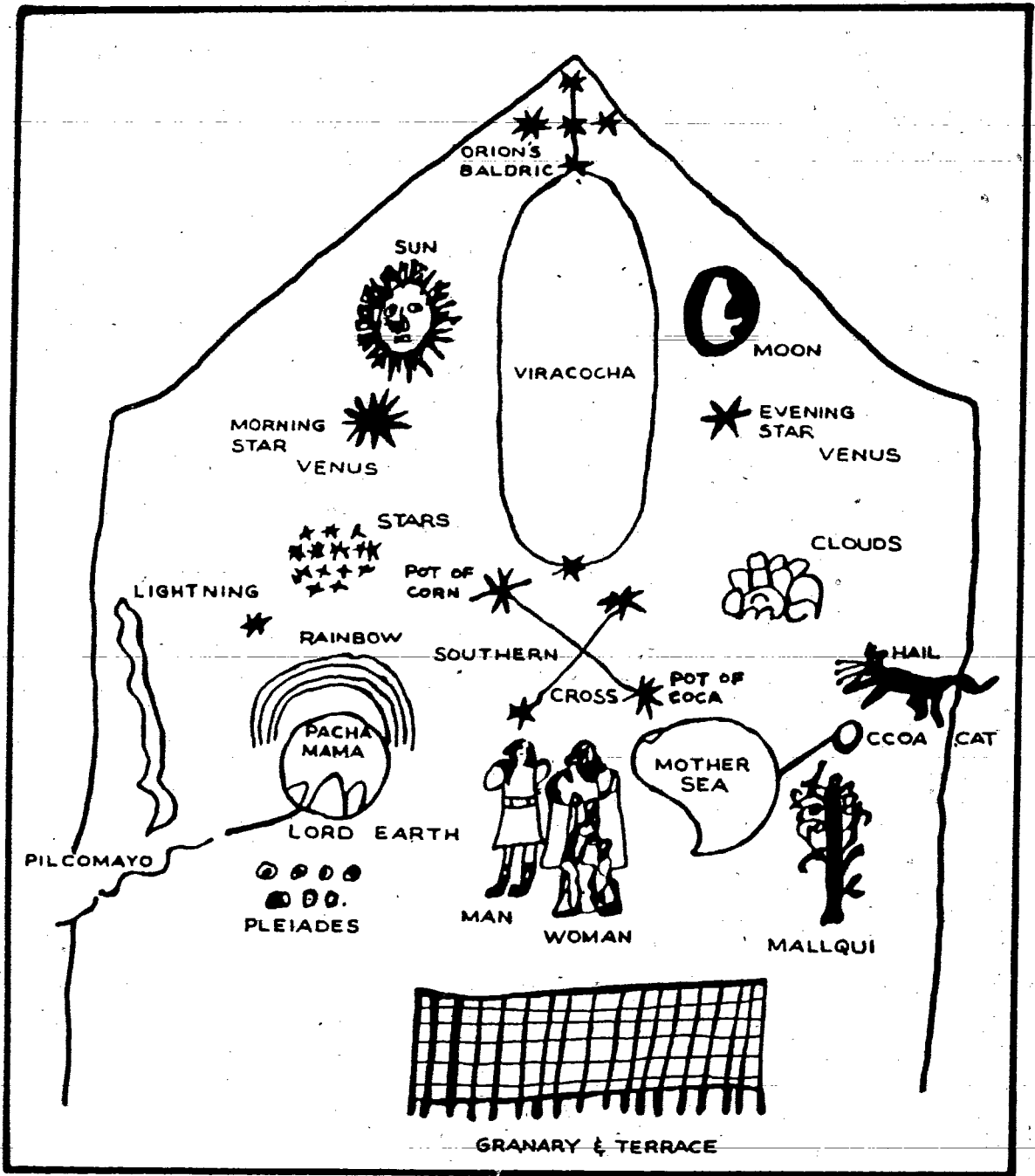
THE INCA COSMOGRAM: THE KEY TO THE STRUCTURE OF ANDEAN THOUGHT

Zuidema and Quispé believe that when studying numerous Andean societies through chronicles, colonial documents, and fieldwork in modern communities, we can look for the basic structural elements that lie behind these organizations, and distinguish which elements each organization illustrates in its own way (1973:361).

Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, the author of Relación de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Pirú (1613), was one chronicler who depicted graphically the structure of Andean cosmological thought. Salcamaygua was an indigenous writer of high rank who wrote both in Spanish and in Quechua; he attempted to build what Salomon terms "a bridging ideology" between Europe and the Andes (1982:16). In his text, Salcamaygua included a drawing of the Inca cosmogram at the bottom of a handwritten page; this diagram represented the images on the back wall above the main altar of the Coricancha, the Temple of the Sun, in Cuzco. The drawing is an attempt to show graphically what Lévi-Strauss termed "a total understanding of the universe." (1978:17). The cosmogram is so ordered that it simultaneously portrays the content and structure of Andean cosmological thought. (Figure 4).

The details of Salcamaygua's diagram are enumerated and explained by Sharon. The right vertical line, as viewed by Viracocha, contains only masculine representations. In descending order, below the Sun is Venus, the Morning Star, followed by the Stars of the clear night sky of the summer

FIGURE 4
INCA COSMOGRAM AS DEPICTED IN THE CORICANCHA



Redrawn with descriptions after Billie Jean Isbell,
To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village.
 University of Texas Press, Austin, 1978.

season which is dry in the Western Andes. Below the Stars on the drawing, Lord Earth includes the mountains and the inner earth, Pachamama. Whilst the Pachamama was revered as the principle deity by the rural Andes, she was not included in the Inca pantheon, and is encompassed in the cosmogram by Lord Earth. The Rainbow arches over the earth and connects Lord Earth with the Pachamama, recalling the similar mediation by the amaru of the duality existing between the Wamani and the Pachamama. To the right of the Rainbow the forked Lightning precedes the storms of the end of summer, whilst the Pilcomayo river, sacred to the Incas, drains the area. On the lower level, the Pleiades, the eyes of abundance, watch over the Granary on the lowest level. The constellation of the Pleiades is often named the store-house in the Andes, and the aspect of the Pleiades still determines the time to plant in certain indigenous communities of the Southern Andes.

The left vertical line designates female representations. Placed below the Moon is Venus, the Evening Star; still lower, the Clouds of the rainy season in winter are contrasted with the clear night sky of the masculine right; woman is associated with water in Andean cosmology. In descending order, Mother Sea represents Lake Titicaca, whilst water originating in a spring feeds the Lake. To the extreme right is the destructive Ccoa Cat, sending Hail from his eyes, whilst on the bottom level the Mallqui (the seedling Tree) grows out of the agricultural Terrace. As has been noted, the Quechua word mallqui signifies "seed" or "sapling" as well as "mummy" or "ancestor", implying

that death is necessary for regeneration.

In the drawing, the right and left vertical lines are mediated by a central line descending from the stars at the apex of the diagram through Viracocha to the lowest level of the agricultural Terrace. The five stars at the top of the central line form a cross representing the constellation of the belt of Orion, and marking the point at which the sky is divided into two parts. Below the stars of Orion is Viracocha, at once male and female. The deity is represented by an oval shape which may be linked to the idea of wholeness as symbolized by the form of the circle. Viracocha is the Creator and represents the cosmos in relation to divine power. Salcamaygua described the Star at the upper right of the South/East to North/West axis as the Pot of Corn and the Star on the lower left of the same axis as the Pot of Coca. Quechua myth relates how Mama Coca was a beautiful woman whom every man wanted to possess, and in the drawing, the Pot of Coca is depicted amongst the female representations. Sharon emphasises how the union of food, plants and magic vegetation occupy the centre of the cosmogram (1978:97). Below the Southern Cross stand a Man and a Woman, depicted on the centre line as their roles are complementary. At the lowest level of the drawing is the agricultural Terrace. Thus the centre line originates in the Creator Viracocha who mediates between the Sun on high and the agricultural Terrace below, between the right hand masculine representations and the left hand female icons, and between the celestial body of the Southern Cross and the plant kingdom

dependent on its power of huaca. Viracocha, being bisexual, is the source of fertility for man, for his herds and for his crops. In the Department of Ayacucho, as has been noted, the powers of Viracocha were attributed to the Wamani. At the bottom of the diagram is the Mallqui signifying death and regeneration--the cyclical continuation of the universe as assured by Viracocha. The Inca cosmogram is thus structured according to mediated duality and the circle. The descending vertical lines to the right and left of Viracocha in the diagram contain masculine and feminine representations considered to be in opposition. The centre line, however, mediates this duality. On the horizontal level, Man and Woman are brought together on the centre line in a complementary relationship which ensures the persistence of life. On the upper extreme of the centre line (hanan), Viracocha is linked through intermediary stages to the agricultural Terrace and the harvest Granary on the earth below (hurin), suggesting agricultural fertility bestowed in answer to offerings. The agricultural cycle is symbolized by the presence of the Mallqui, growing close to the agricultural Terrace and signifying the union of the opposites--death (mummy, cadaver) and regeneration (seed, sapling). This cycle is accompanied by the hydrographic cycle of the fertilizing water from the mountain streams, the Clouds and the Rain. Earls and Silverblatt note that on the left vertical line of the cosmogram, the rainy winter season begins with the Ccoa Cat which emerges from the mountain streams in the form of Clouds. On the right vertical line of the diagram, at the end of the summer season, Lightning strikes and

water flows from the Pilcomayo river, announcing the recommencement of the rains (1978:322). Thus the water from within the mountain produces clouds which condense in rain; the rushing streams (amaru) can then be channelled into irrigation canals, signalling the beginning of the agricultural cycle.

Cruciform symbolism in Quechua is shown by Urton to be one of the principal cosmological ideas contributing to an order in the universe. The Quechua word chaka refers not only to a cross, as already noted, but also to a line which is a symbol of union or bifurcation. It may serve as a medium for joining two distant points, or for redistributing weight equally down a column, or for unifying two roads or rivers into one. The underlying principle concerns the balancing of forces and lines of movement; this concept is expressed by the Quechua word tinkuy (1981:149-150). Urton further suggests that one of the major functions of the concept of chaka in Quechua socio-cultural organization is that "chaka is an axis along which a state of equilibrium is established and maintained." (ibid.). The centre line of Salcamaygua's drawing of the Andean cosmos has the qualities of chaka seen as an axis.

Lévi-Strauss insists that people without writing whom the Western world terms "primitive", "have a fantastically precise knowledge of their environment and all its resources." (1978:19). In their desire to understand the world, such people proceed by intellectual means, "exactly as a philosopher or even to some extent a scientist can and would do." (ibid.: 16). To maintain order and give meaning to the universe, Andean thought

postulates the structural principle of duality, whose components must be kept in balance. The principles of interaction, complementarity, and reciprocity as well as mirror images, all serve to establish equilibrium between two elements, seen to be in opposition. These elements do not necessarily belong to the same physical, social or supernatural order. Through interaction, man can relate to the natural and supernatural sphere and vice versa. In the Quechua world the earth and the sky possess dynamic natural forces and power, through which they can communicate reciprocally with man. When such forces, be they physical, such as inundations, or social, such as wars and violence, become uncontrollable, chaos results; in the cyclical world as construed by Andean thought, chaos is then resolved and a new age of order is ushered in.

This thesis maintains that Arguedas, through his early experiences, his ongoing work with the Quechua language, and his ethnological research and field work, was imbued with the Quechua way of thinking. Arguedas emphasised the interactions operating between man, nature, and the supernatural, which are regulated by the principles of mita, ayni, and pallqa. The irreversible force of movement in the Andean rivers is increased by the confluence of two rivers, and is expressed by tinku. The principle of tinku mirrors Arguedas' preoccupation with the rushing water of the yawar mayu in spate, the turbulent river of the Andes, carrying with it the essences of the region. Urton states that tinku also signifies the union of opposites-- the principle underlying the concept of chaca, a bridge (1981:140).

The name of the Pachachaca river in Los ríos profundos is a combination of the Quechua metaphysical term pacha meaning "time and space" and chaca, a bridge. In Arguedas' novel, the bridge links the two opposite banks of the Pachachaca river. The Hispanic town of Abancay lies high on the slope above one bank of the river (hanan), whilst the Quechua world of the hacienda colonos occupies the low ground on the other (hurin). It is the bridge which facilitates the first symbolic step towards freedom undertaken by the hacienda servants. In accordance with the term pacha, the uprising of the colonos has a temporal as well as a spatial connotation. It recalls the concept of the pachakuti, the cyclical cataclysm of Andean mythical thought which periodically reverses the order of the world. In the Andes the Conquest had placed the Quechua people in the subordinate hurin position, and the invaders in the hanan position. The indigenous people reacted to the Conquest throughout history by armed rebellions for which they paid dearly. Arguedas believed that the uprising in Los ríos profundos, undertaken by the colonos for mythical reasons, foreshadowed the successful insurrection in the Convención valley in 1961. The Andean concept of amaru, an uncontrollable force, was responsible for destructive wars, rebellions and catastrophes. Such periods of chaos, however, were followed by the re-establishment of order. Arguedas endorsed the point of view that when all conciliatory measures had failed, rebellion was justified as a means of overthrowing injustice. Tamayo Vargas describes Arguedas' short story "La agonía de Rasu-Niti"

as "a scene from a ballet" (Cornejo Polar 1973:181). To the Western mind, this criticism may be valid; "La agonía de Rasu-Niti," however, gains immeasurably in significance, impact and universality when viewed in terms of a Quechua ritual signifying the resolution of duality.

Arguedas described his life's purpose in these words, "one must live without restrictions so as to interpret chaos and order" (1971:26). According to Andean thought, chaos and order resulted from conflictive duality and mediated duality respectively. During his career, Arguedas strove to mediate conflictive duality, and thus resolve chaos in favour of just order in the Andes.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAND OF THE ANDES: MEDIATION OF "HIGH" AND "LOW"

Tamayo Vargas, the Peruvian author and critic, recounts how he attended the University of San Marcos with Arguedas in 1931. At that time, the students had a sombre vision of Peru as a world in crisis. In the process of initial stages of development, the country appeared fragmented as regards human relationships, while poverty in Peru had its origin in the disequilibrium of the man/land ratio.¹³ As a result, a hidden backward population was about to inundate the still traditional capital cities. The author relates how Arguedas, coming from the Quechua sierra of Southern Peru, could not adapt to living conditions on the coast, and especially in Lima. Arguedas was convinced that a spiritual division existed in Peru between regions whose way of life was different and where varying proportions of mestizo inhabitants lived. Tamayo Vargas mentions that Arguedas never diverged from the key concepts acquired during his formative years, and specifically mentions Arguedas' view of the conflictive duality existing between the different regions of Peru. This way of perceiving the world was both typical of Andean thought and of Arguedas' conception of the reality of the Southern Andes (1976:371-372).

Arguedas and Ortiz Rescaniere collaborated in the preparation of the article, "La posesión de la tierra, los mitos posthispánicos y la visión del universo en la población monolingüe quechua." The paper was presented at the Conference

on the Agrarian Problems of Latin America, in Paris in 1965. The authors maintained that the possession of land in the Quechua speaking communities of the sierra provided not only economic and social security but also assured a man the full status of "a human being." A man without land was considered wakcha (an "orphan"). This belief originated in pre-Columbian times and persisted during the period of colonial rule which had kept the Quechua Indian tied to the land and to his ancient beliefs. Even at the time of writing, Arguedas found it was not considered natural in Quechua speaking communities for an individual to live exclusively as a peon or merchant (1967h:309).

In Arguedas' works, particular emphasis is placed on the physical, ecological and cultural dimensions of the "Peruvian world of the Andes" (1975:13). Land in all its aspects was important to Arguedas, as it was to the Quechua Indian. The author recounted his feelings of awe as a child living with the hacienda servants when faced with "the immense mountains and abysses of the Andes, where the flowers and trees hurt with a beauty in which the solitude and silence of the world is concentrated" (1971:23). In "Agua" the author describes the village of San Juan, controlled by the neighbouring hacienda; he conveys the anguish of seeing the stunted growth of the grain deprived of water in the scorching heat (1967a:19). However, in one of his earliest short stories, "Los comuneros de Utej Pampa" (1934) the community is independent; the narrator rejoices in the green fields, the peach trees, and high pastures which lift the hearts of the Indians (1973:22). Emotions and

the environment interact in Arguedas' writings.

Arguedas was intensely aware of the contrasts between "high" and "low" in the Andean landscape and of how these contrasts affected the inhabitants of these areas. He related how the black Peruvian, Gastiaturú, joked that Arguedas belonged to la lana, literally "the wool," that is, to the high country, whilst he (Gastiaturú) belonged to el pelo, literally "the skin," that is, to the coast with its multicultural city population. Arguedas agrees that he is from the high land, which in Peru means Indian or inhabitant of the sierra (1971:99). In Los ríos profundos, Arguedas makes clear the preference of his young protagonist, Ernesto, for the transparent air of the communities of the high Andes in comparison with Ernesto's fear of the hot, suffocating atmosphere of the sugar-cane haciendas in the valley of the Apurímac. The molle tree in the high Andes has a crystalline appearance, and its red berries sing when the wind blows; in the torrid atmosphere of the valley, the molle grows tall with dense foliage; it is covered with blown earth as though overwhelmed by sleep, and a coating of dust makes its berries indistinguishable. Ernesto interacted with the tree, believing that like him, it was submerged beneath the heavy scorching air (1970:81). "Not even the dawn is penetrating in the torrid valleys. At that moment in the high sierra, a brilliance pierces the elements; man dominates the horizon; his eyes drink in the light, and with it, the universe" (ibid.:133). Arguedas experienced the altitudinal contrasts in the Andean landscape intensely, as have geographers and anthropologists

from different backgrounds who have worked there.

THE RURAL SOUTHERN ANDES

The geographer Isaiah Bowman described the vertical geographic configuration of the Andes of Southern Peru in these words, "Nowhere else on the earth are greater physical contrasts compressed within such small spaces." (1916:122). Such conditions produce micro-environments characterized by particular climates and topographical features. When allied to altitude, such micro-regions pose a challenge to the communities which seek to achieve adequate subsistence from them.

The macro-climates of Peru depend on longitude, latitude and altitude. Winds bringing rain from the Atlantic drop their moisture on the Eastern slope of the Andes, ensuring plentiful growth between 1,200 and 3,000 meters. As a traveller goes from East to West, the climate becomes drier. The dryness of the Southern Andes is further increased by their distance from the Equator. Altitude causes a great variation in daily temperature with nightly frosts occurring 321 days of the year at Vinocaya in the puna of Southern Peru at 4,377 meters (Troll 1968:38). Chuño and charqui, freeze-dried potatoes and freeze-dried meat, peculiar to the Southern Andes, are the result of the drying power of the tropical sun, allied to freezing temperatures at night. Steep intermontaine valleys may contain as many as six climatic zones, beginning with the arid valley floor where irrigation is usually possible from the river. Dry farming may be practised on the slopes, or streams fed by the snow in

the puna are channelled into irrigation canals. The Incas made wide use of terraces, and in certain cases, steep slopes are still cultivated today in this manner.

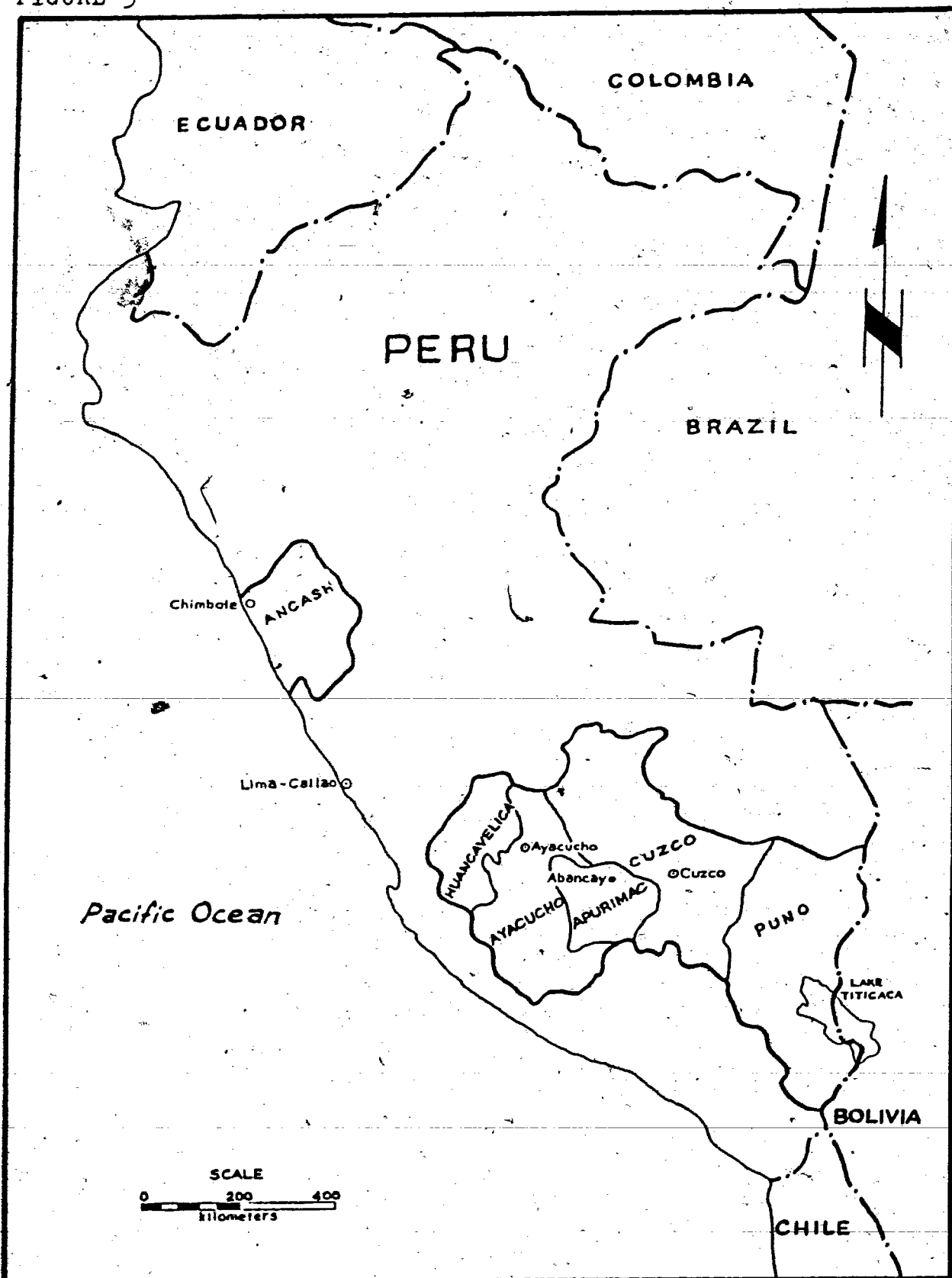
Bowman's geography of the Southern Andes stresses the unique physical aspects of the sierra and hints at the problem these aspects pose for the rural inhabitants of that region. The author's work could thus be termed a cultural geography. Arguedas' writings echo this approach to the land of the Southern Andes, whilst focussing still more closely on the interaction between the Andean people and the rugged mountain landscape.

THE SOUTHERN ANDES, "THE INDIAN STAIN"

Ciro Alegria, the great Peruvian author, contemporary with Arguedas, wrote on the monolingual Spanish speaking North/East region of Peru, crossed by the river Marañon. Arguedas, however, in his works on the Andes, confined himself to the Quechua speaking Departments on the Western slopes of the Southern Andes: Apurímac, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Huancavelica and Puno. These Departments, along with the Department of Ancash, comprise the area which Hispanic Peru disparagingly termed "The Indian Stain." (Figure 5). After 1940, this region was considered the most backward in Peru. In 1961, shortly before the presentation of the Arguedas and Rescaniere article, "La posesión de la tierra" in Paris in 1965, Cotler noted that the Southern Andes supported twenty-nine percent of the total population of the country, and that eighty-seven percent of the inhabitants above the age of five used an indigenous language. Sixty percent of the

"THE INDIAN STAIN"

FIGURE 5



Redrawn after Henry F. Dobyns and Paul Doughty, Peru: A Cultural History. Oxford University Press, New York, 1976.

population was engaged in agriculture and livestock activity as opposed to forty-two percent for the rest of the country. These conditions indicated the reduced diversification of the region and were reflected in the average income--thirty-nine percent below the national average (1967:12-13).

HUMAN RESPONSE TO ENVIRONMENTAL CONSTRAINTS IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES

Creative activity is necessary on the part of rural Andean community members to achieve self-sufficiency resulting from successful subsistence agriculture. Brush quotes Gursby (1969) and Thomas (1973) whose clinical surveys of nutrition in self-sufficient highland communities show that the overall nutrition pattern is low but adequate. The diet provides about 2705 calories per person per day (1977:86). In the Andes, altitude affects the way in which the rural population interacts with the mountainous terrain. The interrelation between human and biological features of high mountain areas in tropical America has been designated as geocology by the geographer Carl Troll (Guillet 1983:562). Guillet notes how geocological research in mountains provides a view of human and biological interaction that is static and correlational rather than dynamic and creative; further, that an inability to appreciate the role of human response to environmental constraints leads to a focus on the natural resource base (ibid.). Inherent in Andean zonal agriculture is the constant need for innovation. A constant process of adjustment is necessary as neither the socio-economic nor the resource base is a static entity. The aim of the comunero

(indigenous community member) is to maximise the use of his natural resources and protect them against natural disasters such as frost, drought, hail or land-slides.¹⁴

Low soil fertility, low rainfall and frost pose the most serious ecological problems for the agriculturalists and herders of the Southern Andes. Orlove (1977:25) records an example of overcoming the obstacles of poor soils and low temperatures at high altitudes in the Province of Espinar, Department of Cuzco. The area comprises two zones, the lower from 3900 to 4200 meters where the topography is flat but where the soil, poor in nitrogen, is porous and does not hold moisture. The upper zone ranges from 4200 to 5000 meters with steep slopes and little top soil. It does, however, have areas where moisture seeps through the rock. This combination of climate and soil has favoured the integration of herding with agriculture. The timing and location of these — two productive activities form one single schedule. Agriculture is restricted to the lower zone where tubers are grown. Llamas, alpacas and sheep are pastured on the higher levels during the dry season where pasture is still available in the moist areas. Transhumance is practiced, with peasant households having permanent dwellings in each zone. Planting can be done only at the onset of the rainy season, so herds are brought down to feed on the new green grass on fallowed fields which they fertilize. It is in this location that the animals have their young. The grasses dry up when the rains end and the herds return to the high damp areas. Llamas, used as pack animals, transport food, dried dung, wool and clothing from one

zone to another. Slaughtering is done at the onset of the dry season before moving to the higher zone where pasture is limited (ibid.). An alternative method of improving soil for subsequent crop production is that of the corral, which also serves to protect livestock. Dung is collected in the corrals at high altitudes, but in the lower puna it is left to decompose. In the upper zone, crops are planted in these corrals every few years. The dung provides nitrogen and the walls lend shelter. This makes production possible at higher altitudes. At 4250 meters in Espinar, potatoes will not grow outside corrals.

A community which practices agro-pastoral transhumance exploits a series of ecozones at several altitudinal levels. This strategy makes the best use of scanty altiplano vegetation. Sheep can be pastured at high elevations whilst llamas and alpacas can eat the coarse grass of the puna up to almost 5000 meters (Forman 1978:24). When the animals are herded down to lower altitudes, not only do they fertilize the fallowed fields but the survival rate of newly born animals is increased. In the high puna, if an alpaca is born in the morning, it may live; the night frosts and bitter puna wind will cause an animal born in the evening to freeze.

Good soil management at high altitudes requires fallowing and crop rotation. However, permanent year round plantings in the lower qichwa (cereal) zone at approximately 3000 meters rely on the association of maize or wheat with other crops to provide soil fertility. In the latter case, less physical energy is required to cultivate the fields. Fallowing and

rotation at high altitudes require an annual output of energy on land which has been left untilled, often for many years.

Lack of water is one of the major hazards facing communities on the Western slope of the Southern Andes. Agriculture is dependent on fertile soil, moisture and temperature; the last two factors vary with altitude and the time of the year. The months between May and October are dry whilst the rainy season lasts from October to the end of April; during this period, the months of January and February have the heaviest rainfall. In the dry season the temperatures are cooler than throughout the rainy months. In Ayacucho (altitude 2440 meters) it was found that between 1962 and 1966 the absolute maximum temperature in December was 28°C. and the absolute minimum 5.9°C., whereas in July the absolute maximum registered 25.4°C. and the absolute minimum -0.5°C. (Mitchell 1977:42). The very high Andes, comprising the area of the alpine rain tundra from 4100 meters and higher, are cloudy and cold and usually above the level of agriculture. On descending the mountain, increased amount of sunshine and high temperatures cause water loss from plants and soil.

Mitchell explains how water is supplied to the community of Quinoa at an elevation of 3396 meters in the Department of Ayacucho. Quinoa represents an example of irrigation at high altitudes, totally separate from irrigation using river water on the valley floor. The source of the water is the high altitude alpine rain tundra. Two drainage systems flow into ravines which are used for irrigation. Various reservoirs have

been built to store irrigation water, and the irrigation canals extend for several miles to supply a number of hamlets. Water for domestic use throughout the zone is obtained from the reservoirs. In upper Quinoa (3050-3400 meters) irrigation is used mainly during the early months of the rainy season to ensure success of early plantings of crops which require more time to mature at the higher altitudes. It effectively doubles the area of cultivation of (maize, beans, squash and a low altitude variety of Quinoa. In this zone, depending on the availability of water, irrigation can also be used to plant a dry season crop. In lower Quinoa (2850-3050 meters) the requirements of these crops coincide with the temperature, sun hours and duration of the rainy weather; irrigation is thus used as a supplementary supply of water from January to April (ibid.:36-58).

A supply of water is so vital to the dry Ayacucho region that the festival of Yarka Aspiy, the cleaning of the irrigation canals is still celebrated (Arguedas 1956; Isbell 1978; Ossio 1978; Mitchell 1977). In Quinoa, the community members have demonstrated their ability to correlate time and space. This organizational creativity, when allied to the hard physical labour involved in building and cleaning the irrigation canals, has made successful subsistence agriculture possible. As Mitchell says:

What is impressive here is the dovetailing of functions of the irrigation system. Because of the vertical series of environmental zones, a limited amount of water goes at successive times to different places to be used for different purposes and each region benefits according to its requirements (ibid.:49).

Frost at night is an almost unsurmountable hazard in the high Southern Andes. If staple crops such as potatoes and oca are planted too high, frost or late blight (rancha) will kill the plants (Brush 1977:82). Troll states that in the high Andes of Bolivia and Peru, the lower limit of frost is on the average 3000 meters, and maize can be grown up to 3500 meters in the rainy season. Above 3500 meters is the zone of tubers and hardy cereals such as wheat, barley and quinoa; the limit of cultivation lies at 4100 meters. During the dry season in the valley of Cuzco at 3500 meters, there is nightly frost (1968:33-38). Diurnal extremes favour the production of chuño (freeze-dried potatoes), kaya (freeze-dried oca) and charki (freeze-dried meat). Processes are developed in the pre-Columbian Andes to preserve potatoes and oca for future consumption. During the Inca Empire, chuño formed the basis of the military diet. Owing to loss of weight, freeze-dried potatoes could be transported by llama trains.

Arguedas spent his ~~early~~ years in this high altitude zone. The author dedicated his short story "Agua" (1933) to the community members or "servants" of the hacienda of Viseca, Department of Ayacucho, with whom he shivered with cold at night whilst irrigating the fields. In the first paragraph of "Agua," Ernesto, the young protagonist, feels the chill of the morning in the plaza of San Juan surrounded by the immense mountains. During the day, however, the sun climbs in the sky and seems to be burning the earth with its searing rays; Arguedas was describing the extreme variation in daytime/nighttime temperatures

in the high Southern Andes. The plot of the story focuses on the unjust distribution of irrigation water which is controlled by the hacienda owner. The maize fields belonging to don Braulio and his friends were green and flourishing; there was even wet mud on the ground. The lack of water caused the maize grown by community members to be dry and stunted (1967a:19).

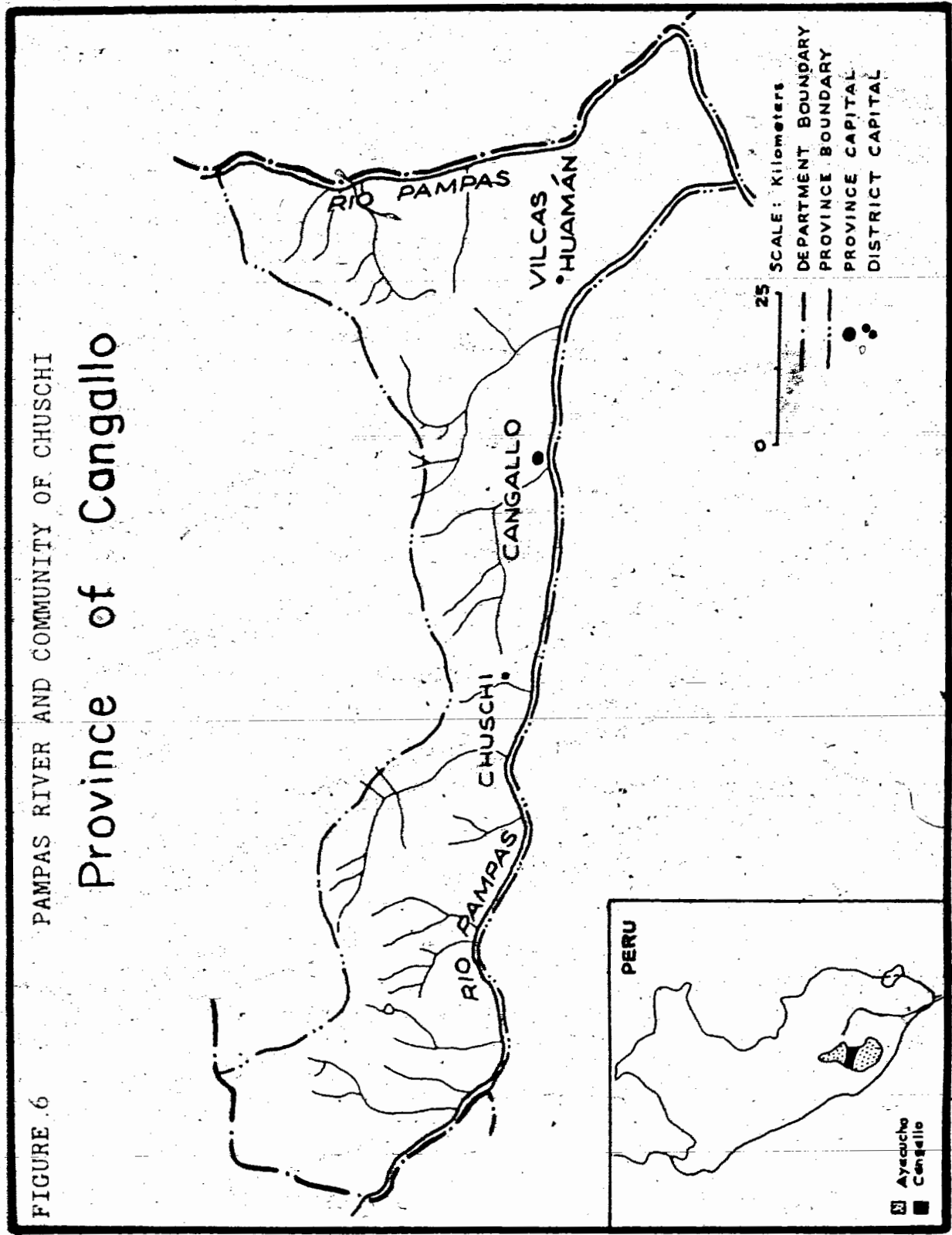
Mitchell found that strife over equitable water distribution arose in Quinoa when the varayok hierarchy, who had apportioned the water previously, was replaced in 1970 by town municipal authorities (1977:51-52).

THE IMPLICATIONS OF "VERTICALITY" IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES

The quality of soil, the amount of moisture and the variations in temperature are all linked in the Andes to altitude and to the concept of "Verticality." Murra describes the vertical control of the Andes as a pattern established in pre-Columbian times by which different ethnic groups attempted to control the maximum number of ecological levels in an effort to achieve self-sufficiency (1984:120-124). Brush maintains that the significance of the model of vertical control is that it reconstructs a native Andean type which was established to fill Andean needs with Andean technology and organization (1977:8).

B.J. Isbell describes the mountain slope of the Pampas River valley, Department of Ayacucho.¹⁵ (Figure 6). The highest zone, the puna or sallqa, rises from 3300 meters to above 4000 meters, and is divided into two zones: an upper zone from 3600 to 4000+ meters is a grazing zone for llamas,

FIGURE 6
 PAMPAS RIVER AND COMMUNITY OF CHUSCHI
 Province of Cangallo



Redrawn after Billie Jean Isbell, To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1978.

alpacas, cattle and sheep, and a lower zone from 3300 to 3600 meters, produces the traditional subsistence requirements of the Andes--tubers, meat, wool and hardy grains, including barley, wheat and quinoa (1978:51). Murra maintains that without the high altitude tubers, it is unlikely that dense populations and high productivity could have been sustained above 3200 meters in the pre-Columbian Andes. He notes how the productive tiers were continuously pushed higher in spite of 250 to 300 nights of frost per year. Terracing also extended the cultivation of the area and provided protection for particular varieties. When accompanied by high altitude irrigation, these factors permitted subsistence agriculture at 3200 meters and higher. Such agriculture was closely allied to herding. Mauricio Mamani, the Aymara ethnologist quoted by Murra, maintained that in this high risk climate, there were few catastrophes such as famine. The severity of frosts could be predicted and fires were lit to counteract them. Plantings of the same crop were spaced to avoid total loss, whilst plants of the same cultigen with different times of maturing were intercropped. Households held plots at a distance in other ecological levels and thus avoided the possibility of total failure (1984:120-121). Murra and Troll have demonstrated that the puna was the region of maximum population and production as well as the centre of power in the pre-Columbian Andes (Murra 1984:ibid.; Troll 1968:32-38). How compatible are these conclusions with the commonly held assumption that the native peoples were forced to settle at higher and less desirable altitudes as a result of the Spanish

usurption of cereal growing lands?

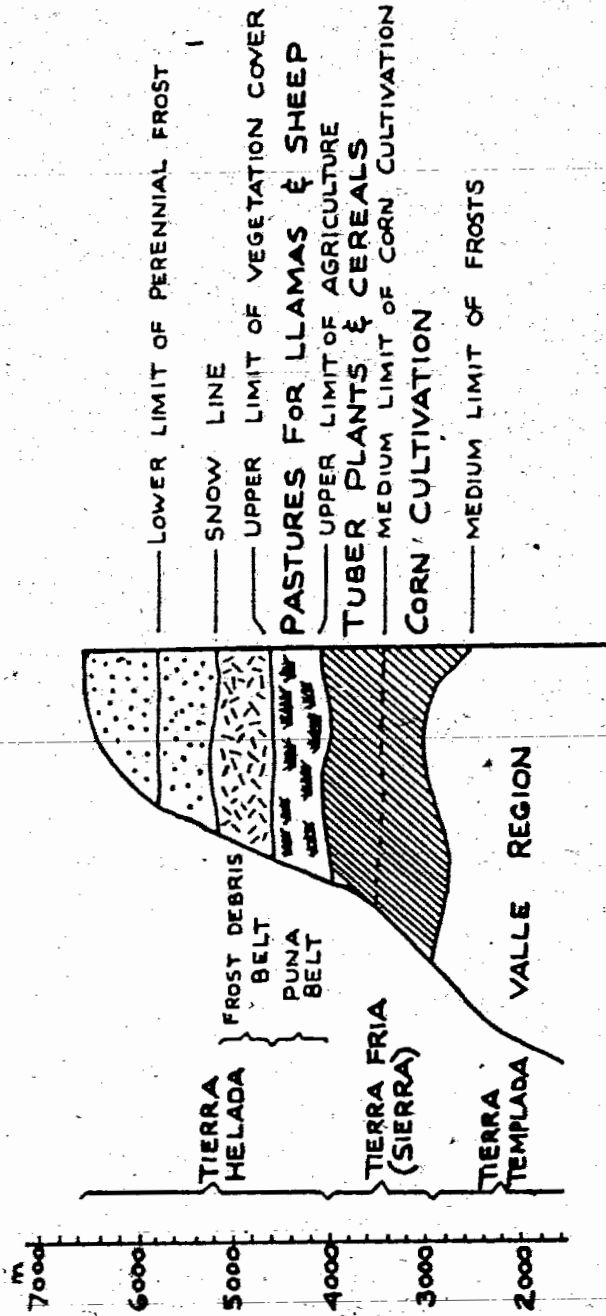
In certain of his literary works, Arguedas chose a documentary rather than an interpretive approach; he wrote as an ethnologist and historian to convey to his reading public the ecological and social realities of the Andes, the basis on which his fiction was founded.¹⁶ In Yawar Fiesta, Chapter II, entitled "El despojo" ("The Pillage"), Arguedas recounted the successive usurption of Indian agricultural and herding lands by the mistis (the criollo or mestizo elite). Puquio, elevation 3200 meters, was originally composed of four Quechua ayllus or communities who owned wheat fields in the agricultural zone and had communal grazing lands in the puna. The communities had a close relationship with the herders of the high pastures who came down to Puquio for fiestas. When a growing demand for meat arose in Lima, the mistis of the region of Lucanas forsook the exhausted mines and engaged in raising livestock; Indian wheat fields were seized and alfalfa was planted for cattle feed. In more recent times, with an ever increasing demand from Lima, the landowners "discovered" the value of the puna; assisted by the Central Government and the Church, they expropriated the communal land in the high pastures. The Indians were evicted from their clusters of dwellings and were left with few options. They could become servants in the haciendas or migrate to work on the coast where they succumbed to fever. Those who wanted to remain in the puna were forced to sell their animals to the new owners and work as cowhands. The remaining Indians who refused to be separated from their animals ascended from the puna to extreme

heights, where there were always clouds on the mountains; hail and deafening thunder occurred frequently. These herders no longer went down for fiestas to the ayllus of Puquio because "the spell cast by the puna gradually overwhelmed them and they became strange" (1968a:25-34).

Both the findings of Murra and Troll and the account of Arguedas are historically verifiable. In pre-Columbian times, the inhabitants of the Andes chose to have their ayllus or settlements at an altitude adjacent to both the herding and the tuber zones. Arguedas, however, described an extreme case of mestizo exploitation through which the Quechua inhabitants of the above mentioned high zone, the puna, were forced to migrate still higher towards the snow line. (Figure 7).

The quichwa zone, generally 3000 meters and lower, borders on the limits of the transitional zone--3000 to 3300 meters--usually planted with hardy grains. The quichwa zone produces the all important maize crop as well as wheat. In many cases, crops may be cultivated in higher or lower altitudinal zones depending on the micro-climate of the particular area and on the demand by the community. Murra notes how maize was used first as a ceremonial crop by the Incas who then began to cultivate this cereal more extensively on the terraces they constructed in the Vilcanota valley; this grain had become the food preferred by the army (1980:8). Brush, however, believes that in the central and Northern highlands of Peru, European grains such as wheat and barley have become major crops along with the

FIGURE 7
CLIMATE-ECOLOGICAL GRADATION
OF THE HIGH ANDES OF SOUTHERN PERU AND NORTHERN BOLIVIA



Redrawn after Troll (ed.), Geocology of the Mountainous Regions of the Tropical Americas, Fred Dummler Verlag, Bonn, 1968.

native Andean crops. The author maintains that this is less true for the Southern Andes, especially the altiplano, where potatoes and quinoa are predominant (1977:83). The protein content of quinoa is high at 12.3% when compared with that of wheat 12.0%, barley 9.7% and maize 9.4%. Whilst quinoa is hardy, it has the disadvantage of having a bitter seed coating.

The quichwa zone is divided into an upper and a lower region. Production from the upper zone is dependable as it is closer to the source of water, should irrigation be needed. The lower zone is more arid and merges into the valley floor; it produces thickets of cactus with abundant tuna fruit which can be used as fresh fruit or in preserves.

B.J. Isbell states that the mayopatan (valley floor) in the Pampas river valley is the lowest zone exploited by the community members of Chuschi. It lies at an elevation of 2300 meters and provides land suitable for the cultivation of squash, fruit trees and cactus fruit (1978:55). This area is not stressed in Arguedas' description of the high Andes. The author's emphasis on the puna and quichwa zone is in keeping with the historical and present day importance of the herding and cereal zones to the rural inhabitants of the high Southern Andes. Arguedas, however, does focus on the hacienda lands of the valley of Abancay in Los ríos profundos. This area has an elevation of about 2000 meters, and is still higher than the sugar-cane haciendas along the valley of the river Pachachaca.

"HIGH" AND "LOW": THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF ANDEAN ECOLOGY

Isaiah Bowman marvelled at the vertical world of the Southern Andes of Peru where the highest peaks remained snow covered and the deepest valleys were at tropical levels; between "are half the climates of the world compressed" (1916:122). The author was describing the visible Quechua universe in the way in which the native people conceptualized it, in terms of hanan (high) and hurin (low), the basic structure of Andean culture. The Quechua people has always regarded itself as occupying the hanan position. Traditionally, indigenous communities were situated at a high altitude (approximately 3500 meters) to enable exploitation of both the tuber and herding zones. Herding still represents the source of wealth in the rural Andes, but many communities now occupy a lower site on the boundary separating the cereal and tuber zones (elevation approximately 3100 meters) in order to have easy access to both areas. Gow notes how the inhabitants of Pinchimuro (Department of Cuzco), a high altitude Andean community, conceptualize space. In this area, the high puna (the Rinconadas) above 4000 meters is suitable for pasturing livestock, but not for agriculture. The area between 3600 and 4000 meters is the site of the community of Pinchimuro where potato cultivation is possible. The quebrada (sheltered valley) between 3000 and 3600 meters can be planted with a variety of crops. The community members value the Rinconadas positively, as it represents the zone closest to the gods, whilst the location of the community in the suni or intermediate tuber zone symbolizes the centre of the social

world. The community members of Pinchimuro perceive the existence of an opposition between "high" and "low"; between the high altitude zones and the negative connotation they attribute to the quebrada, the cereal or crop zones. To community members, this zone is under mestizo influence, where the high Andes dweller is discriminated against (1978:203-204). Professor A. Camino, speaking at the ICAES Pre-Congress Symposium "LATIN AMERICA AT THE CROSSROAD" at SFU in 1983, noted how wealthy monolingual Quechua herders of the high altitudes, who observe Andean traditions, feel animosity towards the bilingual, less wealthy agriculturalists of the lower valleys, who are in more frequent contact with the National sector.

Authors such as Brush (1977), Isbell (1978) and Webster (1980), on the other hand, have described communities which control entire steep valley slopes containing numerous ecological levels. Individual households, however, may have holdings in only one or two of these altitudinal zones. For such families, the problem is how to gain access to the goods which the remaining altitudinal floors provide. Through orderly work, the Quechua community member achieves complementarity which corrects the imbalance created by his limited access to the maximum number of ecological levels available in his valley slope. In this way, he mediates the ecological duality of "high" and "low", created by zonal verticality of the Andean landscape.

THE MEDIATION OF ECOLOGICAL DUALITY

As noted earlier, work was an intrinsic component of the three Andean principles of interaction: ayni, mita, and pallqa.

These principles directed human labour towards achieving the ecological balance necessary to provide an adequate subsistence diet. The following cases demonstrate how these principles still operate in the contemporary rural Andes and help to mediate the separateness of high and low ecological zones.

As socio-economic mechanisms, the various forms of ayni (reciprocity and labour exchange) are still basic to successful subsistence agriculture in the Andes, especially at higher altitudes. Isbell deems reciprocal labour essential to the subsistence agriculture of Chuschi (1978:57).

J.A. Villafuerte demonstrates the need for reciprocal labour in the Southern Andes. In T'astayok, elevation 3800 to 4000 meters, in the Vilcanota valley, Department of Cuzco, the author describes how the coarse grasses at this altitude are suitable for grazing herds of llama and alpaca. Agricultural land in this zone is used exclusively for potato cultivation. The optimum production of potatoes depends largely on fallowing the land in the high Andes. Plowing the lower quichwa zone is often done with the help of oxen, whilst tractors prepare the land in the larger recently formed co-operatives. In T'astayok, however, this rotative process entails reopening and tilling ground which has lain empty for five years (1978:125-140). The exhausting task of the chacmay (opening of the land) demands more labour than family members can provide; complementary labour is obtained from relatives, friends and neighbours belonging to T'astayok, and even from the inhabitants of adjacent communities. This complementarity is achieved through

ayni, denoting symmetrical reciprocity, and involves labour exchange where the service given is identical to the service rendered by the other person. Once the ayni pact is sealed, the person receiving help must provide food and drink for all the participants. This form of mutual aid is common throughout Peru, and involves average and poor comuneros (ibid.).

The apu (wealthy community member) has recourse to other options--he may use the traditional ayni exchange system or he can avail himself of non-reciprocal labour, and the labourer who is hired can be paid in produce. Such labour becomes asymmetrical only when the apu manipulates the system, citing friendship, kinship, or even his power in the community in order to "pay" his helper in goods of lesser value than the service he receives. Asymmetric reciprocity occurs when reciprocity is not carried out on equal terms (ibid.). Isbell notes how participation in reciprocal aid is practiced by wealthy community members, as it forms a criterion for membership in Chuschi. Reciprocal aid is a necessary socio-economic mechanism in the community (1978:168). The minka is a work party, often with a festive atmosphere, in which the service is repaid by a certain quantity of goods. Food, coca and alcohol in abundance are also provided. Isbell notes that a minka often costs the community member, seeking help, more than simply hiring wage labour (ibid.).

Complementarity, one aspect of ayni, is the mechanism by which a household achieves balanced subsistence through the exchange of labour and/or surpluses produced from its holdings

in a particular ecological level. In T'astayok, goods, the product of man interacting with the environment, are exchanged internally within the community on the basis of ayni. This occurs especially when families need help as a result of poor harvests. The goods given will be returned at the next harvest or whenever they become available in accordance with the principle of generalized ayni. At harvest time, the T'astaino exchanges potatoes for an equal quantity of maize, with the agriculturalists of the village of Ollantaytambo in the valley below, a transaction involving symmetrical ayni. Complementarity in the solar markets of the Urubamba valley, however, is often asymmetric; the community member of T'astayok brings chuño to exchange for goods or to sell for money. At other times he deals with a trader who belongs to the capitalist economy and is interested only in making a profit; in this case of external exchange, the T'astaino does not get full value for his money.

Isbell concludes that duality in the Andes can be expressed in terms of opposites other than "high" and "low." Inside/outside, domestic/savage, community member/outsider are all extremes which require mediation to establish equilibrium. (1978:97). In T'astayok, as noted above, the first instance of complementarity operates internally within the community between community members; the second example represents ayni or reciprocity between the Quechua inhabitants of "high" and "low" ecological zones, where equal amounts of products are exchanged. Both these cases of ayni are symmetric. However, in the last two examples, the T'astaino on the "inside" is dealing with the

"outside", represented by the market and the trader where dealings become asymmetric and out of balance from the point of view of the community member.

The principle of mita refers to the total number of cycles of complementary rotation; mita can transform spatial order into a temporal order and vice versa. Orlove (1977) in a study of high altitude transhumance in Espinar, Department of Cuzco, is dealing with two altitudinal zones, that is, with spatial order. The latter is changed into a temporal order as the onset of the dry and the wet seasons dictate the time of herding the animals up and down the mountain. The period of the year when the animals have their young at the lower altitudes is called mita in Quechua as is the new-born animal itself. The rotation of crops is also termed mita; the term applies to rotation and fallowing within a single field or to a system of consecutive sowings in a number of sections (Earls and Silverblatt, 1978).

Pallqa is a principle of interaction which contains the concept of bifurcation; pallqa however is static without a prescribed direction and is reversible in space and time. The principle of pallqa applies to roads and to irrigation canals, both constructed by the work of man. Mitchell (1977), describing irrigation canals in Quinoa stressed how the flow of water could be shut off and diverted and how the water was carried by various canals in several directions to where it was needed. Tinku, in contrast, is a natural process of a river being joined by a tributary; time and direction are irreversible and the river can never separate again into its original component parts. In

the case of pallqa, water which has been diverted for irrigation may be redirected back to the river further downstream.

Ayni, mita and pallqa are Andean principles of interaction which link human energy expressed in work to the natural, social and political order in such a way as to achieve an equilibrium which benefits man and reaffirms an ordered universe. Andean duality in its different forms is a precondition that such principles may operate.

UTEK' PAMPA

In his writings on the communities of the Southern Andes of Peru, Arguedas emphasised the interaction between the Quechua people and the ecology of the region rather than the details of the social organization and family life within the community. The interior of a Quechua dwelling is featured only once, namely, in "La agonía de Rasu Ñiti," Arguedas' short story, whose theme is the ritual aspect of social and cosmological interaction. During the typhus epidemic, depicted in Los ríos profundos, Ernesto glances fleetingly into one of the huts of the hacienda caserío where the children of hacienda workers are suffering. In his Andean works, Arguedas never distances himself from the land, the resource base and spiritual centre of the indigenous communities.

The community of Utek' pampa, as represented by Arguedas, is a microcosm of the ecological world of the rural Southern Andes. It is located in the Department of Ayacucho, in the vicinity of Puquio (altitude 3200 meters), the principal town of the Province of Lucanas. Above Utek', on the mountain, lies

the community of San Juan Lucanas. From the crest of the mountain Santa Barbara, the traveller looks down on the pampa of Utek', situated like a step, halfway up the mountain slope. The pampa is level, measuring two leagues in length and one in breadth--a league being about 5500 meters. Travelling in the rural Andes is usually done on foot, and Arguedas related man to the landscape through use of the word legua (league)--a distance measured by paces. The pampa terminates at the edge of a ravine which descends to the river Viseca. The community of Utek', located on the pampa, is surrounded by eucalyptus trees as well as peach and apple orchards belonging to the community members. The favoured position of Utek' allows for the optimum cultivation of maize which grows "to the height of two men" (1973:22). New houses and roofs testify to the prosperity of the independent village where the community members are propietarios, owning their land.

Arguedas represented Utek' as occupying the traditional position of a mountain slope community in the Southern Andes with the valley floor of the Viseca river below (hurin) and the higher grazing grounds above (hanan). Above Utek' lies San Juan, formerly a mining centre and now the suffering captive community of an hacienda; community members live in poverty as cowhands, muleteers or servants of the landowner and the dominant mestizo class. The self-sufficiency and autonomy of Utek' depend in part on the distance between the community and the hacienda, and, according to Arguedas, in part on strong leadership and community fortitude (1976a:35; 1973:21-23).

From Arguedas' accounts of Utek'pampa in "Agua" and "Los escoleros," the ecological reality of the Andes is presented in accordance with the Andean principles of interaction: ayni, mita, and pallqa. Emphasis is placed both on the satisfaction gained from working in co-operation with nature to produce subsistence, and the joy of existence in the midst of natural beauty and fertility. Far from the sky and the harsh puna environment, Utek' is a happy place in contrast with Arguedas' description of the misery of the oppressed puna Indians above Puquio. The community members built shelters in their maize fields, at a distance from their dwellings, to gather the harvest and thus to exploit zonal verticality. After the harvest all the animals were brought down to the fields to feed on the chaff and new shoots. This procedure exemplifies the use of mita as well as the transhumance pattern of alternating high and low pasture zones in the Southern Andes, which demonstrates the principle of pallqa.

Life surges everywhere in Utek'; the Indians help each other and enjoy seeing their world prosper. Thus, emphasis is laid on ayni as the most important socio-economic mechanism in the Andes, capable of facilitating community self-sufficiency. Mists and rain provide water for Utek', eliminating the need for irrigation. The adoration of the community members centres on the planted fields in flower rather than on the festival of The Virgin Candelaria, observed by the mestizos of San Juan; the heart of the Indian responds above all to the fertility and generosity of the Earthmother (1973:22). Tayta Chitulla,

the guardian mountain, towers above the community.

According to Arguedas, Utek' "lives" (1967a:39), whereas the community of San Juan "is dying," disintegrating under alien oppression (ibid.:13). Utek' is self-sufficient and independent; man and nature interact in accordance with Andean tradition to create harmony and prosperity. The identity of Utek' is expressed through communal solidarity and work, resulting in individual happiness. Utek' is the terrestrial representation of the Quechua universe.

Yambert believes that "The relationship between agricultural structures and the ideas about them is a dialectical one. Images or conceptions of rural society are not simply reflections of existing arrangements but also play an active role in social change when they guide the behaviour of concrete groups of people." (1980:85). In his repeated descriptions of Utek' pampa, Arguedas sought to convey to his Hispanic readers the ability of the Quechua people to order their agricultural activities and their social organization successfully in the absence of hacienda interference. The author characterized Quechua community members as demonstrating action and creativity in their approach to meeting the problems of Andean existence. In Arguedas' description of Utek' these qualities manifested themselves in a capacity for hard work, in readiness to help each other and in care lavished on the earth, all of which ensured self-sufficiency in the community. Arguedas' account of Utek' pampa, based on personal experience, served to counteract the derogatory description of the Indian provided by certain of

Arguedas' literary contemporaries. In his writings, Arguedas indicated the dichotomy existing between the solidarity displayed by Utek'pampa and the disruption and disintegration, both ecological and spiritual, ravaging San Juan, the neighbouring community which suffered from the oppressive hacienda regime.

Arguedas was anxious to convey to his readers the essential part which collective effort played in the rural Andean community. Today, A. Camino insists that Andean agriculture is still social agriculture. In his account of Utek'pampa, Arguedas emphasised the value of the concepts of solidarity and communal well-being in the indigenous Andes, in comparison with the importance that the Western world places on economic action. He believed that aggressive individualism would not benefit the world but destroy it; the fraternity of the human race would generate not only the greatness of Peru but also that of humanity. Arguedas maintained that the Indians had incorporated these ideas into a way of life which was ordered, which had a system, and which adhered to a tradition (Primer encuentro 1969:240).

Utek'pampa may also be viewed in terms of a mirror image of "the hereafter" (Hanaqpacha) as conceived by the Quechua people. In this context the Andean duality of "high"/"low" is conceptualized in terms of this world (Kaypacha), being complementary to the world above (Hanan pacha). J. Nuñez del Prado relates how Hanaqpacha appears as a land of promise and plenty (Lyon 1974:250). In contrast with the traditional Western concept of eternal rest, Hanaqpacha is a place of agricultural

activity corresponding to Arguedas' emphasis on action and creativity, the salient characteristics of the Quechua people. Even the children work; Zuidema and Quispé, quoting an informant in Ayacucho, relate how children who have died go to tend a flower garden (wayta huerta); the little boys water the flowers, and the little girls sweep and clean the garden. It was customary to place a broom in the coffin of a young girl for this purpose (1973:369). In Hanaqpacha, lands are plentiful and fertile, and harvests are not subject to losses or calamities. This vision conveys Quechua pride in hard physical labour and suggests the longing for freedom from the main constraints which harrass the Quechua in their daily lives-- the low fertility and scarcity of land allied to the high risk environment of hail, thunderstorms and frost, which ruin the harvest. Arguedas projects the healing, tranquilizing effect of the harmony achieved between man, nature and the spiritual world in the community of Utek'pampa.

ANDEAN ECOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY EXPRESSED IN RITUAL

Halperin maintains that "cultural systems provide the framework of values and motivation--in essence the ideological base for the material-means-provisioning process." (1977:276). Halperin also acknowledges that human societies operate with different systems of meaning and stores of accumulated knowledge.

In his speech in the Casa de las Américas in Havana, Cuba (1968), Arguedas, in keeping with Halperin's views, related how native Andean values and traditions had remained strong as a result of geographical separation from the criollo coast whose

inhabitants were Western in outlook. The persistence of Quechua as the principal language of the Andes enshrined the Quechua way of thinking which also reinforced Quechua values and motivation. On the practical level, anybody engaged in business in the Andes was obliged to speak Quechua. The Quechua language was perhaps the most powerful affirmation of the existence of Quechua society. Arguedas described how the Quechua and Hispanic societies, operating with different systems of meaning, had remained totally divided and irreconcilable until almost mid-twentieth century (1976k:408-410). In the Southern Andes of today, the ideological base of the rural economy is still expressed mainly through ritual and myth. Ritual is the dramaturgical aspect of the symbolic relationship between humans and the cosmos; this same relationship is expressed verbally through myth. Leach states:

At one extreme we have actions that are entirely profane, entirely functional, technique pure and simple, at the other we have actions that are entirely sacred, strictly aesthetic, technically non-functional. Between these two extremes we have the great majority of social actions which partake partly of the one sphere and partly of the other.... From this point of view, technique and ritual, profane and sacred, do not denote types of action but aspects of almost any kind of action (1965:13).

In the interrelated Quechua world, everyday reality and the supernatural are not separated; they are two sides of the same coin. Like man, Quechua divinities are intimately connected with the earth, and the rural Quechua people live in daily communication with the spirits of the mountains (apus, aukis), of the thunder and lightning (illapa), of the hail (k'oa) and

of the rocks (ñusta). These spirits are embodied in a visible and often tangible form, accessible to the people who revere them.

In the Andes, ritual, as Leach has described it, expresses both the worship of the Gods, which is spiritual, and a technique to help assure an abundant harvest, which is functional. To the traditional rural Quechua of the high Andes, lighting fires to produce smoke which counteracts the effect of night frosts, and making offerings to the spirits, have the same function, namely, to help achieve adequate subsistence.

Quechua interaction with the physical environment can generate ritual which seeks to complement the inadequacies of existing Quechua technology. Such ritual can be interpreted as an effort to gain control over the forces of nature which cannot be regulated by the community. Murra notes how the Aymara ethnologist Mauricio Mamani recalled that during his youth, although care was lavished on the earth, rational efficient steps were not enough; libations and ways of placating the deities helped to protect the soil. Neglect of ritual offerings was listed alongside damage produced by chemical fertilizers or an overly brief fallowing period as having destructive consequences for the land (1984:120).

In the high Andes, ritual is directed towards the key to life--fertility. Unceasing effort is required to till, fertilize and fallow the poor soils. Torrential rains and landslides can rapidly destroy these improvements to the land accomplished by the toil of successive generations. Even when grain has grown

well, the dreaded hail can level the crop and threaten subsistence. Drought on the Western slopes can spell catastrophe unless irrigation is available. Humans and animals abort easily at high altitudes. In short, the Andes represent a high risk environment. Emphasis is therefore placed on sexual complementarity which mediates the duality of male-female as a concept symbolizing the regenerative process and creating abundance. This aspect of duality is linked to the fundamental Andean structure of "high" and "low." The earth (Pachamama), the crop zone at a lower altitude close to the community, is complemented by the Wamanis, the high mountain deities who send the water from the mountain springs under their control to fertilize the earth on which Quechua life depends. The meeting of water and earth can be viewed as an example of the Andean principle of interaction--tinku, which as in the case of the confluence of two rivers creates a new entity. In Chuschi, the irrigation canals meet at the entry to the quichwa zone. Through the power of fertilization this meeting produces a new crop of cereals.

The products of Quechua labour are acquired through community members interacting with the environment according to the principles of ayni, mita and pallqa. The rural Quechua attribute the benefits of good health, abundant harvests and increases in livestock to the Pachamama and the Wamanis, who are kindly disposed towards man. However, in accordance with the principle of ayni, man must repay the gifts he has received. At prescribed times of the year, the Quechua people make ritual

offerings which are symbolic and therefore asymmetrical in comparison with the total number of benefits received. In Spanish, such offerings are termed pago (payment), despacho (dispatching), alcanzo (reaching), ofrenda (offering) or werakana in Quechua, meaning "the burning of the fat." The basic symbolic ingredients -- llama fat, corn and coca, make up the offering with optional variations according to the locality. A libation of alcohol (tinka) is sprinkled towards the four corners of the earth or the room where the ritual is enacted. Before the burning of the offering, divination by coca leaves may take place.

THE YARCA ASPIY

The most important ritual of the year, involving community members interacting with their vertical ecological space, is still widely observed in the region of the dry Western slopes of the Andes in the Department of Ayacucho. The Yarka Aspiy, or festival of the cleaning of the irrigation canals is also termed La Acequia or when abbreviated, La Cequia in Spanish in Peru; the paronym of La Cequia is La Sequia which, when written with an accented "í" means "drought." According to Arguedas, the celebration La Sequia in Puquio is one of two festivals dedicated to the adoration of the Wamanis (1956:204).

This celebration has been described by anthropologists in different communities in the Department of Ayacucho. These communities include: Chuschi, Province of Cangallo, Pampas river valley (B.J. Isbell 1978:138-145); Quinoa, District of Quinoa,

Chaco river in the Ayacucho valley (Mitchell 1977:52); Andamarca, Province of Lucanas, the valley of the river Negromayo (J. Ossio 1977:52-53); and Puquio, Province of Lucanas (Arguedas 1956:205-230). Arguedas also describes aspects of the festival in his short story "El ayla," depicting the ceremonial line of unmarried dancers.

The celebration of the Yarka Aspiy is essentially a Quechua ritual which combines agricultural technique with a reverence for fertility and abundance resulting from the union of the earth below and the life-giving water gifted by the Wamanis high above. The Quechua nature of the festival is not confined to the Department of Ayacucho. In Misminay, Department of Cuzco, Urton observes that, in an irrigation canal cleaning ceremony lasting one day, sunset marked the end of the work and the beginning of the ceremony (1981:68).

Mitchell notes how the irrigation canals are cleaned once a year in Quinua before the rains arrive and the agricultural cycle begins. In Quinua, two terms--Yarka Aspiy (cleaning of the irrigation canals) and Yarka Ruway (working of the irrigation canals)--are used to designate both the cleaning and celebration of the irrigation system. In one residential district, the cleaning (limpia de la cequia) is carried out in July, whilst the festival (celebración) takes place at the end of August, the month that the Quechua consider the earth "opens." In the other barrio the cleaning and celebration are simultaneous; the work is organized by the municipal authorities according to the rules of faena (communal work days) which state that each family must

provide a worker or pay a fine; if this demand is not met, water is refused to the uncooperative family. Everyone works on the section of the canal system which he uses. Faena can be interpreted as a form of public reciprocity (1977:52).

In Quinua, the varayok hierarchy originally organized the festival, and today functions in the adjacent hamlet of Moya. In Puquio and Chuschi, however, the civic religious hierarchy still take full responsibility for all stages of the ritual. In Ossio's account of the festival in Andamarca, Spanish names of office bearers such as alcalde are used, and Catholic saints are involved. There is no participation by a Catholic priest in the festival in Quinua; the crosses used in the ceremony are kept, not in a chapel, but in the homes of the fiesta celebrants; only traditional Andean drum and flute music is played as opposed to other fiestas, when bands are brought in from Ayacucho. The Quinua festival is part of a regional system which takes place in a temporal sequence throughout the communities of the mountain range.

As in Quinua, the celebration of the Yarka Aspiy festival in Puquio is traditional and conservative and is enacted in accordance with Quechua cosmivision. The varayok hierarchy has always organized the festival in both Puquio and Chuschi. In Arguedas' account, the varayok are accompanied by the auki, a community member who represents the spirit of the mountain. In Chusechi, the festival follows immediately after the cleaning of the canals at the September equinox, whilst in Puquio, La Sequia varies according to each ayllu from mid-August to mid-September.

Music is provided by native instruments in Quinua, Chuschi, Puquio and Andamarca. As in Quinua, the crosses in Chuschi and Puquio are deposited in the homes of the participants whilst in Chuschi and Andamarca they are returned to the zonal boundaries to guard the fields in gestation during the rainy season.

The Andean cross is a powerful symbol which is polysemous. Urton quotes Adán Quiroga who in his study of the iconography of the cross in pre-Columbian America concluded that water/rain was the fundamental motive of the different religious systems in the Americas, and that its uniform symbol was the cross (1981: 138). B.J. Isbell, however, cites Palomino (1968) who argues that the cross of the Andes is a prehispanic concept that reflects the native symbolism of fertility and abundance (1978: 59). Isbell also views the constellation of the Southern Cross in Salcamaygua's diagram as symbolizing the synthetic union of male and female elements, further emphasising the concept of fertility (ibid.:138). In Andamarca, Ossio observed that the role of the crosses was to protect the crops, especially against hail, in order to achieve an abundant harvest (1978b:319). The cross may also be associated with the Wamanis. In one drawing, made by a school child in Chuschi, Isbell found that the Wamanis were depicted as mountains with crosses on the peaks, and with irrigation canals originating in mountain springs and flowing to the land beneath (1978:44-46).

Ossio notes how the most important characteristic of Andean symbols is their multivocality (1978b:389) while W.H. Isbell, who describes symbols as "context sensitive", maintains that

symbols can only be understood by people educated in their interpretation (1978:270). Although the above meanings of the cross as a symbol have different sources, the meanings themselves--water, fertility and abundance, sexual complementarity and the Wamani--are all closely associated with the festival of the Yarka Aspiy. In Arguedas' account of the celebration, the wooden cross of the varayok is adorned with flowers of the crimson Kantuti (Kantu in Puquio), the sacred flower of the Inca, whilst the crosses of the lesser officials are made of straw. The varayok, the auki and their helpers adore the crosses, but in silence (1956:219). The Yarka Aspiy is a Quechua and not a Catholic festival.

Ossio endorses the view of B.J. Isbell who interprets the significance of the celebration in terms of fertility and sexual complementarity to assure abundance (1978b:379-380). Ossio also agrees with Arguedas, who considers La Sequia, the festival of water, to be dedicated to the Wamanis who watch over human beings and animals. Ossio, however, stresses the essential duality which structures the organization of the Andamarcan universe as well as the integrating character of the festival of the Cequia. In Andamarca, the opposition between puna (high) and valley (low) is mediated by the river Negromayo which is fed by two streams rising in the Western and Eastern puna respectively. While integrating the puna zones and providing water for the valley, the river then divides the valley into an East and West bank with each bank having an independent irrigation system. Andamarca is both a community and a district; the community lies

on the West bank of the Negromayo and the annex of Chiricre on the East bank faces the community at the same altitudinal level. The concepts of duality and integration are inherent in the offerings made simultaneously on both sides of the river on August 23rd. On this day, offerings are also made at the location of two lakes, one on the east bank associated with agriculture (valley) and one on the West bank associated with livestock raising (puna). The festival La Cequia therefore, integrates the two river banks, and the river becomes a mediating rather than a dividing force (ibid.:386). In Andamarca, space is perceived in terms of two axes--one South/North, the other West/East--which represent the essential opposition between puna and valley; once again it is the river which mediates this opposition. The equilibrating character of the river emphasises the value of the unifying principle assigned to water. Thus, according to Ossio, the Festival of La Cequia in Andamarca can be defined not only as a ritual emphasising fertility but also as a celebration structured by duality and dedicated to integration (ibid.:388).

Isbell maintains that fecundity is the motive for the celebration of the Yarka Aspiy. The Earth Mother is the purified bride, and the two Wamani residing in the high sources of irrigation water are the grooms. The final consummation takes place at the Qonopa, the site of the convergence of the irrigation canals at the boundary between the village and the quichwa zone (1978:163). Water is associated with the springs originating within the mountain--with the underworld. Arguedas

notes how the assistant auki of Chaupi, don Viviano, believed that water is the blood of the veins of the Wamani. According to don Viviano, this sacred water, the Aguay Unu, gushed from the mountain, whilst the Catholic God sends the rain (1956:200). Isbell observes how the Qonopa, the location where the earth is impregnated, is not only at the convergence of the irrigation canals but also close to the cemetery (1978:163). The ultimate duality existing between life and death, and between the dry fallow months and the beginning of the rainy season, is mediated by the cycle of regeneration. Isbell notes how the Yarka Aspiy helps counteract the fears regarding infertility of the herds and crop failures as experienced by Chuschi community members.

In his ethnological account of the festival of La Sequia Arguedas describes the ayla (the ritual dance of the community), as a symbol of the arrival of the fertilizing mountain spring water to the community, "to the zone where each drop of water represents 'yawar,' that is to say, blood": the blood of the veins of the Wamani is the most potent Quechua symbol of the life-giving force of water. The celebration of the ayla is both joyful and uninhibited. When the nocturnal dance is terminated, the young unmarried couples climb beyond the populated area to consummate the ritual (1956:225). Isbell notes that in Chuschi, the high savage sallqa or puna is considered the appropriate place for illicit sexual encounters, which cannot occur in the civilized village (1978:119). In this case, Andean duality is expressed in terms of "high" and "low", savage and civilized, outside and inside--the dichotomies characterizing the opposition

between puna and community. Ecologically, the puna provides the source of community water and the pasture for the community herds which constitute its wealth and is therefore the preferred area. Socially, however, the community as the centre of ordered social organization takes precedence over the untamed puna.

Arguedas, in his ethnological article "Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio" maintains that the ayla, the ritual dance, did not constitute a bacchanal, as the couples participating in the ayla were already betrothed (1956:224-225). The chain of dancers ascends from the community to the puna to the source of the fertilizing water which mediates the opposition of the separate ecological zones of the high mountains and the quichwa adjoining the community below; the ayla symbolically parallels ecological fertility through the concept of human fertility.

In his short story "El ayla", Arguedas introduces a new element into this Quechua festival--the Hispanic world. The author describes the ritual in accordance with his ethnological study cited above; Arguedas also interprets the festival from three points of view: that of the Quechua community members, that of the mestizo inhabitants of Puquio, and also that of Santiago, the adolescent protagonist who is Hispanic by birth but Quechua by affinity (1967g:191-198).

In "El ayla," Arguedas emphasises values and emotions as perceived through the filter of the cosmovision of the community. The auki, calm and detached, is in a state of communion with the mountain Arayá and the Quechua universe. He has become integrated with the mountain he represents. In his works,

Arguedas transmits the ultimate meaning of the Quechua universe through onomatopoeia, through music or through light. During the ritual, the evening light suffuses the world, not simply beautifying it, but communing spiritually with man. The auki contemplates the dancers as though he were the mountain; he remains quiet and unemotional, without moving; the light becomes focussed in his eyes, and his gaze assimilates the hills and valleys, the abysses and peaks, the thorn brush, the hayfields and the colours of the earth which belong to the community and set its limits (1967g:192). This description of the auki by Arguedas appears to have its parallel in the interpretation of Andean thought by Maytacapacynga as quoted by Salcamaygua in his *Relación* (1613). The passage is elucidated by Regina Harrison, who believes that:

He (Maytacapacynga) refers to absolute comprehension which encompasses all visual and representative cues, yet disdains specific signs, to see and understand a cosmological design. When humankind indeed reaches this level of understanding, the nature of existence at all levels is known and humans comprehend fully the order imposed on the world (1982:91).

The dancers perform the ritual because their hearts and the mountain Arayá dictate it (Arguedas 1967g:194). Ritual prescribes that fertility be openly celebrated; to the participants the concept of original sin is absent.

The mestizos living in Puquio characterize the Andean music as "devilish" and the ritual as "fit for animals." Santiago, the adolescent, attempts to join the group of dancers; although Hispanic by birth, he seeks cultural identity with the

Quechua community, and longs for emotional and spiritual integration into the ayla, the chain of dancers. However, the Hispanic child is refused entry into the group as he does not "belong" and is designated as an "orphan" by a Quechua participant (1967g:194-197). The name wakcha (orphan) designates one of the lowest sub-classes in the indigenous community. An individual belonging to this group is economically poor as he does not own land. Even more important than material poverty however, is the lack of an adequate number of kin, compadres and close friends with whom such a person can enter into "ayni" relationships (reciprocal aid). The ability to mobilize such help is necessary to function adequately within the indigenous community (B.J. Isbell 1978:76-78; Arguedas and Rescaniere 1967:309). On the level of National Peruvian and Quechua societies, the Indian is usually the outcast who suffers rejection. In "El ayla," Arguedas has reversed the normal roles as Santiago feels abandoned and unwanted.

In her ethnographic study, Isbell stresses Quechua ritual and symbolism as related to economic survival and thus to self-sufficiency and autonomy. In his short story, Arguedas treats the same elements as related to spiritual survival, which reinforces cosmovision, another component of Quechua community strength.

CHAPTER V

CONFLICTIVE DUALITY IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES

Arguedas incorporated the dichotomy of "high" and "low" into his ethnographic writings and fiction as the organizing principle governing the ecology and ritual of the indigenous community of the Southern Andes. The author demonstrated how autonomous Quechua speaking ayllus, such as those of Puquio, mediated this duality on the conceptual level (La Fiesta de la Sequia), whilst in Utek'pampa the duality of "high" and "low" was mediated on the pragmatic level through the Andean principles of interaction. On the spiritual level, Utek'pampa, the community belonging to Kaypacha (the world of the here and now), appeared to be the mirror image of Hanakpacha (the land above), representing the Quechua hereafter. Action and creativity were necessary on the part of community members to achieve and maintain an equilibrium between the two extremes of "high" and "low"; such effort has been an ongoing process, and in the rural economy of the Andes, is described by Guillet as "the dynamics of human cultural response to environmental constraints." (1983:562). This search for balance by the Quechua people of the Andes on the physical, social and conceptual level, when successful, produced order which enabled autonomous indigenous communities such as Puquio (Arguedas 1956:184-232) to absorb and transform the impact of changing external social and economic constraints.

After the Conquest, duality in the Southern Andes became

conflictive owing to the presence of two different cultures in the region. Arguedas described this new duality, rooted in the opposition--Quechua/criollo--as the factor which decided every aspect of human activity in Peru (1976k:407). The country was divided into two universes, two entirely different worlds--the world of the Indians, and that of the criollos influenced by Western culture. Native Peruvian chroniclers immediately following the Conquest conceptualized this duality in terms of "order" and "chaos." (Ossio 1977:51-95; Salomon 1982:8-33).

THE CONCEPT OF ANDEAN ORDER

Before the Spanish invasion (1532) the Inca Empire had already achieved the cultural and linguistic unification of Peru and had created order in the realm on the conceptual and pragmatic level. The native Andean chronicler, Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, a noble from the region of Collasuyu, wrote in Spanish when his message was factual but continued writing in Quechua when the content of his chronicle, "Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú" (1613) dealt with religious ritual. By learning Spanish, Salcamaygua attempted to explain Andean thought to the invaders. He related how the concept of Andean order had been created through a human - superhuman vertical discourse between the Inca and Viracocha, the creator. This discourse highlighted the quality of reciprocity present between creator and created. The verbs employed stressed action, creativity and the creation of order. Analysing this discourse, Salomon says, "At what Harrison calls

'a complex level of understanding,' human capability for shaping self and action constitutes an order creating process, in spite of weariness and mortality." (1982:21). As already noted, Arguedas, himself an Andean, emphasised the same qualities of reciprocity, action and creativity which he perceived as characteristic of the Quechua people, three hundred and fifty years after Salcamaygua's chronicle. Arguedas' personal aim was the same as that of Salcamaygua: to give his Hispanic reading public an understanding of the Quechua people through "reaffirming the outstanding human values of the native population and the promise which these values constituted in the effort to modify social confrontation in Peru and in other countries in Latin America where there is conflict." (1981c:97).

Order in the Inca Empire on the pragmatic level had its origin in the interaction between the Inca, his administration in Cuzco, and the ayllus (the rural communities of the Andes). The Inca state incorporated into the organization of the Empire the same principles which had governed the communal life of the ayllu--reciprocity, redistribution, and the vertical control of the Andean ecology. Conversely, the qualities stressed in the Inca's divinely inspired concept of order--creation, action, reciprocity, and the maintenance of established order, were also the predominant concerns of the ayllu. Mythical religious beliefs in the rural Andes were, and still are, inseparable from the principles of socio-economic organization. Together they form the concept of total reality which directs Quechua existence. Although the Inca state exercised rigid control,

introduced tribute and superimposed a state religion on the Andean huaca belief system, it maintained the pre-Incaic established order of the cultural and economic systems of the region.

The just order of the Inca reached into the lives of all Andean people. The Inca state established a single language--Quechua--and integrated the warring tribes of the Chanca and the Colla, and peoples such as the Lupaca, the Chimu and the Cañari into the Empire. Statistics on population, production and tribute were recorded on the knotted cords of the quipu system. The Inca formed the apex of the highly centralized Andean power pyramid and ruled from Cuzco, the "navel" or centre of the world. Twenty thousand kilometres of paved roads converged on the central plaza of Cuzco, symbolizing the unity of the four parts of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca universe. These quarters, Chinchaysuyu (NorthWest), Collasuyu (SouthEast), Antisuyu (NorthEast) and Kuntisuyu (SouthWest) represented the ideal ordering of Andean space. Using these roads, the Inca travelled over his domain as the visible incarnation of orderly rule.

The principles of reciprocity, redistribution, and the vertical control of ecological altitudinal zones have characterized the socio-economic nature of Andean subsistence agriculture since Inca times. Reciprocity in all its varied aspects forms the basis of Andean community life where society is organized in accordance with a communal, not an individual, social ethic. Even in pre-Inca times a married man had the right to demand his share of agricultural land in the ayllu as well as help from

other members in cultivating it. He repaid this privilege known as manay through symmetrical reciprocal labour (Alberti and Mayer 1974:15). Vertical control of the Andean ecology could only be achieved by the communal efforts of the ayllu, while redistribution of surplus was accomplished within the ayllu through exchange and barter. Internally, the ayllu also distributed produce to and provided labour for widows, the aged and the disabled. This pattern continues in established communities today.

The Inca state employed asymmetrical reciprocity in conjunction with redistribution and the extension of vertical ecological control in governing the Andes justly. Ayllu lands were divided into three parts. The produce of two smaller parts was dedicated to the worship of the sun and the state respectively with the remaining part retained for ayllu use. The production destined for the state was gathered into store houses (collica) and redistributed to the people during famines resulting from poor harvests and natural disasters.

The Incas also extended the amount of vertical agricultural land by constructing terraces (still visible in the Vilcanota valley) and by a network of irrigation canals. Murra believes that these newly created terraces on the lower slopes of the quichwa zone were used for maize cultivation (1980:7). The Inca claimed taxes in labour (mita) to carry out such projects. This was organized in strict rotation and involved one month per man per year. The Andes flourished and the population grew, largely owing to the increase and redistribution of food. The Inca

state needed manpower and it was obviously in its interest to provide for the population.

One Spaniard in particular, Cieza de León who journeyed through Peru (1532-1550) testifies fearlessly to the conditions prevailing at that time:

...their [the Incas'] ancient polity which if it had been preserved would neither have destroyed their liberties nor failed to bring them nearer to the way of good living and conversion; for it appears to me that few nations in the world had a better government than these Incas. I approve of nothing in the present rule, but rather deplore the extortion, cruel treatment and violent deaths with which the Spaniards have visited these Indians without considering the nobility and great virtue of that nation. (1864:chap. XCII).

Today the native people of the Andes still believe in the possibility of change in accordance with Andean values; such change is often termed, "a return to the just order" or "a return to the just order of the Inca" or simply "a return to Andean order." They have never ceased in their efforts to annul the legacy of chaos originating in the Conquest. Arguedas condensed this sentiment which he shared, into a sentence phrased in terms of duality: "I live to write and believe it is necessary to live unreservedly to interpret chaos and order." (1971:26).

CHAOS IN THE ANDES: THE LEGACY OF THE CONQUEST

The Quechua people perceived the arrival of the Spanish as initiating a state of permanent chaos in the Andes. To the Spaniards the Conquest implied a period, albeit a major one, in the chronological course of history. To the Andean people it

constituted an apocalypse. The Conquest shattered the paradigmatic interpretation of events (recalled through oral tradition) which ordered the Inca universe. Andean time was cyclical rather than linear and was not measured from a recognized starting point. Similar recurring events of magnitude were marked by constant points in space, forming a pattern and having a fixed relationship to each other. Change in the Andean world was brought about cyclically through a series of cataclysms (pachakuti) originating in natural phenomena such as earthquakes, floods etc.; these upheavals reversed the order of the universe and divided the epochs of human history. The pachakuti activated a revolution in which the latent powers of the lower world (hurin) replaced the powers then governing the upper world (hanan). When this occurred, the world had to be restructured.

Juan Ossio believes the Conquest was so overwhelming that for most of the indigenous people it had the image of a pachakuti. The Spaniards now occupied the position--hanan--formerly held by the Inca universe, and the Andean people were relegated to the lower world--hurin. Today they are still waiting for a reversal of this order (1983:12).

Far from restructuring the Andean universe, the Spaniards caused chaos without precedent. The scourge of European diseases, which decimated the population, preceded the arrival of Pizarro in Peru (1532). The population was uprooted and many died by the sword or as a result of forced labour. By the year 1600, 85% of the population of the former Inca Empire had

been destroyed (Wright 1983:7). The semi-divine Inca was betrayed and executed. Gold and silver, "the sweat of the sun and the tears of the moon" had no economic value for the Incas, but were fashioned into ceremonial artifacts which the Spaniards siezed and melted down. The sacred Quechua huacas, the powerful religious symbols, were sought out and reduced to rubble. The Andean agricultural system based on verticality was partially destroyed. The concepts of accumulation, individual gain and exploitation replaced those of reciprocity, redistribution, integration and communal organization.

The Inca elite attempted to regain the lost Empire. Manco Capac, the puppet Inca chosen by the Spaniards, rebelled and founded a neo-Inca state at Vitcos in the forests of Vilcabamba which remained independent for forty years ending in 1572.

Later, the revolt of Tupac Amaru (1780-1783) which had a messianic and revivalist undercurrent, spread through Southern Peru and Bolivia. The revolt lasted three years and took a toll of two hundred thousand lives. As a result, Areche, the Spanish Visitador-General attempted to eradicate all possible remnants of ethnic Inca leadership and culture in the Southern Andes.

The Inca state had drawn its strength from the Andean ayllu. It was now left to the rural community, bereft of leadership, to recreate order in its daily life, to continue resistance to the oppressive legacy of the Conquest, the hacienda, and to keep alive the messianic expectation of a return to just order in the Andes.

THE HACIENDA IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES

After the Conquest, the Spanish Crown, through a grant termed an encomienda, entrusted the welfare of Indian villages in the Andes to loyal conquistadores. In return for the right to exact labour service from the Indians, the encomendero undertook to Christianize his charges. Salvation and extortion became inseparable. When the hacienda replaced the encomienda, close ties between the estate and the Church were maintained in Peru.

For Arguedas, conflictive duality in the rural Southern Andes was characterized by the repetitive pattern of haciendas and indigenous communities in the region. Modernization had proceeded more rapidly on coastal haciendas where wages were paid in cash and workers were less rebellious than their Andean counterparts (Matos Mar 1967:12-13). In the geographically isolated Quechua speaking Andes, the hacienda formed a closed social system which was often both feudal in character and ruthless in administration; the hacienda in the Southern Andes depended completely on the will of one individual, the hacendado (owner). Conditions could vary from the most inhuman oppression (O. Nuñez del Prado 1973:3-4) to those provided by enlightened hacendados (Van den Berghe and Primov 1977:192; Van den Berghe 1980:165-167; Maltby 1980:99-111) to cases where the colonos were finally able to buy out the estate (Murra 1983:49; Webster 1980:142). Thus, the relationship between the hacienda and the colonos can at its worst be viewed as an extreme case of domination and dependency. Webster describes such interaction

at its best as an example of "enlightened mutual opportunism," generated by "a political and economic symbiosis characteristic of plural society." (1980:141).

Arguedas experienced the hacienda in the Southern Andes at the height of its ruthless power, 1910-1940. The number of traditional haciendas had been augmented by new estates which further pillaged Indian lands in the puna to obtain grazing lands for livestock to satisfy the expanding market in meat and wool (1968a:25-31). This usurption of community land in conjunction with unjust taxation was a major cause of numerous Indian uprisings in the Southern Andes ranging from Huancané (1866) to four revolts between 1880 and 1905 to eighteen between 1910 and 1925 (Piel 1967:380). These rebellions were savagely suppressed by forces provided by the National Government in Lima, and augmented the extreme bitterness in the Andes between the Indian and the mestizo landed elite, to which Arguedas repeatedly alludes.

Cotler explains how in the Southern Andes, owing to the lack of occupational diversification and to the fact that 87% of the dispersed population lived in small centres of less than 2000 inhabitants, there remained little opportunity for rural employment other than on the hacienda. Members of indigenous communities who were without land, often due to the indigenous system of parallel inheritance or who, owing to minifundio,¹⁷ lacked sufficient land, provided a plentiful supply of labour; such cheap labour was a significant factor in the low costs of production on an hacienda. Thus, while Peruvian law stated

that a colono on an hacienda was free to leave, he lacked alternative possibilities for employment (1967:15-20).

In the Southern Andes, haciendas fell into three categories: the agricultural, the mixed and the livestock hacienda. The agricultural hacienda, situated in Andean valleys, was labour intensive, as arable land in the mountainous terrain was limited. The hacendado granted the colono or tenant worker the usufruct of a parcel of marginal land for his own subsistence needs in return for rent paid in labour. The duties of the colono varied according to the demands of the hacienda on which he worked, but included agricultural work on the lands of the hacendado and service in the owner's household; further tasks comprised work on hacienda roads, on ditches for drainage and irrigation, on repairs to hacienda buildings as well as on the townhouse of the landowner. The colono was often assigned the duty of taking hacienda produce to market and could be forced to sell the surplus from his subsistence plot at a low price to the hacendado who then charged more for the same produce in the market.

The mixed hacienda in the Southern Andes frequently cultivated crops destined for hacienda consumption and alfalfa for animal fodder. Often the cost and difficulty of taking produce to market centres outweighed any advantage to be gained. As has been noted, livestock in terms of wool and meat was the source of wealth for haciendas and communities alike. The hacienda Lucanas (Department of Ayacucho) on which Arguedas passed his childhood was a mixed hacienda. The author writes

about the maize fields and about don Felipe Maywa who was a vaquero (cowboy) for the owner--Arguédas' stepmother (1971:23).

The livestock hacienda in the Southern Andes was situated at a higher altitude than the agricultural hacienda, and land use was extensive rather than intensive. The duties of a colono on a livestock hacienda were usually less onerous than those of workers on an agricultural hacienda. The colonos' first task was to herd the grazing animals belonging to the hacendado on the high pastures; other duties included the shearing and slaughtering of animals. Maltby notes that on hacienda Picotani (Puno), occasional service in the house of the administrator was required as well as a once yearly trip by a single colono to guide the llama train carrying hacienda wool to the nearest railway station and return with food required by the hacienda. The total demand for manpower was much less than on an agricultural hacienda. The colonos on the high pastures lived in cabañas (huts) located at a distance from each other in contrast with the crowded caserío of the agricultural hacienda. The hacendado could not effectively control the colonos on hacienda Picotani who were scattered and mobile. Colonos on Picotani had the right to graze their own sheep on hacienda land, and the hacienda put no limit on the number of animals. These animals provided the colonos with food, clothing and extra wool, the sale of which they controlled. The colonos also received a monthly salary, could buy other food at cost from the hacienda, were given free medical care and if necessary were taken to hospital in Juliaca or Arequipa. There was no

hacienda store on Picotani, eliminating the risk of debt peonage; alcohol was forbidden and was not sold on the hacienda. Free from debt and financially independent, the colonos were able to leave the hacienda in an effort to better their position.

Colonos on Picotani made trips to towns to sell their own wool and to carry out hacienda business and were thus able to form links with the outside world, unsupervised by the hacienda.

Admittedly the owner of Picotani looked after the well-being of his colonos but Maltby believes that the fundamental difference lay in the fact that the livestock hacienda was less open to exploitation than the agricultural hacienda (1980: 99-111).

Julio Cotler wrote during the same period as did Arguedas. Cotler emphasised three aspects of the complete control exercised by the hacienda owner over the dependent colonos on the traditional agricultural estate. These aspects comprised the creation of anxiety in hacienda workers, the concentration of power and authority in the hands of the owners and the subjugation of "captive" communities not sufficiently distanced from the hacienda (1967:15-20).

The constant state of insecurity experienced by the colono could border on a pathological condition. The owner had the power to demand the completion of duties at any given time, and a task such as potato lifting needed four weeks' work by the colono on the hacienda of Chawaytiri (Department of Cuzco). During that time the worker could not attend to his own subsistence plot on whose produce his family depended. The colono was also prevented from gaining cash wages by temporary migration

during el tiempo muerto (the dead time) between harvest and sowing, as his absence could mean non-compliance with unexpected duties which in turn could entail the forfeiture of his parcel of land. The worker also dreaded the possibility of sickness, as this too could mean the loss of tenure of his parcel of land.

Even after the demise of the hacienda in Peru following Agrarian Reform in 1964 and 1969,¹⁸ the adherence of the colonos to their plot of land persisted. Alberti (1981:58) noted this attitude in the case of Chawaytiri which had been converted by the Government into a cooperative. The ex-colonos, now members of the cooperative, neglected their collective duties in favour of cultivating their own particular parcel of land which they still retained. Martínez-Alier maintains that the desire for land in highland Peru can be viewed as an expression of the conservative attachment to the integrity of Indian peasant communities whose land had been taken over by the estates (1977:16). The individual control of land has remained a powerful motivating factor in the rural Andean way of life.

Given this atmosphere of insecurity, the colono sought to gain more stable conditions from the hacendado through personal ties such as that of compadrazgo (fictive kinship). Such a relationship underscores the paternalistic, precapitalist links between hacienda owner and peon which persisted in the Andes and which were founded on asymmetrical reciprocity. In many cases such ties only increased the power of the hacendado over the worker. A colono saw other workers on the estate as

rivals also vying for the protection of the landowner. The resulting animosity between the colonos precluded solidarity on the horizontal level; thus the colonos seldom made concerted efforts to improve their working and living conditions.

Colonos did have transactions external to the hacienda with the priest, the lawyer or National Government authorities. However, from Colonial times onwards, such authorities had worked in close cooperation with the hacienda; together they exacted the maximum personal benefit at the expense of the Indian.

In many cases the hacienda owner also held sway over "captive" communities adjoining hacienda lands. Hacendados often attempted to expropriate the community's natural resources be they land or water for irrigation. Whilst Brush (1977) and Isbell (1978) demonstrate how the communities of Uchucmarca (Department of La Libertad) and Chuschi (Department of Ayacucho) were able to withstand hacienda encroachment and defend their water supply and land respectively, other communities were less fortunate; Arguedas described the ongoing disintegration of San Juan (Department of Ayacucho) controlled by the hacendado, don Braulio who monopolized the water supply. The community lacked the collective will to oppose the landowner and was divided between those who hoped for favours from don Braulio and those who demanded justice. Fear of the hacendado was deeply ingrained in community members and had stifled all initiative (1967a:13-40).

Arguedas recognized the almost total power vested in the person of the hacendado. His literary treatment of the effect

of the hacendado and the Church on the local native population is complex compared to that of contemporary indigenist authors located on the coast, who lacked a profound understanding of conditions in the Andes. Such writers viewed the problem in terms of black and white according to their own Occidental cultural bias. Arguedas, however, decided to write not only on the Indian but also on the world of the Andes as he had experienced it. In the journal "Amauta" he had read descriptions of gamonales (landowners) as grossly exaggerated, as were the contemporary descriptions of the Indian. Arguedas wished to portray the landowner as a human being with faults and virtues the same as those of the Indian. Nevertheless, the landowners in Arguedas' works are tyrants, and even those affected by Quechua culture have faults which far outweigh their virtues. In the Andes most hacendados spoke Quechua, and those living on their estates as opposed to absentee landlords were in continuous contact with the Indians. In Arguedas' fiction, el Viejo, the hacendado of Los ríos profundos (1958) was traditionally Hispanic and Catholic in outlook, but don Julián Arangüena (Yawar Fiesta, 1941), don Aparicio (Diamantes y pedernales, 1954), and don Bruno (Todas las sangres, 1965) all participated in Quechua culture which brought them closer to the Indian people. With the exception of don Bruno, however, these landowners remained convinced, like feudal lords, of their inherent right to exert unrelenting control over "their" Indians (1968a: 13). The description of an hacienda offered for sale in the Southern Andes included the number of colonos working on it

(1967h:310); in short, the Indian colonos were treated as private property by the owner.

Arguedas' early work detailed the physical suffering, poverty and deprivation wrought on the Quechua people by the violence of the hacendado. Don Braulio monopolized irrigation water ("Agua", 1935); don Ciprián fenced in community land and persuaded the judge to authorize this pillage; don Ciprián also rounded up and appropriated animals in the puna belonging to the Indians, on the pretext that they were trespassing on hacienda lands ("Los escolares", 1935); don Froylán violated Indian women ("Warma Kuyay", 1935). The local priest in these tales preaches support for the hacendado and "is as a brother in the pillaging forays and drunken orgies" of the landowner don Ciprián (1967b:86). Such violence is characteristic of themes chosen by various committed writers, and forms part of the historical reality of the Andes.

Arguedas' later work stresses the psychological impact of hacienda oppression made evident by mental problems caused by physical suffering. The colonos of the caserío of the hacienda Patibamba fall into this category (1970:60). In the author's later works, religion becomes a predominant factor, be it Roman Catholicism or the Quechua belief system. Indian colonos were affected by the religious attitudes of the particular hacendado on whose estate they worked. In the remote Southern Andes cultural differences gave the landowner an apparently rational argument for the brutal treatment meted out to the "inferior" Indian who was still "idolatrous" (1966a:10-11).

Arguedas was educated as a Catholic and did not become anti-clerical on ideological grounds but rather as a result of his personal experience of the role of the established Church in the Andes. There is no proof that he linked Marxism and his socialist affiliation to atheism; on the other hand, Arguedas endorsed the Quechua belief that elements of nature are living entities and thus sacred (Primer encuentro 1969:108). Such an attitude bordered on the "pagan idolatry" which the Church had attempted to combat since the time of the Conquest in the Andes.

Amongst the revolutionary thinkers of Peru at the end of the nineteenth century, González Prada (1848-1918) had waged a long and ardent anti-clerical campaign, but Mariátegui (1895-1930), denying that religion was the opiate of the masses, declared that he detected a religious movement in every revolution (Chang-Rodríguez 1957:159-160). Fidel Castro also believes that the martyrs of the Church and revolutionaries have shared a dedication to an idea and to the intrinsic value of their particular undertaking (1985:133-134). Like Mariátegui and Fidel Castro, Arguedas attended Church schools and never attacked the Catholic faith, but castigated the support of the established Church for the landed aristocracy. Arguedas also decried the manipulation of Christianity practiced by the Church in the Quechua speaking Andes. Arguedas' position vis-a-vis the Church determined the author's life-long antagonism to "the fear of God, and the influence of that God, created by those whom he protected" (1971:286).

On his uncle's sugar-cane estate,¹⁹ the young Arguedas listened to the Franciscan Fathers preaching to the colonos from the golden pulpit of the hacienda chapel, telling them that the "Viracocha" landowner was the representative of God on earth. Whatever decision the landowner made must not be questioned, but accepted as a sacred command. After the sermon, the Indians remained weeping at the Church door (1981f:193). According to Arguedas, this distortion of Christian teaching formed the root of the negative influence of the Church on the Quechua Indian and constituted the basis for the attempted psychological destruction of Quechua identity which paralleled the predominantly physical abuse meted out by hacienda officials. Arguedas believed that:

The Church played a most important role in imposing and conserving the meekness which even to this day permits the uncensored physical destruction of hacienda Indians. An abundant and beautiful Quechua-Catholic literature still governs the conduct of the Indians; it proclaims pain, obedience and even death as the supreme good (1975:193).

THE COMMUNITY

In this thesis, the study of the Andean rural community will relate to Arguedas' conception of that entity. As has been noted, Arguedas was primarily concerned with the indigenous community as a bulwark of independent land ownership, communal endeavour and Quechua values which offered resistance to the domination, individual ownership and Hispanic tradition characteristic of the Andean hacienda. The persistence of Quechua traditions in the twentieth century requires a short

account of the origins of the following: the allyu (Andean rural community), Inca and Spanish domination, and the "indigenous community" of the Andes. The term "peasant community" was adopted in Peru only after Arguedas' death.

The Peruvian high culture period (1000 BC-1532 AD) produced consolidation of an important economic social and political institution--the ayllu or peasant community. The ayllu, through the communal ownership of the land and a cooperative form of family labour was a magnificent solution to the geographical difficulties of the Andean landscape. The ayllu resisted the changes imposed by kingdoms and empires, both Inca and Spanish, and its essential aspects still persist today. Through generations of experience, the ayllu came to hold vertical control of the maximum number of ecological zones. Family members were sent to live in different zones to supplement the family's production from a particular zone. In this way each family became self-sufficient. The land belonging to the ayllu was divided into sectors and the head of each family had the right to manay--the right to demand access to land in each sector. The size of the plots received depended on the size of the family. The legitimate right of each married man went beyond obtaining land for production, and he could claim access to extra labour which was organized on the basis of kinship. Ecological control corresponded with the ideal of local autonomy, the ultimate goal of the economic organization of the community (Espinoza and Díaz 1980:50-51; Alberti and Mayer 1974:15-16).

Under the Incas, the curaca who had been the head of the ayllu or extended family, was integrated into the political and administrative system of the new state. He became the key to interaction between the ayllu and the Empire which had been created by military campaigns.

The Spanish Conquest shattered the existing political, economic and religious system of the ayllu and the fragments were inserted into new contexts. Surprisingly, these surviving aspects of the original ayllu structure are still valid in today's rural Andean society. On the fall of the Inca Empire, state redistribution was eliminated and replaced by the colonial exploitation of the Indian. The vertical economy of the Andes was weakened by division into encomienda lands and by the complete separation of non-adjacent ecological zones from their ayllu of origin. A money economy was introduced.

The ayllus, decimated by European diseases, were gathered by the Spanish into congregaciones to facilitate tax-gathering. They still remained under the direct control of the curaca who once again mediated between the conquerors and the community. Under the Incas and the Spanish, the curaca had become an exploiter of the Indians. He prepared lists for mita labour as well as the rolls for tax collectors. He thus acquired power which he could use to exempt Indians from tribute in return for favours. Thus there was no direct communication between the ayllu and the Spaniards except in terms of a servile relationship. This increased in proportion to the growth of the haciendas. The indigenous population withdrew into itself and

relied on mutual help as a survival mechanism in a destructive world. In this new context, the closed corporate community was born. It felt continuously threatened by a hostile outside environment which relied on economic inequality, individuality and competition for the favour of those in power (Alberti and Mayer 1974:17-21).

Many communities date from the Toledo reducciones of the early colonial period; for example, Chuschi, Department of Ayacucho, founded circa 1574. Thus the indigenous communities were actually creations of Spanish colonial policy. In 1821 a supreme decree abolished both tribute and the encomiendas. This was the earliest of a series of laws establishing the legal and jural position of the native community as a corporate land-holding body. In 1919 the Peruvian Constitution legally recognized the Comunidades de Indígenas. Although the identity of these communities may have been in doubt before 1919, their actual existence was established through 300 years of litigation regarding boundary disputes. Chuschi petitioned for formal recognition as an indigenous community in 1941. Between 1919 and 1969 laws were passed giving citizenship to Indians and guaranteeing the inalienability of the lands of indigenous communities. In 1938 indigenous communities were registered with the Ministry of Labour and Indigenous Affairs. The Ministry established an autonomous three person committee whose leader was termed a personero (Isbell 1978, Brush 1977).

As an ethnologist, Arguedas never developed a conceptual framework for his studies on the indigenous communities of the

Southern Andes although his doctoral thesis, Las comunidades de España y del Perú, provided valuable conclusions based on personal experience and gained from comparative studies in Zamora and the Southern Andes (1968c). He was above all concerned with the future development of the community which for him represented the foremost agricultural production unit of the Andes. The author's acknowledged articles, "Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio" (1956) and "Evolución de las comunidades indígenas" (1957) as well as his accounts of Utek'pampa reveal that Arguedas, far from envisaging the Andean communities as static anachronisms barely surviving in the Twentieth Century, viewed them rather as entities able to organize themselves and become nuclei for future action. Arguedas insisted, however, that this optimistic outlook depended on the communities retaining effective control of their land.

Eric Wolf (1955) provides a model for the corporate communities of the upper highlands of Central and South America. The year of publication, 1955, coincides approximately with those of Arguedas' ethnographic articles on the ayllus of Puquio (1956), and the evolution of the indigenous communities (1957). Wolf's model applies to indigenous communities in the Southern Andes such as Puquio (Arguedas 1956) and Chuschi (Isbell 1978) both in the Department of Ayacucho, as well as Cheqec (Webster 1980) in the Department of Cuzco. A comparison between a summary of Wolf's typology and the four ayllus of Puquio (Arguedas 1956) will indicate the difference of emphasis noticeable in the ideas of Wolf and those of Arguedas; references will

also be made to the communities of Chuschi and Cheqec.

According to Wolf, the corporate community owns land which is marginal; it is situated about 3000 meters above sea level. Within the community, the members own land or have usufruct rights to it. Such land can be inherited but may not be sold to outsiders. Prestige and power is gained by holding successively more responsible offices (cargos) in the civil-religious hierarchy which organizes community fiestas. Such service acts as a levelling mechanism to equilibrate wealth in the community. Wolf maintains that the model community is poor and that a cult of poverty exists, since community members will consume less to compensate for losses such as a bad harvest. The family unit is prepared to make sacrifices and work without remuneration. Wolf believes that stress is laid on denial by community members of alternatives outside the community which could threaten communal solidarity. Endogamy within the community and ethnic group is favoured by community members. The existence of institutionalized envy expressed through gossip can create an aura of fear surrounding the victim through the use of witchcraft. This threat is effective in ensuring normative behaviour (1955:452-471). In short, Wolf stresses the importance of four main characteristics of the corporate community: the ownership of marginal land by the community and its members; the acquisition of prestige through the civil-religious hierarchy; the negation of alternatives outside the community; and the poverty of the communities.

In 1956 Puquio retained the ancient Andean quadripartition of space which divided the community into four ayllus, barrios or districts. Situated at an altitude of 3200 meters, Puquio had 14,000 inhabitants in 1956, 70% of whom were Indians (Arguedas 1956:184). At an earlier date, the maize lands of the ayllus had been seized by the criollos to grow alfalfa necessary for their livestock; the growing demand for meat and wool had also meant the expropriation of Indian puna lands at the hands of new landowners aided and abetted by the Church and the National Government. By 1956, however, many of the former land-owning elite had left for the capital of Lima, and the mestizos then became the other social class and ethnic group in the predominantly Indian community. The mestizos were business orientated and livestock and agricultural products had increased in value. The Indians owned land in Puquio and became prosperous as the price for livestock increased. This Indian prosperity was made evident in Puquio by the construction of two-storey houses, the opening of stores owned by Indians, and the admission of Indians to the Colegio Nacional (Ibid.:232). Thus the Indian in Puquio in 1956 did not suffer from the marginality of the land but was prospering through land-ownership and advantageous land use.

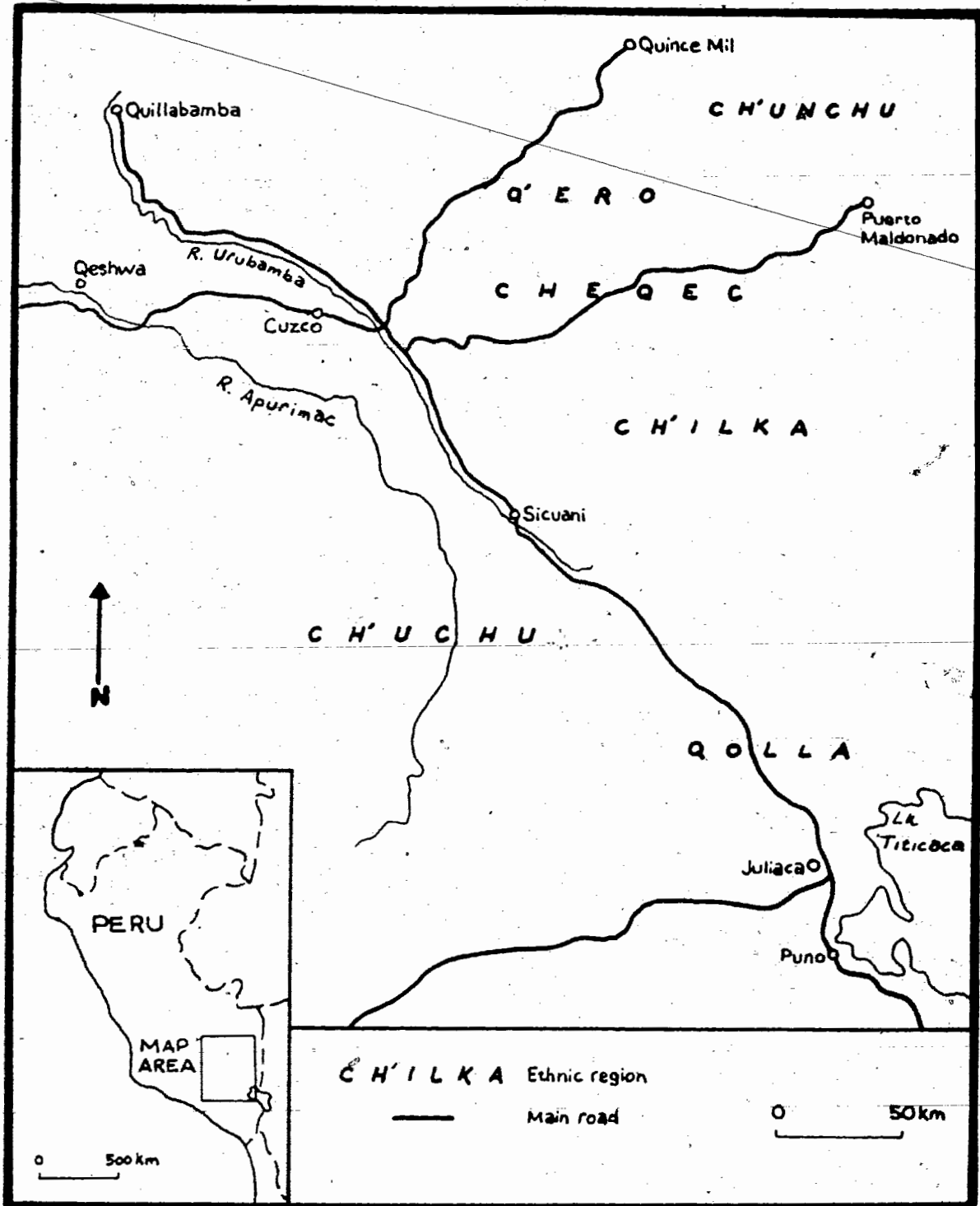
In neither Chuschi nor Cheqec, two communities displaying strong Indian ethnicity, has land been a problem. Chuschi lies at an altitude of 3154 meters above sea level, is located in the maize zone and controls the herding lands of the high puna as well as the valley floor of the Chuschi Mayo, a tributary of

of the river Pampas. Chuschi obtains its wealth from its herds of alpaca, llamas, sheep and cattle. The herds are privately owned and are kept on the communal lands of the puna by extended households. Chuschinos have only one and a half to two hectares of land per household, which is divided into tiny plots in various ecological zones. In Chuschi, control by the family of the vertical ecology is necessary for a subsistence diet, and "reciprocal labour is essential to the subsistence agriculture of Chuschi" (Isbell 1978:57). When a family does not own plots in every vertical zone controlled by the community, access to and exploitation of these multiple zones is gained indirectly through exchange and barter within the community. In this way an adequate subsistence level is achieved in a limited fragile and vertically diverse environment (Forman 1978:240). The land-use pattern in Chuschi has enabled the village to practise successful subsistence agriculture. Chuschi has also been free of direct hacienda domination, thus retaining the control of community lands.

The highway from Ica on the coast passes through Puquio; Chuschi is connected by a road ten kilometers in length to the main road from Ayacucho to Cancha-Cancha. Cheqec, however, is a dispersed community of eleven hamlets which is linked to provincial towns only by mountain trails. (Figure 8). Situated on the Eastern flank of the cordillera, Cheqec controls land ranging from glaciers at 5000 meters to sub-tropical forest at 2000 meters. The 400 inhabitants live at an altitude of 4100 meters as their main occupation is pasturing herds of alpacas.

FIGURE 8

THE CHEQEC ETHNIC REGION



Redrawn after S.S. Webster, "Ethnicity in the Southern Peruvian Highlands," in Environment, Society and Rural Change in Latin America, ed. D.A. Preston, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1980.

and llamas. As in Puquio and Chuschi the herds are the most valuable part of Cheqec's subsistence and trading economies. Andean tubers are cultivated at 3300-4000 meters while maize is grown at 2000 meters. Cheqec like Puquio and Chuschi has also a viable subsistence economy (Webster 1980:137).

The civil-religious system of power described by Wolf is still in force and exercises varying degrees of control in the indigenous communities of Puquio, Chuschi and Cheqec. Only the native people participate in these organizations. Varayok is a composite word; vara in Spanish means "staff" and yok in Quechua signifies "bearer" or "keeper." The varayok hierarchy was established by Viceroy Toledo in 1572 to ensure local control and exploitation by the Spaniards under the supervision of the Church. The office of the varayok in Cheqec is termed kamachikūq, meaning "those who cause things to be done"; the varayok hierarchy is now integrated into the local power structure and is involved in local leadership, the organization of religious feasts and relationships with the supernatural.

Male community members participate in the hierarchy to give service and gain prestige which is more highly regarded than material wealth in the indigenous community. In the Southern Andes the varayok system involves an outlay of personal wealth. A network of kin is also necessary for reciprocal aid when the attendant duties of the varayok interfere with his agricultural work. In Chuschi, community members who move through the hierarchy are apu--wealthy in material goods, kinship and prestige (Isbell 1978:74). Arguedas, however, described how

the retiring members of the varayok hierarchy in Erqa, Province of Canchis, knelt in front of the chapel, threw dust on their heads and cursed the duties which had left them ruined (1967h: 310). Nevertheless, in the Quechua communities, prestige and the social hierarchy are determined by the fulfilment of religious or civil obligations to the community. In the case of Puquio, Chuschi and Cheqec, the varayok hierarchy has served to protect Quechua ethnicity and community interests when threatened by National Government interference.

The civil-religious organization in Puquio was both influential and powerful. Traditionally, the varayok had distributed irrigation water to community members and mestizos alike until shortly before 1956 when the State had appointed a controller to "assist" the varayok on the grounds that he was illiterate. A struggle for power between the varayok and the controller ensued; Arguedas maintains that this struggle represents the conflict between Indians, mestizos and mestis in the administration of the community. In Puquio, it was acknowledged that the cargos (offices) caused financial ruin to the Quechua inhabitants. Nevertheless, many applied for the duties involved, as public censure for non-participation was extreme. Such censure included debarring members from their right to receive irrigation water as well as castigating the defaulters in public (1956:231).

Chuschi has manipulated the varayok hierarchy to assert the autonomy of the community in relationship to the State and the Church. Formerly, the District Governor representing the State

had relied on the hierarchy to maintain peace and order in the community. Another duty fulfilled by the cargo system was that of caring for the herds belonging to the Church on the communal herding lands of the puna.

In 1970, the community concluded that maintaining the civil-religious hierarchy was too expensive, and so the members decided to abolish the cargo system. The Provincial Sub-Prefect insisted that the members of the hierarchy assume their duties or be jailed. Solidarity prevailed and all members went to prison for two days. The final solution was that four younger men should fill positions as community "guardians" and act as village policemen under the District Governor to maintain law and order.

With the help of returning migrants from Lima, Chuschi in 1970 successfully took over the herds in the puna belonging to the Catholic Church; community members argued that the Church had seized the herds from their ancestors. The migrants wished to form a cooperative but the community refused, as it objected to Agrarian Reform workers controlling the herds which constituted the wealth of Chuschi. Thus in 1974, the community reinstated the hatun varayok, the apex of the civil-religious hierarchy, to protect the community ownership of the herds. This incident illustrates the defensive attitude of the community when confronted with National Government authority.

Traditionally, the community elders have always been the most powerful and respected body in Cheqec. The varayok hierarchy was probably established in the 16th century when the

Church inquisition suspected the community elders of idolatry. Since that time, fifteen to twenty elders who had already fulfilled the cargos of the varayok organization have controlled the current varayok authorities in Cheqec. The varayok members are still invested before the Provincial Sub-Prefect, reconfirming ties with the State which have in fact become a mere formality. Although the owner of the adjacent hacienda attempted in the late 1950's to appoint community mayors in Cheqec, the mayor chosen by the varayok authorities prevailed. Even the offices of Gobernador and personero representing State authority in Cheqec were filled by individuals who had little impact on the community and simply eased disputes between the Provincial authorities and the community leadership in Cheqec. While these officials have now become cultural brokers acting in the interests of Cheqec, community surveillance ensures that such officials remain subordinate to the elders and the varayok hierarchy.

In Puquio, Chuschi and Cheqec it is clear that the varayok hierarchy operated according to the Andean duality of inside-outside. Originally inaugurated as an instrument to create Spanish organized power within the community, the hierarchy is now enlisted by the community as a defense mechanism. The varayok confront and manipulate the perceived threats of mestizo and Government interference in community affairs.

Wolf considers the corporate community to be poor but communities such as Puquio, Chuschi and Cheqec are described as providing a low but adequate subsistence diet. Brush states

that clinical surveys of nutrition in highland communities similar to Uchucmarca, Department of La Libertad, corroborate this conclusion. The average household in Uchucmarca owns 1.58 hectares of land and disposes of a daily diet of 2705 calories and 80 grams of vegetable protein. Generalized reciprocity in internal community relationships aids the family whose harvest has been poor (1977:86).

Wolf maintains that defensive ignorance exists in the corporate community with the aim of denying outside alternatives that might threaten the corporate pattern. Puquio, Chuschi and Cheqec are dedicated to maintaining their autonomy or ethnicity in the face of mestizo, Provincial and National Government pressure. However, they have not achieved this local autonomy through denial of outside influences but rather through the manipulation of these influences or by direct confrontation. The varayok organization in Puquio battled mestizo influence; Chuschi made its own decisions in respect to the varayck hierarchy regardless of the Church and the Provincial authorities; Cheqec maintained its ethnic hierarchy over the centuries by firmly observing the supremacy of the elders in the organization of the community. The inhabitants of these communities were well aware of the advantages to be gained from contacts with the outside world but were not willing to pay the price of forfeiting community integrity. In Puquio, the Indians who had retained ownership of the land were becoming rich and were trading with the mestizos. Chuschinos migrating to Lima served the community as cultural brokers and housed visiting community

members; reciprocally, friends and relatives of the migrants cared for the latter's land, herds and interests in the community. In Cheqec, migration was usually undertaken by poorer members of the community who had given up traditional subsistence herding or agriculture and were no longer fully independent; the community regarded such people as lacking a sense of responsibility. Cheqec, like Chuschi, is a minor participant in the regional market economy as exchange takes place mainly between Quechua community members. Self-sufficiency and hard work are seen as desirable aims while expensive purchases from the outside such as manufactured clothing and radios are censored. If such behaviour continues, the delinquent members may be forced to leave the community or contribute lavishly to community ceremonies. Webster views such community action not as a levelling mechanism but rather as originating in Quechua ethnicity; "the result is not a homogenization of peasant poverty but rather the development of considerable differences of wealth and prestige which are ethnically defined." (1980: 142). In Chuschi, Isbell comes to the same conclusion--that there are many types of relationships in Chuschi that are in opposition to the ideal of promoting equilibrium within the community. The author cites differences in wealth and power of individual community members and differences of power between the sexes (1978:141).

In Puquio, Chuschi and Cheqec, the effort of the communities to retain control over their own destinies is concomitant with Wolf's views of the corporate community,

although the means by which they achieve the control may differ from the details of his typology. Like Arguedas and Webster, Isbell sees the integration of ecology, political and social organization with ritual as characteristic of the Andean indigenous community. In terms of Andean duality, Isbell summarizes the position of the community thus: "As long as the structural relationships, the variations on the themes of dualism, are functioning to maintain economic and social closure, the community will withstand change." (1978:245).

THE POSSESSION OF LAND: THE CRUCIAL FACTOR IN QUECHUA COSMOVISION

Arguedas interconnected the concepts of duality, independence and ethnicity in the ethnological article he wrote in conjunction with Alejandro Ortiz Rescaniere, "La posesión de la tierra; los mitos post-hispánicos y la visión del universo en la población monolingüe quechua." (1967h:309-315). The purpose of this work was to demonstrate the difference that the ownership and lack of land produced in the cosmovision of indigenous community members and that of hacienda colonos respectively.

The authors noted how community members who owned land considered hacienda Indians as inferior, since the latter received the usufruct of a plot of land in return for being treated like animals by the hacienda owner. The colono defined himself as belonging to "don X. Pacheco," naming the hacendado, whilst the community Indian replied, "I am from Chinchero," naming his village. Thus the dichotomy of land ownership as opposed to lack of land entailed the creation of dual auto-

identification amongst the Quechua; one individual considered himself a free man representing his community, whilst the other saw himself as a servant bound to the hacienda (ibid.).

Community independence was reinforced by the internal political organization of the varayok hierarchy who formed a link with the official authorities but acted as a buffer against the exploitive power of these authorities representing the interests of the dominant classes (ibid.).

The amount and fertility of land possessed by communities determined their relationship to the urban centres. On the one hand, the communities of the valley of the Mantaro and the community of Puquio had remained in control of their land and had entered into a period of development and modification of their Hispanic-Quechua colonialism; on the other hand, the community of K'auri, Department of Guzco (Mishkin 1963) had disintegrated owing to an increasing population and shortage of land (ibid.).

The disjunction caused by colonial segregation had lasted, according to the authors, until the present time. The mistis of Puquio were unaware of a messianic god created by the Indians, neither were they aware of the cult of the Wamanis; the four ayllus of Puquio made their offerings to the Wamani on the summit of Pedrorqo, the most important mountain overlooking the cultivated fields.(ibid.).

With the arrival of the missionaries, the segregated communities had integrated Catholic symbols and doctrines into their beliefs so as to form an individual re-elaboration of

their own world view. The effect of Catholicism on community members as opposed to hacienda servants was very different. This influence varied according to the economic and social independence of each group. The communities maintained a much greater link with the totality of their tradition; the colonos, however, were confined and for centuries had no means other than Catholicism of explaining the new social order and giving it a religious justification. The vision of the universe, the concept of guilt and punishment, the belief in the possibility of reparation or revenge for the state of servitude and the social contempt to which they had been submitted, were all completely different in the myths created by community members and by hacienda colonos respectively. Through these myths, community members and colonos explained how they conceived post-hispanic society, its origin and its final destiny (ibid.).

Arguedas and Rescaniere maintained that the Indian of the ayllus of Puquio was not Catholic and had not been influenced by any Catholic precepts; he was instead awaiting the resurrection of Inkarrí. On the ideological level the native people had to restructure their cosmovision during the chaos following the Conquest and affirm their faith that the next pachakuti would restore order to the Andes; they did so through the messianic myth of Inkarrí. The murdered Inca who had occupied the position hanan in Cuzco was now in the underworld in the position hurin; he was awaiting the time when his body became whole again, and he regained the power and the hanan position in Cuzco. This myth, still widely disseminated in the Andes, symbolizes the faith of

the Quechua people that the situation of Spanish--criollo--mestizo--and now foreign opposition will change, thus restoring just order to the Andes. In the post-Conquest era, the myth of Inkarrí provided the Quechua people with a clear vision of their own identity in the midst of a fragmented world. Arguedas collected various versions of this myth in the indigenous communities of the Andes. On the ideological level, Andean beliefs have thus encouraged communities to think in terms of action and even of rebellion (1967h:309-315); (1981e:173-179).

In the hacienda of Vicos, Department of Ancash, Rescaniere discovered the myth through which the colonos explained the new social order imposed by the colonial regime. The author recounted the myth of "The Two Humanities" as told by a colono (1967h:314), which is summarized as follows.

God the Father and Adaneva created the mountains and rocks of the ancient world; the men of this world ate potatoes and maize made of stone and moulded stones with whips to construct walls. Adaneva made the Virgin Mary pregnant and then abandoned her. Her son was Téete Mañuco, the Indian God who destroyed the ancient world. Téete Mañuco created the new humanity and divided it into mistis and Indians. The Indians are the servants and the mistis make them work with lashes of the whip. God the Father died but Téete Mañuco is immortal; Téete Mañuco died on Easter Friday but is always resurrected on Easter Sunday; so the Indians remain only one day without a god. Thus Téete Mañuco is always young and his will is done on earth as in heaven. Hell exists, and the soul goes first to hell to pay for its sins

before ascending to heaven. In heaven, the souls work before the Indian God, T'ete Mañuco. In the hereafter, the Indians, wielding a cattle prod, force the mistis to work in the same way as the latter had forced the Indians to labour on earth. The wealthy hang their heads in shame; on the other hand the Indians who were poor on earth will rejoice exceedingly (ibid.).

Three elements of ancient Andean beliefs can be detected in the myth of "The Two Humanities." According to mythology, the first men of Peru were created from stone; the fact that the souls work in the hereafter is contained in the concept of Hanakpacha, the Quechua vision of the afterlife; thirdly, the element of a state of complete reversal is inherent in the idea of the pachakuti, already discussed.

Arguedas and Rescaniere regarded the mythical explanation of society by the colono as the mental process of a wakcha or "orphan," synonymous in Quechua with a person destitute of land, whilst a similar explanation of the land-owning community member is typical of that of a "complete" human being (1967h:309). The colonos of Vicos had no hope for redemption in this world; the hacienda servants were resigned to injustice in accordance with the teachings of the Church, which promised full reparation only in the life to come. The community member of Puquio, however, looked forward to settling accounts with the mistis in the here and now.

Arguedas regarded the institution of the hacienda and the agricultural production unit of the thriving indigenous community as irreconcilable structures. Whilst the hacienda and community

in the Southern Andes did of necessity interact on an asymmetric socio-economic basis, their world views remained completely incompatible. The communities were adamant in their effort to retain their limited autonomy and ethnicity, which constituted a problem for haciendas and the Provincial and Central Governments alike. Murra (1984:130) and Arguedas were in agreement that the traditional way to "subdue" communities was to expropriate their resource base--land and water. Arguedas saw the development of the indigenous community as the hope for the future in the Southern Andes in the face of overwhelming migration from the sierra to the chaos of the coastal cities, especially to Lima, the capital. In 1967, depressed and angry, Arguedas wrote to John V. Murra, describing a conference he had attended. Murra quotes Arguedas as follows:

The anthropologists [present] demonstrated that it was in fact possible to speak of a Quechua culture; there was proof that religion, art and language peculiar to the rural Quechua did exist. The groups which traditionally control the country have decided to convert the Quechua and Aymara into factory fodder and houseservants. The plans aimed at development and the integration of the native peoples are mechanisms intended once and for all to uproot the Indian from his own traditions. In the sierra they are trying to destroy the communities. (Murra 1983:54).

CHAPTER VI

THE RESOLUTION OF DUALITY
IN THE FICTION OF JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS

Lévi-Strauss maintains that mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions towards their resolution (1968:224) whilst defining structuralism as the quest for the invariant or invariant elements among superficial differences (1978:8). López-Baralt has described the concept of duality in the indigenous Andes as the basic structure of Andean culture manifested primarily in the opposition between "high" and "low" (Adorno 1982:116). Throughout history, the Quechua people, whose way of thinking is largely mythical, have organized empirical and conceptual aspects of existence according to the structural principle of duality in order to attain a total understanding of the universe.

In the Quechua speaking Andes the historical past is used as a guide for the present and the future; today Urbano emphasises the persistence of this concept: "Chez l'homme andin, moins que le futur c'est le passé qui est devant lui comme un modèle" (1978:344). Citing Guaman Poma, Ossio explains how the social order was considered as static inasmuch as it was part of a universal order in which man and nature were integrated and which was eternally ordained. The dual categories of hanan (high) and hurin (low) defined both the organization of the universe and the relationship between individuals (1977:72). The only principle capable of mediating this duality and thus

producing equilibrium and order was the metaphysical concept of "Inca." The organizing principle of duality has endured in the Andes, and B.J. Isbell found that at present it is one of the major principles of construction used by the inhabitants of the community of Chuschi, Department of Ayacucho (1978:11).

On the empirical level, in the indigenous Andes, the principle of mediated duality is incorporated into the rural economy through the interaction of the socio-economic system of reciprocity, exchange and barter with the vertical control of "high" and "low" ecological zones. Duality is still expressed in the organization of Andean space as an opposition between "puna" and "valley" (Ossio 1978:388) as well as in the village moieties which are seen as mirror images of each other (Mitchell 1977:39; B.J. Isbell 1978:11). In Quechua society, marriage mediates the dichotomy of male/female and is perceived as a complementary relationship signifying renewal of life itself. The semantic content of the Quechua language reveals how concepts in opposition are expressed by the same word; for example, mallqui signifies a mummy (cadaver) or ancestor, as well as a seed or sapling tree, and symbolizes the cycle of death and regeneration. On the ideological level the mediation of the duality "high" and "low" is of utmost importance to the Quechua people. In Quechua cosmology, the stars of the firmament interacted with the earth below through the supernatural power of huaca which bestowed fertility on plants and animals (Sharon 1978:136). Urton demonstrates that today rural communities in the Southern Andes still depend on the aspect of the

constellation of the Pleiades for a propitious signal to begin planting (1981:3). The sacred Wamanis, the gods of the high mountains, and the Pachamama, the Earth Mother below, are interconnected by the fertilizing power of water originating in the high puna and considered to be the gift of the blood of the mountain gods (Ossio 1978:380; B.J. Isbell 1978:143; Earls and Silverblatt 1978:319; Arguedas and Rescaniere 1967:310). While the above oppositions pertaining to Quechua culture can be mediated, it has not yet been possible to achieve a balance between the Quechua speaking Andes and the dominant society of the Coast. To the Quechua people the dichotomy "inside"/"outside" remains unresolved.

This was the Quechua world of the Andes which Arguedas experienced in the Department of Ayacucho during his formative years; as a child, the author lived on the hacienda of Lucanas, in the communities of San Juan and Utek' as well as in the town of Puquio. The authors referred to above, with the exception of Urton and Sharon, chose the Ayacucho region to pursue their studies. Guaman Poma (1613) worked in an administrative capacity in the Ayacucho area (Ossio 1977:54), whilst Ossio himself did research in the community of Andamarca; Arguedas dedicated his short story "Agua" to the community members of Andamarca as well as to others in the same region. The above mentioned anthropologists have produced a composite account of life in the rural Southern Andes and have emphasised the organizing principle of duality in the ecological, socio-economic and ideological facets of native Andean existence.

Arguedas' short story, "La agonía de Rasu Niti" has almost exclusively Quechua content, as only the identity of the unnamed narrator is in question. This work demonstrates how cosmological equilibrium and order are reinforced in a Quechua community through the dynamic mediation of the ultimate duality of life and death. Arguedas' early story "Agua" on the other hand, represents the insoluble conflict of two entirely different worlds forming the extremes of a duality which defies mediation. In Los ríos profundos the author envisaged symbolic ways of achieving an equilibrium between Quechua and Hispanic culture. In these three works, Arguedas' quest for balance is founded on the total reality of the Andean world structured according to the concept of duality. Arguedas' literary vision will be discussed before the works mentioned above are examined.

THE LITERARY VISION OF JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS

An author's vision of man in the world is usually set against a background of "everness" or "neverness," of totality or fragmentation. Arguedas and Juan Rulfo--who writes on the state of Jalisco, Mexico--demonstrate the opposite poles of such a vision. Both Jalisco and the Southern Andes had suffered extreme forms of exploitation. In Jalisco, the legacy of the Conquest, the rule of the caciques, the Mexican Revolution (1911-1920) and the Wars of the Cristeros (1928) had devastated and exhausted the region. Whilst discussing the people of Jalisco with J. Sommers, Rulfo maintained that "...their faith

had been destroyed and they had nothing left to cling to." (Sommers 1974:21). Rulfo's fiction mirrors this despair. Arguedas believed that the landowners of the Andes had utterly convinced themselves over the centuries of their superiority as regards the Indians, but that the Indians guarded the unity of their culture even more zealously as a result of this fanatical oppression (1968b:13). In the Quechua world of Arguedas, man has absolute faith in the totality of his universe, which perhaps explains the motivation behind the Quechua ability to function adequately during centuries of Andean disorder. Both Rulfo and Arguedas experienced the harsh reality of their respective regions during their early years. As writers, they use mythology (explicitly or implicitly), poetry and legend, not to deny practical reality, but rather to transcend it on the emotional level; this leads to a better comprehension of the ways in which man interprets society through feeling. Laurensen and Swingewood maintain that: "Literature, because it delineates man's anxieties, hopes and aspirations is perhaps one of the most effective social barometers of the human response to social forces." (1971:13).

Arguedas insisted on the importance of reality in his writings, founded on the veracity and authenticity of his personal experience. This personal experience had involved Arguedas so deeply with the native people that he set himself the goal of helping create a new order in Peru which would assure the liberty of the oppressed Quechua.

The close bond between Arguedas and the Quechua people gave direction to his career. On entering the University of San Marcos in 1931, Arguedas was dismayed to see how the Indian was portrayed in contemporary Peruvian literature: "In these stories the Indian was so disfigured and the landscape so stupidly insipid or absurd that I said, 'No, I must write about it exactly as it is since I have enjoyed it and suffered on account of it.'" (Primer encuentro 1969:41). This emphasis on experienced reality applied not only to the Quechua world and to the landscape of the Andes, but to the Hispanic world as well. Arguedas insisted that he in fact had known individuals like his character don Bruno in Todas las sangres (ibid.:109), and that he, Arguedas, was somewhat similar to don Bruno. The author believed that memories of his own traumatic experiences had assisted him in outlining the character traits of mysticism and searing remorse in don Bruno (Larco 1976b:25). Life and work merged in the literary vision of Arguedas.

Some critics have rejected and others have endorsed this reiteration of Arguedas that, "the contact of the creative artist with reality is the basic source of creation" (Primer encuentro 1969:107).²⁰ Arguedas' point of view differs from that of Salazar Bondy, who regarded literature as based on "verbal reality" and believed that fiction represented "a wondrous lie" (ibid.:104,110). Vargas Llosa agreed with the opinion of Salazar Bondy, and maintained that Arguedas' work, in so far as it was literature, constituted a radical negation of the world that inspired it; a beautiful lie (1978:27). Unlike Arguedas'

ability to identify himself with his character don Bruno, Ciro Alegría stated that his protagonist Rosendo Maqui in El mundo es ancho y ajeno had never existed; Alegría believed that the essence of the novel of realism was to create characters that appeared real (Primer encuentro 1969:104,148). Cornejo Polar, however, accepts Arguedas' point of view and asserts that "José María Arguedas desires only (only: nothing more and nothing less) that his words should not constitute a substitute for the reality of the world; instead they must return to their original source and illuminate it from within 'from the seed itself'" (1973:22).

THE SEARCH FOR EQUILIBRIUM: THE CREATION OF A NEW STRUCTURE

Arguedas envisaged the style, form, structure and content of his fiction in terms of duality. He realized that his spirit had become identified with that of the native people, and so he undertook his unique search for a new style expressed in a language which would illuminate the consciousness of the Quechua people. Style is the way in which an author best represents his ideas through his personal choice of language. Arguedas sought to modify the Spanish language in order to imbue it with "the essence of our spirit" (1968b:14-15). He hoped thus to produce an equilibrium of content and form, capable of expressing Quechua thought and emotions whilst remaining intelligible to the Hispanic reading public. To Arguedas, the Quechua language was more powerful than Spanish when used to describe the nature of the soul, and he believed that Quechua words, at once dense and

alive, contained the essence of man and nature as well as the intense bond which still existed between them (1976n:48). The Hispanic Spanish-speaking public contemporary with Arguedas was accustomed to the "pidgin" Spanish spoken by Quechua house servants in the capital. Arguedas found such language, when used in indigenist writing, degrading to the native people. He therefore attempted to incorporate the syntactic structure of Quechua into the Spanish language. The author rearranged the normal order of words in a Spanish sentence and used the gerund rather than personal verb forms; since Quechua is an inflected language, Arguedas also omitted articles, and in certain cases, conjunctions. This new language created by Arguedas, although artificial, gave the impression of authenticity; it was founded on the elementary Spanish which Quechua native speakers had learned in their villages but which was also comprehensible to Hispanic readers (Rowe 1976:265; Pantigoso 1981:97).

It is significant that Arguedas saw the language he had created as being able to mediate symbolically between the essentially different Spanish and Quechua cultures. The author modified the language of the dominant culture since his works would be read by a literate Spanish speaking public; through this created language these readers in turn would become acquainted with the Quechua way of speaking expressed in a manner more indicative of Quechua thought and feeling than through the use of classical Spanish. By introducing elements of the Quechua language into the Spanish language, whilst retaining a nevertheless intelligible Spanish as the means of communication,

Arguedas felt that he had succeeded in achieving an equilibrium between two different tongues expressing different values. The author asked if this constituted a search for universality through the struggle for form and only for form. He agreed that it was, in so far as form meant conclusion, an equilibrium achieved by the necessary mixture of elements which tried to organize themselves into a new structure (1968b:17). Arguedas had organized the "necessary mixture of elements" so that they formed the new structure of mediated duality.

Form can indicate an ideal pattern or shape of a work which precedes the content and meaning of the work or it can be "organic" as representing a pattern or shape that develops as it is, because of the meaning of the work (Thrall, Hibbard, Holman 1960:207). Arguedas insisted that, in contrast with the Peruvian author Zavaleta, he had ignored techniques as he wrote, noting that they arose by themselves during the process of the author's struggle to create the work (Primer encuentro 1969:173). For this reason, the new structure cited by Arguedas is the result "of the necessary mixture of elements organizing themselves." These disparate elements representing the mythical expression of Quechua cosmovision, as opposed to the empirical reality which characterizes Western thinking, had reached a balance contributing to what Arguedas considered the wholeness of an otherwise necessarily fragmented work. Structure in Arguedas' works, owing to the fact that it was not predetermined, was never static, but exemplified Piaget's conclusion that structure must include the elements of wholeness, transformation

and self regulation (Piaget 1970:5-16). Wholeness in Arguedas' fiction is represented by an ongoing dialectic where the thesis and the antithesis interact to produce a synthesis. Thus the unity of form in Arguedas' works was oriented by the elements of two opposing cultures organizing themselves into a structure, a "self regulating transformational system" (ibid.:113). Such a system applied both to traditional concepts in the Andes as in the short story "Agua," and to their transformation on the coast in his novel, El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo. The effort to achieve balance depended on the author's constant creativity, a goal that remained in the process of "becoming" throughout his career.

The above interpretation of the concept "form" refers to the organization of the elements of a literary work, but "form" can also be used formally to designate literary genre. The form of the novel offered Arguedas another challenge--to create a balance between Hispanic and Quechua literature. As a child, Arguedas first experienced the world of literature when he listened to Quechua legends and myths, and learned Quechua songs in San Juan Lucanas and Puquio (Larco 1976b:22). Even at that early age, the beauty of the Quechua oral tradition captivated the author. The literary form in which Arguedas chose to write was the regional novel of realism originating in the 19th century, or the short story--both forms known to and appreciated by the Hispanic reading public. Cornejo Polar, however, believes that mythical elements which are basic to Quechua expression cause internal disorder in the regional

novel. The importance of the individual protagonist is lessened by emphasis placed on the collectivity whilst the symbolic history of the group occupies the place formerly held by the adventures of the protagonist (Cornejo Polar 1980:72-74). Thus the genre of the regional novel now appears heterogeneous and without structural unity. In Arguedas' works, the lyrical components of the huaynos pertaining to the Quechua oral tradition can be interpreted as the mediating elements of Arguedas' new structure, which bridged the gap between the mythical elements of Quechua oral tradition and the traditional form of the novel originating in Western literature. Through their lyricism and onomatopoeic language, which linked nature to man, these songs could be interpreted by Spanish speaking readers. Rama believes that, on the plane of the symbolization of nature, the huaynos in Arguedas' novels carry a significant theme throughout the works, which runs parallel to the development of the narrative, thus incorporating Quechua form and values, not viable in an Occidental culture whose literary forms are established (1976:27).

Arguedas believed he had achieved a new structure, that of mediated duality, by balancing disparate Quechua and Hispanic elements in his fiction. The author had effected this equilibrium through the literary language he had created and by the huaynos, the lyrical Quechua songs inserted in the text. Through his organization of the form of the novel, Arguedas symbolized his effort to mediate the conflictive reality of Quechua and Hispanic cultures. Nevertheless, the essential

difference between mythical thought and scientific thought defies mediation. According to Lévi-Strauss:

Mythical thought, that 'bricoleur', builds up structures by fitting together events or rather the remains of events, while science 'in operation' simply by virtue of coming into being creates its means and results in the form of events, thanks to the structures which it is constantly elaborating and which are its hypothesis and theories.... Mythical thought for its part is imprisoned in the events and experiences which it never tires of ordering and re-ordering in its search to find them a meaning. But it also acts as a liberator by its protest against the idea that anything can be meaningless with which science first resigned itself to a compromise. (1966:22).

This thesis shares the opinion of Angel Rama that on the level of literary forms, Arguedas' novels manifest two different ways of apprehending the world which attempt to harmonize, but which in fact flow in a parallel direction and require two simultaneous readings of the text; such a form of the novel involves a parallel structure demonstrating a formal equilibrium (Rama 1976 :37). The artistic wealth and strength of Arguedas' works of fiction spring predominately from the interpretation of mythical thought characterized by symbolism, metaphor and analogy (Ossio 1973:XIII). However, mythical thought, expressed originally through Quechua oral tradition, could not alone sustain the established Occidental form of the novel.

Rama makes a distinction among individual works of the fiction of Arguedas. The critic believes that the models of social regionalism pertaining to the novel of realism have a greater impact on novels such as El sexto and Todas las sangres than on Los ríos profundos and the short stories which appear

to be allied to mythical thought (ibid.)

Arguedas' short stories, "La agonía de Rasu-Niti" and "Agua" as well as his novel Los ríos profundos will now be considered from two points of view. The mythical elements present in these works will be assessed in relation to the characteristics of the narrative in the novel or short story, based on social regionalism. Secondly, the disparate elements in the above works of fiction are examined to evaluate the degree of success of Arguedas in reaching the goal of equilibrium in his new structure of mediated duality, which is symbolic of the equilibrium he sought between the conflictive duality of the Quechua and Hispanic presence in the Andes. Form and structure in Arguedas' work, as already indicated, were not consciously employed to give shape to its content but rather originated during the writing of the work according to the totality of the author's personal vision. For this reason, the limits between form allied to structure, and content are often blurred in Arguedas' works although such a division is insisted upon by certain critics.

"LA AGONÍA DE RASU-NITI": QUECHUA MEDIATION OF THE ULTIMATE DUALITY

The anonymous narrator of "La agonía de Rasu-Niti"²¹ recounts the events of one afternoon preceding the death of a ritual scissors dancer in a small Andean Quechua community. The apparent simplicity of Arguedas' short story is deceptive as it manifests a complex Quechua significance, which only an author thinking and feeling in terms of personally experienced

Quechua symbols and values could have written.

With few exceptions, literary critics appear either to have shunned this work or they have mentioned it in general terms which lack specific input. Mario Vargas Llosa considers "La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti" to be amongst the six best works of fiction written by Arguedas, but does not further explain his preference. Vargas Llosa believes that while Arguedas was "a subtle witness to the world of the Andes," the author only became a "genuine creator" as a result of problems encountered in his own personal existence (1978:26-28). Such criticism immediately excludes "La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti" in which Arguedas interpreted cosmocentric Quechua mythical thought through a rigorous objectivity which overrode any incipient subjectivity. Tamayo Vargas, also a respected Peruvian literary critic, describes "La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti" as "a scene from a ballet" (Cornejo Polar 1973:181). The criticism of the above two authors, while valid from an Occidental standpoint, demonstrates the difficulties of comprehension that arise when a person from another culture brings his collective representations to bear on a literature rooted in different values and a different cosmovision. Such critics remain on the outside, looking in at Quechua existence, and discuss it using norms originating in traditional Western literary criticism. On the other hand, the complexity and beauty of the Quechua content of this short story are acknowledged and analysed by Antonio Cornejo Polar (1973:180-185) and by Julián Ayuque Cusipuma (1976:197-208).

In "Agua", Arguedas described the disintegration of an

indigenous community resulting from the conflictive reality of two irreconcilable worlds. "La agonía de Rasu-Niti," however, represents a microcosm of cohesive rural Quechua existence in all its mythical, religious, cosmological, communal, ecological and political complexity. Conflict with the dominating sector exists but is conceptualized internally within the community in terms of Quechua myth and symbolism.

Only in Arguedas' poetry, written originally in Quechua, do we find the same detailed input of Quechua mythical consciousness as in "La agonía de Rasu-Niti." It is as though Arguedas had freed himself from any self-imposed restrictions deemed necessary to satisfy a rationally thinking Hispanic reading public, and had decided to write primarily for bilingual Quechua speakers or for himself. The mythical elements of Quechua cosmovision present in the haylli-taki dedicated to Tupac Amaru II are identical to those which structure "La agonía de Rasu-Niti" and act as unifying symbols of Quechua cultural identity. In both works, Arguedas emphasised the importance of the collectivity. The Quechua people speak in the first person --"I am your people"--in the haylli-taki, whilst in Arguedas' short story, the protagonist, Rasu-Niti, is aware that even in death no clear limits exist between himself and the community. As in mythical thought, the gods in both these works are neither universal nor are they the deities of the individual. They are the local gods of the Quechua of the Southern Andes, the powerful spirits of the snow-crested peaks. The Wamanis assure the well-being of the people and their herds. In Arguedas' poem

they are termed directly "our Wamanis," whereas Rasu-Niti, as a ritual dansak', mediates spiritually between the gods and the community. In the haylli-taki, the Quechua of the Andes who died in the struggle against the oppressor are now free far-flying eagles or condors. This mythical metamorphosis denoting the change from one concrete material form to another is paralleled in the Andean myth of origin which tells how man came from the living rock (Sharon 1978:137). The spiritual relation between mankind and the condor, the icon of the Wamani, is reiterated in "La agonía de Rasu-Niti." Men of the Andes believe not only that the gods of the region protect human beings but also that they possess purifying powers which can nullify the pestilence of evil (Arguedas 1976n:20; 1967f:185). In both the haylli-taki and the short story, the force of evil is represented by the oppressors of the Andean people.

The title of the short story, "La agonía de Rasu-Niti," stresses not death but rather the act of dying of Pedro Huancayre, the ritual scissors dancer known as Rasu-Niti (he who crushes the snow). From the outset, the tale confronts the reader with a dynamic mythical conception of the universe where forces and energies interact between man, the cosmos, and the gods.

Two principles found in Andean culture are used to structure "La agonía de Rasu-Niti"--that of mediated duality and that of the cycle of birth, death and regeneration. One symbol common to both forms is that which most closely interprets the essence of Arguedas' short story--the process of "becoming." It has been

seen how the form of the circle used for meditation is conceptualized as an already existing entity. Tension, however, is generated between the two poles of the form of mediated duality which initiates a movement from the extremes towards the centre. This movement symbolizes a process of "becoming" in contrast with the state of existing implied by the circle of meditation. When, however, the form of the circle embodies the concept of time, and symbolizes the wholeness of life by means of the cycle of birth, death and regeneration, then it also partakes of the process of "becoming." Even in dying, Rasu-Niti is still "becoming" and manifests the "action and creativity" which Arguedas believed characterized the Quechua people.

Through his ritual dance, Rasu-Niti becomes the mediator between the Wamani and his subjugated community, offering his life as a sacrifice of intercession. The dansak' feels hopeful that the cóndor, the icon of the Wamani, will destroy the horse of the landowner, symbol of domination in the Andes. Towards the culmination of the dance, Rasu-Niti triumphantly announces the certainty that the cóndor will destroy the horse. Cassirer maintains that the transportation of reality into magical-mythical action as well as the immediate reaction of this practice upon reality occurs in both a subjective and objective sense (1955:39). He continues, "It is no mere play that the dancer in a mythical drama is enacting; the dancer is the god, he becomes the god" (ibid.). The assurance of Rasu-Niti can be explained in accordance with the above concepts of Cassirer.

ANDEAN COSMOLOGICAL ELEMENTS IN "LA AGONÍA DE RASU-NITI"

Arguedas begins "La agonía de Rasú-Niti" with a description of space. The basic structure of Andean vertical space is represented by the duality of "high" and "low," whilst horizontal Andean space is organized according to a quadripartite division. Although the structure of "high" and "low" is the form of duality most characteristic of Andean culture, Cassirer emphasises that the development of the mythical feeling of space begins with the opposition between day and night--light and darkness; this opposition gives the four cardinal points in space their specific reality and inherent mythical life (1955:98). It was noted earlier in this thesis that in Andean cosmological ritual, the directions of East and West had unique significance. In the SouthEast corner of Tawantinsuyu, Lake Titicaca was the place of origin of Andean life as well as the site of the rising sun. The first light in the East is a space/time element termed illarimi in Quechua, and denotes not only the twilight preceding the rising sun but also the area of celestial space illuminated by the early morning light²² (Urton 1981:153). The Quechua prefix "illa" in illarimi denotes an inexplicable supernatural quality attached to this form of light. In the mythical world view the dawn of each given day is mysterious as it signals rebirth after a period of sleep similar to death. Arguedas explained that this type of light was not completely divine but that ancient Peruvians had always felt a deep internal bond between themselves and the shining radiance (1970:86). The West, where the sun sets, is associated with darkness and death. In Andean myth, Viracocha

the Creator, disappeared in the NorthWestern sea after his journey from Lake Titicaca following the path of the sun. In the evening, the Quechua term ch'issin (dusk) denotes the same magic twilight as illarimi, but differs in that it precedes sunset. Urton relates that, in an irrigation canal cleaning ceremony in Misminay, the end of the work and beginning of the feast was determined by sunset. Work ceased thirty minutes previous to the setting of the sun, at which moment everyone turned to look at the sun, fell to their knees and said a prayer in Quechua (1981:68). In Arguedas' short story, the mythical concept of space has a vertical and religious connotation as the snow peaks tower physically above the community below, whilst, according to mythical religious consciousness, the Wamanis, the spirits of these mountains, are the gods of the people of the region. In accordance with pacha, the Andean space/time concept, horizontal space in the dwelling of the dansak is perceived cosmologically; the quality of darkness within the house is interwoven with the quality of light provided by the slanting rays of the sun which, through the window, trace a changing path on the floor (p.146,150). The changing position of the rays on the floor measure the time left to Rasu-Niti to complete his dance. The cosmological qualities of time projected on to space are conceived as inseparable from the ritual action which culminates and terminates during the sacred moment of sunset. Mythical space in the tale is also sacred space, as it becomes the ritual stage on which the passage from life to death is not only enacted, but lived by Rasu-Niti in the presence of

the assembled community and the gods.

Space in "La agonía de Rasu-Niti" is represented by the interior of a Quechua dwelling situated in a small nameless Quechua speaking community. One single window allows the rays of the sun to penetrate the deep shadows of the room where wool, potatoes and cooking pots are stored; ants and guinea pigs scurry over the floor from which a rough staircase gives access to the granary above (p.145). Space here is conceived mythically; it is specific and localized rather than geographic, being designated by content rather than by position. Qualities and forces characterize this centre of mythical action which is a microcosm of Kaypacha, the world of the "here and now."

In this description, the cosmic presence is inseparable from the action. The declining rays of the sun, marked by their changing position on the floor, act as a catalyst on Rasu-Niti to achieve the significant culmination of his dance before sunset and death overtake him. This interaction between the protagonist and the cosmos provides one source of the build-up of tension within the work. As the dance progresses the darkness of the room develops a life of its own and begins to expand as though filled by "a great gust of wind." (p.151). In accordance with mythical thought, the darkness or shadow, an attribute of the dwelling, takes on the form and bulk of an independent substance or force. In his works, Arguedas frequently imbues the quality of light with the ability to become solid, fluid or tangible. The light of a shooting star acts reciprocally with the earth; This mysterious radiance is not solar but an "illa" like that

of illarimi, the pre-dawn twilight, and vibrates as do lightning and other meteorological phenomena. The brilliance transforms the earth and is transformed by the earth into a "field of water" and through it the surrounding air acquires "a solid transparency" (1970:47). Similarly in "La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti", Arguedas provides a mythical description of "a precipice whose silence is transparent" (p.149). A precipice is usually designated as steep, high, sheer or dark, but in this quotation is given the uncommon attribute of "silence." This "silence," implying absence of sound, is then modified by the adjective "transparent" derived from an apparently unconnected source, namely, a quality of light. In myth, a transference of perceived and felt qualities into spatial images and intuitions occurs; space also assimilates the most dissimilar elements and so makes them mutually comparable and in some way, similar.

(Cassirer 1955:86). Arguedas' writings provide us with a mythically cosmocentric vision of creation where man does not occupy a unique position in the natural order; rather man identifies himself with the natural plane of reality which implies a unity of life extending to all organic and inanimate forms (Larco 1976b:28; Castro Klaren 1975:50).

RASU-ÑITI: HUSBAND, DANSAK' AND SON OF THE WAMANI .

In the course of Arguedas' short story, Pedro Huancayre, the protagonist, fulfills three different functions in life. He is a husband and father to two daughters, a renowned scissors dancer both inside and outside his community, and, as Rasu-Ñiti the ritual dansak' he carries within him the spirit of a great

Wamani, a mountain of eternal snow (p.149). Arguedas demonstrates how these three functions merge until Rasu-Niti, through his ritual dance, mediates the duality between his community, bound to the earth (low), and its god the Wamani who inhabits the towering snow peak (high). In this work more than in any other, Arguedas demonstrated the combination of "action and creativity," the two main character traits he ascribed to the Quechua people (1968c:346). Through the ability to experience his dying in terms of prescribed mythical religious action, Rasu-Niti is reaffirming the identity of his people in the face of oppression and is renewing the ritual bond between the community and its god. Lévi-Strauss believes that ritual "conjoins":

...for it brings about a union (one might even say communion in this context) or in any case an organic relation between two initially separate groups, one ideally merging with the person of the officiant and the other with the collectivity of the faithful. (1966:33).

Arguedas merges the three different identities of Rasu-Niti into one state of being. Mythical metamorphosis is concerned with a change from one individual and concrete material form to another, but Cassirer maintains that:

Long before man had knowledge of himself as a separate species distinguished by some specific power and singled out from nature as a whole by a specific primacy of value he knew himself to be a link in the chain of life as a whole, within which each individual creature and thing is magically connected with the whole, so that a continuous transition, a metamorphosis of one being into another appears not only as possible but as necessary, as the "natural" form of life itself (1955:194).

As a husband, the consciousness of Rasu-Niti is revealed largely through the attitude and reactions of his wife. Arguedas describes her in accordance with the emotional and physical fortitude ascribed to Quechua women. She demonstrates the self-reliance and understanding of the Indian woman who ideally is an equal partner in a joint endeavour with her husband--the "essential other half" according to Isbell (1978:11). The family had prospered, as Pedro Huancayre's home, according to the narrator, was large for that of an Indian. Early in the short story, however, the impending events of the day impinge on the daily routine of the household; the wife, faced with a solemn and sacred occasion, immediately defers formally to her husband, not as Pedro Huancayre, but as Rasu-Niti the ritual scissors dancer, within whom the spirit of the Wamani lives. The mother and her daughters, all nameless in the story, are busy husking corn when the older girl hears music; she cannot distinguish whether it originates with her father or from within the mountain (p.146). The music is symbolic of the god and indicates the proximity of the mythical action. This sign is manifestly clear to Rasu-Niti's wife who finds him dressing in his ritual costume--the jacket covered with paillettes like mirrors, the velvet trousers, the sash embroidered with threads of gold and his cap ornamented with streaming ribbons and sequins like stars. The most meaningful part of the insignia is the dansak's scissors, made of steel. The blades are loosely set and produce sounds ranging from that of water flowing in a small stream to that of fire; the effect depending on the rythm, the

musical accompaniment and the "spirit" who protects the dansak' (p.148). Once dressed in his costume with his scissors, the ritual dansak' Rasu-Niti operates on a different level, relating to the cosmos and disposing of an accumulation of wisdom originating in the supernatural; in short, he becomes a specialist. Respectfully, without either panic or tears, his wife asks, "Husband, are you leaving us?" Falling to her knees she embraces the feet not of Pedro Huancayre but of the renowned dancer Rasu-Niti whose appearance in the great fairs and celebrations was eagerly anticipated and even feared (p.147). The dancer asks his wife if she can see the Wamani hovering above his head and distinguish its colour; she replies that the Wamani is quiet and of a grey colour with a white spot burning on its back.

The Wamanis still are the most powerful indigenous deities of the Southern Andes, especially in the Ayacucho region; Ossio believes that the tradition is now preserved by the Altamisayoq, the underground Andean priesthood (1983:20). The Wamani inhabit the high snow-capped mountains and control the fertility of all plants and animals; their importance varies with the height of the peaks they inhabit. The Wamani's gift to man is the life-giving water, the blood of his veins which originates in the high mountain springs. The benevolence of the Wamani and the Pachamama sustains life on earth by making the harvest possible and increasing the herds. Offerings and rituals are essential to assure the good will of the mountain gods as already described in the festival of the Yarka Aspiy--the cleaning of

the irrigation canals. The Wamani are able to transform themselves into condors. In Puquio, the auki of the ayllu of Chaupi explained to Arguedas that the cóndor was the Wamani, but at the same time was "separate" since the cóndor "did not get involved." Arguedas interpreted these statements as meaning that the cóndor was a Wamani but not a god, as it lacked influence and did not relate to human affairs (1956:189).

Cassirer notes that elements which fulfill a certain magical function in common always show a tendency to fuse, to become mere manifestations of an underlying mythical identity (1955:181). Isbell recorded how in Chuschi she asked a group of children to draw the Wamanis, and certain students illustrated condors flying over the peaks. Arguedas relates that Rasu-Niti was the son of a great Wamani with eternal snow; at this particular time the deity had sent the dansak' his spirit-- a grey cóndor whose white back was quivering. To Rasu-Niti the presence of the cóndor signalled approaching death. It can be argued that the Quechua people stand in a special totemic relationship to the cóndor. Animals are endowed with magical powers and energy flows from man to animal and in reverse. In Arguedas' short story there exists a unity of rhythmic action formed by the movements of the cóndor and the tempo of Rasu-Niti's dance.

Rasu-Niti, impelled by the significant presence of the cóndor, asks his wife to bring down the coloured ears of corn hanging from the rafters (p.147); she lowers them rapidly but with reverence. The water from the high mountain realms

inhabited by the cóndor and the Wamani initiates the germination process which culminates in the harvesting of the perfect ears of corn. Corn is the most sacred symbol of plant fertility in the Andes and is used frequently in ritual. The mythical importance of the cycle of death and regeneration is emphasised on the natural plane by the ears of corn, and on the human level by Rasu-Niti. The presence of the corn in the home of the dansak' appears to be related to an indigenous custom described by B.J. Isbell. In Chuschi, Department of Ayacucho, during a marriage ceremony, two pottery bottles symbolizing the ritual unification of the bride and groom in equilibrium throughout life are placed in the rafters of the home where they remain even after the couple's death. Kernels of corn signifying fecundity are placed in bottles (1978:122).

Later in the afternoon as the moment of death approaches, the older daughter takes the corn and buries it in the ground. This action can be interpreted mythically in two ways. In mythical religious thought the unity of life decrees that the death of the individual does not necessarily mean separation from earthly existence. The blood of the impaled Caupolicán sinks deeper than the seeds, the roots and the dead towards those about to be born (Neruda 1970:82), thus stressing the continuous transition from one form of life to another as well as the indestructibility of life. In other cases the dead need human food as they are still considered to have a corporal configuration. In Chamula, State of Chiapas, Mexico, food and money for chicha are placed in the coffin for the journey to

Olontic, the Maya hereafter (Pozas 1959:93). Rasu-Niti's daughter may thus be burying the corn for her father's future use. Alternatively, the action may be linked to the Quechua concept of ayni or reciprocity. Life is an ayni, a gift which must be returned at death in accordance with the Andean principles of interaction. Thus, the corn is returned as an offering to the Pachamama from whence it came, signalling the life cycle of birth, death and regeneration in nature which is duplicated by that in man.

Rasu-Niti's wife is an intermediary between the initiated and the participants in the ritual. As a result of years passed assisting the dansak' she is able to see the cóndor although her daughters and the assembled community cannot. She explains the presence of the cóndor hovering above Rasu-Niti's head to the elder daughter, telling her how death enables the cóndor to hear "the entire firmament." Rasu-Niti agrees that the cóndor had heard not only the suffering caused to his daughter by the horse of the landowner, but had also "heard the growth of their god who would swallow the eyes of the horse" (p.148). This passage is characteristic of the Andean multivocality of symbols. The horse in Latin American literature is frequently allied to the idea of oppression (trampling under foot), energy and power (the force of the galloping horse), and injustice through the close association between horse and rider. The fall of the Inca Empire was achieved by the Spanish conquistadors on horseback whilst later in Peruvian history the horse and the landowner became inseparable during his often punitive expeditions against

the workers on the estates. In the eyes of the Quechua people and Rasu-Niti, the horse as symbol of Hispanic power was instrumental in causing chaos, destruction and continuing subjugation.²³ Even in death, Rasu-Niti was jubilant as he saw the god of his people growing in stature. This incident permits readings on two different planes. On the local level the Wamani-cóndor which grows in clarity and increases its movement as Rasu-Niti reaches the climax of his dance, will peck out the eyes of the horse and kill it; the daughter of the dansak' will be vindicated and the oppressive power of the landowner broken. On the level of Peruvian conflictive duality, however, the phrase "the god is growing" may refer to the myth of Inkarrí; Arguedas helped to collect various forms of this myth (1981e: 173-182). When Inkarrí becomes whole again he will reassume power in Cuzco and return just order to the Andes. On this level the horse represents the power and repressive intransigence of Hispanic Lima riding roughshod over the Andes; the myth of Inkarrí, however, postulates the slow but irreversible growth of the will to prevail of the Andean people.

The dansak' calls for Luruchu the harpist, and don Pascual the violinist, signifying the transition from Pedro Huancayre, father and husband, to Rasu-Niti the dansak' of the community and surrounding region, and from dansak' to the ritual specialist who communes with the Wamani, the god of the region. Luruchu's music is an integral part of Rasu-Niti's dance, and a bond of friendship and respect unites the two men. During Rasu-Niti's dance, the dansak' relays a message from the Wamani to Luruchu

that the harpist is "made of white maize." In the Ayacucho region, only white large-grained corn can be used as an offering to the Wamani (B.J. Isbell 1978:156). The musicians are followed by the twenty families comprising the small community. Rasu-Niti's young disciple Atok' sayku (he who tames the fox), arrives attired in his dancer's costume, but without the scissors; he struggles to keep his composure while weeping inwardly. The manner in which a dansak' interprets the ritual depends on which spirit lives within him, be it a precipice, a mountain, a cave or a waterfall. On other occasions, the assembled community would have participated in the joyous spectacle of the steps of the dance accompanied by the intricate rhythms of the music. Even under such festive conditions, however, Rasu-Niti was held in awe as he was spiritually related to the Wamani, whilst the music from Luruchu's harp originated from some unknown source and not simply from the strings and the wood (p.151). In his ethnographic literature, Arguedas explains the quality of Andean music and dance:

Andean music was created by a people who still see the world in terms of a living being; this music appears to have sprung from the mythical image of the mountains, the rivers and the light of the trees and cannot be interpreted by a person living in the unfavourable environment of the heavily populated districts of a capital so strange to the Indian as Lima (1976j:233).

The author also regarded Andean dances as cultural symbols. Arguedas maintains that subjugation has not been able to destroy the volume of art already created by a people rooted in so great

a tradition:

The total passion of the unsubdued Indian is incorporated into the dances, the steps of the dancers and their costumes which are composed with a deep feeling for form. Such an Indian feels neither annihilated nor mutilated by servitude even when it appears to be an evil which cannot be remedied; rather, he arises, profoundly inspired, and maintains his creativity, impelled by his faith in his local gods, rivers, lakes and mountains which he both worships and fears; he is impelled also by his suffering and repressed rage, and is thus even more brilliant artistically and more receptive to the creation of symbols (1976i:226).

EQUILIBRIUM AS ACHIEVED THROUGH THE MYTHICAL CONCEPT OF DEATH

The transition of Rasu-Ñiti as dansak' of his community to the ritual dansak' interceding with the gods divides the community into a small group of the initiated merging with Rasu-Ñiti the officiant, and the collectivity of the faithful (Lévi-Strauss 1966:32). The initiated, Luruchu and Atok'sayku are those specialists participating in the ritual of the dansak' who have progressed to the stage of being able to distinguish the cóndor, the manifestation of the Wamani. When asked by Rasu-Ñiti, Luruchu immediately replies that he sees the cóndor and for that reason Rasu-Ñiti's hour has come (p.150). As Cassirer remarks, life and death in mythical thought are not natural occurrences but obey supernatural realization (1955:47). Atok' sayku's ability to see the cóndor becomes greater as the dance progresses; on Rasu-Ñiti's death Atok' sayku ceases to be the disciple and becomes the ritual dansak' within whom the Wamani lives.

It is not uncommon for death to be associated with dance.

The dance of death, prevalent in the North of Europe in the late Middle Ages was depicted in painting and music. The inevitability and impartiality of death which arrives without warning was conveyed with deep pessimism. The tableaux depicted the living in order of rank from Pope to child. It is thought that the plague of the Black Death allied to the misery of the Hundred Years War (1337-1443) instigated the phenomenon. In the Andes, dancing allied to fasting and frenzy, often ending in death, characterized the organized activity--the Taki Ongoy (dancing sickness), which erupted in Ayacucho in 1565. The movement was led by Juan Choque and spread throughout central and Southern Peru. The Taki Ongoy was envisaged as creating a new pan-Andean identity based on divine order emanating from a consortium of local and regional huacas (Millones n/d; 66-70). In Arguedas' story the concept of death is purely Quechua. Portents of impending death from Andean folklore permeate the text. These signals reinforce Rasu-Niti's efforts to complete the various movements of the ritual dance before death arrives. A limit is set on time by the declining sun and by the anticipated arrival of the chiririnka, the blue fly of death (p.146). Rasu-Niti feels that his concentration on the intensity of the dance will prevent him from hearing the buzzing of the insect. The dansak's daughter had injured her foot when walking, and Ayuque Cusipuma notes that in the rural Andes such an accident presages a death in the family; the whistle of the guinea pig and the unusual behaviour of the domestic animals also indicate that they sense

death in the home (1976:204). Rasu-Niti's younger daughter had always experienced an urge to sing amidst the perfume of the broom bushes on the banks of the river. Seeing the fingers of her father becoming rigid, this same violent impulse to sing overcame her, but for another reason (p.153). Arguedas is describing the primordial desire to release tension through "the cry of mythical emotion". (Cassirer 1955:78). The harau or song of farewell was sung by Quechua women in unison at funerals and other solemn occasions. Arguedas relates that "The voice of the group travels through the sky and vibrates in the earth; it is the greatest effort ever made by the human voice to reach the limits of the unknown" (1976d:150). The author adds that the harau, known in the Andes since the time of the Inca Empire, is sung only by women as the penetrating notes are impossible for men's voices. The vibration of the final note pierces the heart and demonstrates that no heavenly or earthly region has been left unaffected by the final cry; Arguedas believes that it is impossible to express human emotion more powerfully (1976f : 178). It is clear from the above details that Arguedas created the ritual sequence in Rasu-Niti from the components of actual mythical experience in the Andes. The mythical consciousness of his characters is compelling simply by reason of its verifiable origins. Viewed thus, Arguedas differs from authors whose mythical vision finds expression and inspiration in religious, literary or cultural contexts, irrespective of whether or not the mythical events occurred.

One of the main themes of "La agonía de Rasu-Niti" is that of death and regeneration. Atok' sayku, the young disciple of the dansak', leaps to grasp the scissors the moment Rasu-Niti expires, and the cycle of life continues unbroken. Western thought views death as a natural occurrence governed by a causal sequence; in cognitive thinking death requires an explanation. Arguedas does not mention the ailment from which Rasu-Niti is suffering as he rests on his bed of skins. Mythical consciousness considers birth and death to be miraculous happenings, allied to the supernatural, although death can also result from a personal act of will. The question then arises as to whether the energy required to execute the figures of Rasu-Niti's ritual dance originate with the Wamani or whether this trance can be explained simply as an individual act of will. The Wamani appears to be involved since Rasu-Niti's wife tells her daughter that the Wamani is manipulating the scissors in the hand of the dansak' (p.148); however, Rasu-Niti also intuitively feels that this is the appropriate time for him to die, declaring that his "heart is prepared" (p.145). In mythical thinking, although life permeates the complete body, the heart is often seen as the centre of being.

The purpose of the dance appears to be a ritual re-enactment of the concept of death and regeneration as it applies not only to the dansak' but also to the Quechua people. Rasu-Niti, the initiated specialist with access to supernatural knowledge and power, makes his dance a last ritual adoration of the protective Wamani and a last act of intercession on behalf of

his oppressed people. The harp music of Luruchu anticipates every movement of the dansak'; when Rasu-Niti begins the Waktay or "struggle" which forms the climax of the dance, the intense rhythm reanimates the weakening dansak'. He raises his scissors in ritual acknowledgement of the ray of sunlight which Luruchu, don Pascual and Atok' sayku are already facing (p.151). The eyes of Rasu-Niti, no longer vacant, gaze at his daughter with an expression of joy as the dansak' perceives the god, the cóndor, growing larger. It appears to have gained in visibility and stature in proportion to the effort expended by Rasu-Niti. Although speech is failing him, the dansak' utters his last words with triumphant certainty--"he will kill the horse." Oppression will cease to exist in the Andes.

Any action, however practical its content, can be considered a sacrifice as long as it is religiously orientated. Cassirer suggests that sacrifice may take the form of a gift offering, of thanks, of atonement, of intercession or of a purification offering (1955:221). In mythical thinking, sacrifice is religious faith transferred into action; in spiritual matters, the mythical consciousness also sets greater store on ritual action than on meditation. Rasu-Niti dedicates his last hours to the dance which becomes a ritual sacrifice of intercession. The essence of Rasu-Niti's sacrifice is to mediate between the Wamani and the people in order to enlist the help of the god in securing the death of the horse. Throughout his works, Arguedas repeatedly uses the dichotomy of hate (odio) and love (amor, ternura) to characterize the opposite extremes of Quechua

emotion. Their unrelenting hatred of the oppressor finds its symbolic expression in Rasu-Niti's exultant cry that the god will kill the horse. In accordance with the values held in the independent Quechua communities, scores are settled in this world and not the next (Arguedas and Rescaniere 1967:315). Cassirer believes that "all sacrifice aims to create a bond between the world of the sacred and the world of the profane through the middle link of a consecrated thing that is destroyed in the course of the sacred action" (1955:226). Through the sacrifice of his life, Rasu-Niti has strengthened the bond between the Wamani and his people who now have the assurance of the god that oppression will cease.

From the Quechua point of view expressed in "La agonía de Rasu-Niti", duality cannot be mediated between Quechua and Hispanic reality since inexorable conflict with the dominant regime renders a search for balance futile. Within the Quechua world, however, Rasu-Niti in death reaches a state of equilibrium sought through the mythical mediation of duality. The final sequence of all Indian dances which Luruchu begins to play was the yawar mayu, the river of blood. To the Quechua people the Wamani sent water, the "blood of his veins" to fertilize the earth for mankind. In many myths, man was originally bonded to the gods by a blood relationship which is symbolized in this instance by the dance--the yawar mayu. When Rasu-Niti exclaimed he was about to arrive, he was indicating that through the sacrificial ritual of the dance he would become one with the Wamani. As he died, a mythical silence fell over the world.

At that moment Atok' sayku leapt beside Rasu-Niti's body, and seizing the scissors began dancing whilst feeling the presence of the Wamani hovering over his head (p.154). The younger daughter refused to believe that her father was dead as she had the conviction that it was Rasu-Niti who was still dancing. She was intuiting what indeed had occurred according to mythical thought. Rasu-Niti had become identified with the god, the Wamani, through the ritual dance. Man is also a link in the chain of life as a whole, so that a continuous transition, a metamorphosis of one being into another is natural. Thus Rasu-Niti, now fused with the Wamani, underwent a further metamorphosis and became part of the essence of Atok' sayku, the new ritual scissors dansak' within whom the Wamani now lived. Seen thus, death is a rite of passage to a state of equilibrium between two extremes which in no way implies separation. No one weeps for the dansak' since the Wamani is the Wamani (p.155).

In "La agonía de Rasu-Niti," Arguedas provided an internal interpretation of the Quechua mythical consciousness. Concrete material evidence of the Hispanic presence implying conflictive duality is totally absent. The ominous power of the landowner exists only symbolically in the minds and emotions of the Quechua characters and provides an incentive to rebel and kill as the last resort in the struggle to obtain definitive freedom for the Andes. The will to mediate conflictive duality requires reciprocity from the dominant system which, satisfied with the status quo, sees no need to cooperate.

"AGUA": CONFLICTIVE DUALITY WHICH DEFIES MEDIATION

In comparison with the symbolic Hispanic presence in "La agonía de Rasu-Niti," ruthless Hispanic domination in Arguedas' short story "Agua"²⁴ (1934) is concrete, being personified in the person of the hacendado, don Braulio. On a first reading, this early work appears to be largely politically motivated, inspired by the socialist teachings of Mariátegui who influenced Arguedas profoundly during the author's university years. On closer inspection, however, it is obvious, as perceived by Rama, that two simultaneous readings of this work are possible: one is based on the mythical reality of Quechua cosmovision and Andean thought, the other on the realist models of social regionalism (1976:137). The Quechua mythical consciousness exists in "Los comuneros de Utej Pampa" (1934), written by Arguedas even earlier than "Agua"; thus, mythical orientation in Arguedas' works is an ongoing process commencing with his earliest works and reaching its culmination in Los ríos profundos (1958). Arguedas' literary career is not characterized by brusque changes of direction but rather by the "authentic and profound internal constancy" of his works (Cornejo Polar 1973:13).

The short story "Agua" is structured according to two sets of oppositions: one external and the other internal. Externally, the community of San Juan, in which the action is located, is compared with the community of Utek'pampa, situated at a lower latitude. In the prosperous autonomous community of Utek'pampa the Quechua inhabitants are free to live in cooperation with the interacting natural and supernatural forces of the universe,

in accordance with Andean cosmovision. Of highest importance to the community members is their relationship to the Pachamama, the earth itself. San Juan, however, a community within walking distance of Utek' but lying higher on the mountain slope, is dominated by the hacienda owner. Collective solidarity is disintegrating in San Juan, as it controls neither its own lands nor its natural resources. The Andean principle of interaction--ayni, mediates between the extremes of these two communities; Utek' pampa welcomes comuneros from San Juan who marry women belonging to Utek' and wish to stay in the valley, whilst inhabitants of San Juan receive part of the bountiful harvest of maize, peas and beans from Utek' (Arguedas 1973:24).

The internal division within San Juan of two distinct views of reality is structured by duality. Seen in the rational light of literary realism, "Agua" is an incident which monopolizes one day in the life of the community. The indigenous community of San Juan is waging a losing battle in its effort to find a balance between mestizo domination and the community's need to survive. Don Braulio has absolute power in San Juan, and during the seasonal drought typical of the Western Andes, he divides the water available to the community in accordance with his personal wishes. He supplies his own needs, gives irrigation privileges to his friends and even to those Indians, such as don Vileas, who have chosen to seek personal favours at the expense of communal well-being. Pantacha the coronet player, a native of Wanakupampa, situated in the puna above San Juan, had spent six months on the coast. There he had absorbed socialist ideas

and observed conditions on coastal haciendas. On his return, he experiences the misery in San Juan and believes that only rebellion and possibly the death of don Braulio can restore life to the community which is "dying." He incites the Sanjuanese to rebellion against the inexorable harshness of don Braulio, but the community members are demoralized and lack the courage to support Pantacha in an uprising. The coronet player has therefore to confront don Braulio alone, and the outraged hacendado kills him.

The subject matter of "Agua" thus appears to have much in common with one of the preferred social and political themes of contemporary Andean indigenist literature--the despotic landowner, supported by the Church, who metes out ruthless treatment to the Andean Indian. The above reading presents the story as structured according to the opposition between the domination of don Braulio and the dependency of the Sanjuanese. The possibility of mediating this duality is ruled out as don Braulio has nothing to gain by cooperating with the community members.

"Agua" can also be read in accordance with a mythical structure; that is, from the Quechua cosmological point of view. In myth, local gods similar to the Wamani were essentially protective and closely associated with the life of the inhabitants of the region; the Wamani received offerings in order that their benevolence might continue. The relationship between god and worshipper is reciprocal; the god exists through the perception of the faithful, and his followers receive benefits

in accordance with the sincerity of their veneration and the appropriate ritual composition of their offerings. Mythical divinities, however, often possess the quality of duality. Inti, the sun, was the highest god of the Incas (Zuidema 1962: 157); the distant power of Inti held sway throughout the Andes. Rescaniere wrote on the Andean myth, describing "the hunger of of the Earth and the indifference of the heavenly god" as follows:

This characteristic, the indifference of the foremost masculine gods, is common to numerous Andean myths; in the myth of Calancha (1), the Sun who intervenes rarely, is the creator and destroyer of successive humanities; in different versions of Inkarrí, the Sun, father of the cultural hero, is indifferent to the fate threatening the latter when confronted with his enemy. In the myth of López de Gómara (1), the Sun is the father of the deities who create opposing and irreconcilable humanities (1973:58-59).

Such gods represent both negative and positive qualities and the capacity for good or for evil. In the community of Utek'pampa, Inti cooperates with the practice of Andean cosmological order which makes no distinction between man and nature, thus permitting crops and animals to thrive in Utek'. In San Juan, on the contrary, Inti is the diabolical god who "dries forever the eyes of the earth, burns the heart of the hills and dissipates the rain," thus causing drought (Arguedas 1967a:31). The growing intensity of Inti's rays, from the cool morning to the sun's zenith, dictates the course of the confrontation between Pantacha and don Braulio; the climax of the story culminating in Pantacha's death coincides with the extreme heat

of the afternoon. Pantacha resembles the mythical folk-hero of the epics, who offers the sacrifice of his life, whilst battling the symbol of evil, to save his people. In "Agua" the cosmic force of Inti remains aloof and indifferent. Saska, a resident of Ayalay, cries out that "Father Inti is useless"; Pantacha, speaking as a comunero, declares bitterly that Taytacha, the Christian God is also doing nothing to help San Juan (p.19), whilst after the murder of Pantacha, Ernesto, the young narrator exclaims, "There was no God. It's a lie. God does not exist." (p.38). San Juan is a place abandoned by the Andean deity and the Christian God alike.

In San Juan, Quechua music is the only human defence against the cosmic force of Inti and the evil of don Braulio. Pantacha plays the Quechua songs on his coronet to dispel the depressed apathy of the community. The tone of the songs varies according to the destructive heat of the sun. During the morning, Pantacha played the happy harvest nuayno, and later the sad tune from Wanakupampa which recalls the bitter puna winds blowing through the area of ischu grass; in the afternoon Pantacha gazed straight at Inti and began playing the ayarachi, the funeral music which also presaged his own death; the sound carried far and wide the bitterness of the comuneros, doomed by the rage of Inti and by the accursed hacendado (p.32). Evil and the ability to cause chaos were qualities inherent in the powerful rays of Inti, and in the disposition of don Braulio. In San Juan, the only symbol of liberty and order is the coronet of Pantacha, and in defiance, Ernesto throws the instrument at the head of don Braulio. This

act suggests that the cause for which Pantacha died will remain urgently alive in the heart of Ernesto. Seen thus, "Agua" unfolds as a mythical drama enacted on the ritual stage of the plaza of San Juan. The Andean myth gathered by Rescaniere and cited above contains the leitmotiv of the drama--"The sun is the father of divinities who create opposing and irreconcilable humanities."

LOS RÍOS PROFUNDOS: THE SYMBOLIC MEDIATION OF CONFLICTIVE DUALITY

For certain readers, the mythical implications of "Agua" may appear to be implicit, whilst the social and political message is explicit. In Los ríos profundos,²⁵ however, the mythical consciousness predominates and socio-political issues are often expressed through a symbolic vision.

In Los ríos profundos the same conflictive duality expressed by Andean natural order as opposed to Hispanic domination, exists as in "Agua." The focus has become enlarged and centres on the region of the Andes rather than the community of Utek'pampa as representing the positive interaction of man, nature and supernatural forces. The Andes, in terms of Quechua cosmovision, constitute space open to creativity, action and all conceivable possibilities. The closed space of the plaza of San Juan is paralleled by the dominated town of Abancay, "a captive town built on the foreign land of an hacienda" (p.49). The inaction and repressive stagnation of the existing order gives rise to the still more restrictive space of the "diabolical patio" (p.77) of the college of Abancay.

Rama quotes Chekhov as saying that an author in his literature is not obliged to resolve the problems belonging to a society. It is sufficient that he formulate them clearly (1976 :14). In Los ríos profundos, however, Arguedas poses the problems confronting the Andes and attempts symbolically, on the literary level, to solve the tragic duality of the Indian and the Hispanic in that region. In this novel, Arguedas sees Quechua reality in terms of a natural autonomous order related to ethical action and demonstrating in accordance with mythical consciousness how dependence can be transformed into resistance. In Los ríos profundos the efforts of the chicheras (the women tavern operators), doña Felipa their leader, the deranged Marcelina and the colonos, are directed towards replacing the system in force by a new order in the Andes.

¶ In Los ríos profundos, conflictive duality in the rural Andes centres basically, as in "Agua", in the opposition between the hacienda allied to the Church and the Quechua population, with greater emphasis being placed on the Church. This duality is expressed symbolically as the opposition between Ernesto the fourteen year old adolescent protagonist, and the symbol of ecclesiastical Hispanic power, Padre Linares, the "saint" of Abancay and the Director of the college (p.50). Padre Linares' pupils, for the most part, are sons of hacienda owners, and he personally preaches to the colonos in the caserío of the hacienda Patibamba, thus emphasising the close connection between Church and landowner experienced by Arguedas on his uncle's sugar-cane estates. Ernesto's participation in the

efforts to initiate a new equilibrium in the Andes form the leitmotiv of the novel.

THE YAWAR MAYU: A SYNTHESIS OF THE QUECHUA UNIVERSE

The interrelated Quechua world to which Ernesto feels he belongs is represented by two symbols pertaining to Andean culture--the yawar mayu, the Andean river of blood, and the pachakuti, the cataclysm which reverses the order of the world. The Quechua words yawar mayu suggest the brilliance of blood when the sun shines on the rippling current of the river (p.23). The title yawar mayu was also applied to the final steps of Rasu-Niti's ritual dance as well as to the last movement of all Indian dances (Arguedas 1976e:152). In the warriors' dance the steps representing the fighting and struggle were given the same name of "river of blood" (p.23). Thus the Quechua concept of the river involves constant interaction between man and nature. The image of the yawar mayu has a complex of meanings shared by the Quechua people. In the first chapter of the novel, the Inca stones cut from the living rock are portrayed as still possessing the life-force of huaca, manifested in their undulating movement which, by analogy, recalls the yawar mayu (p.23). This same power exists in the current of the river and transforms the multiple aspects of the universe into a unity of life created by Andean imagery. The yawar mayu becomes a synthesis of the forces active in the Quechua world. Mythical action is linked to ethical action and the power of the river is expressed in its healing and purifying abilities. The

clothes of the dead are washed five days after death, in a designated place in the river named pichccay (Arguedas 1976d: 150); sins were whispered into a bunch of ischu grass and tossed into the river which then bore them away (Sharon 1978:92) whilst flowers were scattered as an offering on the surface of the river to combat illness during Inca times (Murra 1980:15).

In the novel, the force of the Pachachaca restores Ernesto's equilibrium (p.82); he also calls on the river to carry away the evil calumny of Padre Linares who has accused him falsely (p.238). The last lines of the book testify to the power of the river to finally eradicate the plague. Ernesto believes that if the colonos have destroyed the plague with their hymns and imprecations, he would see the pestilence borne by the current amidst the floating flowers of the pisonay to the great selva, the land of the dead (p.261). The yawar mayu is never static; its turbulent waters epitomize constant movement as it presses onwards to its ultimate destination. The irresistible current of the river parallels the latent force of the Quechua people and their ability to overcome obstacles. Writing on the conflict between the Hispanic element and native Peruvians as portrayed in his novel Todas las sangres, Arguedas relates how the "yawar mayu conquers and conquers well"; the author considers this triumph to be his own personal victory (1971:95). In Los ríos profundos, the river Pachachaca plays a crucial part in the resolve of the Andean world to change the existing order which recognizes neither the values nor the freedom of the native people. The final chapters of Los ríos profundos recall the

concept of the pachakuti, the Andean cosmological cataclysm essential to the restructuring of the world as a result of the Conquest.

CUZCO: THE PROFANE AND THE SACRED

The first chapter of Los ríos profundos provides a synthesis of the novel. Ernesto, the adolescent protagonist, experiences euphoric anticipation on his first visit with his father to Cuzco, the Inca centre of the world. His joy is dissipated by the immediately discernible opposition between Quechua and Hispanic reality. This conflictive duality, which Ernesto witnesses and in which he participates, structures the novel and produces a constant tension and pathos throughout the book.

Chapter one is named "El Viejo" and the first paragraph portrays "el Viejo," the landowner who is a relative of Ernesto's father. Thus Arguedas immediately introduces the ruthless element of domination most antipathetic to the Indian. "El Viejo" represents moral and physical decay in the midst of plenty, and is symptomatic of the negative qualities of Hispanic culture portrayed in the novel. On the hacienda of "el Viejo," the fruit trees bear abundantly, but the hacendado allows the fruit to rot rather than share it with the needy colonos. His town house in Cuzco is sumptuously furnished in the two rooms he occupies, but is otherwise squalid since the landowner is miserly. The pongo, the Indian house servant, is underfed, humiliated and demoralized, whilst the cedrón tree in the patio

is neglected and "martyred" by children who strip its bark. "El Viejo" is consumed by his religiosity and ostentatiously drops to his knees on the street to venerate a shrine. He sees no contradiction between his devotion and the pitiful state of the pongo in his household. The character "el Viejo" originated in the person of Arguedas' uncle Manuel María Guillén, the harsh owner of four sugar-cane haciendas. Arguedas appears thus to be establishing the contradictory characteristics of the archetype of the callous landowner in the Andes; "el Viejo" is one element in the complex structure of conflictive duality which inhibits the establishment of equilibrium in the Andes.

Later in the text, Ernesto links "el Viejo" to Padre Linares, the Director of the college at Abancay, through the similarity of the impressive furnishings in the rooms of the two men (p.158). Hacienda and Church are thus bound together by two powerful figures whose interest and protection Ernesto rejects on account of their treatment of the Quechua people.

Ernesto has arrived at the sacred city of Cuzco after a childhood spent largely with the Quechua, and already he is able to see the world from a mythical Quechua point of view. In Cuzco, when confronted with "el Viejo," Ernesto instinctively feels the necessity of making a choice. He sees a vitality and a fundamental order in Incaic Cuzco which is completely lacking in the superimposition of Hispanic culture on the city. The stones fashioned from the living rock form the Inca wall; to the initiated, they appear to undulate in response to the power within them. Ernesto relates this flow of enduring energy in

the stones to the yawar mayu, the turbulent and sacred river of the Andes. As soon, however, as the Spaniards chiselled certain Inca stones in order to construct their own edifices, this latent power disappeared. The great bell, María Angola, is able to sound for leagues over the countryside as a result of the efficacy of the Inca gold incorporated into its casting. Ernesto believes that the bell has the ability to influence other smaller bells which then become illas of the María Angola. As illas, these bells have the power to conjure up the bulls from the lakes of the puna at midnight when the animals climb the heights and bellow from the frozen mountain peaks. Ernesto thinks and feels naturally in terms of the unknown forces of nature and of myth. Perhaps the most emotional manifestation of the inner conflict within Ernesto's soul results from his visit to the cathedral in the company of "el Viejo." The dark crucified Christ, the Lord of the Earthquakes, is the Christ of the Indians. Ernesto rejects the constantly suffering figure, as he regards it as a source of added grief and misery to the Indians. For the Quechua, in accordance with the teachings of the Church, the Christian religion signifies only pain, travail and death, to be borne with resignation.

ERNESTO: POTENTIAL MEDIATION OR THE REALITY OF RESISTANCE

This thesis maintains that conflictive duality, which structures the novel, creates subjective tension within the spirit of Ernesto. Everything that happens in the novel reaches the reader filtered through the mind and emotions of the

adolescent; the way in which a reader or critic interprets Ernesto's personality determines how the former interprets the total work. Arguedas once described himself as a "living link" between the Quechua and Hispanic worlds owing to birth, upbringing, bilingualism and the transcultural tendency of his writings (1971:297). On arriving in Cuzco, Ernesto occupied the same position as did Arguedas; he belonged to both cultures, and his mind was open to absorb the impressions of a new world, be it Hispanic or Quechua. Ideally, Arguedas could have made Ernesto the point of equilibrium in the novel, to whom the two opposing systems, Hispanic and Quechua, related. True to his vision, Arguedas chose to root his characters firmly in the reality of their complex world. The potentiality for a positive relationship with the Hispanic world exists periodically throughout the novel, but not at its conclusion. "El Viejo" could have been a supportive relative, the sons of Hispanic families could have provided sincere friendships in the college, whilst Padre Linares could have filled Ernesto's need for an understanding father-figure. Through such personal experience, Ernesto would have come to appreciate the positive qualities of Hispanic society. Whilst attempting to relate to both worlds, Ernesto becomes acquainted instead with the many facets and subtle idiosyncrasies of Hispanic domination, thus causing the will to resist to grow within him.

If the character of Ernesto is examined from the standpoint of Quechua reality, a different assessment emerges from that of Vargas Llosa, the Peruvian author and critic. To Vargas

Llosa, Ernesto lives entirely in the past (1970:9-17). In Pedro Páramo (Rulfo 1955:62), Dorotea experiences intense nostalgia.²⁶ Ernesto, however, does not seek to relive memories. From the Andean point of view, he uses the past as a guide to make enlightened decisions about the present which impinge on the future. Urbano states that the past, not the future, goes in front of Andean man as a model (1978:344). The alcaldes of Utek'pampa, don Victor Pusa and don Pablo Maywa, who accompany Ernesto as tutelary spirits, give him the strength to overcome present obstacles. Ernesto compares their uprightness with the devious behaviour of Padre Linares who appears like a slippery fish in the eddies of the river (p.61). In his hour of deepest alienation, overcome by the demons of evil lurking in the college patio, Ernesto seeks the purifying power of the river Pachachaca as did the Incas before him. The flowing water bears his depression away and restores his equilibrium. Returning with a firm step to the school, Ernesto converses in his mind with don Pablo Maywa and other community members who cared for him and gave him courage similar to their own (p.82).

Vargas Llosa sees Ernesto as an introvert, a mere presence who lives in a phantom world and does not change throughout the course of the novel. When considered from an Andean point of view, Ernesto is not preoccupied with himself; man is one being amongst many in the view of Andean rural society which thinks in terms of the collectivity as well as natural and social interaction. Ernesto relates to all other forms of life, be they natural or human. The adolescent's journey through the

novel is a form of pilgrim's progress in his effort to gain understanding of the world, especially of the Hispanic world, to which by birth he belongs. Ernesto feels secure in the Quechua land of the Andes, relating instinctively and immediately to the landscape, the plants and animals, and to Quechua society. Hispanic society, however, puzzles and dismays him. The indifferent cruelty of the landowner in Cuzco to the pongo and the tree in his patio, the inherited attitude of Antero, the son of an hacendado, to the colonos, as well as the confusing attitude of Padre Linares, all preoccupy the adolescent. For these reasons amongst others, he cannot accept Hispanic society as his own. Ernesto does not find the world "absurd" (Vargas Llosa 1970:14), neither does he avoid contact with people; he simply refuses to accept as valid the tenets of the Hacienda owners and of the established Church, as proposed from time to time by the characters in the novel. When he finds the complexity of this world both contradictory and bewildering, he asks wonderingly, "What then, are people really like?" (p.206).

In Los ríos profundos, conflictive duality is played out on the most intense personal level between Ernesto and Padre Linares. Vargas Llosa considers that the portrayal of the Director verges on a caricature, a figment of Ernesto's internal reality (Vargas Llosa 1970:15). On closer scrutiny the character of Padre Linares appears to be in accordance with the historical reality of the Andes as viewed from an Andean standpoint. Ernesto needs the friendship and guidance of the Director, and on occasions, Padre Linares appears to be

sympathetic to Ernesto. A permanent disjunction develops between them, however, as neither can communicate on a sustained and meaningful level. Ernesto cannot accept the ease with which Padre Linares abruptly changes direction. The Director supports the Hispanic system which is inseparable from the Church; in his denial of salt to the colonos Padre Linares renders his moral priorities suspect. The major sin in the eyes of the churchman lies in disobeying the authorities and the wishes of the hacienda owner, rather than in depriving the needy of necessities. Ernesto cannot explain why the Director should show kindness in the college and at the same time assist in the demoralization of the Indians. To the mestizo population of Abancay, Padre Linares is a "saint"; to the Indian population of the haciendas, he is an "apparition" (p.60).

Ernesto is a target of the inordinate suspicions of the Director. When accusing the boy of an unfounded misdeed, his eyes betray an inner fury, only to be replaced by kindness shortly afterwards. To Padre Linares, Ernesto is "a confused child" (p.135); nevertheless, to Ernesto, Padre Linares is also confused. The Director has obviously been accustomed to the unquestioning acceptance of his judgement, and he is frustrated by Ernesto's detached objectivity, as well as the adolescent's readiness to ask questions. Padre Linares vents his frustration in anger over his inability to understand Ernesto's inner being. Ernesto thinks according to Andean values and priorities, which lack viability in the churchman's eyes. For this reason Padre Linares calls Ernesto a "vagabond" and "crazy." In the closing

chapter of Los ríos profundos, no mutual understanding leading to equilibrium has been established between Ernesto and Padre Linares.

The Quechua world of Ernesto's childhood is rooted in his spirit; thus the adolescent is unable to mediate the opposition between himself and "el Viejo," Antero and Padre Linares, all representatives of Hispanic society, since Ernesto has experienced how the Hispanic world negates the Andean. It is possible to consider Ernesto's desire for cultural identity with the Quechua as a symbolic and tentative solution to conflictive duality on the part of Arguedas. The idea of Ernesto absorbing Quechua values as a child was probably more acceptable to Arguedas' Hispanic reading public than the concept of mature landowners such as don Julián, don Aparicio and don Braulio becoming aquechuados or aindiados, that is, influenced deeply by indigenous Andean culture. This phenomenon does in fact occur as demonstrated by King in Guatemala, where German coffee-growers incorporated themselves into the culture of Alta-Verapaz (Fitzgerald 1974:106-116).

HERMANO MIGUEL, THE ZUMBAYLLU AND THE UPRISING: A SYMBOLIC END TO CONFLICTIVE DUALITY?

In Los ríos profundos Arguedas proposes three other symbolic measures which point the way to achieving an equilibrium which could mediate conflictive duality. The personality of Hermano Miguel was the most significant influence in producing a balance between the dogmatic ecclesiastical administration of the school and the formation of a tolerant

outlook in the pupils. During his career, Arguedas was aware of the change in Peru in the status of the town priest. The priest had often appeared to be sensual, ignorant, un-Christian and autocratic. His type had since disappeared. Arguedas also knew that a Christian movement had arisen, based on humanity and social justice (1966a:14). Hermano Miguel is the predecessor of the socialist priest of Liberation Theology, and as a black Peruvian is not involved in the conflictive dichotomy-- Hispanic/Quechua. He supports Padre Linares, but believes that communication with the students on the level of daily living will solve their problems equally well as penance in the chapel. When Ernesto is perturbed, Hermano Miguel adopts a practical solution and shares his breakfast with the adolescent who then feels secure and able to confide in the Brother. In order to diffuse tensions in the restricted world of the college, Hermano Miguel encourages the students to play volley-ball. His sympathetic attitude is essential, rational and the boys respond positively to his concern. Although the zumbayllu, the Andean spinning top belonging to Antero, appears bewitched, Hermano Miguel treats it calmly as a play thing; unlike Padre Linares, he is not intent in searching for hidden evil in the toy. Above all, Hermano Miguel is human, and after being insulted as a priest and as a black Peruvian by the student Lleras, his rage demands retribution. He castigates his attacker and as a result has to leave the college. Hermano Miguel's ability to extract the good latent within the boys in face of the negative, uncreative system where evil flourishes can no

longer operate as a mediating force between the pupils and the college hierarchy.

Arguedas was aware of the supernatural forces of nature (huaca) latent in the stones and rivers of the Quechua speaking Andes; in his conversation with Ariel Dorfman, the author stressed that for him, the world was alive and that few limits existed between the supernatural and reality (Larco 1976b:28). The zumbayllu²⁷ is the hand-made spinning top of the Andes, and if properly carved, partakes of this latent force and accomplishes the seemingly impossible. The zumbayllu can spin on a rounded stone surface and its song carries through the air for many miles; through the medium of the top and the river Pachachaca combined, Ernesto hopes to send his father a message. The mystery inherent in the top is indicated in the suffix yllu which suggests a high but wondrous and possibly sinister sound, recalling the tone of the scissors of the dansak'. The flying dart, the wikullo, made of maguey leaves, which the school boys Juancha and Banku cast from one bank of the river to the other requires the same creative process as the top to ensure its magical qualities. An intuitive skill in the making of the object, an innate ability in the use of the toy, and faith in the supernatural Quechua efficacy surrounding the playthings all become fused to produce a mysteriously superhuman performance. Should the top be created in an irregular way (winku), it is more potent than a perfectly formed specimen. Ernesto treats Antero's zumbayllu with the respect gained from his Quechua background and the student gifts it to him. Antero's

generosity seals the friendship between Ernesto, who relates to the Quechua world, and Antero, imbued with the tradition of the hacienda. The top thus becomes a positive symbol to Ernesto, capable of mediating conflictive duality in Abancay. Ernesto declares, "For me it was a new being, an apparition in a hostile world, a link which bound me to that hated patio, to that suffering valley and the college." (p.88). The interest of the students in the top brings harmony to the battleground of the college patio. Hermano Miguel encourages the boy's absorption with the zumbayllu, although well aware of the "pagan" force derived from its Quechua origins. When he blesses the students, and with them the top, although it still functions well, the mysterious force vanishes (p.161). The power of the Inca stones disappeared in a similar way when chiselled by the Spaniards. The zumbayllu helped to ease tension in the school and forge a temporary balance for Ernesto between his two irreconcilable worlds. Antero, however, affirms his intention to become an hacendado who will treat the colonos in the traditional way. Hermano Miguel has to leave the school, and Ernesto can no longer think in terms of becoming a personal link between Hispanic and Quechua order.

In Los ríos profundos, Arguedas' final effort to establish an equilibrium between the two cultures is one to which he had recourse in "Agua"--rebellion and uprisings. The ultimate solution is anchored in the real and mythical history of the Southern Andes, and is founded on Arguedas' assumption that the Quechua natural order, based on a mythical world view, is

essentially more human, more orderly, more ethical, and fundamentally more rational than that of the chaotic society resulting from self-perpetuation and lack of purpose in Abancay. If Hispanic society will not consider effectuating a balance with the Quechua speaking world, the latter must take ethical action.

THE PACHAKUTI RE-ENACTED: MYTH INITIATES ETHICAL ACTION

In the last chapters of Los ríos profundos, the focus changes from that of the individuals who people the Hispanic world of the college of Abancay to the collectivity of the Quechua speaking population of the area. The uprising of the mestizo women who operate the taverns of the plaza under the messianic leadership of doña Felipa, the metamorphosis of the simple-minded Marcelina and the mythically impelled movement of the colonos are structured in accordance with Andean cosmovision and myth, signalling the ascendancy of the Quechua world of the Andes.

The turbulent water of the river Pachachaca parallels the irresistible movement of the mestizo women of the plaza, of doña Felipa their leader, and of the colonos. The river assists the women to cross the bridge in their effort to bring salt to the colonos, and it protects the colonos from the army bullets when they cross in the opposite direction to ascend the hill to Abancay. Ernesto believes that the Apu, the river Pachachaca, is supporting doña Felipa, now fleeing and outlawed, and that she will return to destroy the haciendas, and wreck havoc on the oppressors (pp.176,183).

The uprising signalling the initial stages of the materialization of a new order in the Andes can be structured according to the Andean duality of hanan/hurin (high/low) as inherent in the pachakuti, the periodic cataclysm of the mythical Andes which overturns time and space. The duality expressed in the opposition hanan/hurin is the predominant structure of Andean culture. Hanan can also imply right hand, superiority and maleness, while hurin can indicate left hand, inferiority and femaleness; implying either complementarity or domination between high/low, right/left, and male/female. Hanan/hurin represents the division of the world into upper and lower spheres whilst the pachakuti involves a revolution which turns the order of the world upside down. Guaman Poma believed that the Spanish Conquest had changed the social order of the Andean world in this way (Ossio 1977:54). Four hundred years later, during Arguedas' career, this world had not yet been restructured.

Andean order, however, remained latent in the underworld hurin, waiting for the appropriate time to return and occupy the dominant position hanan, by means of another pachakuti. To the Andeans, the uprisings of Manco Inca (1544), of Tupac Amaru II (1780), and of the many more recent rebellions in the Southern Andes were all efforts to restore Andean order to the hanan or dominating position by reorganizing the upside down world created by the Conquest.

Arguedas appears to structure the end of Los ríos profundos in accordance with this Andean concept. Abancay lies on the

heights above the river Pachachaca, but is "a captive town raised up on the land belonging to an hacienda." Thus, Abancay occupies the physical position hanan, but is controlled not by Andean people but by the hacienda, a legacy of the Conquest. If the community of Utek'pampa represented order, and San Juan, order in process of disintegration, the caserío of the hacienda Patibamba in the valley of the Pachachaca is a place peopled by the living dead, the result of unrelenting oppression. The caserío is characterized not by active disorder but by silence, lack of communication and alienation. Privation has caused the women to lose their memories, and they cannot speak with Ernesto even though he uses the language and accent of the communities. The colonos of the caserío inhabit hurin, the lower region of Andean mythology.

Arguedas makes a distinction between three types of mestizos in their relationship to the Indian. Certain mestizos serve the landowners and persecute the Indian; others lose themselves in the crowd; the remainder identify themselves with the Indian, care for him, and generously sacrifice their lives to defend him (1968b:11). The women tavern-keepers are mestizo, but they fragment the dominant society in Abancay by taking needed salt to the colonos of Patibamba, thus showing their solidarity with the downtrodden. The rebellion is quelled, and true to Andean history, troops are sent in to restore order accompanied by the customary dreaded escarmiento (retaliatory measures). Doña Felipa flees, and is sighted on the river bank; instead, however, of implying defeat, her presence, now mythical,

becomes messianic to the surrounding countryside, and it is believed she will return as a future saviour of the colonos-- "the most deprived Indians in our country." (Primer encuentro 1969:237). People have said she has gone to the selva, has threatened to return with the chunchos (the Indians of the selva) by way of the river, and will burn the haciendas (p.167). According to the myth of Inkarrí, the murdered Inca inhabited the underworld (hurin) until the time when his body was whole again, and he would seize Cuzco (hanan) from the oppressors. In historical fact, Andean uprisings have followed the pattern of attacking the hanan position usurped by dominating forces from below (hurin). Manco II, who had established the neo-Inca state (1537-1572) in the jungle at Vitcos (hurin), rebelled against the Spaniards controlling Cuzco (hanan). Tupac Amaru II (1780), by his very name Amaru, the jungle serpent, was also seen as attacking the colonial Andes from below (hurin). In 1961, Hugo Blanco led guerilla activity to aid the campesinos of the Convención Valley from the same jungle previously inhabited by Manco II. For that reason, he was considered by some of the local population to be the returning Inca, ready to restore Andean order.

Arguedas uses the interaction between mythical, religious and social action in Los ríos profundos which relates to the historical reality of the Andes. The messianic movement of Juan Chocne (Ayacucho 1565), was founded on the religious belief that the huacas (local gods) destroyed by the Christian God, had risen again and conquered "Jesucristo," thus assuring the

triumph of the indigenous people over the Spaniards (Millones n/d:69). Such social action was associated with religion in messianic movements. In Los ríos profundos, "la opa," the demented Marcelina, takes part in the reversal of the dominant order and is a symbol of the new Andean order initiated by the humiliated and disadvantaged. As in the case of Juan Choque, this messianic movement in Arguedas' novel is both social and religious. According to Andean beliefs, the "opa" or "upa," being abnormal, is considered to be an illa (Arguedas 1975:37); an illa is a being which has supernatural qualities capable of being a force for extreme good or extreme evil (Arguedas 1970:83). The presence of "la opa" Marcelina aroused the sexual instincts of the students in the patio of the college, making her an evil influence; however, when she climbed the bridge over the Pachachaca to take the shawl of doña Felipa from one of the bridge supports, she undergoes a mythical metamorphosis, and becomes a power for good. Wearing the shawl, she is now a participant in the messianic mission of doña Felipa who seeks to change the old order in the Andes. Ernesto affirms that since obtaining the shawl, Marcelina had not returned to the patio (p.183). Instead, she ascends the tower of the church, and from above she "contemplated and examined the important people of Abancay; she pointed to them and judged them." (p.183). The reviled Marcelina, formerly belonging to the lowest strata of Andean society (hurin), is now far above the oppressors who have occupied the hanan position in captive Abancay; she is judging them from this religiously exalted position, the highest

point in the tower of the church.

Doña Felipa and the women of the plaza have set the pachakuti in motion by actively acknowledging the colonos of the hacienda Patibamba as human beings with needs. The pachakuti is completed by the colonos themselves. Suffering from the typhus epidemic and realizing their intolerable situation, they replace passivity with action.

The colonos inhabit the lower region of Andean mythology (hurin), and the uprising that follows implies a mythical metamorphosis brought about by the dread of the typhus plague, transforming their perspective. The colonos' faith that their situation must change is rekindled. They leave the low lying region (hurin) and cross the river Pachachaca. Silently on bare feet, like phantoms, they ascend the slope to Abancay (hanan). Symbolically, the colonos occupy the church, the centre of the town dominated by Padre Linares, the Director of the college, who represents Hispanic order.

Thus, the order of the Andean world is restructured. Guaman Poma described the Quechua people of the Andes as "the real possessors of the kingdom" who occupied the superior hanan position (Ossio 1977:70). In the rural Andes, as a result of geographic isolation, adequate distance from an hacienda, and successful subsistence agriculture, certain indigenous communities had remained independent and unchallenged by Hispanic domination. Arguedas described the community of Utek' pampa as being in this category. Utek' filled the requirements of the position hanan, but the community of San Juan on the

same mountain slope was "dying" as a result of hacienda oppression. Still lower in the descending order of misery and deprivation, the colonos of the caserio of the hacienda Patibamba existed on a subhuman level in a world comparable to that of hurin. By crossing the river, climbing the hill to Abancay, and forcing Padre Linares to say mass, the colonos symbolically reinstated themselves in the world of hanan after four hundred years spent in the hurin position. The social order of the world had been reversed and the promise of a just order in the Andes, inherent in the concept of the pachakuti, had been anticipated.

CHAPTER VII

BEYOND THE BULWARK OF THE ANDES

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the relationship between Arguedas' life, work and goals, and the Quechua people of the Southern Andes. The author sought to convey to Hispanic Peru the hitherto unacknowledged qualities of the Quechua people and to help mitigate conflictive duality in the Andes in the interest of producing a new and equitable order in Peru. During his lifetime, Arguedas was aware of change in the Andes encouraged by roads, foreign investments, military service and above all by migration to the coast. The continuing viability of the structure of mediated duality, valid as an interpretation of the interrelated Quechua universe, will be examined in the light of the theme of Arguedas' last novel, El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo, situated in Chimbo on the coast. An assessment will be made of Arguedas' conviction that the qualities of the Quechua people would form a valuable asset in a new order in Perú. It will also be determined whether Arguedas, at the end of his career, was able to resolve his search for balance to his own satisfaction.

DUALITY: THE STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLE OF THE ANDES

The principle of duality has been used to interpret Arguedas' life and works and has provided a model and symbol for the Andean environment in which he lived, and about which

he wrote. Since pre-Conquest times, the Quechua people of the Southern Andes have used the organizational principle of mediated duality to structure their ecology, their cosmology and the interaction between these components of their vertical world. The Inca cosmogram, reproduced by Salcamaygua (1613), provides a model of the Quechua universe. In this drawing, three vertical axes--male right, female left, and centre line--depict mediated duality, and in conjunction with the agricultural cycle of birth, death and regeneration, demonstrate the totality of the Andean cosmos. Arguedas located his earlier works in the Southern Andes within the context of Quechua agricultural activities and mythical cosmological beliefs.

Conflictive duality in the Andes arose from the opposition implied by the two poles of the community/hacienda model. Arguedas had experienced conditions on his step-mother's hacienda and on his uncle's sugar-cane estates. The author considered the hacienda colonos to be the most deprived Indians in Peru. In the Southern Andes, during Arguedas' career, the power of the hacienda owner was absolute. Most traditional agricultural haciendas operated as closed systems and exercised physical and psychological domination over their workers. Webster envisages community/hacienda relationships in Cheqec, Department of Cuzco as a "matter of enlightened mutual opportunism rather than simple dependency and domination (1980:141). Arguedas did not share this view, as he knew the hacienda at the height of its often ruthless power (1910-1940) and could only rejoice at the early signs of hacienda demise.

The content of Arguedas' fiction interpreted the success of certain indigenous communities such as Utek'pampa and Puquio in their effort to reach equilibrium. Such equilibrium implied interacting, according to the principle of reciprocity, with nature, with other community members, and with the gods. In "La agonía de Rasu-Niti," the dansak' intercedes for his community with the god; through his ritual dance he symbolically mediates the duality of the earth below and the snow peaks above, and the duality of man and the supernatural. The purpose of Rasu-Niti's intercession is to seek assurance from the god that he will intervene and kill the horse, the symbol of the landowner. The small community remains cohesive, bound together by its traditional ritual and united in its hatred of the hacienda. Arguedas also described the havoc wrecked by hacienda oppression in communities like San Juan in "Agua" and in the caserío of the hacienda Patibamba in Los ríos profundos, which precluded the possibility of a striving for equilibrium by the totally subjugated Quechua inhabitants. In Los ríos profundos the problem of conflictive duality is centred on the dichotomy of the Church and the college students, and opposition between the Church and the hacienda colonos. Physical violence is replaced largely by psychological domination which is at once more complex and more ambiguous. Arguedas proposes several symbolic solutions as potential mediating influences on the dichotomy of Hispanic and Quechua reality, including the person of Ernesto the adolescent protagonist, the constructive tolerance of Hermano Miguel in the college, and the power

inherent in the Andean spinning top, the zumbayllu. Efforts to bring the two sides into meaningful communication are doomed to failure either through external circumstances or emotional rejection. The only hope of liberation left for the Andes is rebellion, as symbolically undertaken by the colonos of Patibamba.

SOCIAL CRISIS IN THE ANDES

The theme of Arguedas' novel, Todas las sangres²⁸ (1964), is that of social change in the sierra. This change is symbolized by the disintegration of the traditional land-owning family, Aragón de Peralta. The two brothers are already temperamentally different, but the pressure of events aggravates their disagreements to the point of hostility. Both own haciendas, but don Fermín is ambitious, pragmatic and open to influence from the coast. When a foreign consortium acquires the rights to the mine on don Fermín's land, he quickly turns his attention to the fish meal industry on the coast. He believes that the Indians will progress by becoming factory workers and rising to the level of technicians (p.238). Through his characterization of don Fermín, Arguedas is acknowledging that individual aggressiveness in a capitalist economy is one option open to the Andes of the future. The author was both depressed and angered by the findings of an anthropological conference he attended in 1967, which proposed that the "sub-culture" of the Quechua speaking communities could easily be "raised" to the level of National culture. Arguedas envisaged the Quechua

people becoming "factory fodder and domestic servants" (Murra 1983:54). Don Fermín's brother, don Bruno, was the traditional Andean hacendado who, like don Julián Aranguena in Yawar Fiesta and don Aparicio in Diamantes y pedernales, feels integrated with the land of the Andes and receptive to Quechua culture. Unlike don Julián and don Aparicio, don Bruno comes to the realization that a close bond with the Quechua people cannot coexist with the evil of economic exploitation. Before undergoing this metamorphosis, don Bruno has been ruthless and imperious with his colonos, believing he had a duty to God to treat his Indians like helpless but wayward children. Subsequently, he allies himself with Rendón Willka, a community member of Lahuaymarca, who like Pantacha in "Agua" has been educated on the coast. Rendón Willka dedicates himself to bringing a new order to the rural Andes by reorganizing agricultural activity in accordance with the concept of the pre-Conquest ayllu: in the ayllu the fruits of the harvest belonged to the man who worked the land. Indigenist writers believed that the ayllu and the modern independent community shared the same communal qualities since the latter had retained its vitality and ability to organize. The rural Andean indigenous community thus provided a model for social organization and a base for the agricultural unit in the Andes of the future. In Todas las sangres, the movement met with opposition from Lima, and punitive measures included the execution of Rendón Willka as well as other Indian leaders.

The Quechua content is explicit in Todas las sangres, as exemplified by the mythology of the mine and the Indian funeral.

of don Bruno's mother. However, Quechua reality, "the co-reality of objects and gods" (Tamayo Herrera 1970:248) is no longer a pervasive undercurrent and lacks the depth of the mythical consciousness present in Los ríos profundos. Arguedas appears rather to be concentrating on economic and social problems inherent in a changing society. The manner, however, in which Rendón Willka views death, links him to Rasuñiti, to Pantacha and to Arguedas himself. Before his execution the Quechua leader tells the army captain that for him (Rendón) death is insignificant (p.140). In each case, the above characters were aware of impending death; they were, however, immersed in a process of ethical action which to them was more important than individual destiny. In Todas las sangres, conflictive/duality in the Andes has not yet been resolved, although the weakened power of the hacienda no longer represents an extreme of the community/hacienda model. The Quechua people now have to combat the incursive presence of foreign companies on Andean soil as well as the policies of the National Government in Lima which they perceive to be unconcerned with their legitimate needs, and a tool for the oppressors.

In the decade of the sixties, the Andes were a source of both hope and despair to Arguedas. On the positive side, the demise of the hacienda had begun as a result of land invasions by communities, of expropriation of haciendas by the Government and of Peruvian Agrarian Reform (1964). Indigenous communities which owned land such as Puquio and the communities of the Mantaro Valley (Department of Junín) with communications to the

coast, were developing economically and modernizing their organization. In Arguedas' posthumous novel, El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo, Maxwell, a former member of the Peace Corps remarks, "these Indian towns are more sure of themselves than you or I, although people visualize them dancing behind a fortified wall or on the edge of an abyss" (1971:256).

This initial optimism was dealt a shattering blow when the National Government attempted to counteract successful rural unrest in the Southern Andes by measures aimed at integrating the Quechua and Aymara into the National economy and culture. Such a proposal negated Arguedas' vision of a future in which the Quechua people, whilst retaining their identity, would cast off their marginality and become united with Hispanic Peru (ibid.: 297). The author was further troubled by the disintegration of thousands of Andean communities owing to lack of land and rising population. The separation from their land was devastating to the Quechua. For generations, the earth had represented their subsistence, the gods and the totality of their world. They venerated their land, cared for it and felt rooted in it. Leiss believes that mastery over nature inevitably turns into mastery over men and the intensification of social conflict (1972:194). Although ostensibly seeking added pasturage, the hacienda, frequently in need of labour, expropriated community land, thus forcing landless comuneros to become dependent on the estate for employment. Foreign interests in the Andes exhausted the resources of the earth in the interests of economic gain. The

result of depleted resources was chaotic, and the only option left to such Quechua community members was to emigrate to the coastal cities to a chaos of another kind. Arguedas estimated that Andean migrants comprised sixty per cent of the population of Chimbote (Murra 1983:50). Separated from the land of the Andes, the migrants no longer gained support from their traditions and beliefs so closely bound to the earth. Lacking material possessions, they arrived on the coast with little more than their "action and creativity," the legacy of their Andean values.

CHIMBOTE: "A MIXTURE OF DEATH AND DAWNING"

In 1967 Arguedas worked as an ethnologist in Chimbote on the coast of Northern Peru amongst the migrants from the Andean Department of Ancash. His posthumous novel, El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo,²⁹ is set in the boom town of Chimbote, the centre of the foreign owned fish meal industry controlled by Braschi. Arguedas examines the efforts of the Quechua migrants to survive economically and socially in the context of the wider society of the coast.

Arguedas symbolizes the loss of Andean values through his use of myth which forms an integral part of the meaning of the novel. Whilst the myth of Inkarrí strengthened Quechua identity in the Andes, Arguedas, writing on Chimbote, uses the myths of the Huarochirí, gathered in Quechua by Francisco de Avila, the extirpator of idolatries in 1598, and translated from Quechua to Spanish by Arguedas himself. Two foxes, one which comes down from the Andes (arriba) and one which climbs up from

the coast (abajo), give the novel its title. They meet on neutral ground on the hill Latauzaco, where they dance and reflect on what has happened and then return to their separate lairs. They also recall the continuing separation of the Andes from the coast, suggesting only a nebulous union in the indeterminate future (p. 62-63). However, the god Tutaykire does not observe the balance maintained by the foxes. He descends to the yunga, the coastal valley land. There, Tutaykire, representing Andean culture, is met by the virgin prostitute with a jar of chicha by her side, symbolizing the hedonistic culture of the coast. The encounter leaves Tutaykire bemused, indicating that Andean identity and energy, while not destroyed, are weakened, dissipated and scattered on the coast (p. 60).

Chimbote represents ecological, social and moral chaos. The effluent from the factories pollutes the ocean and covers the beach with gelatinous worms. The hedonistic materialism of the port has converted certain Andean community members into alienated individuals blinded by the power of money. Asto, the fisherman, seeks immediately to rid himself of his Quechua identity, to avail himself of the most expensive prostitute in town, and to ride a taxi whilst reviling the driver. In Asto, Arguedas is repudiating the unbridled individual ambition and licence encouraged by Western capitalist society, which negates the values held by the indigenous Andean community. The author insists that:

Agressive individuality will not propel humanity in the right direction but will destroy it. It is the brotherhood of man that will make not only Peru but also humanity great. And that is what the Indians put in practice with an order, a system and a tradition to which Sebastian has referred. (Primer encuentro 1969: 240).

In Braschi's empire, wealth merely circulates as the workers spend their wages on Braschi's liquor in Braschi's brothels. Everything belongs to Braschi, even the souls of those he destroys. In Chimbote, as formerly on the hacienda, men are once again reduced to passive victims of the system. Vargas Llosa notes how Arguedas was obsessed by his horror of injustice and by his moral and religious pre-occupations (1980:23). Arguedas writes on Chimbote with smouldering anger. Esteban, the tubercular miner from the Andes, is frustrated and declares that "rage is not always sinful" (p. 159) whilst the Maryknoll priest Cardoso is overwhelmed by his inability to understand the irrationality and contradictions of the port city. He discovers that in the passage on love in Corinthians, Paul has left out the essential ingredient of hate (p. 280). Arguedas' vision of the world in terms of duality is again confirmed. He mentions on several occasions how his experience in the Andes had made him aware of the love and hatred of the Quechua people, amongst whom, love was greater than hate (pp.286, 297). In Chimbote, however, greed, anger and frustration threaten to destroy the qualities of cooperation and compassion.

Moncada, the black preacher, realizes that human existence has no longer any meaning for the poor of Chimbote, a town under foreign control. He exclaims, "Death in one's native land of Peru is a foreigner, life too is a foreigner" (p.165). The oppressed are forced to live as strangers in their own land of Peru. Throughout his career, Arguedas demonstrated his unalterable faith in the ability of the native people to free themselves as colonos from the traditional oppression of the hacienda, or as community members to defend themselves from hacienda encroachment and natural disasters, or as migrants to withstand the devastation perpetrated on the Peruvian people by the multinationals. The Quechua migrants who refused to suffer the chaos, who will not give up their identity and allow institutionalized violence to destroy them, provide the gleam of light in the darkness of despair. Living in abject poverty, they are convinced of the good inherent in humanity and attempt to translate this conviction into action. Don Cecilio Ramírez, the stonemason, shares the little he has with less fortunate migrants and consoles himself with the huaynos, the music of the Andes. Don Esteban de la Cruz is determined to overcome the tuberculosis contracted in the Andean mine of Cocalón, through the Andean belief of expelling the carbon collected in his lungs. Bazalar forces himself to learn Spanish and become the leader of his barriada in order to mediate between the authorities and the people. While these men originated in the Andes, the conscience of Chimbote is personified by Moncada, the black evangelist of the coast. Esteban believes that the only form

of resistance is to endure the misery, but Moncada and Cecilio Ramíríz demand that the migrants "walk firmly" and "tread the ground without fear" (pp. 181,278).

The diaries in the novel represent the stations of the cross for Arguedas. The author knew that his death was no longer a question of "if" but one of "when." It would have been understandable if he had allowed the despair engendered by his personal anguish and his disillusionment regarding National policy in the Andes to completely permeate his vision of the future of Quechua migrants on the coast. In the chaos of Chimbote only faith in the future has meaning. Perhaps the phrase of Ciro Alegría quoting Mariátegui on Vallejo, best describes the state of mind of Arguedas in El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo: "the apparently individual agony of Vallejo becomes the agony and the expression of the agony of a race" (Primer encuentro 1969:250). For this reason, Arguedas sees in Chimbote, "a mixture of death and dawning: (p.62).

THE MODIFICATION OF ANDEAN PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

Piaget remarks that "were it not for the idea of transformation, structures would lose all explanatory import, since they would collapse into static forms" (1970:12). Piaget also maintains that the transformations inherent in a structure never lead beyond the system but always engender elements that belong to it and preserve its laws (ibid.:14).

In El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo the phrase referring to Chimbote as "a mixture of death and dawning" is

spoken by the mythical fox from below. On the mythical level, this phrase has been explained implicitly in "La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti." Death is seen as a metamorphosis which permits Rasu-Ñiti to become one with the god, the Wamani. The Wamani then sends his spirit, fused with that of Rasu-Ñiti, to live within Atok' sayku the young dansak'. The chain of life remains unbroken. The necessity of death for regeneration, a new becoming, is expressed in the Quechua word mallqui, meaning at once a "cadaver" and a "seed" or "sapling." The symbols of death and dawning can be interpreted through the dichotomies of sleeping and awakening, darkness and light. In the context of Chimbote, however, death takes on the specific connotation of chaos, the negation of meaningful life; dawning represents the initiation of a process of becoming, of returning to life. In the Andes, mediated duality, the organizing principle of Andean culture, had as its aim the establishment of equilibrium. On the practical level, such equilibrium represented the goal of ecological balance necessary to the achievement of self sufficiency in a high risk environment. Crucial to the structure of mediated duality is the effort and creativity expended in the process of reaching the desired goal. The Quechua migrants to Chimbote brought with them the "action and creativity" they had applied to the task of solving ecological imbalance in the Andes. Thus, the traditional structural principle of mediated duality had to be transformed to adequately symbolize the interaction of the migrants with new conditions on the coast. The resulting substructure or new structural theme became that of "action and

creativity" inherent in the process of mediating duality. Arguedas believed that, by using this organizational energy, the migrants would once again create order out of chaos (1963: 23-25). His view of the Quechua people is essentially dynamic and this quality applies to Arguedas himself. In his last letter to his wife Sybila, Arguedas tells her, "You know that struggling and contributing make up my life. Inactivity is worse than death and you must understand and finally approve what I am doing....I have kept faith with the country and through it with the towns; I have given my utmost." (Larco 1976a:451).

Arguedas was concerned as a regional writer with the search for universality (1968b:17). Through his emphasis on "becoming," and effort as opposed to stasis, the author attains this level. In the prologue to Faust, Goethe contrasts the individual approved by God, who is constantly striving and becoming, with the person who lives in a static state of completion (pp. 8,13). Later in the literature of the world, Camus relates "Le Mythe de Sisyphe" in which the gods condemn Sisyphus to roll a rock continually up a mountain to the summit from where it falls back by its own weight. The gods believed that this punishment of useless work, bereft of hope, was the worst they could inflict. However, once Sisyphus acknowledges the situation as his own destiny, he finds that "the struggle itself to reach the summit is enough to fill the heart of man" (1963:72,73).

THE FUTURE: ORDER OR CHAOS

Today, twenty years later, Arguedas' vision may be fulfilled and the Quechua people could well become a valuable asset to the Peruvian nation. Arguedas was already aware in 1963 that the migrant settlements in Lima were organizing themselves according to the order practiced by the modern indigenous community of the Andes--the inhabitants were electing their local authorities by direct vote (1963:24). This preoccupation with order achieved by action and creativity is still more visible today on the coast. Michael Walker of the Fraser Institute paid a visit to Lima in 1986. He noted how in the pueblos jóvenes (migrants' settlements) huts are being replaced by houses with concrete foundations, and plans included sidewalks and paved roads. If the inhabitants were given land-titles, the settlements could become full-fledged towns or communities. Hernando de Soto of the Institute for Liberty and Democracy in Lima has recognized that these new developments are now centres of intense economic activity. This is an "informal" economy of building supplies, food markets, and bookstores which coexists with the traditional mercantile economy of Peru. De Soto sees these new towns as a self-generating economic force rather than simply a problem. He believes they will eventually transform the attitude of the Government in Peru and in other South American countries (Walker 1986:5-7).

In Havana in February 1968, Arguedas gave an address in which he related the content of his works to the period of Peruvian history spanning his career. He told how he began to

write in 1934 believing that social justice was around the corner. He and Ciro Alegría were imprisoned for their political beliefs, and other political prisoners shared their optimism in the future. Arguedas felt elated that the uprising of the colonos in Los ríos profundos had prefigured the victory of the hacienda workers of the Convención Valley (1961) who remained in control of the estates they had occupied. He was equally perturbed by the belief that the disintegration of traditional Andean society as described in Todas las sangres had been premeditated and planned by the elite in Peru. Arguedas also noted the negative side of the demise of the hacienda through which the Indians lost their parcels of land, and had to become factory workers and servants in the cities (1976k:407-420). He realized that his vision of a positive solution to the problems of the Andes had not materialized.³⁰

In 1983, Thomas Berger, former Judge to the Supreme Court of B.C., was invited by the Inuit Circumpolar Conference to conduct The Alaska Native Review Commission. Berger's findings in Alaska correspond to a surprising degree to those of Arguedas in the Andes. Berger insists that native peoples need a land-based economy if they are to maintain their own values (1985: 51-70). Subsistence for the native peoples is synonymous with identity whether it is gained from the hunting grounds and seas of Alaska or from the altitudinal ecological zones of the Andes.

Today, there is a conscious decision on the part of native peoples to determine their own life-style based on their identity as natives, and they are finding contemporary forms in

which to voice their own ideas. Their choice may not coincide with the Western idea of progress, but it does not need to do so. Native peoples must share territorial space with the dominant society, and in today's world, transportation and the media have intensified contact and therefore interaction between the two groups. The increased ease of communication has not yet, however, solved the state of disequilibrium existing between two conflicting societies. In the Andes, according to Van den Berghe and Primov (1977:184) and Webster (1980:152) as well as in the opinion of Berger (1985:176), the native people have little desire to assimilate, whilst in both the Andes (Guillet 1983:566) and in Alaska (Berger 1985:176) they have also refused to become proletarianized. In native societies, the ideological component of gaining a livelihood integrates with and may even determine the way in which people work in the natural environment.

In Native Andean and Native Alaskan society, there exists a striving for balance in the manner in which human beings relate to their natural resources, deal with each other and interact with the unseen forces which affect their lives. The Quechua people achieve this balance by organizing their world in terms of the basic Andean structure of mediated duality which has persisted throughout the centuries. As a native person, Gabriel George of Angoon, Alaska, defines his concept of balance: "If you respect things and look at them...as having a spirit or being, then you're in a place where you are at a balance....You look at the world that way and respect it and

you see that it is providing you with a way of life and your kids." (Berger 1985:"Subsistence"). Berger, like Guaman Poma (1613) and Arguedas, searches for a guideline in the past to elucidate the current problem. He quotes the question asked by Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566): "What right has one nation to impose its own laws and institutions on any other race?" In 1985, Berger was still searching for a balance to mediate the disequilibrium resulting from this imposition, and rephrases the problem formulated by las Casas in terms applicable to the modern world. Berger now asks: "What measures can be used to establish a fair and equitable relationship between dominant societies cast in the European mold and native peoples?" (Berger 1985:174). This thesis has attempted to show how José María Arguedas approached this identical question twenty years ago in Peru.

NOTES

1. In El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo this statement reads, "Yo vivo para escribir, y creo que hay que vivir desincondicionalmente para interpretar el caos y el orden."

2. The following details on Arguedas' life and career are derived from Professor Antonio Urrello's study, José María Arguedas: El Nuevo Rostro del Indio (Lima: Juan Mejía Baca, 1974), Chapter II.

3. González Prada (1814-1918) was the first Peruvian liberal to proclaim that the problem of the Indian in the Andes was due not only to educational, but also to political, economic and social factors. Mariátegui (1895-1930) emphasised the economic causes of Indian misery, whilst Haya de la Torre (1895-1979) regarded political, economic, educational and social factors as contributing equally to Indian suffering. In contrast to other contemporary indigenists Haya de la Torre believed that the Indian should be defended not on account of being Indian but because he was an exploited individual. Haya de la Torre was committed to the vindication of the oppressed, irrespective of their ethnicity, class or religion (E. Chang-Rodríguez 1957:343).

4. Saint Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), who stressed the virtue of poverty, founded the Order of Saint Clare (Poor Clares) in 1212 in Assisi, Italy. Saint Clare (1193-1253), the first abbess of the Order, lived in Assisi.

5. In colonial times, a mestizo was defined in racial terms as a mixture of Spaniard and Indian. Today, the mestizo in the Andes is a Spanish speaking person who usually possesses more education, more wealth, a higher social status, and more power than an Indian (Van den Berghe and Primov 1977:134). In economically and politically marginal areas, mestizos are ethnically differentiated. Mestizos dominate the monolingual Indian majority since they participate in Hispanic culture and have ties to local government (Van den Berghe 1974:9). However, in many indigenous communities, mestizos are considered as "foreigners" and do not participate in the communal life of communities such as Chuschi (B.J. Isbell 1978:70).

6. Arguedas maintained that as a mature adult, when crossing the river Rhine, he honestly believed that the river was a person as alive as he was (Primer encuentro 1969:108).

7. Murra points out that the Huarochiri collection is the only existing literary monument in the Quechua Language in comparison with the thousands of manuscripts in Nahuatl available today (1983:53). In 1598, the Huarochiri legends belonging to the oral tradition, were collected by Francisco de Avila, the priest of the Province and extirpator of idolatries. One of these myths symbolizes the age old dichotomy of the Andes as a region distinct from that of the coast; the mountains and steep valleys of the Andes are represented by the fox "from above," and the hot desert by the fox "from below"; the foxes meet but remain separate. Arguedas wove the fabric of his posthumous novel, El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo, around the opposition inherent in this myth.

8. The interrelationship of time and space in Andean thought is similar to that in Japanese thought (Professor Philip L. Wagner, personal communication, 1988).

9. The phrase Aguay Unu illustrates semantically a repeated observation of Arguedas that the Indian transforms everything that is extraneous before incorporating it into his world (1968:12). Arguedas notes that the common name for water in the Departments of Ayacucho and Huancavelica is yaku. The hymns of the aukis during the festival of "La Sequia," dedicated to both the element water and the Wamani, use the term Unu for water. In the ritual language of Puquio, the Spanish word Agua(y) and Unu are juxtaposed to reinforce the religious value of the concept (1956:200). Arguedas emphasizes frequently that when Quechua borrows from the Spanish language, the words are left morphologically intact, but are transformed to Quechua semantics, forming part of another function, another universe (Rama 1976:26).

10. Mariátegui (1895-1910) came under the influence of Communist thought during his education in France. He published seven essays on Peruvian reality which became widely read, and which subsequently influenced political thought. Mariátegui helped to organize the Peruvian Communist Party. Although the Party membership was small it became influential owing to the number of intellectuals in its ranks (Dobyns and Doughty 1976: 230-231).

11. The assessment of the geographer Isaiah Bowman of the Indian living in the high Andes was that, "the coca chewing highlander is a clodd," and Bowman suggested miscegenation as a solution to the problem (1916:108). The young Miguel Angel Asturias of Guatemala in his doctoral thesis, "El problema social del indio" (1923), advocated the mingling of the native and immigrant population as a cure for all social ills; later, however, Asturias rejected this remedy which was termed "la solución bovina" by the Marxist journal "Kuntur" (1927-1928), published in Cuzco.

12. In the Southern Andes the supernatural cat, the choquechinchay is also known as the k'oa or ccoa (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:209) or as K'owa (Urton 1981:90).

13. See Note 17.

14. In his lectures at SFU (1981), Dr. Alejandro Camino insisted that it is still necessary to organize socially on a communal basis in the high Andes. A single household cannot provide good soil management and attend to crops and herds at different altitudes. The mountains present a high risk environment, taking toll of human lives, animals and crops. This environment is also fragile and easily destroyed. The micro-climate can vary so considerably within such a small area that it is sometimes necessary to have an agricultural calendar for each plot of land.

15. Isbell describes a contemporary system of vertical control featuring the Compressed type of Andean zonation in the Pampas river valley. Here, ecological zones originate in a single valley, and range up one slope from the valley floor to the snow-line above. The Archipeligo type of zonation implies a wide separation of zones and often lengthy migrations. The Extended type is characterized by long valleys and less steep gradients, similar to the Vilcanota valley (Brush 1977:11-16).

16. Andean scholars such as Luis Millones (1979:41), John Murra (1983:45) and Juan Ossio (1978:183) have acknowledged Arguedas' extraordinary perception of the Andean world.

17. Less than 2 percent of Peru's land is arable. According to a 1961 census 0.4 percent of all landholders held 76 percent of all farms over 500 hectares, while 83 percent of the nation's agriculturalists held small plots of 5 hectares or fewer. In the community of Chuschi the average household holds 1.5 to 2.0 hectares of agricultural land, which may be divided into fifteen to twenty tiny fields throughout the community's diverse ecological zones (Isbell 1978:27,51).

18. As a result of Agrarian Reform (1964) in Peru, a compromise was reached between the aim of a radical redistribution of land and the opposition of the large landowners. In the Andes, certain haciendas were dispossessed and a share of the land was given to former sharecroppers of expropriated haciendas. The Agrarian Reform of 1969 was larger in scope, and envisaged the integration of the rural inhabitants, both Indians and mestizos, into the Peruvian population. By 1976, all the larger estates in the sierra had been finally expropriated. Large production cooperatives were subsequently created and given the title of Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social (SAIS). Thus, the former system of landholding and capitalist production was practically eliminated, and the land now belonged to the members of the cooperatives who had cultivated it before reform, namely,

the tenant farmers and workers. However, owing to insufficient land in the sierra, only ten to twenty percent of landless workers have been integrated, and indigenous communities in the Andes have not yet been transformed into cooperatives (Delavaud 1980:37-52).

19. The theme of the hacienda in Los ríos profundos is an interpretation of Arguedas' experience on his uncle's sugar-cane estates.

20. Whilst commenting on the art of Arguedas, Ayuque Cusipuma quotes Ariel Bignami (1969) as follows:

Llamamos arte realista a todo arte que, partiendo de la existencia de una realidad objetiva, construye con ella una nueva realidad que nos entrega verdades sobre la realidad del hombre concreto que vive en una sociedad dada, en unas relaciones humanas condicionadas histórica y socialmente, y que en el marco de ellas trabaja, lucha, sufre, goza o sueña (Larco 1976:208).

21. Direct references to "La agonía de Rasu-Niti" in Amor mundo y todos los cuentos (Lima: Francisco Moncloa, 1967) will be cited hereafter by page number only.

22. In his article, "Luz y música en la cosmovisión mítica de José María Arguedas," Jorge García Antezana demonstrates the interaction between the multiple origins of light and their conceptual significance in Los ríos profundos.

23. Ayuque Cusipuma believes that Arguedas symbolizes the socio-cultural confrontation in the Andes through the opposition existing between two animals--the horse of European origin and the cóndor of the American continent (Larco 1976:205). Cornejo Polar maintains that the last assurance Rasu-Niti receives from the god (the Wamani) is that the Quechua people will triumph. The critic also believes that, once resurrected, Inkarrí ("the god who is growing") will end misery in the Andes (1973:183).

24. Direct references to "Agua" in Amor mundo y todos los cuentos (Lima: Francisco Moncloa, 1967) will be cited hereafter by page number only.

25. Direct references to Los ríos profundos (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1970) will be cited hereafter by page number only.

26. "Allá hallarás mi querencia. El lugar que yo quise. Donde los sueños me enflaquecieron. Mi pueblo, levantado sobre la llanura. Lleno de árboles y de hojas, como una alcancía donde hemos guardado nuestros recuerdos. Sentirás que allí uno quisiera vivir para la eternidad." (Rulfo 1955:62).

27. Jorge García Antezana provides a functional interpretation of the zumbayllu (1984:98-101). Citing the binary system of oppositions in mythical thought, he views Ernesto as occupying a doubly negative position in the captive town of Abancay, as well as in the hated college patio. The zumbayllu links Ernesto to the world of the Indians and has the power to reverse the system of opposites. Inspired by doña Felipa, the women chicha vendors and the "opa" now belong to the reverse order, and are given positive connotation. Fearing the typhus plague and motivated by mythical beliefs, the colonos alter the system of power by making Padre Linares cede to their request. The plague, the symbol of oppression and cultural genocide, is doomed to extinction in the vast selva, the land of the dead (ibid.).

28. Direct references to Todas las sangres (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1964) will be cited hereafter by page number only.

29. Direct references to El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1971) will be cited hereafter by page number only.

30. Although involved in the problem of creating an integrated Peruvian nation, Arguedas' first and enduring loyalty was to the Quechua speaking Andes. At the conclusion of his last diary, Arguedas speaks of himself in Andean terms: "En la voz del charango y de la quena lo oiré todo." (In the voice of the charango and the quena I will hear it all) (1971:288), whilst his ultimate vision of a new order in Peru is in essence the vision of a liberated Andes (ibid.:286).

GLOSSARY

Note: Variations in spelling appear in parenthesis adjacent to the main entry.

SPANISH TERMS

abajo: below.

alcaldes: Mayor of a town or an Indian community.

alcanzo: burnt ritual offering to the spirits of nature.

altiplano: region of the Andes including Southern Peru and Bolivia and covering 200,222 square kilometers at an average altitude of 3,500 meters.

aquechuados: Peruvian nationals influenced by Quechua culture.

arriba: above.

barriada: squatters' settlement in the periphery of cities.

cabaña: dwelling of a colono on a herding hacienda.

cargo: 1) political or religious office in a town or community.
2) the tasks and responsibilities assigned to a colono on a hacienda.

caserío: settlement of colono households on a hacienda.

cedrón: tree native to Peru and Río de la Plata, species of verbenacea.

chicha: drink of fermented corn or barley.

chicheras: women vendors of chicha.

chunchos (chunchus): indigenous people of the tropical forest.

colono: resident worker on a hacienda.

compadrazgo: ritual fictive kinship.

comunero: member of a rural indigenous community.

comunidades de indígenas: 1) any native community. 2) prior to 24th June, 1969, any native community which had received official recognition from the central government and was registered with the Dirección de Comunidades Indígenas or Bureau of Native Communities.

cóndor: type of vulture of South America having a wing span of up to three meters and able to fly at extremely high altitudes.

conquistador: Spanish conqueror of native society in the New World of the sixteenth century.

conscripción vial: obligatory road work by the Indian people.

cordillera: Western mountain system of the Americas.

criollo: 1) born of Spanish parents in Latin America.
2) the culture of coastal Peru.

despacho: burnt offering to the spirits of nature.

el día del Indio: official celebration of "The day of the Indian."

encomienda: during the colonial period, a territory assigned to a Spaniard who collected tribute from its inhabitants.

entre dos luces: twilight.

escarmiento: reprisals by the National Government following indigenous uprisings in the Andes.

faena: obligatory public communal labour.

fiesta: festival, celebration of a Saint's day.

gobernador: official who represents the National Government in a District.

hacendado: owner of a hacienda.

hacienda: landed estate with resident work force.

hermanos: indigenous term of affection for animals considered to be "as brothers."

legua: distance measured by steps--in total 5,572 meters.

mestizo: a person superior to an Indian because of fuller participation in National culture, greater wealth, or higher social status.

minifundio: family landholding in the Andes, usually of less than five hectares.

pago: offering to the spirits of nature.

personero: member of community government or council of recognized Andean community responsible for documentation and land litigation until Agrarian Reform, 1969.

pueblos jóvenes: migrant settlements in Lima.

quebrada: steep sheltered valley in the high Andes, between 3,000 and 3,600 meters in altitude, where a variety of crops can be grown.

reducciones (congregaciones): Colonial settlements of Indians, organized by Viceroy Toledo in 1570, often in flat valley bottoms, for purpose of administration and conversion to Christianity.

selva: forest of the wet tropical lowlands.

La Sequia: title used by Arguedas to denote the Yarka Aspiy, the "Festival of the Cleaning of the Irrigation Canals" in Puquio, Department of Ayacucho.

sierra: 1) the Peruvian, Ecuadorian and Bolivian highlands.
2) any mountain range.

tuna: fruit of opuntia cactus.

vecino: 1) Spanish speaking Peruvian National living in, but not participating in Quechua speaking community life.
2) neighbour.

QUECHUA TERMS

Aguay Unu: the metaphysical concept of water, "unu," reinforced by the Spanish word "agua(y)."

allpa: the secular term for the earth.

amaru: 1) huge jungle snake.
2) forces beyond human control which cause disequilibrium.
3) torrent of water, mud and rocks in the Andes.

apu: 1) powerful spirit of the high Andean mountains.
2) wealthy indigenous community member.

auki: 1) spirit of a lesser mountain in the Andes.
2) community member representing this spirit.

ayarachi: funeral music.

- ayllu: 1) pre-Columbian form of social organization.
2) an Indian community. 3) a kinship group.
- ayni: 1) Andean principle of interaction.
2) reciprocal labour exchange; form of private reciprocity.
- chaca: 1) cross.
2) principle of simultaneous union or bifurcation.
- chacmay: opening of the land after fallowing.
- charango: a stringed musical instrument.
- charqui: freeze-dried meat.
- Chaupin Calle: path which divides the community of Misminay into two parts.
- chaupin quilla: half moon.
- chiririnka: blue fly, signifying death.
- ch'issin: after sunset, twilight preceding darkness.
- choquechinchay (k'oa, ccoa, K'owa): feline monster emerging from the high mountain streams and believed to cause hail.
- chuño: freeze dried potatoes.
- dansak': ritual dancer of the Andes.
- Hanakpacha: "the hereafter."
- hanan: high, higher.
- harauí (jarahui, harawi, yaraví): song of farewell.
- Hatun Raki Calle: 1) the path of the great division. 2) "raki" signifies the division of land into quarters.
- hatun varayok: highest office in the indigenous civil-religious hierarchy.
- haylli-taki: song and eulogy with a religious content dedicated exclusively to the Inca.
- huaca: 1) localization of power and the power itself resident in an object. 2) the power of a skilled craftsman. 3) the power of the coca leaf.
- huanca: granite monolith situated at the centre or approaches to a community; the tangible image of the ancestral epic-hero of the community.

huayno (waynu): songs frequently combined with dance.

hurin: low, lower.

illas: 1) sacred stone effigies of animals, also known as "engaychus," belonging to the mountain deities, the Wamanis, often placed in the fields to assure fertility of the herds.
2) unusual objects or beings with a propensity for good or evil.

illarimi: twilight in the Eastern sky before sunrise.

ischu: bunch grass of the high puna.

kamachikuq: 1) literally, those who cause things to be done.
2) hierarchy of several offices to which indigenous community officials aspire in ascending order. See also "varayok."

kantuta (qantu): sacred flower of the Inca.

kaya: freeze-dried oca.

Kaypacha: this world, the "here and now."

mallqui: 1) seed, sapling.
2) cadaver, mummy, ancestor.

mayopatan: river bottom on valley floor.

misti: member of the local elite, irrespective of race.

mita: 1) form of taxation in labour during Inca and Colonial periods. 2) Andean principle of interaction transforming spatial order into temporal order and vice-versa.

nawpa (ñawpa): temporal significance--before, formerly, ancient; spatial significance--in front of.

ñusta: spirit dwelling in a rock.

oca: oxalis tuberosa--tuber of the puna region often sun-dried and stored as "kaya."

la opa (upa): simple-minded woman.

pacha: 1) the earth as a metaphysical or religious term.
2) Quechua concept signifying both space and time.

pachakuti: periodic cosmic cataclysm in the Andes, reversing the order of the world.

Pachamama: the Earth Mother, the spirit of the earth.

pallqa: Andean principle of interaction denoting a process of ramification which is reversible in space and time.

puna: the cold dry region situated between 3,000 and 5,000 meters in the Andes of Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile where grassland is utilized as pasture.

quena: Andean flute.

quichwa: production zone situated in valley land around 3,000 meters where maize and wheat are cultivated.

quinoa: hardy cereal grown at higher altitudes of 3,000 to 3,600 meters in the Andes.

qipa: 1) temporal significance--next, following.
2) spatial significance--behind.

tinka: alcohol sprinkled in the four corners of a room during ritual.

tinkapu: ritual scattering of alcohol to the forces of the four directions and the forces of air and earth, signifying that the individual is symbolically at the centre of the earth.

tinku: 1) the confluence of two rivers denoting a process of ramification negative and irreversible in space and time.
2) Andean principle of interaction.

turupukllay: the Indian bullfight.

Ukhupacha: the Underworld, or Inner Earth.

varayok: an individual who has an office in the political-religious structure of many communities.

Wamani: localized mountain deity who provides water, and is owner of all animals.

wayku: steep valley or ravine.

wayta huerta: flower garden.

werakana: burnt offering to the spirits of nature.

winku: having an irregular shape and thus special attributes.

wikullo: flying dart.

wakcha: 1) orphan. 2) comunero who lacks land and kin, and is therefore economically poor and of low social status within the indigenous community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adorno, Roleno

- 1982 "The Language of History in Guaman Poma's Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno." In From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period, edited by Roleno Adorno, pp. 109-173. Syracuse, New York: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

Aguirre Beltrán, G.

- 1967 Regiones de Refugio. México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericana.

Alberti, Giorgio

- 1970 "Los movimientos campesinos." En La hacienda la comunidad y el campesino en el Perú, Perú problema 3. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- 1981 Basic Needs in the Context of Social Change. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Alberti, G. and Mayer, E., eds.

- 1974 Reciprocidad e Intercambio en Los Andes Peruanos. Perú Problema No. 12.

Alegría, Ciro

- 1941 El Mundo es Ancho y Ajeno. Lima: Ed. Populares.

Alegría, Fernando

- 1971 Literatura y Revolución. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Antezana, Jorge García

- 1984a "Luz y música en la cosmovisión mítica de José María Arguedas." Unpublished. Paper read at the Third International Symposium, Latin American Literature Association, Washington, D.C., April 27th, 1984.
- 1984b "Estructura del mito en José María Arguedas (El 'zumbayllu' en Los ríos profundos)." México: Cuadernos Americanos No. 3, Mayo-Junio 1984.

Arguedas, José María

- 1956 "Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio." En Revista del Museo Nacional, Tomo XXV. Lima. pp.184-232.
- 1963 "La soledad cósmica en la poesía quechua." Revista 2, Nos. 15-16. Havana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 15-25.
- 1964 Todas las sangres. Buenos Aires: Losada.
- 1966a "José María Arguedas, Biblioteca Perú Vivo." Lima: Juan Mejía Baca.
- 1966b "Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí." Edición Bilingüe. Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila (c.1598); Traducción--José María Arguedas. Estudio Bibliográfico: Pierre Duviols. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- 1967a "Agua." En Amor mundo y todos los cuentos. Lima: Francisco Moncloa. pp. 13-40.
- 1967b "Los escolares." En Amor mundo y todos los cuentos. Lima: Francisco Moncloa. pp. 41-86.
- 1967c "Warmá Kuyay." En Amor mundo y todos los cuentos. Lima: Francisco Moncloa. pp.87-96.
- 1967d "La muerte de los Arango." En Amor mundo y todos los cuentos. Lima: Francisco Moncloa. pp.125-132.
- 1967e "La agonía de Rasu-Niti." En Amor mundo y todos los cuentos. Lima: Francisco Moncloa. pp. 145-156.
- 1967f "La huerta." En Amor mundo y todos los cuentos. Lima: Francisco Moncloa. pp. 181-190.
- 1967g "El ayla." En Amor mundo y todos los cuentos. Lima: Francisco Moncloa. pp. 191-198.
- 1968a Yawar Fiesta. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria.
- 1968b "La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú." En Yawar Fiesta. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria. pp.11-17.
- 1968c Las comunidades de España y del Perú. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- 1970 Los ríos profundos. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria.

Arguedas, José María

- 1971 El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo. Buenos Aires: Losada.
- 1973 "Los comuneros de Utej Pampa." En José María Arguedas, Cuentos Olvidados y notas críticas a la obra de José María Arguedas por José Luis Rouillon. Lima: Imágenes y letras. pp. 19-26.
- 1975 Diamantes y pedernales. Buenos Aires: Arca/calicanto.
- 1976a "El nuevo sentido histórico del Cuzco." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 45-52.
- 1976b "La ciudad de La Paz." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 59-63.
- 1976c "El brujo." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 142-146.
- 1976d "La muerte y los funerales." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 147-150.
- 1976e "El mito de Inkarrí." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 162-168.
- 1976f "Canciones quechuas." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 174-175.
- 1976g "El valor poético y documental de los himnos religiosos quechuas." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 191-195.
- 1976h "El monstruoso contrasentido." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 215-219.

Arguedas, José María

- 1976i "Los señores y los indios." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 225-232.
- 1976j "En defensa del folklore musical andino." En José María Arguedas, Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial. pp. 233-234.
- 1976k "La narrativa en el Perú contemporáneo." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 407-420.
- 1976l "Por Vallejo." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 449-450.
- 1976m "Carta a su esposa Sybila." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 451-456.
- 1976n Katatay. Havana: Casa de las Américas.
- 1981a "El complejo cultural en el Perú y el Primer Congreso de Peruanistas." En Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana por José María Arguedas. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. México: siglo vientiuno editores. pp. 1-8.
- 1981b "La sierra en el proceso de la cultura peruana." En Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana por José María Arguedas. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. México: siglo vientiuno editores. pp. 9-27..
- 1981c "Evolución de las comunidades indígenas. El valle del Mantaro y la ciudad de Huancayo: un caso de fusión de culturas no comprometida por la acción de las instituciones de origen colonial." En Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana por José María Arguedas. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. México: siglo vientiuno editores. pp. 80-147.
- 1981d "La cultura: un patrimonio difícil de colonizar." En Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana por José María Arguedas. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. México: siglo vientiuno editores. pp. 183-186.

Arguedas, José María

- 1981e "Mitos quechuas pos-hispánicos." En Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana por José María Arguedas. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. México: siglo vientiuno editores. pp. 173-182.
- 1981f "Razón de ser del indigenismo en el Perú." (ensayo póstuma). En Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana por José María Arguedas. Selección y prólogo de Angel Rama. México: siglo vientiuno editores. pp. 189-197.

Arguedas, José María, and Rescaniere, Alejandro Ortiz

- 1967h "La posesión de la tierra; Los mitos post-hispánicos y la visión del universo en la población monolingüe quechua." En Colloques Internationaux, Les Problèmes Agraires des Amériques Latines. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. pp. 309-315.

Asturias, Miguel Angel

- 1971 "El problema social del indio." Paris: Centre de Recherches de l'Institut d'Etudes Hispaniques.

Ayuque Cusipuma, Julián

- 1976 "El Wamani en la 'Agonía de Rasu-Ñiti'." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 197-208.

Berger, Thomas R.

- 1985 Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission. New York: Hill and Wang.

Bowman, Isaiah

- 1916 The Andes of Southern Peru: Geographical Reconnaissance along the Seventy-third Meridian. New York: H. Holt.

Bright, Amos Leon

- 1976 "La problemática socio-étnica in la obra narrativa de José María Arguedas." Ann Arbor: Dissertation Abstracts International 37 2911A.

Brundage, Burr C.

- 1963 Empire of the Inca. Norman: Oklahoma University Press.

Brush, Stephen B.

- 1977 Mountain, Field, and Family: The Economy and Human Ecology of an Andean Valley. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Camus, Albert

- 1963 De L'Envers et L'endriot à L'Exil et le royaume. Edited by Germaine Brée. New York: Dell.

Cassirer, Ernst

- 1955 Mythical Thought. Volume Two of The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms (trans. Ralph Manheim). New Haven and London: Yale University Press

Castro, Fidel

- 1985 Fidel y la religión: Conversaciones con Frei Betto. La Habana: oficina de publicaciones del consejo de Estado.

Castro Klarén, Sara

- 1975 "José María Arguedas. Testimonio, sobre preguntas de Sara Castro Klarén." Hispanamérica año IV, num. 10, pp. 45-54.

Céspedes, Augusto

- 1946 "Metal del Diablo." Buenos Aires: Alfonso Ruiz y Cía.

Chang-Rodríguez, Eugenio

- 1957 La literatura política de González Prada, Mariátegui y Haya de la Torre. México: Colección Studium, Vol. 18.

Chang-Rodríguez, Raquel

- 1982 "Writing as Resistance: Peruvian History and the Relación of Titu Cusi Yupanqui." In From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period, edited by Roleno Adorno, pp. 42-64. Syracuse, New York: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

Cieza de León, Pedro de

- 1864 The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de León AD 1532-1550
(trans. Clements R. Markham). London: Hakluyt Society
No.33.

Contreras, J.H.

- 1979 "El compadrazgo y los cambios en la estructura de poder local en Chinchero (Perú)." Comunicación presentada al XLIII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Vancouver.

Cornejo Polar, Antonio

- 1973 Los universos narrativos de José María Arguedas. Buenos Aires: Losada.
- 1976a "El sentido de la narrativa de Arguedas." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 45-72.
- 1976b "Arguedas, poeta indígena." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 169-176.
- 1980 Literatura y sociedad en el Perú. La novela indigenista. Biblioteca de cultura andina. Lima: Lasontay.

Cotler, Julio

- 1967 "La mecánica de la dominación interna y el cambio social en el Perú." Serie: Mesas Redondas y Conferencias No. 6. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Custred, Glynn

- 1980 "The Place of Ritual in Andean Society." In Land and Power in Latin America. Edited by Benjamin S. Orlove and Glynn Custred, pp. 195-210. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Davies, Thomas M., Jr.

- 1974 Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900-1948. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Delavaud, Claude Collin

- 1980 "Agrarian reform in Peru." In Environment, Society, and Rural Change in Latin America. Edited by David A. Preston, pp. 37-52. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Dobyns, Henry E. and Doughty, Paul

- 1976 Peru, A Cultural History. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dorfman, Ariel

- 1970 "Imaginación y violencia en América." Ensayos. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria.

Doughty, P.L.

- 1968, Huaylas, an Andean District in Search of Progress. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Fuviols, Pierre

- 1978 "Un symbolisme andin du double: la lithomorphose de L'ancêtre." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 359-364. Paris.

Earls, John

- 1973, "La Organización del Poder en la Mitología Quechua." In Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino, edited by Juan M. Ossio. Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor.

Earls, John, and Silverblatt, Irene

- 1978 "La realidad física y social en la cosmología andina." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 299-325. Paris.

Eliade, Mircea

- 1965 The Two and the One, (trans. J.M. Cohen). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Escobar, Gabriel M.

- 1967 Organización social y cultural del sur del Perú. México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

Espinoza Manuel, and Díaz, Plácido

- 1980 Historia de Perú. Perú: Ediciones Quipu.

Ferreras, Juan Ignacio

- 1980 Fundamentos de Sociología de la Literatura. Madrid: Ediciones Catedra.

Fitzgerald, Thomas K., ed.

- 1974 "Social and Cultural Identity: Problems of Persistence and Change." Southern Anthropological Society, Proceedings 8. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Forgues, Roland

- 1986 José María Arguedas, de la pensée dialectique à la pensée tragique: histoire d'une utopie. Toulouse, France: France-Ibérie recherche.

Forman, Sylvia H.

- 1978 "The future value of the 'verticality' concept: implications and possible applications in the Andes." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 233-256. Paris.

Foster, David William

- 1981 Peruvian Literature: A Bibliography of Secondary Sources. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Frank, A.G.

- 1967 "Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America." Monthly Review Press. New York.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang

- n/d Faust: Der Tragödie erster Teil. Switzerland: Verlag Sauerländer Aarau.

Gow, David D.

- 1978 "Verticality and Andean cosmology: Quadripartition, opposition and mediation." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 199-210. Paris.

Guillet, David

- 1983 "Toward a Cultural Ecology of Mountains: The Central Andes and the Himalayas Compared," Current Anthropology Vol. 24 No. 5.

Gullón, Ricardo

- 1976 "Los mitos profundos." Revista de Occidente 3a serie, No. 4, pp.58-65. Madrid.

Gutiérrez, Gustavo

- 1973 A Theology of Liberation. Orbis Books. New York: Maryknoll.

- 1984 We drink from our own wells. Orbis Books. New York: Maryknoll.

Halperin, Rhoda, and Dow, James, eds.

- 1977 Studies in Economic Anthropology and Cultural Ecology. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Harrison, Regina

- 1982 "Modes of Discourse: The 'Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú' by Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua." In From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period, edited by Roleno Adorno, No. 4, pp. 65-100. Syracuse, New York: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

Icaza, J.

- 1975 Huasipungo. Décima edición. Buenos Aires: Losada.

Isbell, Billie Jean

- 1978 To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village. Austin: University of Texas.

Isbell, William H.

- 1978 "Cosmological order expressed in prehistoric ceremonial centres." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 269-297. Paris.

Jaffé, Aniela

- 1964 "Symbolism in the Visual Arts." In Man and His Symbols. Edited by Carl G. Jung, pp. 230-271. New York: Doubleday.

Larco, Juan, ed.

1976a Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas.

1976b "Conversando con Arguedas." (Tomás G. Escajadillo, Ariel Dorfman, Alfonso Calderón). In Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas, pp. 21-30.

Laurenson, Diana, and Swingewood, Alan

1971 "Introduction: Sociology and Literature." In The Sociology of Literature, pp. 11-22. London: MacGibbon and Kee.

Leach, Edmund R.

1965 Political Systems of Highland Burma. Boston: Beacon Press.

Leiss, William

1972 The Domination of Nature. New York: G. Braziller.

Lévano, César

1969 Arguedas: un sentimiento trágico de la vida. Lima: Editorial Gráfica Labor.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude

1966 The Savage Mind. The University of Chicago Press.

1968 Structural Anthropology (trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf). London: The Penguin Press.

1978 Myth and Meaning. University of Toronto Press.

Llewellyn, Ted

1978 Peasants in Transition. The Changing Economy of the Peruvian Aymara: A General Systems Approach. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

López y Fuentes, Gregorio

1961 El indio (trans. Anita Brenner). New York: F. Ungar Publishing Co.

Long, N.

- 1975 "Structural dependency, modes of production and economic brokerage in rural Peru." In Beyond the Sociology of Development, edited by I. Oxall, Tony Barnett and David Booth. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul.

Lyon, Patricia J.

- 1974 "Relationships with the Supernatural." In Native South Americans. Ethnology of the Least Known Continent. U.S.A.: Little Brown and Company.

Madden, D.

- 1980 A Premier of the Novel. London: Scarecrow Press.

Maltby, Laura

- 1980 "Colonos on Hacienda Picotani." In Land and Power in Latin America. Edited by Benjamin S. Orlove and Glynn Custred. pp. 99-112. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Mariátegui, J.C.

- 1963 "Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana." La Habana: Casa de las Américas.

Martínez-Alier, Juan

- 1977 Haciendas, Plantations, and Collective Farms: Agrarian Class Societies, Cuba and Peru. London: F. Cass.

Mason, J. Alden

- 1957 The Ancient Civilizations of Peru. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Matos Mar, J.

- 1967 Movimientos y organizaciones campesinas en el valle de Chancay. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

- 1970 "Hacia la modernización de la estructura agraria en el Perú." En Perú Problema 3. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Matto de Turner, Clorinda

- 1968 Aves sin nido. Buenos Aires: Solar.

Millones, Luis

1979 "Las religiones nativas del Perú: recuento y evaluación de su estudio." Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos VIII No. 1-2, pp. 35-48. Lima.

n/d Sociedad indígena e identidad nacional.

Mitchell, William P.

1977 "Irrigation Farming in the Andes: Evolutionary Implications." In Peasant Livelihood: Studies in Economic Anthropology and Cultural Ecology, edited by Rhoda Halperin and James Dow, pp. 36-59. New York: St Martin's Press.

Muñoz, Silverio

1980 José María Arguedas y el mito de la salvación por la cultura. Minneapolis: Instituto para el estudio de ideologías y literatura. Serie hacia una historia social de las literaturas hispánicas y Luso-Brasilera.

Murra, John V.

1973 "Rite and Crop in the Inca State." In Peoples and Cultures of Native South America, edited by Daniel Gross. pp. 375-395. New York: Doubleday.

1980 Research in Economic Anthropology: The Economic Organization of the Inka State. Supplement 1., Greenwich, Connecticut: J.I. Press.

1983 "José María Arguedas: Dos Imágenes." Revista Iberoamericana, pp. 43-53.

1984 "Andean Societies." Annual Review of Anthropology 13, pp. 119-141.

n/d "The Cultural Future of the Andean Majority."

Neruda, Pablo

1970 Canto General I. Buenos Aires: Losada.

Nuñez del Prado, Juan Victor

1974 "The Supernatural World of the Qüechua of Southern Peru as seen from the Community of Qotobamba." In Native South Americans, edited by P.J. Lyon, pp. 238-251. Boston: Little Brown and Co.

Núñez del Prado, Oscar

1973 Kuyo Chico. University of Chicago Press.

Orlovè, Benjamin

1977 "Against a Definition of Peasantries: Agrarian Production in Andean Peru." In Peasant Livelihood: Studies in Economic Anthropology and Cultural Ecology, edited by Rhoda Halperin and James Dow, pp. 22-35. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Ossio, Juan M., ed.

1973 Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino. Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor.

Ossio, Juan M.

1977 "The Seventeenth-Century Chronicle of Guaman Poma de Ayla." In Text and Context, edited by Ravindra K. Jain, pp. 51-95. Philadelphia: Institute for Study of Human Issues.

1978a "Relaciones interétnicas y verticalidad ecológica en la comunidad de Andamarca, Ayacucho, Perú." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 179-198. Paris.

1978b "El simbolismo del agua y la representación del tiempo y el espacio en la fiesta de la Acequia de la comunidad de Andamarca." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 377-389. Paris.

1983 "Worlds in Reverse." In Ideas (Mar.25-Apr.8, 1983). Toronto: CBC Transcripts.

Ostria González, Mauricio

1976 "Otras Opiniones." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 329-330.

Pantigoso, Edgardo J.

- 1981 La rebelión contra el indigenismo y la afirmación del pueblo en el mundo de José María Arguedas. Lima: Juan Mejía Baca.

Paoli, Roberto.

- 1982 "Los ríos profundos: La Memoria y lo Imaginario." Revista Iberoamericana, enero-junio 1982, pp. 177-190. University of Pittsburg and Madrid.

Piaget, Jean

- 1970 Structuralism, New York: Basic Books.

Picón Salas, Mariano

- 1944 De la Conquista a la Independencia. Tres Siglos de Historia Cultural Hispanoamericana. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Piel, Jean

- 1967 "A propos d'un soulèvement rural Peruvien au début du vingtième siècle: Tocroyoc (1921)." Revue D'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, vol. 14, pp. 375-405.

Poulet, George, ed.

- 1968 Les Chemins Actuels de la Critique. Paris: Centre Culturel International de Cerisy-La-Salle, Union Générale D'Editions.

Pozas, A. Ricardo

- 1959 Juan Pérez Jolote: biografía de un tzotzil. México: Fondo de cultura Económica.

Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos: Arequipa, 1965.

- 1969 Lima: Casa de la Cultura del Perú.

Rama, Angel

- 1974 "El area cultural andina (hispanismo, mesticismo, indigenismo)." En Cuadernos Americanos, año XXXIII, num. 6, noviembre-diciembre. México...

Rama, Angel, ed.

- 1976 José María Arguedas. Señores e Indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua. Selección y prólogo. Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial.
- 1981 Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana por José María Arguedas. Selección y prólogo. México: siglo vientiuno editores.

Randall, Robert

- 1982 "Qoyllur Rit'i, an Inca Fiesta of the Pleiades: Reflections on Time and Space in the Andean World." Bulletin, Institut Français des Études Andines, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 37-81.

Rasseto, Mario

- 1972 Poesía Quechua. La Habana, Cuba: Casa de las Américas.

Rescaniere, Alejandro Ortiz

- 1973 De Adaneva a Inkarrí. Una visión indígena del Perú. Lima: Ediciones Retablo de Papel. INIDE.

Rouillon, José Luis

- 1973 José María Arguedas, Cuentos Olvidados y notas críticas a la obra de José María Arguedas. Lima: Imágenes y letras.

Rowe, William

- 1976 "Mito, lenguaje e ideología como estructuras literarias." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 257-284.
- 1979 "Mito e ideología en la obra de José María Arguedas." Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura.

Rulfo, Juan

- 1955 Pedro Páramo. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Salomon, Frank

- 1982 "Chronicles of the Impossible: Notes on Three Peruvian Indigenous Historians." In From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period, edited by Roleno Adorno, pp. 9-40. New York: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

Sharon, Douglas

- 1978 Wizard of the Four Winds: A Shaman's Story. New York: The Free Press.

Shaw, Bradley A.

- 1983 Myth and magic in the Fictional Works of José María Arguedas. PhD. diss., University of New Mexico, 1974. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

Sommers, Joseph

- 1974 La Narrativa de Juan Rulfo. México: Sep Setentas.

Sorel, Andrés

- 1976 "Otras Opiniones." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp.324-325.

Spalding, Karen

- 1980 "Class Structures in the Southern Peruvian Highlands, 1750-1920." In Land and Power in Latin America. Edited by Benjamin S. Orlove and Glynn Custred, pp. 79-98. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Stein, W. W.

- 1974 "Countrymen and Townsmen in the Callejón de Huaylas, Peru." Buffalo: State University of New York.

Swayne, Enrique Solari

- 1976 "El testamento de Arguedas: Participar en la existencia, en la protesta y en la lucha." En Recopilación de Textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 345-347.

Tamayo Herrera, José

- 1970 "Algunos Conceptos, Filosóficos de la Cosmovisión del Indígena Quechua." In Allpanchis Phuturinga 2, pp. 245-254. Cuzco.

Tamayo Vargas, Augusto

- 1976 "La piedra y la sangre: relieves." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 371-381.

Thompson, L.

- 1969 The Secret of Culture. New York: Random House.

Thrall, W.F., and Hibbard, A.

- 1960 A Handbook to Literature (Revised and Enlarged by C. Hugh Holman). New York: Odyssey Press.

Troll, C., ed.

- 1968 "Agriculture in the High Andes." In Geocology of the Mountainous Regions of the Tropical Americas. pp. 33-56. Bonn: Fred Dummler Verlag.

Urbano, Henrique-Osvaldo

- 1978 "La symbolique de L'espace andin." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 335-345. Paris.

Urrello, Antonio

- 1974 José María Arguedas: El Nuevo Rostro del Indio. Una Estructura Mítico-poética. Lima: Librería-Editorial Juan Mejía Baca.

Urton, Gary

- 1981 At the Crossroads of the Earth and Sky. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Varcárcel, Luis E.

- 1976 "José María." En Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas. Compilación y prólogo de Juan Larco. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. pp. 383-386.

van den Berghe, Pierre L., et al.

- 1974 Class and Ethnicity in Peru. Edited by Pierre L. van den Berghe. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

van den Berghe, Pierre L., and Primov, G.

- 1977 Inequality in the Peruvian Andes. Ethnicity in Cuzco. University of Missouri Press.

van den Berghe, Pierre L.

- 1980 "Ccapana: The Demise of an Andean Hacienda." In Land and Power in Latin America. Edited by Benjamin S. Orlove and Glynn Custred, pp. 165-178. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Vargas Llosa, Mario

- 1970 "Ensoñación y magia en José María Arguedas." En José María Arguedas, Los ríos profundos. 3rd edition. Santiago de Chile: Universitaria.

- 1978 José María Arguedas, entre sapos y halcones. Madrid: Ediciones cultura Hispánica del Centro Iberoamericano de Cooperación.

- 1980 "Literatura y suicidio: el caso Arguedas (El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo)." Revista Iberoamericana Nos. 110-111. University of Pittsburgh and Madrid.

Vázquez, Juan Adolfo

- 1982 "Reflexiones finales." In From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period. Edited by Rolena Adorno, pp. 175-179. Syracuse, New York: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

Villafuerte, Jorge A.

- 1978 "A Propósito de las actividades complementarias en la economía campesina." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 125-140. Paris.

Wachtel, Nathan

- 1973 "La visión de los Vencidos: La Conquista Española en el Folklore Indígena." En Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino, edited by Juan M. Ossio. Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor.

Wagner, P.L., and Mikesell, M.W., eds.

- 1962 Readings in Cultural Geography. University of Chicago.

Walker, Michael

- 1986 "The Informals of Peru." Fraser Forum, November, 1986, p.5. Vancouver: The Fraser Institute.

Webster, S.S.

- 1980 "Ethnicity in the Southern Peruvian Highlands." In Environment, Society, and Rural Change in Latin America, edited by David A. Preston. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Wheelwright, Philip

- 1954 The Burning Fountain: A Study in the Language of Symbolism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Whyte, W.F.

- 1965 "Rural Peru: Peasants as Activists." In Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America, edited by D.W. Heath. Random House.

Wise, David

- 1983 "Indigenismo de izquierda y de derecha: Dos Planteamientos de los años 1920." Revista Iberoamericana, enero-junio, 1983, pp. 159-169. University of Pittsburgh and Madrid.

Wolf, Eric R.

- 1955 "Types of Latin American Peasantries: A Preliminary Discussion." In American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, No.3, pp. 452-471.

Wright, Ronald

- 1983 "Worlds in Reverse." In Ideas (Mar.25-Apr.8, 1983). Toronto: CBC Transcripts.

Yambert, Karl A.

- 1980 "Thought and Reality: Dialectics of the Andean Community." In Land and Power in Latin America, edited by Benjamin S. Orlove and Gunn Custred, pp. 55-78. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Zuidema, R.T.

- 1962 "The Relationship between Mountains and Coast in Ancient Peru." In The Wonder of Man's Ingenuity, being a series of studies published on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the Mededelingen Van Het Rijksmuseum Voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, No. 15, pp. 156-165. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- 1978 "Mito, rito, calendario y geografía en el antiguo Perú." In Proceedings, Forty-second International Congress of Americanists (1976), pp. 347-357. Paris.

Zuidema, R.T., and Quispé, U.

- 1973 "A Visit to God." In Peoples and Cultures of Native South America, edited by Daniel R. Gross. New York: Doubleday.