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THE "CASTAS": UNILINEAR
Kin Groups in Vicos, Peru

by

Mario C. Vazquez

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PREFACE

Organized in 1951 as a joint Cornell University - Peruvian Indian Institute endeavor, the Cornell Peru Project has achieved notable success in rapidly altering the local subculture of the Indian inhabitants of Vicos in Ancash Department. This achievement required a heavy commitment of time and energy on the part of members of the Cornell Peru Project directly concerned with the Vicos experiment. Establishing and maintaining close personal relationships with a large number of individuals in Vicos and its surrounding area, in the Departmental capital of Huaraz and the national capital of Lima has left these members of the Project scant time for writing. Publication of detailed descriptions of the Vicos manor as it was when the Cornell Peru Project intervened there and during its successive stages of transformation into a largely self-governing community, has had to await the achievement of the fundamental goals of the Project, although numerous shorter reports have already been issued.

The Agency for International Development of the U.S.A. is now making possible through a contract with the Cornell University Department of Anthropology, an intensified effort to prepare for publication basic reports describing Vicos and its development since 1951.

One of the outstanding characteristics of Vicos social structure is the grouping of nuclear families into descent groups termed castas. These kin groups played a key role in serf management of property under the manor system, and they continue to operate in the autonomous Indian community. They constitute a funda-

mental unit of Vicos social organization and bear close similarities to kin groups in many other societies.

The present paper has been prepared by the Cornell Peru Project Field Director at Vicos since 1957, who with Dr. Allan R. Holmberg carried out the base-line study of Vicos as a manor in 1949-1950. It provides a basic analysis of the Vicos castas which will serve to clarify the function of these groups under the manorial system of land management. This paper breaks new ground in the analysis of social structure in Peru, and it provides the data required for comparing the Vicos kinship system with those of other social systems. The analysis is firmly based upon genealogical information about virtually every inhabitant of Vicos. This information was collected with the support of grants to Cornell University by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The present analysis has been prepared under contract AID/csd-296 between Cornell University and the Agency for International Development.

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Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
January 1964

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INTRODUCTION

During the last decade it has often been said that the kinship system most studied by anthropologists has been the unilineal system and, therefore, the recent analysts of social structures show greatest interest in non-unilineal descent societies. Nonetheless, representative groups of all the geographic areas of the world have not been studied. Such is the case in the Andean region, especially in Peru. In Peru social scientists interested in studies of the holistic type only make general references to the types of kinship and almost always give greater emphasis to the presence or absence of the Inca ayllus. The only researcher who even briefly mentions the types of kinship is Faron (1960:448-449) in connection with two Peruvian coastal communities. There does not seem to be a serious analysis of an Andean society with unilinear descent.

The present paper is a preliminary effort to analyze the consanguineal kin groups called "castas"¹ in the Andean Community of Vicos, Ancash, Peru, field station of the Cornell Peru Project. At the end of the description, these castas are related to the different types of unilinear kinship groups mentioned by Professor P. Murdock in his work Social Structure (1949:41-64).

The field data has been obtained by the genealogical method. The genealogies of all the inhabitants of Vicos were collected and coordinated.

Interviews were obtained from six people between the ages of 40 and 50; from eleven people between 51 and 60 and from thirty six over 60 years of age, all members of the most numerous castas and residents of the different zones of Vicos. Each informant furnished, at the minimum, the genealogical charts of his paternal and maternal branch. Those who went deepest gave information about the genealogies of their four

grandparents and the relatives of their parents-in-law. The genealogical data were compared with the data compiled in the five censuses taken by the Cornell Peru Project during the last eleven years and with the report of births inscribed in the Dataria (registry of vital statistics) of Marcara from 1930.

The quantitative data of the genealogical charts were complemented with the ethnographic material accumulated by the Cornell Peru Project with the participation of the author of the present report, who lived fourteen months in the home of the oldest citizens of Vicos, a member of the Copitán casta and with whose genealogical chart this report is illustrated.

IDENTIFICATION

In Vicos the word *casta* is equivalent to agnatic or blood kin or consanguineous relative in its generic sense. It is not limited to the basic family unit, but includes all persons identified with a man's blood, those who have a common paternal ancestor, a patrimony of common origin and a common surname. Besides, the castas have the activities and functions of a group.

The individual born in the period of watanaki or trial marriage and in the conjugal life is automatically identified with his father's *casta*. In accordance with Linton (1936:113), the individual is born with ascribed status, while the child of a foreign or unknown father and the foreign migrant must achieve his status through three generations. He begins by adopting a surname; he acquires land, forms a household and with numerous descendents succeeds in constituting a social group which permits its members to have social status as members of a castes.

In terms of kinship, each Vicosino is identified with one of the groups called castas, which in common usage is synonymous with "blood" inherited from the paternal line. That is to say each individual is identified with his "legitimate" blood.

As for the reason why the Vicosinos identify with the patrilineage and omit the maternal line - whose surname they often ignore - two elderly informants gave the following version: men are "worth" more than women. Men carry out active labor in life while women have a passive role. For this reason, from early times women have been compared with the cultivated farms since, like farms, they only serve to germinate the fruit that men deposit in them. Besides, unlike women, man execute the "heaviest" labors of the farm.

With respect to the relation between castas and property it can be affirmed that consanguineous ties are one of the basic cultural elements which regulate the transmission of rights to ownership of lands and animals. One of the basic principles of property rights is that all married male offspring have a right to a parcel of land and at least one animal of the father's property. The majority of the heads of families and households possess cultivable land or animals or both which belonged to their paternal ancestors, because not to have them would signify a renunciation of the casta to which they belong.

In the cases in which fathers can not provide land for all their sons, especially for those born during the period of watanaki to other women who are not their wives, previously the hacienda and now the community remedies this anomaly by providing land to the residents who solicit it in return for services in communal labor.

When identifying with the paternal or "legitimate" casta, the Vicosinos do not disregard their blood ties with the maternal casta or with their "mother's blood" with which they also have relations, but with no greater responsibility than that of respecting the prohibition not to marry members of that casta until after the fourth generation. Naturally the relations and obligations toward the maternal casta are greater when the maternal grandfather becomes the ancestor of the founder of a new casta as will be seen in the following section.

With the exception of the most acculturated, the Vicosinos identify themselves to a stranger by their given name and paternal name (there is no Quechwa word for "surname"), which also corresponds to that of their castas. The use of the maternal surname is considered to be a characteristic of the mestizos, who technically have bilateral descent. Of the fifty-three persons interviewed, only one acculturated person mentioned

the surname of his mother, after the paternal surname, and said that he belongs to the casta of his father and of his mother.

When there are separate castas with the same surname, they are identified by mentioning the name of the person who originated the casta or the original residence of the castas founder. For example, a person named Tadeo, in order to identify himself among the six Tadeo castas, says, "I am of the casta of Corpus Tadeo" (deceased many years ago) or he can also say, "Tadeo of Wiash" (place of origin). A different Tadeo will say, "Tadeo of Facundo Tadeo" or "Tadeo of Cullwash."

Among the elderly are some who identify people, especially youths, with their respective castas by their physical characteristics and their personalities. According to this technique castas are differentiated by the size of their members: tall, medium, short; the color of skin: black, bronzed, white, ruddy; shape and color of the eyes: large, small, almond shape or black, dusky, hazel; by the presence or absence of beard; timbre and hoarseness of voice: light or heavy; by personality: happy, ill-mannered, indolent, compassionate (good-hearted), honest, etc.

Some of the traits listed coincide with the physical characteristics of some casta members. For example, members of the Leyva II casta have mongoloid eyes; the majority of the Cruz II casta are white and bearded, while the majority of the Gutierrez are dark skinned and beardless or "yana-gara."

There are basic requisites which a consanguineous group must have in order to be considered a casta: a common ancestor with a local tradition and patrimony acquired through the consanguineous ties. Taking these basic requisites into consideration and following the identification Vicosinos feel with the respective casta, sixty-nine castas have been distinguished (table No.1), consisting of a total of 1,912 individuals.

Forty-one extended patrilocal families, 158 nuclear patrilocal families and twenty matrilocal families, according to the residence of casta members, have been located. The great majority of the members are, however, dispersed in various types of extended and nuclear families. Also, households whose members belong to different castas are numerous. The analysis of these will be the object of another paper.

The members of sixteen households have not been considered castas, even though they are integrated in local culture, because in some cases their property has been recently acquired and in other cases the number of members is extremely limited. Possibly with time they will become castas (Table No.7). Eleven castas made up of eighteen women have also been disregarded because they are in the process of disappearing due to the lack of masculine descendants (Table No.6). Thus, seventy-three individuals distributed in fifty-six households have not been considered. They are outside women married to Vicosinos, outsiders recently arrived at Vicos who have neither land nor stable residence, and sons of outside or unknown fathers and Vicosina mothers.

Origin and Disappearance of the Castas

According to the data which are available concerning the identification of the initiators of the majority of the castas (Table No.2) the results are:

Origin outside Vicos	29
Possible Vicosino origin	28
Vicosino origin	12

The outsiders (Table No. 3) come from:

Conchucos region	5
Quechwa or Callejon de Huaylas region	6
Towns bordering Vicos	14
Undetermined outside origin	4

The immigrants from Conchucos, east of Vicos come from four little indigenous towns of the jurisdiction of the District of Chacas, Province of Huari, approximately 37-43 miles (60-70 kilometers) from Vicos; one came from the District of Yauya, Province of Luzuriaga, approximately 46 miles (75 kilometers) of animal trails (two days walk) distant. It must be pointed out that Vicos was and is, for the inhabitants of the Districts of Chacas, San Luis y Yauya of the Conchucos region, one of the two transit towns for communication with the Callejon de Huaylas and with the coast.

With respect to the time of arrival at Vicos of the five conchucanos migrants, it is estimated that two came in the 18th century, two in the 19th and one at the beginning of the present century.

The Quechwas, or those of the Quechwa or Callejon de Huaylas region, west of Vicos, came from:

Indigenous sections of the town of Marcará	2
Estancias of the District of Carhuaz	2
Pariahuanca and Tarica Districts	2

Besides the preceding, there were three Quechwa migrants plus one from an estancia adjacent to the city of nineteen

miles (30 kilometers) away by animal trails, another from the town of Ataquero, eleven miles (18 kilometers) north of Vicos, and a third from Tarica ten miles (17 kilometers) south of Vicos. These have not been included in the group of twenty-nine founders of outside origin because their castas are in the process of disappearing, as will be seen later (Table No.6).

The Quechwa settlements from which people migrated to Vicos are predominantly rural and indigenous and smaller than Vicos in population and area. The two farthest towns are Huaraz towards the north and Ataquero toward the north.

According to the number of generations recorded for each casta, the Quechwa migrants (including the castas in the process of disappearance) arrived at the rate of two in the 18th century, five in the 19th, and two at the beginning of the present century.

Vicos' neighboring settlements which were mentioned as places of origin for fourteen founders of castas are:

Hacienda Huapra	4
Hacienda Copa	4
Estancia of Pampamaca and Aco	5
Estancia of Quinranca	1

With the exception of Pampamaca which is nine miles (6 kilometers) uphill from Vicos, the three remaining localities are adjacent, Huapra and Quinranca separated from Vicos by the Marcara River and Copa separated from Vicos by the Chancos River. It is known that there have always been contacts and marriages between the inhabitants of these towns and Vicos. These appear to have increased during the present century, as the largest number of migrations recorded are for this period.

According to the generations recorded for each casta, fifteen founders of castas migrated in the 19th century and twelve in the first half of the present century. In these numbers are included three founders (two in the 19th and one

in the 20th century) of the disappearing castas.

Among the castas of outside origin are also mentioned four cases of undetermined origin, because in spite of having identified the respective stems of origin, it has not been possible to determine the derivation of their founders, which without a doubt was external to Vicos, as the descendants admit. Surely they arrived at Vicos at the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century.

Regarding the founders of castas of outside origin, it is worth mentioning that the twenty-nine were male, who upon having families and settling in Vicos founded their respective castas. This does not occur when an outside woman marries and settles in Vicos, since her surname disappears with her. Besides, it should be mentioned that not all the migrants were assimilated and integrated into Vicosino culture. The Quechwa migrants of Huaraz, Tarica and Pariahuanca, even though married to women of Vicos, seem to have resisted accepting certain local patterns, as for example that related to clothing, since their present descendants use clothing of cholo or mestizo style and also they constitute the group with least resistance to the innovations of western origin, as their acceptance of a large part of the innovations introduced by the Cornell Peru Project in Vicos has demonstrated.

The origin of twenty-eight castas, those which have been grouped as of "possible Vicosino origin," with the exception of the Colonia I - II casta is not known (Table No.2). The former owner of Vicos (1594-1607) was the Cacique Colonia (Vazquez 1952:34) and the members of this casta preserve oral traditions of descent from him. Their members and the rest of the castas consider them as authentic Vicosino castas. Besides, they have in their favor having given origin to twelve new castas - those which have been grouped as "castas of Vicosino origin" (Table No.4). These keep the surname of the castas from which they

were derived, but without having consanguineous kinship ties with these, because the initiators or founders do not bear the surname of their progenitors, but of people related to their mothers by a tie of consanguin kinship or of afinal kinship for reasons which will be explained in the following sections.

Although it should be clear by now, it bears emphasizing that the survival and numerical size of the castas depends on the quantity of its male descendants and their residence in the community, because if the descendants are female or if there is migration by the males, the castas disappear with the passage of time, as is occurring with eleven castas (Table No.6) which have from one to four female members, through whom their respective castas will disappear. This is especially clear in the cases of the five castas with predominantly female descendants, which have reached the present process of disappearance due to the lack of males. For example, in the case of the casta Duran II, in five generations and out of a total of sixteen descendents, eleven were female and five were male. Of these, two died young, one had no descendants and the other two fathers mostly of women who are alive at the present time. In the casta Leyva VI, the founder had one daughter and one son; the son had five daughters of whom one elderly woman is alive today.

Besides female descendants, migration of the males has been mentioned as another determining factor in the disappearance of the castas. This has been corroborated in six castas, of which three have resurgence possibilities if one of the male members returns to the community and has male descendants.

Another determining factor in the disappearance of the castas could have been the frequency of mortality in the castas, but it has not been possible to determine this.

The Castas of Vicosino Origin

Here we describe the formation of authentically Vicosino castas, as a consequence of the irregularities in patrilineal descent and of the way the mechanisms of social control operate in the face of such anomalies.

Even though descent is rigorously patrilineal, under certain circumstances sons do not bear the surname of their true genitors but of people related to their mothers by ties of consanguinal or afinal kinship. In Vicos the paternity of a child, especially when the mother does not live a stable conjugal life, is subject to the decision of the mother and of her family of orientation.

In the traditional form of descent the paternity of a person was ignored, especially of those born in the pre or post matrimonial stage of a woman. This was the case until the arrival of the period of regulation of matrimony, which ceremony is not conducted without a careful identification of the partners with their respective castas. In this period until a few years ago changes of paternity occurred. This does not now occur because school attendance and military service oblige males especially to provide their respective legal documents of identification (birth certificates) at school age or adolescence, at which time they are identified with their respective castas.

The identification of females with their respective castas does not have important results, but for males it does because they are the ones who transmit the surname. Also, the surname of the man is used almost daily in public or in private; for example, in the control of communal labor, during commercial transactions, etc. On the other hand the surname of the majority of women is used infrequently: for marriage, during the inscription of her children in the Dataria and the

inscription of her death. Thus a man is obliged to have a surname which is that of his progenitor or of a third person who has accepted or consented to the social paternity. When the second occurs, the men are converted into founders of new consanguineous groups or castas, like the twelve Vicosinan castas already consolidated and the eleven in process of consolidation (Table No.4 and 5), groups which in their formation have had the following antecedents:

<u>Antecedents</u>	<u>Consolidated Castas</u>	<u>Consolidating Castas</u>
Maternal grandfathers	5	6
Step-fathers	5	3
Foster-fathers	2	

The following classification was made because the castas which are in the process of consolidation still have not been socially recognized as real castas. Besides, their members still feel dependent upon those castas from which they were derived, under which groups they have been considered in the general classification. They are included in this section with the object of better illustrating the formation of castas; also because with time they will also be converted into castas.

A. Maternal grandfathers. These grandfathers become initiators of castas when an unmarried or widowed daughter has an illegitimate child, urkupa or child of a married man, and when an offspring is born after the conclusion of a trial marriage.

In the case of the urkupas, the progenitor, the mother and her family hide the identity of the progenitor for fear of public censure. On the other hand, in the case of children born after a trial marriage the surname of the progenitor is omitted because of scorn or revenge of the family toward he who was a bad son-in-law or because he unjustly abandoned the young mother. In the present study no case of this type of paternity

has been recorded. In both cases the maternal grandfather in whose household the birth of the new casta originates assumes the paternity of the child, or lacking the grandfather the paternity goes to the oldest uncle, even though he be brother of another father.

The eleven founders of castas derived from the castas of their maternal grandfathers were sons of married men and unmarried women that is to say they were bastard children or urkupas. Seven fathers were identified during the gathering of the genealogical data; to this end the aid of the descendants was received. It is obvious that the society knows the biological relation between the illegitimate offspring and their genitors, but socially they do not recognize it or do not legalize it. Accordingly it seems there is the object of sanctioning extramarital relations.

One fact which is worth pointing out is that the eleven illegitimate children were raised in the household of the maternal grandfather, since their unmarried mothers continued living with their own fathers and also using lands which later pass into the hands of their sons. Five of the eleven inherited the farms and animals of their grandfathers. The remaining seven had to inscribe themselves as peones of the hacienda in order to obtain lands.

We consider the eleven cases here described as patrilineal descent, even though the eleven inherited the name and the property of their mothers, because the interruption of paternal descent was circumstantial; when the illegitimate offspring assume adult responsibilities they act in accordance to the traditional patterns of patrilineal descent. Besides, in regard to the succession of property, the case of the illegitimate offspring was similar to that which occurred with the fathers who do not have masculine descendants and whose heirs are grandsons, that is, sons of daughters.

B. Step-fathers. Step-fathers become the origin of a casta when they voluntarily or involuntarily assume the paternity of their step-children, who bear their surname without being members of their casta.

In Vicos there are three types of step-children: those born during the premarital stage, the products of extramarital relations and those born in a woman's postmarital stage. In this last case, the widowed, separated, or single mother considers her last legal husband, be he absent or dead, as father of her postmarital children.

The eight cases of castas originating with step-fathers began and were consolidated in the following manner.

In three cases, step-children of the premarital relations of the woman were born after their pregnant mothers had married men who were not the genitors of their offspring. In spite of the infidelity of the girls their husbands welcomed the children as if they were the fruits of conjugal life, including assuming the paternity even though the public was informed of such embarrassing facts. When the children reached adulthood they were informed about the circumstances of their procreation and encountered resistance among their brothers in the distribution of their fathers' property. They solicited lands from the hacienda, becoming peones of the hacienda and founders of castas.

In two cases step-children were born in the women's premarital stage. When the women married, their husbands voluntarily adopted their step-children as children, making them heirs not only of their names but also of their property, but not of the consanguineous tie with their respective castas, whose members considered the offspring and their descendants as strangers and foreign to their castas.

The other three founders of castas had as sociological

fathers the dead husbands of their respective mothers. Two widows had children by married men and to hide their sins attributed the paternity of their children to husbands who had been dead many years. Naturally, the relatives of the dead, and especially their children, rejected the pseudo-brothers; however, one of them has inherited the farms and properties of his supposed father due to the latter's lack of any descendants and thanks to the support of one sister of the dead man, who adopted him as a legitimate nephew, possibly because she had no son. Another widow who had relations with a mestizo employee of the hacienda tried to hide the identity of the father by indicating her dead husband as father of her son born several years after she became a widow. The offspring inherited the name but not the property, because he had older half-brothers.

C. Foster-fathers. Several cases of adoption are known. Childless couples adopt poor children who are called wate, with the object that the wate will serve the parents in exchange for being treated as a son. Usually fatherless children who are blood relatives of one of the adoptive parents are preferred. Some of these children have become heirs of their protectors. Thus, for example, in the Copitán casta, the illegitimate son of woman No.38 was adopted by woman No.40 who had no descendants and who made him her sole heir and upon her death one of the present wealthy men of Vicos. Another case in the same casta is the adoption of female No.80 by No.14. They adopted her because she was without either parent and besides was the niece of both adoptive parents by consanguineous ties (Copitan and Colonia).

The adopted children continue to belong to the casta of their fathers, although they be heirs of property. Two exceptions are known - the two orphans who inherited not only the property, but also the name of their protectors and in this way also became initiators of the castas Tadeo VI and Valerio IV.

Common aspects of the three derived types of castas just described are:

1. The first two generations of descendants feel identified with the castas from which they were derived, especially when they reside in the vicinity. Thus, for example, although they recognize that they constitute a separate casta, the members of casta Tadeo VI feel tied to casta Tadeo V with whose members they act under the norms of one single casta.

2. The founders of the castas and their first descendants confront the problem of double paternity, since they are identified indistinctly be it with the casta of their genitors or with the casta whose name they have adopted. Cases are known in which children of these fathers have been inscribed with different surnames in the District Dataria.

3. The illegitimate children can incorporate themselves into the castas of their progenitors if they have the support of people of prestige and power in the community. Several cases are known, the two latest having been registered in 1953, when the mayorales of the hacienda, who were the most powerful and prestigious men at that time, solicited a change in surname of the two urkupas peones in the registry of peones of the hacienda. The petition being accepted, the fact was made public in the hacienda's weekly mando (labor shape-up) and the two bastards were socially identified with the castas of their genitor fathers. Before Peruvian law, however, according to their legal documents of personal identification, they continued to be sons of their maternal grandfathers. At present it is not possible to change names or castas, it should be repeated, because due to school attendance and the law of obligatory military service the young people are identified with their respective legal documents from a very early age, especially the males, who all obtain their official documents of personal identification - military and electoral bearing their respective birth annotations obtained from the Dataria of the District.

4. Despite considering themselves and acting according to the norms and workings of the traditional castas and not maintaining any type of relations with the casta of their genitors, the members of the twenty-one castas here described have respected the matrimonial regulations between members of the same casta, as no case of conjugal life between the descendants of the founders of the twenty-one new castas and the castas of their progenitors is known.

The Copitan Casta and Its Genealogy

It is hoped that the description of genealogical charts of two castas one of possible Vicosino origin and another of Viscosino origin will aid in understanding the composition and the general characteristics of Vicosino castas. The Copitan and Sanchez IV castas have been selected for this purpose (Chart No. 1 and 2).

The Copitan casta is the best known casta, since the author of this report, in 1950, lived in the house of Benjamin Copitan (24), an old man of approximately eighty years. From his accounts the genealogies corresponding to the four earliest generations were obtained. Also various members of the third and fourth ascending generations, now dead, were interviewed.

The Sanchez casta has been selected because it is a consolidated casta of Vicosino origin (Table No.4), whose founder is known and because, moreover, the genealogical data were collected by one of its members, who is a high school senior. The following detailed discussion deals, however, with the Copitan casta.

Benjamin Copitan was the fourth son of his father in his first marriage and he had the good fortune of knowing several of his uncles, especially Juandi (3) who was his parents' neighbor. He did not know his grandfather Pio (1) nor his uncle Shatu (2), only the father's children. Benjamin was informed by his elders that the initiator of the casta was Pio Copitan (1) a very severe and righteous man. He did not know who Pio's wife was. Pio's offspring who died as adults were: Shatu (2), Juandi (3), Wintu (4), Josefa (5) and Remigia (6).

Shatu (2) married a woman of the Huapra hacienda and they had many children, but those who lived to adulthood were only Rosario, Jose, Rosa, and Nicolas. Rosario (7) married one of the Lazaro casta and their children were: Pedro (25), who

migrated to the coast, Boni (26) who married a member of the Meza IIA casta and Franci (27) who had a child by a Vega. Thus, Rosario had no masculine descendants who remained in Vicos, as the sons of Boni and Franci belonged to the castas of their respective fathers. Jose (8) lived with a Leon woman and his daughters were Wali (28) and Juana (29) who married into the de la Cruz and Bautista castas respectively. Juana became a widow and had children by a Gonzalez, a mestizo employee in Chancos. So Jose also had no male descendants.

Rosa (9) married a Tafur and upon becoming a widow shared the husband of her niece Franci (27) and had a son by him. Lastly, Nicolas (10) married a Tadeo and of his children the only survivor was Victor (52) who married a Quito woman and of his five children there remain Alichio (113) and Juana (116). Lucia (31), unmarried, had several husbands but no children. Naticho (32) married a woman of the Valerio II casta and his children were: Villanco (53) who married a Colonia woman and until the present time his living children are Elena (117) and Jorge (119). Presenta (54), married, lives in the neighboring town of Shumay. Albina (55) married a Mayhuey man. Victor (55) married a Leon woman and until this date only their son Felix (120) lives. Eugenia (57) married a man of the Sanchez IV casta. Andres (58) married a Huaman woman and had daughters Rufina (122); Marcela (123); Emilia (124) and Lorenza (125). Andres separated from his wife and lived with a Reyes, having by her one son (126) now dead.

The present Copitan adult descendants of Shatu (2) are ignorant of him and of Pio (1), although they admit that they form a single casta with the rest of the Copitans. The only person of this group who knows the genealogical ties of her ancestors is one of the daughters of Rosa (9). She is an older woman about 65 years of age.

Juandi (3) married a Coletto I and their children were: Manila (11) who married a Tafur; Maria (12) who married a Moran of the Copa hacienda. Upon becoming a widow Maria had sexual relations with various married and single men. These relations resulted in three children by a Leon, a Tafur and a Diaz (from Copa). She finally married a young Vega. The third son of Juandi was Jose (8) who married a Leon woman and his only offspring was Francisco (37), who married a Reyes woman. They had many children, but the only surviving ones were: Gregoria (59) married to a Tafur man; Rosa (60) and Matilda (62) who are unmarried; Maria (61), married to a man in the Evaristo I casta; and Vicente (63) married to a woman of the Sanchez V casta and with one living daughter Mallca (127). Jose (13) became a widower and then lived with a Chinchay of Quinranca and had a daughter Ana (36) who married a Cruz. Upon becoming a widow Ana migrated to Lima where she has a husband and children.

The descendants of Juandi (4) are informed about their genealogical ties by the last husband of Maria (12), but he is ignorant of the kinship tie with Shatu (2). He only knows that with his father-in-law Juandi (3) they were treated as brothers, the same way in which cousins and also the relatives of the same generation are treated.

Josefa (5) married but it has not been possible to identify her husband, because they had no descendants.

Remigia (6) married a Valerio and had several descendants.

Wintu (4) married a Gonsalez from Huapra hacienda, they had many children of whom eight survived: Jesus (16), who married a Herrera and like his father also had many children of whom the following survived to adulthood: Merci (38), single, who had adulterous relations with a Lazaro man; Jorge (39), married to a Coletto II woman [when he became a widower Jorge emigrated to the coast together with his sons Hilario (64), Jorge (65) and Victor (66)] Lucia (40) who married a Cruz II

[since they had no descendants they adopted one of the illegitimate children of Merci (38)]. Chapa (41) who married a Leon; Nicolaza (44) who went through trial marriages with several men had only one daughter by a Pascual [her last husband Mata left her to live with his Pascual step-daughter]. Timo (42) who migrated and married on the Huapra; Victor (45) who married an Evaristo. Victor begat Juliana (73) who lives with a Herrera, Lucia (75) and Armando (74) who are single and Hilario (79) who begat Rosario (130), in watanaki with a Valerio. When Rosario's mother died, Hilario also had relations with the sister of Rosario's mother, begetting Rosa (131). Later Hilario married a Quinto woman. Before marrying, Victor had children by a Cruz: Juliana (71) who was in watanaki with a Reyes and now lives with an Isidro; Enrique (72) who is in watanaki with a Colonia woman and has a little daughter (129). Victor also had sons by a Lazaro I: Alfonso (69) and Miguel (70) who lives on the coast.

The other children of Wintu (4) were: Ciriaco (17) and Josefa (18) who migrated to Vertientes with their mother's relatives; Corposa (19) who married a Huaman and upon becoming a widow lived with a widower of the Meza casta; Merci (20) who had a child of a Benancio and later married and went to live on the Huapra hacienda; Pancha (21). Pancha had several husbands and children by a Gutierrez, a Quito, and an unknown. Pancha's daughter Franci (22) married a Valerio II and upon becoming a widow had relations with married men. Her illegitimate offspring bear the name of her dead husband; and one of her children is founder of a casta (Valerio IIA). Pancha's son Manuel (23) married and lived at Huapra hacienda.

The last son of Wintu by his wife, a Gonsalez, was Benjamin (24) who married a Cruz and had six children. Those who lived to adulthood were Eugenio (45), Pio (46), Isidro (47) and Poti (48). Eugenio (45) died in the state of Watanaki with a Colonia II and left a daughter Maria (80), who is now

married to a Salas. Pio (16) also died in the state of watanaki with a Duran and left a son Mateo (82) who married a Cilio. They had a son Esteban (132) now in watanaki with a Leon. Benjamin's son Isidro (47) married an Isidro woman and their son Pedro (84) survives. Before marrying the Isidro woman, Isidro had sons by a Lazaro woman: Julio (86) and Pablo (87). Julio (86) married a woman of the Sanches III casta and their living children are Teodocio (134), Maria (135), and Mauricio (136). The other son of Isidro, Pablo (87) married the sister of the wife of his brother Julio and has a son Victor (138). The other son of Benjamin (24) was Poti (48) who married a Leyva and had children: Julian (89); Juana (91), married to a Quinto; Remigio (92) and Marcelina (93) single; and Mercedes (94) single in watanaki with a Vega. Earlier, Mercedes had a son by an Apeña and another by an unknown father.

Benjamin (24) became a widower and married a Bautista woman of Huapra. Their children were seven, but living are only: Andres (49) and Jose (51). Andres (49) married a Coletto I and their living children are: Felix (95), Leoncio (96), Florentino (97), Provencia (98), Gregorio (99) and Fausto (101), all single; Isabel (102) who had a son by a de la Cruz and Eulogio (103) who is in watanaki with Leyva. Jose (51) married a Cruz and his living children are: (Juan (104), Hilario (105), Victor (106), Eugenio (107), Dionicio (108) and Daniel (109).

Wintu (4) upon becoming a widower of his Gonsalez wife married again and begat only Simona (14) who married a Colonia and Maria (15) who married in Quinranca.

From the above certain preliminary conclusions about the basic characteristics of castas can be suggested:

1. The casta is an essentially exogamous group. In the Copitan casta and Sanchez casta no marital unions between persons of the same castas are recorded. Of the eighty-six marital

unions registered in the Copitan casta, seventy-four took place between members of forty-five local castas and twelve with outsiders (seven in Vicos and five out of Vicos). In the Sanchez casta thirty-five marital unions were with members of twenty-six local castas and two outsiders.

2. As a consequence of the exogamous practice of the castas, there exists a notable social interaction between the members of the different castas.

3. The local exogamy extends to extra-community exogamy inasmuch as in the Copitan casta 10.8% of the marital unions are with outsiders. Three women and one man of Vicos left to live in neighboring communities, while three men and two women went to Vicos.

4. Those Vicosinos who migrate to far away places are predominantly males, as seven migrants in a total of nine instances were males.

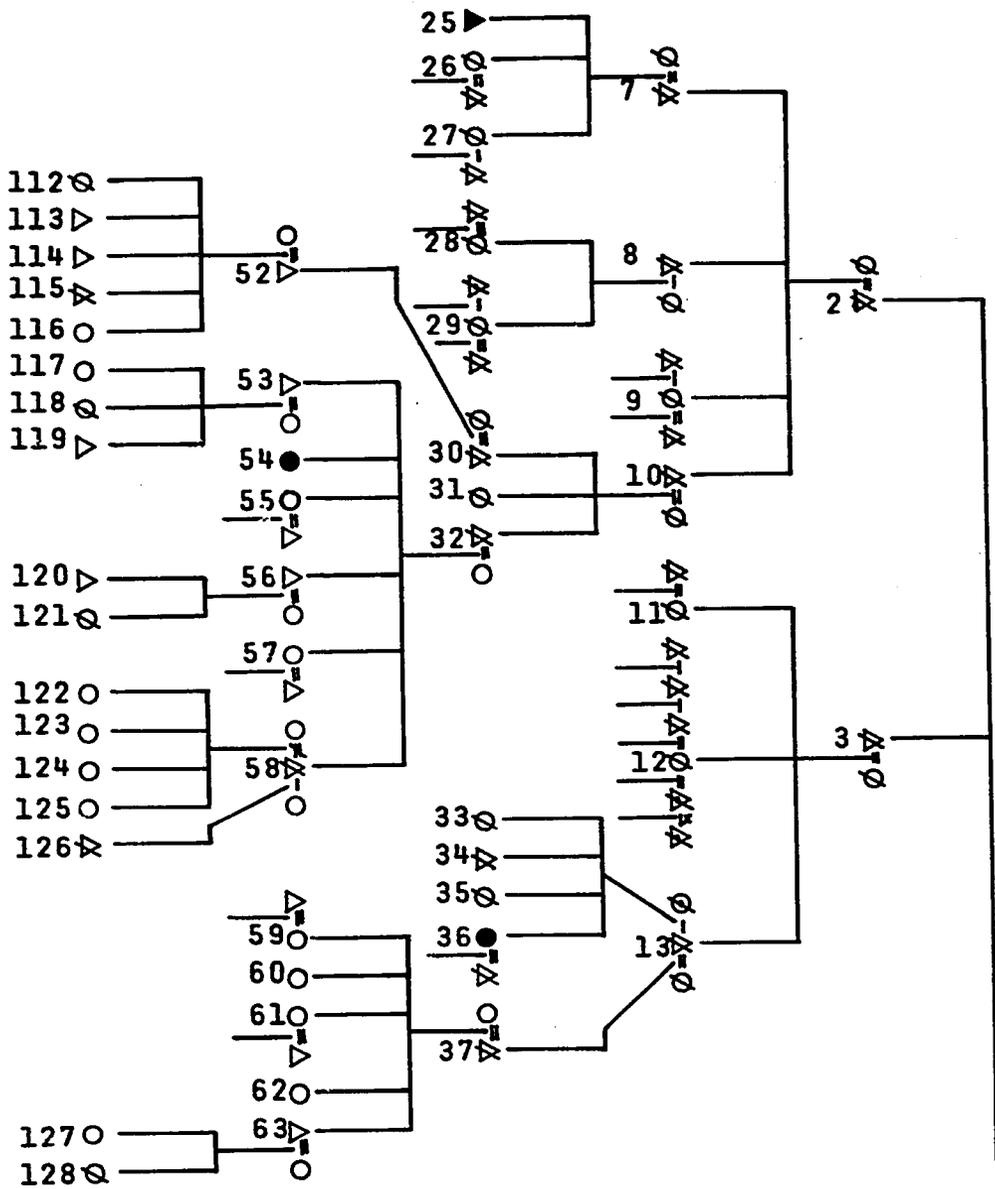


CHART No.1

THE CASTA COPITAN

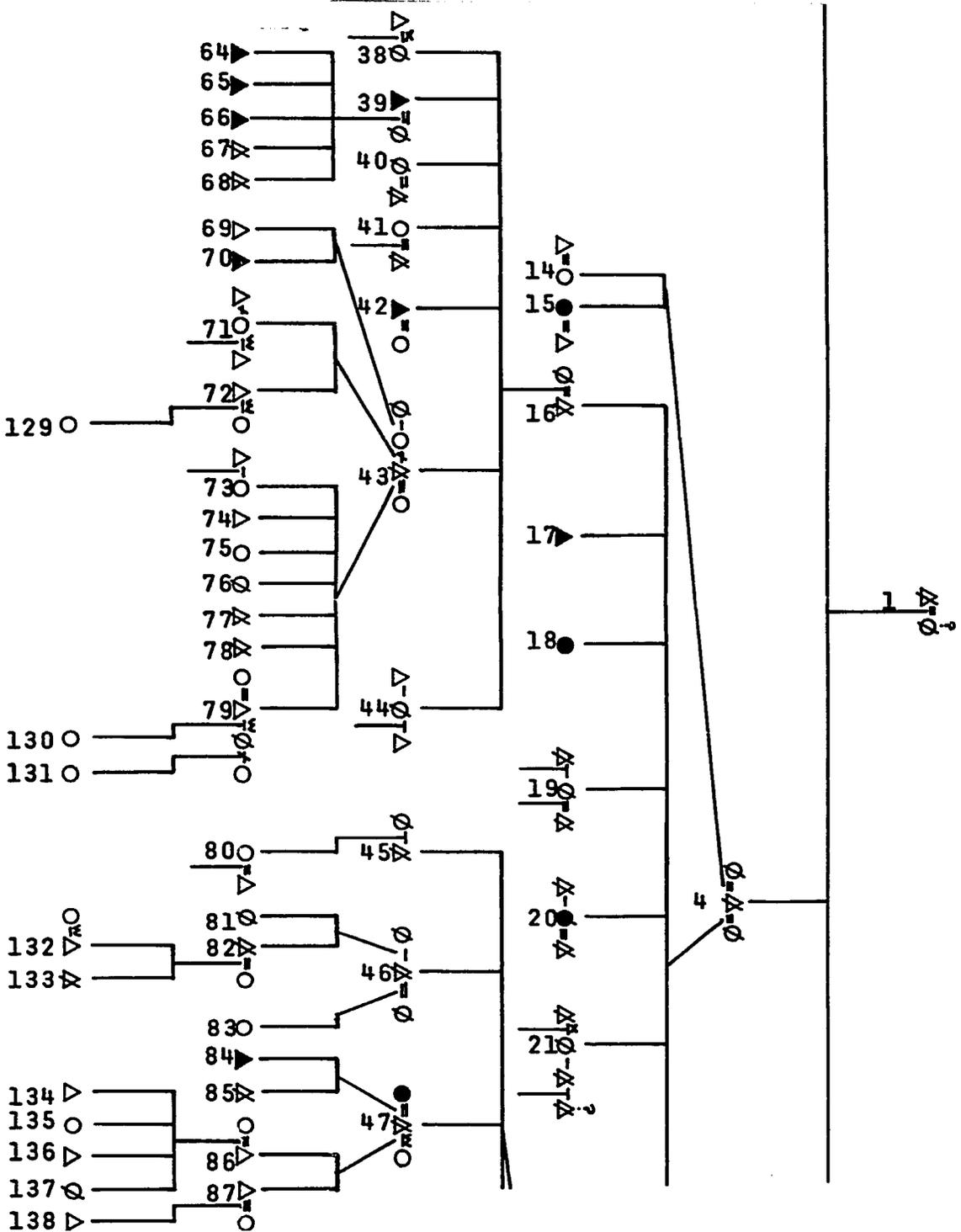
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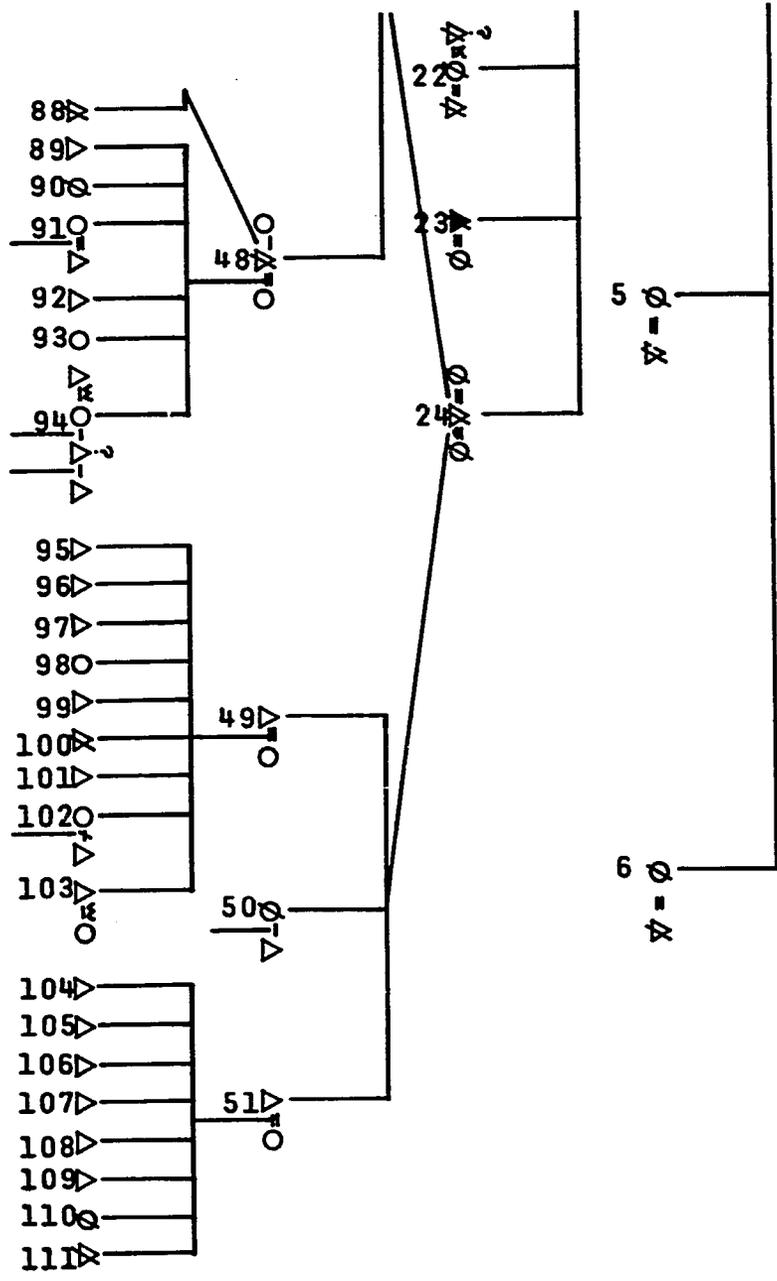
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VICOSINOS
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 DIED
 NAME & ORIGIN UNKNOWN

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TRIAL MARRIAGE OR WATANAKI
 CONCUBINAGE OR MATING WITHOUT MARRIAGE
 MARRIAGE
 ADULTERY
 MARRIAGE SEPARATION
 CONCUBINAGE SEPARATION





General Characteristics

1. Name

The characteristic which serves immediately to identify the members of the castas is the surname, which is transmitted through the paternal line - patrilineally.

The surnames in use are of Spanish origin with the exception of four which are Quechwa: Paucar, Huaman, Mayhuey and Llihuya. With the exception of the surnames Coletto and Copitan which are not known, the rest are very common in the Callejon de Huaylas and in the rest of the country. Some of the Spanish surnames are Quechwa-ized and occasionally it is difficult to identify them. Examples are Parwa from Padua, Tadio from Tadeo, etc.

Besides serving to identify people with their castas, the name maintains the consciousness of belonging to a group. This can be appreciated when they become drunk and fight, because they repeat constantly their surnames. Also, when they engage in unusual or difficult activities and succeed, for example, mount a savage horse or during competitions, the successful individual says, "I am a Tadeo," or whatever casta he is. He does not identify himself as a person, but as a member of a group in which there are men capable of accomplishing such things. In the same way, the local people and outsiders recognize and identify by casta who excels in some manual activity. For example, they mention the Sanchez (I and II) casta in reference to the best basket weavers, even though not all this group are basket weavers. In the same way the Reyes are recognized as the musicians (best flute players), the Meza II as construction workers and experts; the Meza I as horse raisers, etc. Thus the castas stand out or enjoy fame according to the ability and fame of their members. Also, they can be devalued through the fault of some of their bad members.

2. Organization and Personal Relations

From the social point of view the two primary obligations of Vicosinos are to know all the members of the paternal casta and the norms of conduct toward them, because only by knowing all their relatives² and how to behave toward them can they "pass" or have a happy life. These premises are inculcated by the parents and grandparents.

It seems that the traditional pattern of the castas was to begin as independent nuclear families and gradually convert into extended families of patrilocal residence. Earlier, the castas could be geographically tied, therefore, as the majority of the inhabitants of a given zone belonged to a given casta. Thus it is known, for example, that the zones of Ullmey, Wiash, Cullwash, Qoyroqsho, Paltash and Wamanyacu-jirkey were occupied by the members of the Colonia, Reyes, Tadeo, Sanchez, Cruz and Leyva castas respectively. The descendants of these castas are the users of the major part of the agricultural lands in these areas, which are now divided with members of other castas, mostly of those founded by outsiders.

The families which possess relatively extensive lands continue to favor the formation of extended families. The present pattern is, however, for the castas to have their members dispersed in different types of families and households whose members belong to different castas. The traditional pattern of the common residence which seems to be vital to maintaining a genuine unity of casta is being modified due to the increase of unilocal residences, which in their turn are originated by the presence of outsiders married to Vicosinos, the natural population increase, and the consequent scarcity of cultivable lands, not only with regards to individual property but also regarding communal lands. Thus in recent years, the new transfers of lands granted to its new members by the community have been made in places distant from the populated centers,

where new households are being established far from the traditional center of the heads of extended families. Thus, for example, in the Copitan casta, the sixty-four members who reside in Vicos are distributed in twenty-seven households; the forty-one members of the Sanchez casta in eighteen households.

In spite of the changes that are occurring within the family structure there still exists among the members of the castas a group unity maintained through a series of cohesive elements, as will be seen below.

The personal relations of casta members vary according to the type of family and household of which they are a part.

a. The case of extended families of patrilocal residence. The children maintain close relations with their father's casta and also with their mother's casta, due to her influence on her young children, since the woman continues to maintain contacts with the casta of her origin during the early years of her marriage. When she marries the woman is gradually integrated into her husband's casta, to which her children belong, while the man, who sometimes begins by living in the house of his in-laws ends by having occasional contacts with his wife's casta, especially when there are ritual kinship ties.

Male offspring construct their dwellings next to those of their parents. They rarely occupy the paternal dwelling, because it is reserved to lodge unmarried or widowed sisters who may return to the paternal household at any time. Thus, the unity of the basic family does not disappear with the marriage of the brothers and sisters because they can again reunite in the home of their fathers.

The initiators of castas have authority over and the responsibility for the entire casta, while married male sons only have the responsibility of their respective households. The father has absolute control over his children and over the offspring of his sons. He also has authority over his married

daughters but no control over their children, who are under other paternal control.

The authority and power of the fathers over their children and descendants is strengthened by the institution of *padrinazgo* y *compadrazgo*, which begins during birth and ends with the funeral of a person. The women who live near the parents of their husbands ordinarily are attended by their mothers-in-law during childbirth and in this way the mothers-in-law are patsa-madrina (midwife-godmothers) of their grandchildren and comadre of their daughters-in-law and sons. Later, the godparents of baptism are the paternal in-laws and the grandparents of the man are traditionally his sponsors in matrimony. Lacking these the sponsors are the groom's older brother and sister. In this way the heads of families are godparents of their children's children and *compadres* of their daughters-in-laws and their sons. For example, in the Copitan casta the wife of No.24 was *patsa-madrina* and baptismal godmother of thirteen of her grandchildren. It is due to these circumstances that founders of castas receive special consideration from their descendants until after death.

The father intervenes in the most important decisions of his children, reconciling disputes between them and having absolute control over his farm lands, which he divides among his sons according to family customs. The sons are mere 'users' of the land until they take the place of the father in all his community obligations.

When the father dies the oldest son takes his place as the authority of the family and is recognized by his brothers and called "father." He does not, however, have control of the lands. Usually the younger brother or tutu assumes the obligations of the father in the community labors. Primogeniture exists in the maintaining of social unity of the group and ultimogeniture exists in the succession of property.

The power of the senior son over the rest of his brothers depends largely on his personality, his economic position and his ritual kinship ties. If all these conditions are present to a high degree in the oldest brother, he will have power not only over his extended family but also over all the members of his casta.

In accordance with the above, the intrapersonal social relations at the extended family level are very close. These social relations are carried out with signs of great respect for authority based on an age hierarchy, especially when the head of the extended family is alive and his married sons visit him almost daily. The relations of married women with their parents are limited to periodic visits, although these are affected by distance and the number of years of marriage, because the married woman with many children feels herself identified with her husband's casta.

Relations between fathers and sons are not always cordial. Cases are known of sons who have revolted against the authority of their fathers, the same as against the authority of the eldest brother. These conflicts are hidden for fear of public censure, which is a sanction not only against the son but also in a special way against the father for not knowing how to give a good moral formation to his son and for not knowing how to impose his authority. The last serious case occurred in 1960, when a Copitan (51) attacked his older brother (49) and mother, in spite of the fact that his brother is also his padrino (sponsor) in marriage. The matter was discussed before the local political authority, who only admonished the aggressor, because he justified himself as being drunk.

b. The case of matrilocal and bilocal residences. The man who lives within the jurisdiction of his in-laws has more contact with his wife's casta, including through ties of artificial kinship, because his mother-in-law attends the birth of

his children and later is baptismal godmother. This does not mean, on the other hand, that he ceases to identify with his paternal casta, as is the case of the woman who, through the ties with her children, practically feels herself part of their casta. Although he may live with his in-laws, the man is always identified with his paternal casta, either through the inheritance that he received, his surname and especially because of the conflicts that he usually has with the members of his wife's casta about the usufruct tenancy of the land and its appurtenances such as irrigation ditches, fences, footpaths, etc.

c. The case of independent nuclear families and households. The degree of contact between an isolated family and the members of its casta depends on the number of its descendants and its neighbors. If it does not have numerous offspring and neighbors the family remains tied to its husband's family of orientation. When there are numerous members of the family and immediate neighbors the casta members get together during family religious ceremonies, public festivals, communal labor, etc. and during the annual interchange of pork. In the case of neolocal families, married women have more contact with their parents, since they are not under the control of their parents-in-law. They prefer to appeal to their mothers than to their mothers-in-law.

Children born in the period of watanaki rarely join their fathers' households; those who do have usually been invited by their brothers or at the request of their step-mothers. They have contact with their fathers and brothers during the communal labors and public reunions, especially festivals. During festivals they drink liquor and in these circumstances also succeed in having their fathers grant them their "rights," consisting of parcels of land or animals.

When the casta is very large, as the Reyes, Cruz, or Tafur castas are, those highest in the hierarchy of their respective

family trees designate the most distinguished among them to decide and intervene in all matters of common interest for the casta. Sometimes they meet in the house of one of them and discuss the problem, for example, of dubious cases of kinship of people who aspire to marriage.

The highest people in the hierarchy assume, through their own initiative or at the request of some member of the casta, the responsibility of taking care of matters which affect the good name, prestige and solidarity of the casta. For example, they prevent members of their casta being seen engaged in unlawful acts or in conflicts between members of the same casta, because such would be food for public censure, carrying with it the risk that the casta would receive insulting nicknames such as already exist. Thus, due to a member who assassinated someone many years ago, a casta is identified by the nickname "the assassins" (Wanusi-kojkuna). Another casta has the nickname "pestilence" or qeshiakuna because some of its members do not respect marriage rules and the violation of incest prohibitions is believed to bring about plant diseases.

The members of the same casta, when they do not know the degree of kinship which unites them, use certain kinship terms to communicate among themselves. Thus, children and youths call the elderly "grandfather" and "grandmother," and call all adults of the same casta "uncle" and "aunt." Those of the same age are called "brother" or "sister," be they cousins, uncles and aunts, or nieces and nephews.

The members of a family where there are also ties of artificial kinship (compadrazgo including the relationships of padrinozgo) do not use the ritual kin designations nor make reference to them. They use instead the every day kinship terms when younger speaks to older and personal names when older speaks to younger. Thus, the son says tayta (father) to his father, while the father calls the son by his given name.

3. Exogamy

The castas are exogamous units; there is a taboo on sex relations among agnatic kin and the members of the castas are not allowed to marry among themselves. The people believe that the casta is really a large family, so marriages within themselves constitutes "incest," whose consequences would be terrible for the casta and the community, besides the loss of social prestige for the casta.

According to the Vicosinos the regulation of matrimony is only for the men, not for the women, but really on limiting the men they also control the women.

Among the arguments reported to prohibit marriage among members of the same casta the following were mentioned in order of importance:

a. Fear of agricultural calamities or qeshias (plagues or pestilences among plants). This argument seems to originate in Catholic doctrine, as according to thirty-eight informants, agricultural calamities originate as a divine punishment, as marriage between relatives² offends God.

b. Marriages between agnates cause frequent conjugal conflicts that can affect the unity of the casta.

c. Human beings cannot compare themselves with plants and animals, among whom there are no differences of kinship. Thus the foxes knowingly practice incest with their aunts, sisters and even with their mothers; in the same way that the calabashes and the squash act when their branches become entangled among themselves.

Marriage and marital unions are regulated in the following ways:

1. Members of the same casta are forever forbidden to marry and have marital relations among themselves. Not a single case of marriage or conjugal union between people who are

considered to be of the same casta is known in Vicos.

In regard to this we already saw in the Copitan casta (Chart No.1) that of a total of eighty-six marital unions, these were carried out with members of fifty-seven different consanguineous groups, both local and outside the community. In the Sanchez casta (Chart No.2) the thirty-five marital unions were carried out with members of twenty-six local and two outsiders. These facts confirm that the castas are exogamous social units.

2. Conjugal unions between people who have a common ancestor and belong to different castas are regulated in the following manner:

a. Marriages and marital relations are prohibited until the fourth generation. No case of marriage between second cousins is known, but two cases of sexual relations between second cousins have been reported. Such relations were interrupted when there were offspring; the parents punished their children severely and made them marry members of other castas. The children born in these circumstances bear the name of their genitors. An unsolved case dating from five years ago is that of a pair of second cousins that even after being forbidden to do so continued having secret sexual relations and having children. Opinions are divided, because there is one group which favors the conjugal union because they do not consider the protagonists "legitimate" casta members as they only have a maternal grandfather and not a paternal grandfather in common. The facts are as follows: A certain Benancio had two daughters who married members of different castas; their sons married women of other castas and the son and daughter of these are the present protagonists. Stated in kinship terms, the great-grandchildren descendant through the maternal branch cannot marry.

b. Marriages between a person of the fourth generation and one of the fifth generation are prohibited. In the Chart No.3, B6 cannot marry C2. This rule has been twice ignored during the

last thirty years. Two couples married against the will of their castas, fleeing to a neighboring mestizo town, with the support of mestizo friends. When the marriage ceremony was consummated they could not be separated so the society sanctioned them by nicknaming them geshias, the nickname being extended also to their children. These names are used as insults during disputes and fights.

Since 1959 there has been a cohabitant couple who cannot marry due to the opposition of their relatives, neighbors and authorities who maintain that the couple is infringing on the above stated rule. In Chart No.3 the real protagonists are B7 and A7, the possibility of whose marriage has been vetoed due to their common ties (A2) through the Herrera casta (A group) where they are between the fourth and fifth generation, while they have not been impeded due to their ties (B1) through the Copitan casta (B group) since for this branch they are between the fifth and sixth generation.

c. Partial prohibition against marriage between members of the fifth generation exists. Some old people and some castas are opposed to these unions, but they do occur if there is acceptance within the families of procreation of the two who aspire to marry. This frequently occurs, after would-be couples obtain the support of the priest within whose jurisdiction Vicos falls. The violators of this rule are also called geshias.

When it is discovered that extra-marital relations are occurring between members of the same casta, the parents and other close relatives, preferably older ones, immediately intervene. They try to dissuade the ones at fault from continuing their incestuous relations, under the severe threat of family ostracism. When they persist in their relations, the responsibility falls on the woman, since according to local opinion sexual relations are possible only through the woman's acceptance. If she refuses, the man desists.

If they persist the traditional authorities, the varayos, intervene. They detain the couple and charge pecuniary fines. If they repeat their incestuous relations, the fine is elevated. Over thirty years ago, those who committed incest were whipped by the authorities in the house of the parents or in the house of the Alcalde Pedaneo (see glossary).

Parents and grandparents are in charge of informing their children and grandchildren, especially the girls, about the membership of the paternal and maternal casta, with the aim of avoiding incest.

4. The Casta and Property Rights

The Vicosino is interested in property as an element of production or of practical utility for his family more than as an element of prestige or of non-material reward. One of the principles of property in Vicos is, however, that all adult male sons have the right to a parcel of land of their father's property. During the last few years this principle has been extended to daughters, who just like the sons, want their respective lots or shilli, (diminutive plot) even though this consist of only one sown furrow, because they feel that not to possess it signifies renunciation of paternity and of casta. This indicates that property rights are related to the blood ties of their possessors. Property serves to "legitimize" the status of an individual as a member of a casta and consanguineous ties are one of the recognized means for acquiring rights to paternal property.

In Vicos ownership of the land has gone through the following process. In principle the farms were recognized as property of the hacienda and now of the community (while mortgage on this rural property is being paid off) and their possessors were considered to be mere tenants. The hacienda gave land to heads of families who used the land in exchange for personal labor service in the work of the exploitation of the hacienda or in

other services. When the head of the family was not available his obligations to the hacienda were assumed by one of his sons. If he had no son the property temporarily passed to the woman until a male would substitute for her in the work of the hacienda, which required a male laborer. Thus the man has always been responsible to the hacienda for the parcel used by his family.

The family lots belonged to the hacienda or belong to the community, only ideally - in terms of national law - since in de facto local practice the family lot was and is individual property belonging to the male head of the family or to some masculine member of a household which is under the authority of a woman. As a consequence of the preceding, the ownership of the land is ideally inherited through the paternal line, but if there are no masculine descendants it can pass to a member of another casta. Thus in the case of a man with no male offspring his property will pass to the oldest son of his daughter. If there is more than one daughter the property will pass to the son of the unmarried daughter or to the son born during the period of watanaki. This type of succession has favored the formation of new castas, as has been described in the second chapter.

When the property of a man without descendants passes into the hands of his stepchildren or adopted children, as has occurred with some of the founders of castas of such origin, with time conflicts and demands on the part of members of the dominant casta occur. The members of the dominant casta usually allege that property is acquired through patrilineal succession and that the property of their casta may not be used by members of other castas which have no consanguineous tie, not even remote (karu). Two recent happenings related to this type of conflict are as follows. Members of the Mata casta appropriated lands exploited by a member of the Cruz II casta who was using the land because he had replaced in the hacienda labor a dead

Mata who was the husband of his maternal grandmother, who had no Mata descendants. The Mata usurpers informed Cruz that they would assume the responsibilities of the community labor and that Cruz should solicit land from his father. The other case occurred September of 1963 when a member of the Colonia III casta took possession of the lands cultivated by his step-mother, claiming that she could not continue using them because she had no sons by his father and besides the farm had always been property of the Colonia castas. The reclamer said that he was the heir, that he was the tutu (youngest) son of his father and his substitute at the hacienda and in the community. The widow had to appeal to her brother, heir of their father's property, for lands to cultivate which she received after over forty years of marriage.

Another fact which should be mentioned is that all men capable of working who are residents on a hacienda are obliged to pay a series of services to the hacienda, even if they share a single property with their brothers. It is for this reason that the vacos or youths who have younger brothers prefer to seek their respective parcels from the hacienda and inscribe themselves as peones. For this reason the greater part of heads of families own land ceded by their fathers and by the hacienda—that is to say lands acquired through their "right" as son and through their inscription or "entrance" in the register of peones of the former hacienda.

In recent years, according to the Vicosinos, more conflicts over land are occurring than in any other epoch. Perhaps they are correct, as the leaders of the community frequently have to resolve demands for the restitution of lands, now being exploited by persons who inherited from someone who was not of their casta. These reclamations do not occur when lands were transferred with the intervention of the hacienda, especially when the head of the family abandoned the lands and did not pay his services to the hacienda. Equally frequent are sibling conflicts over land,

motivated usually by the tutu (younger) brother's refusal to give land to his older brothers or sisters or by the older siblings demanding more than necessary. It has also been necessary, however, to resolve a new type of conflict, when older brothers refuse to give to their brothers the lands of their father, which according to local custom belong to the younger brother, (tutu) since the older are merely usufructuaries until the youngest grows up. If the older brothers refuse to give the land to the younger they attack ultimogeniture, alleging that they are no longer living under the hacienda system and that under the new community regime the land belongs to he who works it, because now land is not acquired through mere inheritance but through purchase. It is for this end, they say, that each head of family has been required to contribute 200 soles and his personal labor in the community is considered as his monetary contribution for the purchase of Vicos lands. Thus he who wants land now should indemnify a certain amount for inscription in the community and later participate in the communal labors. The most recent conflict of this type occurred in August of 1963, when an older brother publicly accused his younger brother of attacking his family and attempting to evict him from his farm without respecting the new custom initiated under the communal regime. The younger brother, answering his elder sibling's accusation, alleged that according to traditional custom the land being used by his older brother should belong to him, the tutu (youngest). He constructed, therefore, his dwelling in the place where his father lived. The leaders ruled in favor of the older brother and that the community should cede land for the younger. It was also established that the youngest sibling or tutu had the right to a parcel of his father's land, the same as did his unmarried sister who lived with him. The older brother informed them that the parcels had been ceded. In this manner in Vicos the traditional ultimogeniture is being changed to the right to individual property

acquired through purchase.

With respect to the ownership of animals, these are inherited by the respective descendants, since animals belong neither to the head of the family nor to the family, but to whichever member of the family owns the animal. That is to say, the wife's animals are distributed proportionally among her children be they by one father or another. Similarly the husband's animals are divided among all his children including those born during the premarital and post-marital stages, although some objection to giving to the latter is observed as it is said that they do not help in the care of animals.

When illegitimate children share the goods of their genitors they are "legitimized." That is to say, they are publicly recognized as the offspring so that they can use the name of the casta of their real progenitor and integrate themselves into his casta. The last case of legitimization occurred in 1960, when one of the richest members of the community gave his illegitimate daughter a cow.

5. Group Responsibility and Mutual Aid

The behavior and conduct of individuals as members of their castas depends on the upbringing they receive from their fathers during the period in which they were under their care. If their parents inculcated habits of cooperation and the practice of mutual aid among their siblings and other relatives this will extend from childhood to adult life. In this respect the report of two elderly sisters is illustrative. Interviewed separately both said that they visit and help each other, following the instructions of their parents who have been dead for forty years. But the strongest incentive for group solidarity and the practice of mutual aid is the concept that the casta is a perpetual organization, lasting after death when the children are again reunited with their fathers to give account of their acts in this life. Therefore, for fear of parental sanction,

while they live they are careful to guard the good name and prestige of their castas which is done by respecting the prerogatives and obligations which accrue to them as casta members.

Group responsibility and the practice of mutual aid vary according to the number of generations that comprise each casta and the number of its members. Among the recently formed castas, those of third or fourth generation, the greatest cohesion and responsibility among the members may be observed. On the other hand in the larger castas solidarity and mutual aid are limited to segmental groups, usually to extended families and groups of households tied by bonds of artificial kinship and neighborhood. For example, at the funeral of one of the members of the Copitan (44) casta in September 1955, only his immediate relatives attended: brothers and sisters with their respective sons and daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, and one of the offspring of a paternal uncle who lived nearby. Also present were two cousins of the maternal branch and the sister of the mother of the deceased with her son. Other groups of Copitan, who are also considered members of the same casta, were not present.

Solidarity and mutual aid are observed during family misfortunes, especially deaths and accidents. When a death occurs the close-blood relatives of the deceased are obliged to help or "succor" with regard to the debts. For three to five days, wearing black hats which are the symbol of sorrow, they help in the preparations for the funeral rites. When the deceased is poor, they help out with material goods, money, etc. The immediate relatives who do not contribute to the funeral are censured and are the objects of moral sanctions. There was a case of a woman who did not attend her brother's funeral because they had had conflicts. The offspring of the deceased and their descendants ignored her and refused to mention her for any reason whatsoever or even to greet her.

disputes about land and animals also give the

opportunity for the litigants to act with the solid backing of the members of their respective castas, who, divided in two bands, carry on public verbal duels which sometimes terminate in pitched battles.

Religious festivals are also opportunities for the casta members to manifest their feelings of group unity and mutual cooperation. When a casta member is a functionary of a festival he receives help from the members of his casta, who share some of the responsibilities during the festival. For example, the greater part of the gelli (providers of foodstuffs, liquor, band of musicians, candles, etc.) of a functionary belong to his casta. The relatives who do not intervene directly in the organization of the festival are limited to serving the functionary liquor on the festival day.

Where group solidarity is best observed is during the drinking bouts in crowded local festivals where a quarrel between two persons of different castas develops into a general battle between the members of the opposite castas who are present. Men and women participate in the fight without asking what started it; they only act in defense of their relatives in their respective castas. After the battle when one of the offended resorts to the authorities, usually those of Marcara, the accuser and the accused are accompanied by the adult members of their respective castas during the proceedings. Sometimes the castas begin to fight again, in the office of the official, which has greater repercussions.

It appears that another of the functions of the casta is to protect its members from the vengeance of a stronger enemy and from exaggerated sanctions, be they just or unjust.

6. Revenge

Traditionally members of a casta are obliged to revenge offense or insult received by one of their members, especially if the offense affects the good name of the casta. Actually,

these happenings are rare, due to the intervention of the Cornell Peru Project which has favored the use of national laws for the solution of conflicts.

Vengeance operates under the following circumstances:

a. Bloody acts - Any type of physical aggression must be immediately avenged. When this is not possible casta members look for the first opportunity to punish the aggressor or aggressor.

The majority of bloody acts occur in the drinking bouts. A fight between two drunks usually generates a series of fights between the members of two castas. The losers in a fight look for revenge together with their relatives, because they explain away their first defeat by saying that they were outnumbered, drunk, or that their opponents used unfair tactics. Achieving one revenge generates another and so on so that there exist castas which are traditionally rivals because they are always fighting.

b. Appropriation of animals - There are frequent conflicts about the appropriation of some animal of doubtful origin. Such a dispute between two families brings about the intervention of their respective castas, whose adult members accompany the litigants through all the proceedings, which end favoring one or the other of the litigants.

The casta which is not favored takes recourse in vengeance, which consists of killing the object of the conflict, leaving no trace of the deed. To prevent this the animal is sold. In this case vengeance is limited to being rude to and insulting the members of the casta which won the animal, alluding to the "illicit appropriation of the animal."

c. Death by sorcery - According to the residents, the most serious offenses are punished by recourse to sorcery practiced outside of Vicos. Through sorcery the death of the offender or of some member of his casta may occur. When it is suspected

that a person's death has been caused by sorcery, the casta actively tries to identify the ones responsible and then has recourse to the vendetta (blood-feud).

Deaths due to strong stomach-ache and unknown diseases are considered as being caused by sorcery.

Relations Between Castas

The identification of individuals with their patrilineal descent groups does not mean they have no relation with and obligations to other castas. As has been seen in the description of the genealogy of the Copitan casta due to casta exogamy there is a notable social interaction between the members of the different castas. Besides, the institution of ritual kinship - of padrinzago and compadrazgo - favors social interaction between casta members.

According to local custom parents must see to it that their sons are married before the parents' death. For this reason parents take the initiative regarding their sons' marriages. They take charge of the preparations for marriage together with the parents of the girl. Thus, engagement begins social relations between the in-laws. These bonds are reinforced by the ritual kinship (compadrazgo) institutions because the godparents at the wedding are usually the paternal grandparents, designated by the bride's parents. The relations between the couple and the future in-laws extends also to the adult members of four castas (two for the girl, two for the boy), because they participate in the nuptial ceremony from the eve of the wedding, when the couple visits the most distinguished adults of the casta to ask for their blessing and their advice for conjugal happiness. The following day the visited persons attend mass and the other marriage ceremonies, because not to attend would indicate opposition to the wedding and looking down on one member of the couple. This would cause conflicts between the castas and also between the members of the same casta.

As has been seen, kinship ties between the parents of the couple are reinforced by the artificial kin relationship of padrinzago and compadrazgo, which extends to all members of the couple's castas. Later, when children are born, the paternal mother-in-law becomes the godmother of her grandchildren and

comadre of her daughter-in-law. etc.

The casta members who have artificial kinship ties often act together against a third casta, for example, when a masha ("my sister's husband") is injured by a member of a third casta. During the festivals the castas of compadres get together to drink. There are castas which maintain close social relations, especially when there is an interchange of marriage partners. For example, a brother and sister of the Cilio have married a brother and sister of the Mendoza casta. Also, there has long been an exchange of marriage partners in the Reyes and Cruz castas; there have been approximately seventeen conjugal unions between the two castas. Thus in 1953, fifty-six persons of both castas attended to the funeral of a baby. The relations between castas are narrow, as long as there are no conflicts between them. In the case of conflicts the rivalries and hatreds are prolonged through several generations.

Summary and Conclusions

In terms of the two classical types of kin groups, the residential kin group and the consanguineal kin group (Murdock, 1949:45), the castas of Vicos are unilinear consanguineal kin groups, because of the following characteristics:

1. Casta members are tied exclusively by bonds of consanguineous kinship. They are "blood relatives."

2. Each casta has a common paternal ancestor with whom his descendants identify genealogically through the rule of patrilineal descent. The paternal branch is considered as the "legitimate" descent. The children belong to their fathers.

3. The casta is an essentially exogamous group. Marriage partners are members of other groups.

4. Consanguineous brothers and sisters are members of the same group before and after marriage.

5. Casta members do not constitute a residential unit. They do not have a common residence, due to the following facts:

a. Women live in the residence of their husbands who belong to different castas.

b. Children born during the period of watanaki reside with their mothers, maternal grandparents, or step-parents.

c. The scarcity of agricultural lands impedes the formation of common residences.

6. Casta members have group functions or activities and a consciousness of the unity of their groups.

7. The external symbol or the identification cards of individuals with their castas are their paternal surnames, which are transmitted through the masculine branch. Only the father's name is used.

The following characteristics peculiar to Vicos castas may be added:

a. The right to ownership of land is related to consanguineous ties. Farm land which is the property of the males, is ideally inherited through patrilineal descent, this being the way to "legitimize" the social status of the individual as a casta member. If there are no masculine descendants, land can pass into the hands of another casta through the son of the daughter of the land-owner, and if there are no descendants of either sex the owner can leave his land to a step-son or adopted son, who continues the patrilineal succession interrupted by the lack of male descendants.

b. Bastard children or urkupas who are socially impeded from identifying themselves with the castas of their genitors, become founders of castas, using the surname of their maternal grandfathers. In these cases the hacienda or the community provides them with land.

According to the last statement of Murdock (1960:1) about unilinear groups, in the sense that the term "lineage" is applicable to all consanguineous groups of unilinear descent, the sixty-nine castas of Vicos would be "lineages." That is to say, casta would be synonymous with lineage, as is true for sixty-four of the sixty-nine castas. It is not true in five cases (11, 14, 35, 42 and 64 of the Table No.2) where the castas include two or three lineages each.

Using the definition and characteristics of Murdock (1949: 46-48) to determine the different forms of unilateral consanguineous kinship and considering that the lineage embraces a group of people tied by consanguineous bonds which can be genealogically traced to a known common ancestor, in Vicos there are seventy-six lineages in a total of sixty-nine castas. The difference of seven lineages related to the number of castas is due to the fact that these seven lineages correspond to five castas

(11, 14, 35, 42 and 64 of the Table No.2) of which three embrace two lineages and two embrace three lineages each. The members of the lineages admit that they constitute a single kinship group, but are ignorant of the bond which unites them. Technically these castas would be sibs or maximal lineages (Murdock, 1960:1). In this last case the term casta is also employed to identify a kinship group composed of two or more lineages. Consequently it can be affirmed that the term 'casta' in Vicos is generally used to identify a patrilineal consanguineous kinship group composed of one or more lineages whose members are biologically and culturally identified with each other, whether or not they know the common ancestor who unites them. This refers to family, lineage or sib.

In accordance with the preceding concept of Murdock, lineages are not culturally defined nor perceived as such by the residents, however, they may easily be determined as their members act in groups of major cohesion. They identify through three to six generations with a common ancestor known by almost all the adults. Undoubtedly the lineages are essentially a prolongation of the family group, since the conduct of their members is almost the same as in the extended family. This is especially true when the founder of the casta is alive and the casta has few members.

The sibs are also not culturally defined, nor are they perceived by their members. They may be identified, however, when the members of two or more lineages of the same surname recognize consanguineous kinship between themselves, although they do not know the kinship ties which unite them, just as it could be perceived between the adult members of the lineages of the six sibs. Thus, for example, in the Copitan casta, everyone who has this surname is considered to be a member of one and the same casta. They actually are, but they are grouped in two lineages, due to the lack of knowledge of the common paternal ancestor, who was identified by the author of this report in 1950.

In this respect upon analyzing the genealogies of the Copitan casta we have said that the descendants of Shatu (No.2 in Chart No.1) do not know about him and his father, so that they are informed about their ties with the other Copitans only by tradition. Even though they lack the facts they act in accordance with traditional casta patterns, especially that related with absolute obedience to the prohibitions against marriage between members of the Copitan casta.

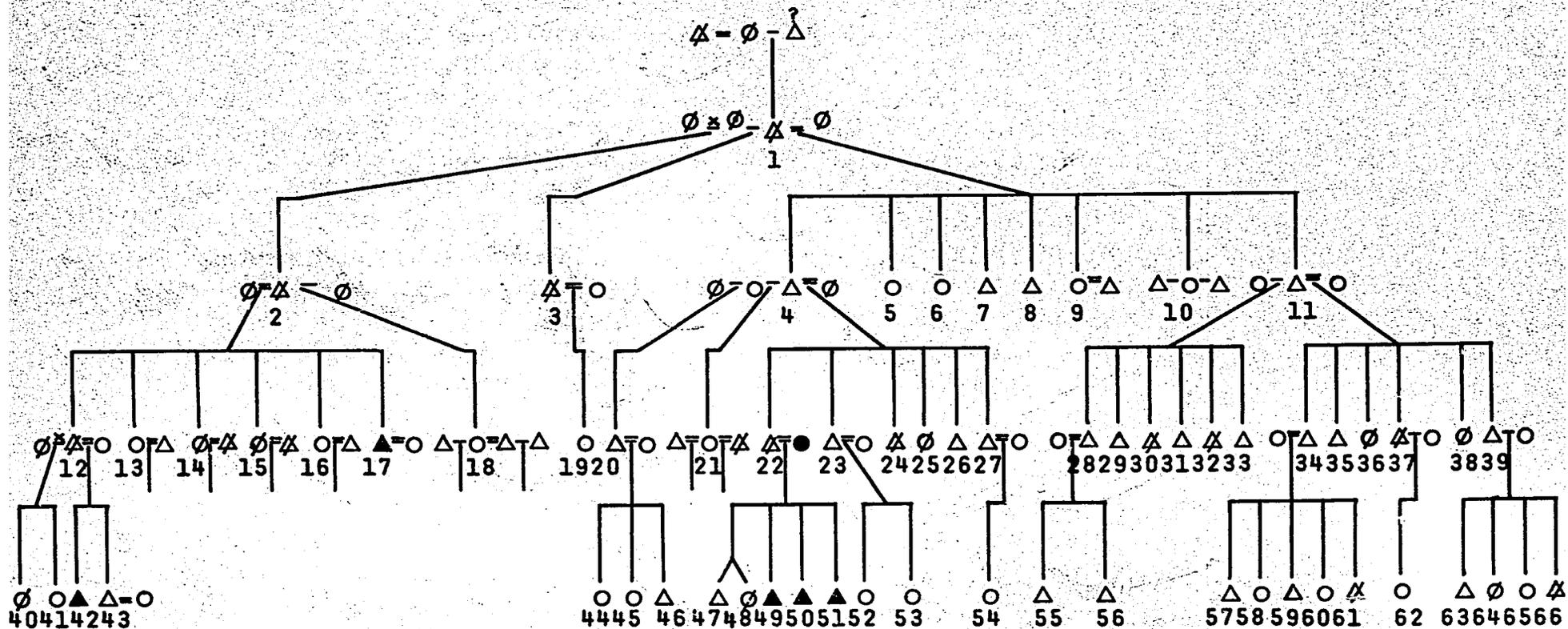
What occurred in the Copitan casta is also true of the Colonia, Leon, Leyva, Meza and Tafur castas. Although it has not been possible to determine the ancestors of the first four castas, it has been possible to do so for the Tafur casta, thanks to information gathered in 1950 from an elderly member of the descending third generation. The present adult members of the Tafur casta distributed in three lineages are ignorant of the precise bond between them, although everyone admits the single casta and all members of the three lineages are considered members of this one casta, since they even own land which originally must have constituted a single piece of property. Among the Tafurs nobody knows that the founder of the casta was an outsider, who came to Vicos to avoid military service. Thus, many are ignorant of the fact that the Tafurs of the neighboring community of Recuayhuanca originated in Vicos. It should also be indicated that the sibs of Vicos must have originated in lineages and that the identity of their founders has been lost in the passage of years and in the memory of the earliest generations.

It is also important to mention that the formation of sibs is favored by the practice of watanaki, an institution which permits men to have children by more than one woman and vice versa. There have been cases of men who have had up to nine children by an equal number of women, and two women who have each conceived seven children by seven different men. The child born in these circumstances maintains relations with his maternal

brothers and sisters only until he marries, changes residence and forms his respective independent nuclear family, which with time can become a new lineage, since after two or three generations his descendants ignore the kinship tie which unites them with the persons who bear the same surname, although they take it for granted that they are relatives. This has happened in the Colonia I and II castas. It is occurring now in an extended family of the Lazaro I casta, whose genitor does not have relations with his paternal brothers nor permit his children to do so, because his paternal brothers refused to give him any of his father's land and animals.

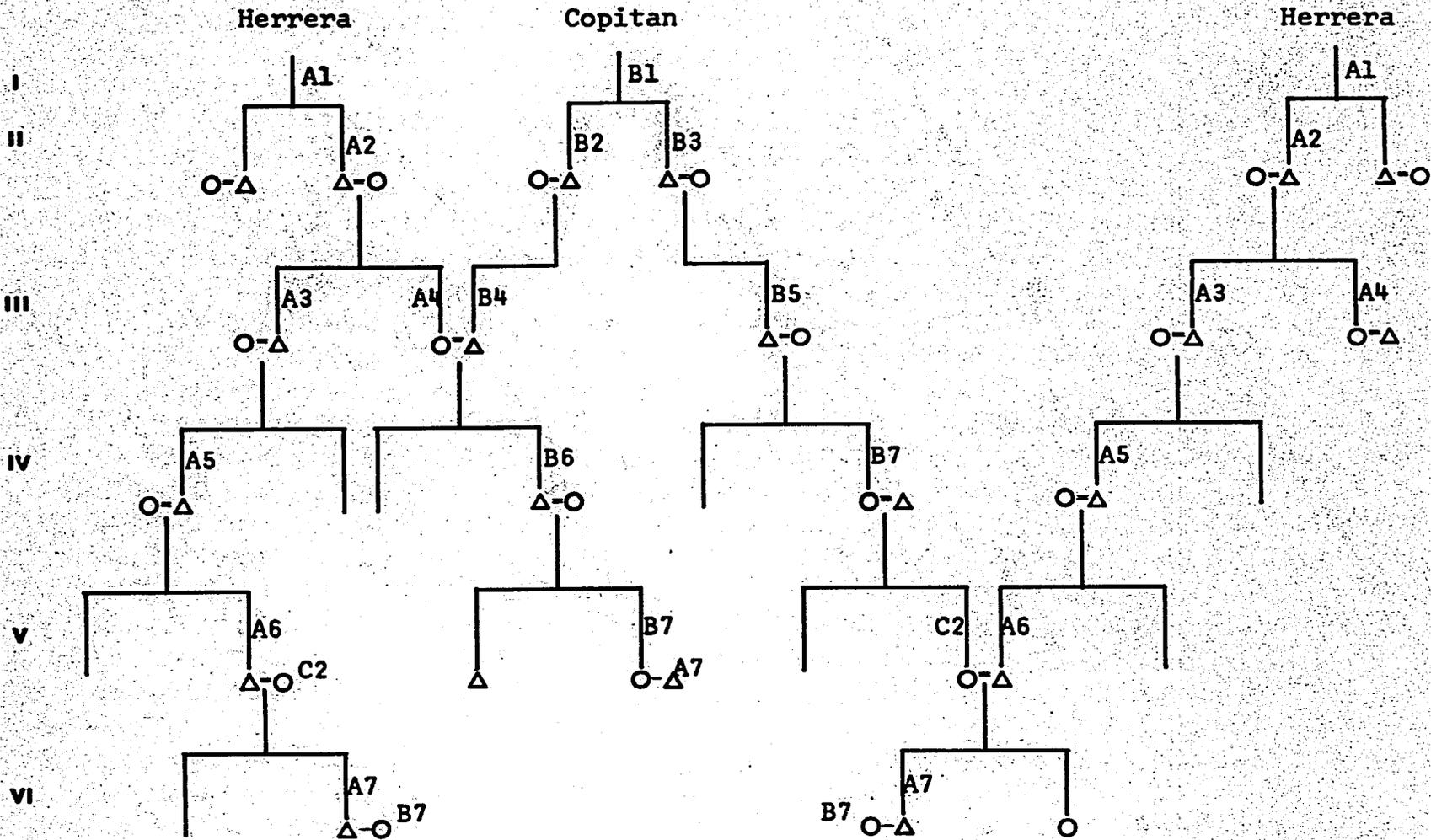
A characteristic which differentiates the sibs from the lineages is that the lineages are totally exogamous groups, while the sibs are only partially exogamous since they permit marriage between persons of the same origin but with different surnames due to the fact that the opponents of such unions lack the proof needed to prevent the unions because they are ignorant of the kinship ties which unite the marriage aspirants.

CHART No. 2



THE CASTA SANCHEZ

CHART No.3



MODEL OF MARRIAGE RESTRICTIONS

NOTES

1. According to Rosenblat (1954:134) the term casta was used to designate the "results of race mixture" during the Spanish Colonial regime. It appears, however, that it was also used practically to refer to racial distinction, since according to the author, the Indians constituted a casta that was juridically and socially distinguished from the other ethnic groups (Rosenblat, 1954:145).

In this paper, the term casta is used to designate an unilinear kin group.

2. Relatives here is used for agnatic or blood kin.
3. Leon II. It is included in the castas in the process of disappearing (Table No.6).

A P P E N D I X

TABLE No. 1

Castas	Members of sex		Total
	Female	Male	
1. Apeña	8	11	19
2. Bacilio	11	9	20
3. Baltazar	3	7	10
4. Bautista	6	4	10
5. Benancio	7	4	11
6. Broncano	3	7	10
7. Ceferino	9	4	13
8. Cilio I - IA	21	17	38
9. Coletto I	22	27	49
10. Coletto II	12	12	24
11. Colonia I - II	35	35	70
12. Colonia III	7	10	17
13. Colonia IV	11	13	24
14. Copitan I - II	28	33	61
15. Cruz I - IA	26	21	47
16. Cruz II	34	40	74
17. Cruz III	12	8	20
18. Cruz IV	4	7	11
19. de la Cruz	27	20	47
20. Diaz I	4	2	6
21. Diaz II	2	4	6
22. Evaristo I	29	30	59
23. Evaristo II	3	8	11
24. Florez I - IA	13	17	30
25. Francisco	9	9	18
26. Giraldo	3	2	5
27. Gutierrez	16	17	33
28. Herrera	24	9	33
29. Huaman	4	1	5
30. Isidro I	21	8	29
31. Lazaro I - IA	7	10	17
32. Lazaro II	39	35	74
33. Lazaro III	12	20	32
34. Leon I	28	20	48
35. Leyva I - II	10	9	19
36. Leyva III	3	4	7
37. Llihuya I	11	12	23
38. Llihuya II	4	3	7
39. Mata	7	6	13
40. Mayhuey	3	9	12
41. Mendoza	17	17	34
42. Meza I-II-IIA-III	41	24	65

Table No.1 (continuation)

Castas	Members of sex		Total
	Female	Male	
43. Padua	12	14	26
44. Pascual	15	7	22
45. Paucar	3	5	8
46. Quijano	3	2	5
47. Quinto I - IA	10	20	30
48. Quito	9	3	12
49. Reyes I	65	57	122
50. Reyes II	12	10	22
51. Rumaldo	5	2	7
52. Salas	8	8	16
53. Sanchez I	27	31	58
54. Sanchez II	17	14	31
55. Sanchez III	9	5	14
56. Sanchez IV	15	17	32
57. Sanchez V	9	6	15
58. Tadeo I	28	13	41
59. Tadeo II - IIA	16	17	33
60. Tadeo III	5	7	12
61. Tadeo IV	12	13	25
62. Tadeo V	3	1	4
63. Tadeo VI	22	15	37
64. Tafur I-II-III	42	45	87
65. Valerio I - IA	11	7	18
66. Valerio II	5	6	11
67. Valerio III	7	1	8
68. Valerio IV	3	2	5
69. Vega I - IA	27	23	50
	996	916	1,912

TABLE No. 2

Castas	Origins of the castas			Number of Lineages	Sibs
	Possible Vicos	Vicos	Outside		
1.	Apeña		X	1	
2.	Bacilio	X		1	
3.	Baltazar		X	1	
4.	Bautista		X	1	
5.	Benancio		X	1	
6.	Broncano		X	1	
7.	Ceferino		X	1	
8.	Cilio I-IA		X	1	
9.	Coletto I	X		1	
10.	Coletto II		X	1	
11.	Colonia I-II	X		2	1
12.	Colonia III		X	1	
13.	Colonia IV		X	1	
14.	Copitan I-II	X		2	1
15.	Cruz I-IA	X		1	
16.	Cruz II		X	1	
17.	Cruz III		X	1	
18.	Cruz IV		X	1	
19.	de la Cruz		X	1	
20.	Diaz I		X	1	
21.	Diaz II		X	1	
22.	Evaristo I		X	1	
23.	Evaristo II		X	1	
24.	Florez I-IA	X		1	
25.	Francisco		X	1	
26.	Giraldo		X	1	
27.	Gutierrez		X	1	
28.	Herrera	X		1	
29.	Huaman	X		1	
30.	Isidro I	X		1	
31.	Lazaro I-IA	X		1	
32.	Lazaro II	X		1	
33.	Lazaro III	X		1	
34.	Leon I-II ³	X		1	1
35.	Leyva I-II	X		2	1
36.	Leyva III		X	1	
37.	Llihuya I	X		1	
38.	Llihuya II		X	1	
39.	Mata		X	1	
40.	Mayhuey		X	1	
41.	Mendoza		X	1	
42.	Meza I-II- IIA-III	X		3	1
43.	Padua	X		1	
44.	Pascual		X	1	
45.	Paucar		X	1	
46.	Quijano		X	1	

Table No. 2 (continuation)

Castas	Origins of the castas			Number of Lineages	Sibs
	Possible Vicos	Vicos	Outside		
47. Quinto	X			1	
48. Quito	X			1	
49. Reyes I	X			1	
50. Reyes II		X		1	
51. Rumaldo			X	1	
52. Salas			X	1	
53. Sanchez I	X			1	
54. Sanchez II		X		1	
55. Sanchez III	X			1	
56. Sanchez IV		X		1	
57. Sanchez V		X		1	
58. Tadeo I	X			1	
59. Tadeo II	X			1	
60. Tadeo III	X			1	
61. Tadeo IV		X		1	
62. Tadeo V		X		1	
63. Tadeo VI	X			1	
64. Tafur I-II-III			X	3	1
65. Valerio I-IA	X			1	
66. Valerio II		X		1	
67. Valerio III	X			1	
68. Valerio IV		X		1	
69. Vega I-IA			X	1	
	28	12	29	76	6

The "castas" of Vicos, Peru

TABLE No. 3

CASTAS OF EXTERNAL ORIGIN

Castas	Regions of origin			n/d
	Conchucos	Quechwa	Nearby Zonas	
1. Apena			Copa	
2. Baltazar			Huapra	X
3. Bautista				
4. Benancio		Marcaza		
5. Broncano			Quinranca	
6. Ceferino			Pampamaca	
7. Cilio		Hualcan		
8. Colonia III		Pariahuanca		
9. Colonia IV		Nunacoto		X
10. de la Cruz				
11. Diaz I			Pampamaca	
12. Diaz II			Pampamaca	
13. Evaristo I			Huapra	
14. Evaristo II			Copa	
15. Francisco			Huapra	
16. Giraldo		Tarica		
17. Gutierrez			Copa ?	
18. Leyva III	Chacas			
19. Llihuya II			Copa	X
20. Mata				
21. Mayhuey			Pampamaca	
22. Mendoza	Chacas			
23. Paucar		Shumay		
24. Pascual			Huapra	
25. Quijano				X
26. Rumaldo	Chacas ?			
27. Salas			Pampamaca	
28. Tafur	Chacas			
29. Vega	Yauya			

TABLE No. 4

ORIGIN OF VICOS CASTAS: ALREADY CONSOLIDATED

Castas	Grandfather Maternal	Surnames derived from		
		Step-father	Father Adoptive	
1. Coletto II	X			
2. Cruz II	X			
3. Cruz III		X		
4. Cruz IV	X			
5. Reyes II		X		
6. Sanchez II		X		
7. Sanchez IV		X		
8. Sanchez V	X			
9. Tadeo IV		X		
10. Tadeo V				X
11. Valerio II	X			X
12. Valerio IV				X
	5	5		2

TABLE No. 8

CASTAS OF VICOS ORIGIN: IN PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATING

Castas	Surnames derived from	
	Maternal grandfather	Step-father
1. Cilio IA		X
2. Cruz IA	X	
3. Florez IA	X	
4. Lazaro IA	X	
5. Meza IA		X
6. Quinto IA	X	
7. Tadeo IIA	X	
8. Valerio IA		X
9. Vega IA	X	
	6	3

TABLE No. 6

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE CASTAS

Castas	Origin		Actual Female Members	Causes of disappearance	
	Vicos	External		Male Migration	Female Descendants
1.		Huaraz	1	X	X
2.	X		3		X
3.	X		4	X	X
4.	X		1		X
5.	X		2	X	X
6.		Huapra	1		X
7.		Pariahuanca	1	X	X
8.		Copa	1		X
9.	X		1	X	X
10.		Ataquero	2	X	X
11.		Huapra	1		X
	5		18	6	11

TABLE No. 7

NEOLOCAL FAMILIES: NO-CASTAS

Names	Origin		Members of sex		Total
	Vicos	External	Female	Male	
1. Bernardo, S.		Copa	3	1	4
2. Bernardo, Z.		Copa	1	2	3
3. Evaristo, V.	X	(Huapra)	1	2	3
4. Duran, M.	X		2	1	3
5. Florez		Tarica	2	3	5
6. Francisco		Huapra	1	1	2
7. Gonzalez, H.	X	(Recuayhuanca)	1	6	7
8. Isidro	X	(Aco)	2	3	5
9. Lazarte	X	(Copa)	2	2	4
10. Leon, T.		Huapra	1	3	4
11. Majia		Recuayhuanca	5	3	8
12. Meza		Huapra		3	3
13. Pala		Copa	1	2	3
14. Palma	X	(Recuayhuanca)	1	2	3
15. Ramirez		Carhuaz		2	2
16. Valerio	X		1	1	2
			24	39	63

GLOSSARY

Alcalde Pedaneo (S)	In Peru, an Indian appointed by national government authorities in the District in accord with traditional norms no longer part of the legal code. The appointment usually merely approves a prior Indian selection based on criteria of fulfillment of ritual obligations. This leader presides over the lesser Indian authorities known as <u>varayos</u> (cff.).
Casta (S)	See note No.1
Cholo (S)	Person of Indian origin who has taken on mestizo cultural traits without gaining social acceptance as Mestizo.
Conchucos (Q)	Area located between the East Andean peaks and the Amazon basin.
Conchucanos (Q)	People of Conchucos region, the eastern slope of the Cordillera Blanca.
Dataria (S)	Registry of vital statistics.
Estancia (S)	Hamlet
Mando (S)	Labor shape-up in the hacienda system.
Mayoral (S)	Indian forman
Padrino (S)	Godfather: including two types (1) godfather of baptism, (2) godfather of matrimony, who serves as best-man and maintains ritual kinship relations afterwards.
Patsa-madrina (QS)	Midwife-godmother.
Qelli (Q)	Provider of foodstuffs.

Qeshia (Q)	Plant pestilences and plagues.
Quechwa (Q)	Incas' language, now the major native tongue spoken in Peru.
Quechwa region (Q)	Temperate zone between the East and West Andean mountains (Cordilleras Negra y Blanca).
Quechwas (Q)	People of Quechwa region.
Shilli (Q)	Diminutive plot.
Tutu (Q)	Youngest son.
Urkupa (Q)	Spurious child - child of a married man.
Varayos (S)	Indian officials whose authority is symbolized by a staff of office called <u>vara</u> .
Vicosino (S)	People of Vicos.
Watanaki (Q)	Trial marriage
Wate (Q)	Adoptive child

S - Spanish
Q - Quechwa

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