

## 3. The Social Classes of Chuschi

### 3.1 A Basic Opposition

Chuschino society is polarized into two social groups: the *comuneros*, or communal members of the village, who participate in the prestige hierarchy, wear traditional dress, and speak Quechua; versus the *vecinos*, or *qalas* (literally, peeled or naked ones), who are Spanish speaking, western dressed, foreign nonparticipants in communal life. This basic opposition is maintained by mechanisms characteristic of ethnic groups. Nevertheless, class differentiation exists in both groups. Mediating this basic opposition of communal member versus foreigner are the migrants, who identify themselves as sons of *comuneros*. But, at the same time, they have lost full integration in the indigenous culture without having gained integration into the national one. Self-consciously, the migrants are constructing social classes in their urban settlement (10.4). The relations between these groups are complex. The separation between the ethnic groups is maintained rigidly. The class structure within each group is not as rigid: mobility upward and downward is possible. Marriage is one of the major means of achieving upward mobility. For the *comuneros*, endogamy within the village and ethnic group is ideal: for the *vecinos*, exogamy outside the village is desirable. The migrants move ambiguously within the ethnic and class structure, but marriage with another Chuschino is most valued. Chapter 8 deals more fully with the migrant community. In this chapter, a construction of the ethnic and class relations is provided by giving examples of each group. The emphasis is on the *comunero* majority and the terminologies and concepts discussed are those of the community members themselves.

The *comuneros* are subdivided into three subclasses: the "rich ones," called *apus*; the "orphans" or "poor ones," *wakchas*; and those without land who must depend upon others, the *tiapakuq*. It is conceivable that the

vecinos are similarly subdivided; however, my research has focused on the indigenous majority. Before beginning the description of *qalas* and *comuneros*, let us turn briefly to the current decline in village population and the rise of education.

### 3.2 Population Decline

While the nation's population increased 61 percent in the period between 1940 and 1961, the department of Ayacucho increased only 15 percent and the district of Chuschi 20 percent. Conversely, the village of Chuschi suffered a population decline during this same period, the 1,310 persons in an estimated 320 households in 1940 dropping to 1,099 persons in 297 households in 1961. The village of Chuschi made up 27.5 percent of the district's population in 1940 but only 17 percent in 1961 (Ramón et al. 1967: 17).

Chuschi's population decline is due to outward migration and reflects what is occurring in the department as a whole. Ayacucho is fourth in the nation in outward migration with 128,000 migrants in 1961. Only three departments had larger outward migration in 1961—Ancash with 175,000, Arequipa with 138,000, and Cuzco with 136,000. Nucleated agricultural communities such as Chuschi are experiencing the heaviest outward migration ever as infant mortality declines and education increases.

### 3.3 Increase in Education

In 1961 almost half of the district's population was under seventeen years of age, which is comparable to the figure for the department (40 percent). Less than 10 percent of the village was either literate or proficient in Spanish. The rate of illiteracy and monolingualism is higher than for the department's 1961 statistics—74 percent specified no schooling, and over 50 percent were monolingual. The problem of monolingualism has been unofficially handled in the district by teaching one year in Quechua (called "transition") before exposing the children to Spanish. Such efforts at diminishing the shock of encountering the demands of school simultaneously with the demands of Spanish have proven successful, so much so that bilingual education is now an official policy throughout the country.

As of 1970, the district had nine primary schools. The two largest are in the village of Chuschi, with over 200 enrolled in the girls' and boys' schools. However, the boys' primary school is three times the size of the girls', and a girl attends the boys' school if she continues beyond the third grade. In 1970 only ten male students attended the fifth grade—no girls. The figures for 1966 are comparable:

## 1966, BOYS

	Transition	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	
Enrolled:	48	37	28	23	17	10	163
Attending:	40	32	24	20	15	10	141

The girls' school had a total enrollment of 55 students in grades transition through third for the same year. The total district enrollment in primary schools in 1966 was 726, roughly 11 percent of the total population; an equal percentage was enrolled in the village primary schools. At that time the district did not have a secondary school, but in 1968 the first secondary institution opened with the first year of instruction, planning to add a year of instruction each year until a complete secondary school was established. By 1970, forty-nine students attended the first- and second-year classes. The age and sex distribution of the secondary school in 1970 demonstrates the motivation of Chuschinós to receive an education. Six of the forty-nine students were females. The age distribution is especially interesting:

40 percent—24 to 40 years of age  
 50 percent—15 to 23 years of age  
 10 percent—below 15 years of age

It was not uncommon to see father and children walking to the plaza in the morning, the father to attend the secondary school and his children to attend the primary schools.

According to the investigations of the team of social scientists from the Institute of Peasant Communities, the district of Chuschi had produced the following professionals:

- 1 veterinarian
- 1 lawyer
- 1 investigator for the Peruvian Investigative Police (PIP)
- 1 secondary professor
- 1 *Guardia Civil* (National Police)
- 6 primary school teachers (5 are of third category without diplomas)

Students studying outside of the district include:

- 1 with the Investigative Police School
- 1 in officers' school for the National Police
- 2 at the provincial university in Ayacucho
- 1 at San Marcos University in Lima
- Numerous students in secondary schools in Ayacucho

The majority of professionals and students come from the *vecinos*, but increasingly the younger *comuneros* are viewing education as an escape from the harsh existence of subsistence agriculture and herding. Education is also seen as one of the avenues leading to integration into the national culture, whereby one loses one's identity as an "indio bruto" (a stupid Indian) and becomes part of the mass of *cholos*, the upwardly mobile segment of Peru's peasant class. Migration out of the village and district offers the same avenues of escape and the same hope of improvement in class identity and standard of living.

Members of this newly emergent class participate in both the indigenous peasant culture and the national culture but are not fully incorporated into either. This degree of social mobility, provided by new economic opportunities such as truck or bus driver, small-scale merchant, and laborer, has provided this emergent class the means with which to break the rigid, almost caste-like character of Indian-mestizo relationships. The social, economic, and geographic mobility of the new *cholo* class has meant that they have proven to be the effective leaders of peasant movements (Cotler 1969, Handelman 1975, Quijano 1965a, 1965b, 1967). In a review of the literature, Mayer (1970) rightly points out that mestizo, Indian, and *cholo* relationships are only definable in relative terms vis-à-vis one another.

In Chuschi, Indians define themselves as *comuneros*. Mestizos call themselves *vecinos*, or neighbors, but the *comuneros* call mestizos *qalas*, or "naked ones." The migrants and the newly educated children of *comuneros* can be seen as the structurally ambivalent *cholos*, who often become leaders and agitators for change.

### 3.4 *Vecinos*, or *Qalas*

In Chuschi, anyone who does not participate in the communal life of the village is either a foreigner or is emulating foreigners. Such a person is a *vecino*, a polite term applied to the mestizos residing in Chuschi. They include eight shopkeepers, a health worker, a government agronomist, seven primary school teachers, the priest, and descendants from the first teacher

who arrived in Chuschi three generations ago. Quechua speakers also call the vecinos by a derogatory Quechua term, *qala*, which means naked, peeled (*pelado*), or skinned. A Quechua-speaking informant told me that *qala* used to refer to villagers who had gone away and come back wearing shoes instead of sandals. Then, when so many mestizos took up residence in Chuschi, the derogatory term *qala* was applied to them as well, due to the fact that they did not participate in communal rituals and reciprocal exchanges and did not define themselves first and foremost as Chuschinós. One might say that the *qalakuna* have peeled off their indigenous identity.

The outward-looking vecinos identify themselves as Peruvian nationals, not as Chuschinós; they participate in the national economy and government. On the other hand, comuneros participate in the economy to a limited degree. Ramón et al. (1967) estimates that 20 percent of Chuschi's products, primarily derived from the herds—alpaca wool, hides, milk, and cheese—reaches the market through traveling agents from commercial houses in Ayacucho. There are four vecino families whose crops are for the market economy rather than for subsistence, as is the case for comuneros. Two vecinos own trucks and easily transport their crops to Ayacucho or Lima for sale; they also transport produce and animals on a commercial basis.

To hold a district or municipal office, one must read and write Spanish, skills that have traditionally defined the *qala* or vecino group. However, as of 1971, returned migrants began to hold the newly instituted governmental offices for the district. The consequences of this event will be discussed in chapter 8.

Vecinos, without exception, live on or near the village plaza, where all things foreign are located—the municipal and district governmental offices, the stores, the schools, and the church. The church is located in Lower Barrio and the governmental offices in Upper Barrio; nevertheless, these two entities are portrayed as despicable *qalas* during the ritual cleaning of the irrigation canals to be discussed in chapter 6. In contrast, the comunero's residence in one of the two barrios determines his affiliation with the dual prestige hierarchy (see chapter 4).

Comuneros assume that all foreigners are rich, with the exception of lowland tropical forest Indians, the *chunchus*. Wealth is another criterion for vecino membership, and the richest entity in Chuschi is the Catholic Church. Fourteen saints are celebrated annually; each saint "owns" a corn field two or three yugadas in size in the prized lower *qichwa* zone. A yugada is the Spanish term for the amount of land that can be plowed in one day by one pair of oxen. In the context of Chuschino agriculture, this is a relative measure that takes into account the degree of slope, rockiness, or other obstacles to plowing and planting. Ramón et al. (1967: 34)

estimate one yugada to be equal to about 250 square meters. Therefore, there are approximately four yugadas to one hectare, and the church's agricultural land totals between 30 and 40 yugadas or 7.5 to 10 hectares of land in plots about one hectare or less in size. The corn that is produced is used for the celebration of the saint's day. The incoming sponsor harvests the field, and the outgoing sponsor plants at the end of his tenure as mayordomo. The sponsor relies on his network of kin and compadres for aid. Both sexes sponsor saints' day celebrations.

The members of the prestige hierarchy are obliged to participate in the planting and harvesting of saints' fields. At one planting sponsored by a woman, ten women and twelve men were present, including four officials of the prestige hierarchy. After the planting, which was the last obligation of her year of service to the saint, she fêted all those present with a meal of grain and meat soup after an all-night vigil in her house. When I attempted to take down the names of all those present to study the relationship between kinship and reciprocity, my efforts were thwarted by a woman who claimed that I was going to make millions of *soles* by selling the list to our army and that all would be taken off to the war (I assume the Viet Nam war). However, eventual success led to the findings set forth in chapter 7.

The church is the wealthiest entity of the community not only in land but also in herds. Its 250 head of cattle and 1,500 head of sheep are cared for by a prestige hierarchy—the *sallqa varayoc*—whose members give a year's service in the puna as caretakers under the *sallqa alcalde vara*. The cows do not give milk, having been allowed to revert to almost a wild state, and no improvement through breeding has been attempted. In the future the situation may change. A group of migrants is supported by the office of the agrarian reform in their efforts to convert the church's possessions into a cooperative, although they are still opposed by the priest, who receives one sheep a month and one bull and ten sheep annually. Conflict with the church is discussed further in chapter 8.

The second largest land-holdings are those of four vecino families who are said to own fifty to sixty yugadas collectively (Bolívar de Colchado 1967: 17). These are distributed throughout the three major zones. One vecino family owns eight separate fields; three are three yugadas each in size, two are of about one or two yugadas, each planted in corn, and three are located in the puna, one yugada each. This totals approximately fifteen yugadas, or three or four hectares. A large part of the harvest is for market. These figures contrast sharply with the estimated average for comunero families. In a public meeting in 1967, agrarian reform workers asked for the average amount of land held by comunero families. The assembly responded that the average holding was six to eight yugadas, or one and one-half to two hectares of agricultural land.

The head of the vecino family under discussion has not made his will, even though several of his children are married. He does not operate within the network of characteristic mutual aid; rather, he relies on wage labor. Relationships within his own family are usually on a cash and carry basis. For example, his married daughter paid him twenty *soles* for the use of two teams of oxen to plow a rented field. She also paid two men fifteen *soles* a day to plow and five *soles* a day to a woman to place the seed. Still, the vecinos do perform the first planting ritual, in which one's compadres plant to insure a good harvest. This ritual is accompanied with chicha (corn beer), *machka* (chicha sprinkled with toasted ground corn or *quinua*), and a special meal. Coca is never used. As mentioned earlier, agricultural production is directed toward the market, whereas the comuneros' production is principally for subsistence. Thus vecinos are eager to adopt better agricultural methods to increase production, while little headway has been made among comuneros to change traditional agricultural techniques, which are felt by them to be best.

The vecinos use village exogamy to secure upward mobility. It is desirable to marry someone from the province or department capitals. For the local vecinos, marriage with one of the bureaucrats, teachers, or merchants ensures upward mobility if that person's wealth is equal to or greater than one's own. I witnessed a shotgun wedding one year of a young male teacher and the daughter of one of the vecino families.

Compadrazgo exists among vecinos in Chuschi; however, it is considered more prestigious to have a compadre from Cangallo, the province capital, or from Ayacucho. The comuneros not only marry among themselves and within the village, they also consider it propitious to marry within their particular social stratum. This is also true for compadrazgo ties.

The principal characteristic of *qalas*, or vecinos, is not distinctive dress, language, or an outward orientation to the Peruvian nation; it is the negation of membership in the commune with all of the attendant obligations. Obligatory positions are not held; reciprocal aid is not utilized, but rather laborers are paid with cash. In short, vecinos do not define themselves as Chuschinos, nor do comuneros so define them. Vecinos and comuneros alike were asked to compile a list of foreigners in the village. Agreement was universal. Separation of the two major ethnic groups is carried even to the soccer field. In 1969 the vecinos formed a team of "foreigners" to compete with the local teams from the village. Any new foreigner is obligated to join this team, called *amauta* ("the learned ones"). Social stratification in Chuschi as dramatized on the soccer field is a stereotype of the basic opposition in the village of *comunero-qala*, or member versus nonmember.

### 3.5 The Rich Ones—*Apukuna*

At the top of the comunero class structure are those known as *apukuna*, considered the most prestigious, wealthy, and powerful members among the comuneros. An *apu* has the resources to fulfill several positions in the civil-religious hierarchy. We can assume that any man who reaches the top of the hierarchy and becomes *alcalde menor* of his *barrio* is *apu*—wealthy by comunero definition. He has held at least five civil-religious prestige positions, garnering the necessary aid from his consanguineal, affinal, and spiritual kin to successfully fulfill each of the one-year positions culminating in *alcalde* (see chapter 4). In return, he has been obligated to reciprocate appropriately to those who love him—his *kuyaq* (see chapter 7). However, holding a position in the prestige hierarchy is not a necessary condition for designation as an *apu*. The one defining characteristic of an *apu* is wealth; he is said to possess more land and animals than the average comunero. To focus more sharply on the *apu* class, let us examine one *apu* family in detail. This family is comprised of a man, his wife, and four legitimate children, of whom three are married by both church and state. The eldest is a female residing in Lima with her Chuschino husband and eight children. Their marriage was arranged by both sets of parents when she was fifteen years old. Her prospective husband returned to Chuschi to take his wife-to-be to Lima for a period of trial marriage called *watanakuy*, “having a year together.” With no period of courtship prior to this, they lived together for eight months, after which they returned to Chuschi to be married. Both families are considered *apu*, and the marriage is therefore a propitious one.

The second-born is also a female who for several years resided in Lima. She has four children by a married man who is not a Chuschino comunero. Her parents are raising one of the children. However, she subsequently entered into a common-law union with a Chuschino of comunero parents and had two children by him. They have recently returned to Chuschi, married in the church, and taken up residence in the village with his parents, awaiting the house being built for them.

The third-born is a young male in his early twenties married to a fifteen-year-old Chuschino girl, both residing in the house of his father. Her family is not considered *apu*, and the marriage is therefore less than ideal. That he has married beneath his social class stems from the fact that he bears a debilitating physical handicap, which in Chuschino eyes diminishes his productivity and marriageability.

The youngest child is a young woman who at the time of field research was single and residing with her eldest sister in Lima. She attended the local primary school and worked part time as a traveling market saleswoman

handling produce and clothing. Her aspirations included finishing primary school and securing a job in a textile factory. Hoping she will marry a Chuschino and settle either in Chuschi or in the squatter settlement, 7 de Octubre, near her sister, her parents have actively tried to arrange marriages for her, but she has resisted. They fear she will marry a non-Chuschino and thereby diminish the possibility of consolidating land and animals with another *apu* family. Marriage with a Chuschino comunero is the strongest preference.

Another preference in marriage is for two families united by one union to exchange siblings (or first cousins) of the principal union. This may take the form of sister (or first cousin) exchange or cross-sex sibling or first cousin exchange. For this particular family, the marriage possibility has not presented itself to allow adherence to this preference. Furthermore, the younger Chuschinos state that this type of marriage is preferred by their elders and resisted by themselves; they want to marry whomever they wish within the traditional prohibition of not marrying anyone who shares one's paternal and/or maternal last names. This prohibition eliminates all siblings, half-siblings, and first cousins, who are terminologically grouped under the sibling category of brother and sister. The nearest consanguineal relatives that are reckoned eligible are one's second cousins. The latter are termed *karu ayllu*, distant relatives, as opposed to *ayllu*, near and non-marriageable relatives. Marriage potentials from the point of view of the younger generation living in Lima are not as narrowly defined as tradition prescribes; they see themselves as potentially marrying "anyone they like." Only time will tell us whether they will in fact realize their newly acquired preference for nonadherence to traditional marriage alliances.

The wealth of this *apu* family consists of fifteen fields, three houses, and many animals—llamas, alpacas, sheep, and cattle, pastured on communal land. The paternal head of the family inherited twelve fields and the three houses from his father; the three remaining fields belong to his wife, who inherited them from her mother. She does not own a house in the village. However, her eldest daughter took possession in her mother's name of a small plot during the invasion of 7 de Octubre in Lima, where a small, partially constructed house is being occupied by a relative who pays the women fifty *soles* a month rent. This house and the three fields owned by this woman will be inherited by the second-born and last-born, both daughters.

The *apu* man has prepared his will, but none of his offspring has taken possession of his or her inheritance. He is dividing his fields between his eldest child (a married daughter) and his only son. The son is to receive two houses, and the eldest daughter the third house, which has the potential for a small store.

In the above inheritance, we see the operation of two of the principal inheritance preferences of comuneros: (1) a son should receive the property of his father and a daughter that of her mother; and (2) the eldest child should receive special consideration regardless of sex. The first is the primary preference voiced by everyone as an ideal that should be adhered to if possible. The second is of lesser importance. There exists a third consideration concerning inheritance: the child who remains the longest at his or her parents' side, is a hard worker, and shows obedience and love will be especially rewarded. Often this takes the form of receiving the house the parents are residing in and perhaps more animals and land than the other siblings.

The fields of this *apu* family are distributed in the three major productive zones: six are in the high puna where root crops, *quinua*, and some barley are grown; seven are within the corn-producing *qichwa* area around the village; and two are in the *mayopatan* near the Pampas River, where squash, corn, and cactus fruits flourish. It is considered essential to maintain fields in all three zones and thereby produce a wide range of cultigens. Corn is the prestige crop; potatoes and other root crops are of lower status. Corn is necessary for the manufacture of chicha, the essential drink for all rituals. Also, corn is associated with fertility and is used symbolically in rituals to denote fecundity. The *apu* family observed the ritual first planting with one *compadre* and one *comadre*, who subsequently loaned them a pair of oxen to plow the larger fields requiring two pairs. At one planting ten people worked; the *apu* man, his wife, their son and his wife, her parents, a *compadre* and *comadre*, a maternal uncle of the *apu* man, and the young man's wife's sister. The women placed the seed as the men plowed; none of the women worked with their husbands, but rather with other men; the *apu* family provided a midday meal, chicha and coca, for four coca breaks during the day. They will owe each of the participants repayment in labor; thus operates private, kin-based reciprocity.

The family that cannot call upon this network of kin for aid is poor or orphaned, *wakcha*. Likewise, the family is poor that only has access to communal puna lands for root crops, but of meaner status is the family that cannot mobilize reciprocal aid—its members are truly orphaned, not just materially poor.

### 3.6 The Poor Ones—*Wakchakuna*

The term *wakcha* literally means poor or orphaned, but generally a social definition is intended that refers to a person who is economically poor and does not have an adequate network of kin and *compadres* to supply the necessary reciprocal aid to function in the comunero society. The latter is

far more important than economic poverty. An example of a *wakcha* family will illustrate why its members often speak of themselves as orphans, referring to their lack of potential aid.

This *wakcha* family is comprised of a man, his wife, two married daughters, and a son. One of the daughters resides in the Lima squatter settlement, 7 de Octubre, with her Chuschino husband. The other daughter is married to a Quispillaqteño and lives in Ayacucho. The youngest child, a fifteen-year-old boy, is the only offspring living at home with his parents, who bemoan the fact that they have so few children (several have died). The siblings of both parents are dead. However, they do have four *compadres* and *comadres*.

In 1969 the head of the family left for Lima in search of work, living with his married daughter during the seven or eight months he remained. As planting-time approached in mid-September, the father had not returned and the fifteen-year-old son and his mother prepared to plant the fields without him. This family owns six corn-producing fields in the *qichwa* zone, and they have usufruct rights to two fields of the puna communal land. The latter two are usually planted in barley, wheat, and potatoes and other root crops, such as *mashwa*, *ullucos*, and *ocas*. All of the fields belong to the man; his wife owns a few animals but no land.

In his father's absence, the boy tried to organize the traditional first planting celebration whereby one's most esteemed *compadres* plant the first seed, which is believed to insure a good harvest. The boy approached his godparents, who said they preferred to wait for his father's return. The boy's mother, landless and with few relatives, is not valued as a *comadre*. She could do nothing to persuade her *compadres* to come to her aid. She also has one social failing that is most frowned upon: she drinks alone. While reciprocal obligatory drinking is an essential part of all rituals and fiestas, drinking alone is interpreted as evidence of supernatural possession or intimacy with the powerful mountain deity, the Wamani. Her antisocial behavior means that she is not a reliable *comadre*. Her *compadres* therefore try to avoid mutual obligations and keep their exchange of labor, ritual duties, and favors to a minimum. If the woman possessed a large network of consanguineal, affinal, and spiritual kin with whom active reciprocal relationships had been maintained, she could have planted the fields without difficulty, but she was being ostracized, and her husband's absence accentuated their problems. Perhaps he could have persuaded his *compadres* to come to his aid. However, his wife could not convince anyone to lend her oxen to plow the fields nor to participate in the first planting. Furthermore, no one answered her call for a communal work day to be repaid in kind, a negative contrast to the events accompanying the first planting of the *apu* family. The situation was strikingly different for the *wakcha* family. As

planting time grew short and the rains began in earnest, the fifteen-year-old boy took matters in his own hands—he came to me, the foreigner whom he had helped, and asked for a loan of thirty *soles* (ten for a laborer for one day and twenty for two oxen for one day). He received the loan in return for ethnographic help during a ritual.

The boy has a special interest in his father's lands: in accordance with the preferred mode of inheritance he stands to inherit all six of the titled fields and the use of the two in the puna. His father has not made his will, and when he does he has the option of either giving to his daughters or following the indigenous pattern of parallel inheritance. The son feels that he stands a good chance of inheriting all the land and at least one of the two of his father's houses because he has stayed at his father's side longer than his older, married, female siblings. This is often the case; Chuschinos take into consideration the devotion and service of their children. One informant told me that the son or daughter who "shows his parents more love by residing in their house and working at their side longest stands a good chance of receiving at least the house in which they reside." There is no rule that states that a house must go to either the youngest or the eldest, but chances are that the youngest will receive the house in which he has resided. The poverty of this family is not due solely to the scarcity of their agricultural plots, which is within the average range of six to eight yugadas (one and one-half hectares); the major contributory factor is their extreme inability to mobilize a network of mutual aid necessary for social survival in comunero society. However, they are one rung above the lowest subclass of the comunero social ladder, the *tiyapakuq*.

### 3.7 Those Who Roost on Land Belonging to Others—*Tiyapakuq*

The root of this substantive is the verb *tiyay*, to sit down or to roost. The construction communicates the idea that the person benefits himself and another party as well. The term refers to landless persons who have access only to communal land or to those who labor for others. The *apu* family described above employs a *tiyapakuq* couple as herders. They are not related consanguineally, affinally, or spiritually to the *apu* family, and there are no reciprocal obligations that bind them together. They receive one sheep a year for their service. The *apu* family also provides enough subsistence products for the couple and their small children. The *tiyapakuq* person also has the right to pasture his own animals with the *apu*'s herds.

The comuneros most likely to find themselves on this bottom rung of the social ladder are those who have been deprived of their inheritance. This can happen if one sibling gains the good will and favor of his or her parents

to the exclusion of one or all of the other siblings.

Parents have a great deal of latitude in setting the inheritance of their children. The decision as to *when* their children can claim possession of their designated inheritance is entirely up to the good will of the parents, who have the duty to provide land, animals, and if possible a house for their children. Indigenous parallel inheritance preference is modified by a secondary predilection for the eldest, plus a third consideration already mentioned, namely, that the child who resides the longest with his or her parents and serves them faithfully is likely to be favored. This child runs the risk of receiving little if he or she does not persuade the parents to make their will in his or her favor. Also, the youngest child is affected by another residence preference, than no more than two married sons reside in their father's house at any given time.

Upon marriage, it is customary for a young man to bring his wife to the house of his father until their parents decide to activate their inheritance. The inheritance ideal expressed by comuneros is for men to inherit from their fathers and women from their mothers. They say it is very important to keep possessions within a group sharing a patriname. For patrilineages, this is insured through time by restricting inheritance to male descendants. Women carry the patriname of their fathers in modern Chuschi, but the earliest marriage records in the church archive (beginning with 1660) indicate that a certain percentage of siblings carried the names of their parents of the same sex, that is, boys had the surname of their father and girls of their mother. In other words, the passing of names in 1660 mirrors the stated parallel inheritance preference of modern Chuschi.

In 1969 the notary public in Cangallo, the province capital, informed me that Chuschi and three other villages—Quispillaqta, Ochuri, and Chacoya—persisted in this peculiar parallel inheritance pattern. He stated that he has battled since his arrival in 1921 to teach them that the Peruvian constitutional law requires that all siblings inherit equally. He refused to record wills that did not conform to the law. The notary was especially dismayed by the possibility that women could inherit greater estates from their mothers than their male siblings if the woman was richer than her husband. This can happen and has happened. Villagers simply register a will that complies with the law, return to the village, and institute the traditional inheritance, sealing the agreement with a solemn oath and mutual drinking.

If a female has inherited a considerable amount from her uterine ancestors and if she marries someone of lesser wealth than herself, residence at marriage will be with her parents rather than with her husband's. I know of one case of a widowed woman and her three married daughters living within one household compound. It is the usual practice for no more than two married sons or daughters to reside in the house of their father (or mother) at any

given time. Here, a *minka* (reciprocal labor) was called to build the eldest daughter a house, and in this case it was built adjacent to the mother's house, thereby reinforcing the dominant position of the matriline.

One usually enters marriage knowing what one and one's spouse will bring to the marriage in the way of wealth in land, animals, and a house. These details are usually settled by the parents of both parties when the parents of the boy, accompanied by a spokesman bearing alcohol, cigarettes, and coca, go to the house of the prospective bride to ask for her hand in marriage. If, after much drinking, the parents of the girl agree to the marriage, then promises of inheritance for each are arranged by both sets of parents. These promises are very rarely realized at the time of the wedding. Rather, several years of residence in the boy's father's house is required, during which time the girl serves her mother-in-law by performing household duties and the young man works at the side of his father. Setting up an independent household depends on several factors: (1) the wealth of the parents, (2) their need for help, and (3) the marriage and co-residence of other siblings. As stated earlier, it is preferred that no more than two married siblings reside with their parents at any given time, and, as offspring marry, available land and animals diminish as each one agitates for his or her share during the first years of marriage. There is considerable maneuvering among siblings, and a person in disfavor with his or her parents may end up "roosting on someone else's land"—a *tiyapakuq*.

### 3.8 The Statuses of Illegitimate Children

Thus far we have considered the rights and duties of legitimate offspring from legal unions. The offspring who must carefully plan his or her strategies is the *usupa*, or child born to a couple before they marry. Such a child usually carries the paternal surname of the father but does not inherit from him. Any *usupa* can inherit from the mother. It is not uncommon for a *usupa* child to be raised in the house of the maternal grandparents. Also, if the illegitimate child displays devotion and obedience toward the grandparents, he or she may inherit from them. This social category probably has the least promising economic alternatives of all, but nevertheless there is little or no social stigma in being *usupa*. If grandparents wish to do so, they can refer to their adopted child as *uywasan*, literally the child they have raised.

Another type of illegitimate child fares much better with regard to inheritance. If a married man or woman has a child by someone not his or her spouse, that child is referred to as an *hijo político*, or in Quechua simply as a child, *churin* (man's child) or *wawan* (woman's child). Such a child has

inheritance rights but is expected to receive less than legitimate siblings.

It is interesting to note that the comuneros' major concern seems to be not so much with legitimacy as with children before marriage (*usupa*) as opposed to children after marriage. This correlates with the comuneros' attitude that one becomes an adult and full participant in communal affairs only after marriage. Therefore, a child born to unmarried persons is considered the issue of socially immature non-participants. The *usupa* child is difficult to categorize because the parents are still considered children. Such a child may carry the father's name, but is incorporated into the mother's agnatic household and inherits from the mother or her parents and not from the father or his parents.