

A Pot Where Many Worlds Fit: Culinary Relations in the Andes of Northern Argentina

Una olla donde quepan muchos mundos: relaciones culinarias en los Andes del norte de Argentina

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Abstract: Many ethnographies in the Andean region recognize the importance of the indigenous cuisine in the constitution of social relations that define groups, and the central place that commensality relations both between people and between people and other types of beings (non-humans) have in defining networks and connecting specific 'worlds'. In this ethnographic essay, we consider as 'culinary' all those relations which deal, logically and materially, with the transformation of substances and bodies that connect different beings under the general code of ingesting and commensality. Following our ethnographic research in the aboriginal community of Huachichocana, located in Jujuy, Northwestern Argentina (Southern Andes), this work reconstructs how the local culinary code is deeply interwoven with the logics of 'mutual nurturing' (*crianza mutua*) that bear sociality links and flows of substances between humans and non-humans. We present different situations in which the world that emerges from these experiences is susceptible to dis-encounters with other worlds being seen and enacted by 'outsiders' or 'insiders' of the nurturing relations, considering that these disencounters can be understood as "equivocations" (Viveiros de Castro 2004). The coexistence of different worlds – or sides of the world – that equivocations unfold leads us to appeal to the "cosmopolitical proposal" of Stengers (2005) and the possibility of "partial connections" following Strathern (2004), in order to think how these disencountered worlds cohabit and collide, being at the same time necessities to understand a phenomenon that at first glance can seem as simple as food.

Keywords: Northwestern Argentina; mutual nurturing; equivocation; cosmopolitics.

Resumen: Numerosas etnografías en la región andina dan cuenta de la relevancia de la culinaria indígena en la constitución de las relaciones sociales que definen a los grupos y el lugar central que las relaciones de comensalidad entre las personas, así como entre las personas con otros tipos de seres (no-humanos), tienen para definir redes y conectar 'mundos' específicos. En este ensayo etnográfico consideramos como culinario a todas esas relaciones que se vinculan, lógica o materialmente, con la transformación de sustancias y cuerpos que conectan a diferentes seres bajo un código general de ingesta y comensalidad. Siguiendo nuestra investigación etnográfica en la comunidad aborigen de Huachichocana, ubicada en

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Jujuy, Noroeste de Argentina (Andes Meridionales), este trabajo reconstruye cómo el código culinario local se encuentra profundamente entrettejido con las lógicas de la crianza mutua que promueven vínculos de socialidad y flujos de sustancias entre humanos y no humanos. Presentamos diferentes situaciones en las que el mundo que emerge de estas experiencias es susceptible de ser sujeto a desencuentros con otros mundos que están siendo vistos y encarnados por quienes forman parte o son ajenos a las relaciones de crianza, considerando que dichos desencuentros pueden ser entendidos como “equivocaciones” (Viveiros de Castro 2004). La convivencia de los diferentes mundos –o lados del mundo– que las equivocaciones despliegan, nos llevan a apelar a la “propuesta cosmopolítica” de Stengers (2005) y la posibilidad de “conexiones parciales” siguiendo a Strathern (2004), a fin de poder reflexionar sobre cómo estos mundos desencontrados cohabitan y colisionan, a la vez que son necesarios para entender un fenómeno que a primera vista puede parecer tan simple como la comida.

Keywords: Noroeste de Argentina; crianza mutua; equívocos; cosmopolítica.

Introduction

This text begins with from a thought on indigenous cuisine: the relations woven in kitchens do not stop within their walls, nor when dishes are served, in the same way as ‘the culinary art’ does not start when one enters the kitchen. On the contrary, in Amerindian¹ societies these culinary relations spread into domains that seem at first glance to speak not necessarily of meals, and not always of transforming edible resources. As suggested early on by Lévi-Strauss (1964), these relations goes back to mythical resources of kinship systems, personifying even the passage between nature and culture. It is around these relations that the following ethnographic essay grows.

Andean anthropology has shown at length that kitchens, with their meals, stoves, fires and smokes are privileged socialization spaces for indigenous families (Ossio 1988; Vokral 1991; Archetti 1992; Spedding 1993; Weismantel 1994; Arnold & Yapita 1996). The intake of some sort of foods and beverages in ritual, familiar or festive realms has been considered a key instance in the constitution of social groups, memories and regional identities (Abercrombie 1993; Allen 2002; Johnsson 1986; Ossio 1988; Vokral 1991; Weismantel 1994), as well as in asymmetrical relations of feeding and being fed (Ramírez 2005). In the same way, there are several studies about commensality relations among human beings, animals and non-humans (mountains, lagoons, mines and other places of the landscape) through ritual offering of food (Allen 2002; Fernández Juárez 1995; Isbell 2005; Van den Berg 1989). Some studies have even paid special attention to the techniques applied by specialists in the preparation of ritual arrangements (‘*mesas*’), the linkage of these techniques with the production of foods and ‘*anti-foods*’ and their possible effects upon the relation between worlds (Fernández Juárez 1995; Spedding 1993). Beginning with those reflections that give Andean foods and their techniques

1 We use ‘Amerindian’ to refer to all those societies that the literature refers to as ‘indigenous’, ‘farmers-indigenous peoples’ or ‘Andean shepherds’.

a central place (Arnold and Yapita 1996; Spedding 1993) our intention in this work is to connect them with other worlds of relations considering our own ethnographic experience, in the Andes of Northern Argentina.

As we shall argue, the culinary code is deeply interwoven with the logics of ‘mutual nurturing’ (*crianza mutua*) that bear sociality links and flows of substances between humans and non-humans. The world that emerge from these experiences is susceptible to dis-encounters with other worlds being seen and enacted by ‘outsiders’ (such as state representatives, teachers, technicians and researchers like ourselves), and also by ‘insiders’ of the nurturing relations, mainly the non-human nurturers. These dis-encounters can be understood as “equivocations” – in the sense proposed by Viveiros de Castro (2004) – where all parties claim to be speaking of the ‘same’ thing (or food), yet the ‘same’ turns out to be something radically different for each of them. The convivence of these different worlds leads us to appeal to both the “cosmopolitical” proposal of Stengers (2005) and Strathern’s (2004) possibility of “partial connections” in order to examine how these worlds cohabit and collide, being at the same time necessities to understand a phenomenon that at first glance can seem as simple as food. Considering the former, in this paper we will explore three ideas: first, culinary relations and mutual nurturing; second, mutual nurturing as/and equivocations; and third, steps towards a culinary cosmopolitics. We will briefly introduce each proposition before going up to the Andean hills and deeper in our ethnographic studies.

Our first proposition is that spaces engaged in culinary relations incorporate much of the idea of *criar* (nurturing) : as shown below, caring, raising a family, and bearing children are often synonymous with feeding and nourishing (Weismantel 1994; Vokral 1991). In the Andes of Northern Argentina, and in particular in Huachichocana, the aboriginal community referred to in this text, this is no different; kitchens are heavily involved with daily activities, concentrating processes of meal preparation, festivities and rituals, healing the sick, and until recently, child birthing. These spaces also have the potential for interaction and communication with ‘other’ non-humans, either because of the burning of certain bodily wastes (such as nails or hair) so that they are not *agarrado* (caught) by dangerous beings, or because fire or smoke materialize *señas* (signals) that speak of winds and rains. These relations, however, also project toward the inhabited space in the form of *challas*, i.e., libations and offers of coca and cigars to different sorts of beings. At the same time, the culinary transformations that occur in the kitchens are connected with other practices which tend to be considered prior to them: the rearing of plants and animals, for example. In this sense, our approach considers as culinary all those relations which deal, logically and materially, with the transformation of substances and bodies that connect different beings under the general code of ingesting and commensality.

Our second proposition deals with contexts that share a common resonance. They all suggested dis-encounters in the ways of referring to cooking, either as they related with non-governmental organizations, with the state, with beings of the local landscape, or even between families themselves. In spite of this, the ‘world’ which those relations referred to was always under discussion: each of the situations that we will present in this article is crossed by threads that, although pointing in different directions, intersect to form a network that leads us to ask about the world of the kitchen. In other words, we suggest that these relations resonate among themselves, being less centered on getting somewhere and more committed to being capable “to provoke thought” (Stengers 2005: 994). Nor are these ties guided by a causal relation: they follow a suggestive net of partial connections, which permit us to think of them as mutually affecting arrangements or “equivocations”. An “equivocation” is not a simple error or a failure in communication, but “a failure to understand that understandings are necessarily not the same, and that they are not related to imaginary ways of ‘seeing the world’ but to the real worlds that are being seen” (Viveiros de Castro 2004: 11).

Our third proposition understands culinary relations and the equivocations involved, from a perspective that we could define as “cosmopolitic” (Stengers 2005: 994). We are especially interested in its potential to bond all those different, yet linked, worlds that are involved in creating various human and non-human forms. Such a perspective is also concerned with the coming together and the connections between these worlds, sometimes manifested through conflict or friction (Almeida 2013; De la Cadena 2010), that wrongly dispute that which the world “could be” (Holbraad, Pedersen & Viveiros de Castro 2014: 1). Finally, the ultimate objective of this text is to outline the ways in which culinary relations are presented as irreducible to ‘one’ type of world, claiming that more than one world needs to be understood.

Nurturing and being nurtured in Huachichocana

Despite having ethnographic experience in different local communities in the Andes of Northern Argentina, we focus in this paper on Huachichocana, a small aboriginal community located in Jujuy Province (Tumbaya Department). Our fieldwork in Huachichocana started in 2010 and has continued without interruptions until now (2018).² Huachichocana is located in a natural corridor where a series of interlinked ravines (among them, Quebrada de Huachichocana) connect below – at about 2300

2 Our work consisted mainly in extended fieldwork, which allowed for observing, registering and participating in local relations and practices, achieving an “engaged immersion” (Guber 2011; Strathern 2014). We produced detailed descriptions, considering “description” to be a privileged tool of comprehension and analysis (Stolze Lima 2013; Strathern 2014) which allowed us to account for local ontological premises. In Huachichocana there are several archaeological sites; therefore, our fieldwork also included archaeological surveys and excavations.

metres above sea level – to Quebrada de Purmamarca (and then to Quebrada de Humahuaca) and above – at about 4100 metres above sea level – to other sites in the Puna region. This corridor is recognized locally for having been a historical muleteer path going down the mountains that was used by the people to exchange and to trade their products. Currently, these trips happen rarely, although the huacheños³ continue to go up and down the hills each time they need to sell or buy something, such as cheese made from their goat and sheep herds (Lema & Pazzarelli 2015). As in all the aboriginal communities of the highlands of Jujuy, in Huachichocana an Andean-Spanish is spoken.

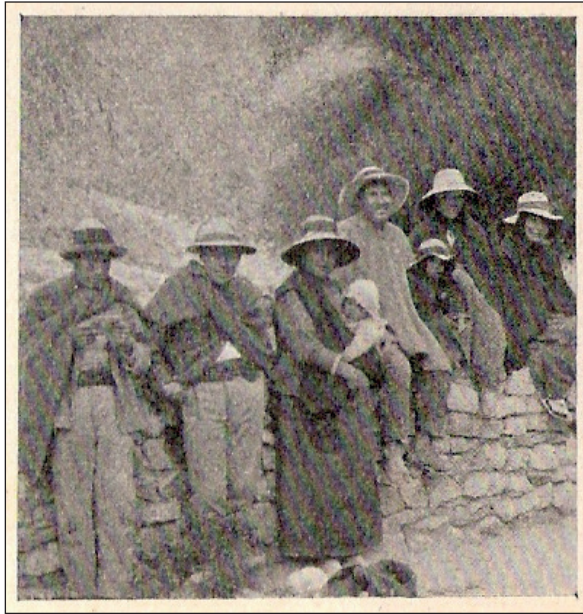


Figure 1. “Coya Indians from Huachichocana, Jujuy province”, photo taken by F. Kühn in 1930 and published in Kühn (1947).

Huachichocana, then, is not a town. Its people are said to live in the ‘hills’ or the ‘fields’, in dispersed houses, and in *puestos* (posts) articulated around seasonal mobility. The houses are the official residences of each family, while the *puestos* are used almost exclusively for animal handling. The families occupy these different locations at different times throughout the year, in periods ranging from 15 days up to a few months depending on the season and the size and needs of their animal herds. Some families only have

3 In order to facilitate reading, we use huacheño as a general term, although locally this would be a word reserved for those who live in La Huacha, one of the areas in the community.

a house and never move, while others move more than five times a year, producing spatial choreographies that materially connect these places (cf. Tomasi 2010). In the past, moving between houses and posts included carrying embers from one place to another to feed the fire pits. The stoves, ovens and other culinary structures take on different forms: from *fuegueros* (traditional fire pits) set up on the floor of the room, to *hornos de pan* (bread ovens) and gas stoves in some cases. Nevertheless, there are always multiple options that families – mainly women – handle according to the meals to be prepared, and whether it will be for a daily or festive-ritual consumption. Generally, the houses concentrate the greatest variety of cooking objects (*el servicio*: pots, glasses, plates, cutlery) since it is through them that festivities are carried on: the houses always have a kitchen and at least a bread oven. Posts often have fewer options, although on occasion they can have a bread oven for use during special events. In recent years, houses have also added iron stoves and ovens (*cocinas* and *hornos económicos*), as we will discuss later.

Like many other communities in the region, *huacheños* have an agricultural-shepherding economy, represented by corn, potatoes, fava beans and alfalfa or *alfa* crops among others, and distributed according to each microclimate. They also have animal herds, mainly goats and sheep (although some have llamas, cows and pigs). Animals are very important for huacheños, particularly to women, who think of themselves as shepherdesses – an assertion which comes with affective references to the herds.

These links between people and animals, to which are added the landscape and plants, are understood in terms of ‘mutual nurturing’. *Crianza* (nurturing) is a relation of protection and care allowing life to continue, involving practices that enable an exchange of vital forces between breeders and bred so that all can ‘flourish’. In addition to humans, there are multiple beings who may be both breeders and reared (hills, plants, animals, water), but who have different potencies as well as productive and destructive capacities. These relations are sustained on an extended interchange of efforts, substances and/or vital flows, mediated by payments, agreements and reciprocities (Arnold & Yapita 1996, 1998; Martínez 1989; PRATEC 1999; Bugallo & Tomasi 2012; Lema 2013, 2014a, 2014b).⁴

Given that the vital forces of all beings are part of an “inter-phagocytosis” network (Vilca 2009: 255) – being, therefore, bred and devoured – correctly channeling these flows require that precise technical means operate on bodies. In the nurturing realm, making something fertile entails properly applying a complex series of devices and logical operators in a landscape that embodies different non-humans with which humans negotiate the fertility through a constant series of *esfuerzos* (efforts)

⁴ It could also be argued that, while they all have similar capabilities of spending their forces, different beings have discontinuities in their bodies (thinking about the ‘body’ as an accumulation of affects).

that are not exempt from danger (Lema & Pazzarelli 2015). These forced and asymmetric mutual implications are what ‘sustain’ life (Martínez 1989: 66), linking human beings and non-humans to this parental dimension of social life (Lema 2013).

In this general framework, the plants are nurtured, either by humans, the hills, or animals (foxes, for example), and at the same time bring up their children, humans and other plants. They are also sensitive to neglect, and affect the relation of *suerte* (luck) of their human nurtures, even leaving them to find another nurturer (the hills, for example); this change in the nurturing bond is marked by a change in their bodies (morphology, flavor, properties: from medicinal to food) and their names: *papa yuta* or *papa del cerro* (potato of the hill). Also, plants may refuse to interact (for instance, plants that do not fructify), cutting the network of relations, a behavior with strong negative implications: it is a ‘social pathology’, reflected in a body with oversized organs not used by humans (potato flowers and leaves, for example) which only serve the *planta viciosa* (vicious plant) (Lema 2013, 2014 a, 2014b).

The asymmetrical relations which we refer make the *Pacha* (or Earth) a ‘hyper nurturer’, holding the main arteries of relational flows between humans, plants, animals, *ojos de agua* (water holes or springs) among other beings. *La Tierra nos cría y nos come* (Earth nurtures and devours us) is an expression often heard in Huachichocana, since the Earth is both the nurturer and final devourer.⁵ We are faced with enveloping relations: all are nurturers and nurtured at the same time (Arnold & Yapita 1998; see also Ramírez 2005). Below we will examine these modalities, because if the rearers are involved in the handling, growth, processing and consumption of bodies and vital forces, they do so through the proper slaughter of animals and handling of their parts, ways of cooking food, planting, cultivating and harvesting (Pazzarelli 2013, 2017; Lema 2014b; Pazzarelli & Lema 2015). We will try to show that the kitchen is not beyond the world of *crianza*, and of its cosmological relations.

Erakas

The huacheños sow different kinds of the species *Solanum tuberosum*: *papa blanca* (white potato), *collareja* and *ojo de señorita* (occasionally, *chacarera* and, some years ago, *tuni*). All of them are considered *criollas* (local potatoes), unlike the *abajañas*, which came from the valleys and are planted in the lowest areas of the community. These potatoes, together with those thriving outside the cultivation plots, have kinship relations (Lema 2014b; see also Arnold & Yapita 1996).

5 As in other places of Southern Andes, huacheños usually use the word ‘Tierra’, *Pacha* or *Pachamama* to refer to the realm of relations enacted by this powerful chthonic entity linked with the fluxes of life.

People say that *las papas paren a sus wawas* (potatoes give birth to their *wawas*; babies or small children), be it in the *rastrojo* (cultivation plot) or in the hills; from the land they also obtain *fuerza* (strength), so if the land is exhausted potatoes grow small. When *cavar papas* (digging up, harvesting potatoes), the *papas madre* (mother potatoes, those who were seeds) are recognized by their hollow interior: they are pure peel. The daughters constitute the harvest and from them not only come the family's food, but also their own continuity, as some become seed potatoes, future mothers. In the selection of potato seeds, 'bodies' suitable for their reproductive role are chosen: potatoes longer than wider, healthy and with many eyes. It may also happen that in a *chacra* (maize plot) small potatoes may appear: these are called *huachas* or orphaned, and come from mothers from a previous crop cycle that survived among the maize. Once harvested, all crops end up in the food storage.

In addition, when potatoes are dug up, people pay attention to the emergence of *erakas*: lush, large potatoes, with multiple protuberances, that have human or animal traits, and even have *wawas* as part of their bodies (Lema 2014b; Amuedo, Lema & Pazzarelli 2015) (Figure 2). These forms speak of an irregular intermittent growth, linked to multiplying fertile forces, beyond the 'typical' forms of rearing (as for the rest of the potatoes). These are empowered bodies, impossible to tame. It could be said that an *eraka* is to a potato what a mud and water avalanche (locally called *volcán*)⁶ is to a water canal: hyper-powerful forces that have the ability to fertilize other bodies. In the same way that an *eraka* does not become a potato, a *volcán* is not tamed into a water canal. As a particularly potent body, an *eraka* (as well as a *volcán*) is characterized by going through different sides of the world (from the underworld to the surface), bringing 'other' forces that fertilize 'this' side.

Erakas are not mixed with potatoes harvested for food. *Erakas* are reserved for those who found them (and who can take them), or for the house owners. In La Huacha (one of the areas of the community) these potatoes also receive the name of *pirwa*, and their planting is associated with the possibility of having luck. Locally, *pirwa* are also rams with supernumerary horns (which are much appreciated, linked to reproduction and luck); *pirwa* refers to reproduction, fertility and the multiple (*multiplico*). In nearby communities, this is the name given to storage rooms and maize with multiple auxiliary ears, also called *mamalas* or *illas*,⁷ which are placed in storage rooms so that products will last longer and not run out. So storage rooms are active workspaces where food stuffs are expected to continue reproducing (Bugallo & Vilca 2011; Van der Berg 1989), catching the multiplying strength of *erakas*, for example.

6 These mud avalanches of earth and water, consequence of the summer rains, are the most destructive force of the landscape, which can drag away houses, animals, people and entire crop fields. Despite this, the land after a *volcán* is said to be particularly fertile to be sown.

7 The meaning of *illa* and its multiple implications in Andean communities can be explored in Flores Ochoa 1974, Allen 2002, Bouysson-Cassagne 2004, Bugallo & Vilca 2011, Bugallo 2015, and others.



Figure 2. An *eraka* laying in the *rastrojo* field at Huachichocana, after a harvest (photo: Francisco Pazzarelli, 2013).

Just as pregnant women do, *erakas* have a body that replicates itself, a body that unfolds and nurtures at the same time. *Erakas* could be considered ‘potential mothers’, but are unlike mother potatoes whose empty bodies indicate that they gave everything they had (Amuedo, Lema & Pazzarelli 2015). As we will argue below, this difference not only puts both types of potatoes in different perspectives with regard to nurturing relations, but it also defines different types of destinies. *Erakas* are never cooked: daughter potatoes are the ones ending in the pot, while the mothers will be left in the field. This is particularly interesting because tubers are an important part of local cooking, are consumed in different ways, and are always desired, especially at harvest time. However, the most ‘important’ potatoes of a digging out, those which arouse the admiration and comments of all, are the ones not eaten. No culinary procedure seems to touch *erakas*, and apparently their presence in the kitchens are only glimpsed in the storerooms (such as maize *pirwas*, which are likewise not consumed). However, *erakas* and their forces are there enabling new potatoes to grow, so that all of them can be cooked.

An example serves as an argument to the foregoing. The rituals of *dar de comer a la tierra* (feeding the Earth) in August are intended to provide the Earth with several types of food, together with drinks, coca, cigars and sweets. On one occasion, while we were in the garden of one of the families, the house owner deposited with both hands a

voluptuous *eraka* inside the *boca* (mouth) of the *Pacha*⁸ that was being fed. Everything would then be *challado* with drinks and coca leaves before capping the well. The entire *eraka* was given to the *Pacha*, without cooking it. In addition, during the *dar de comer*, *Coleadas* are usually done: the extreme ends of the tails of animals (sheep and goats) born recently are cut and then placed in the *boca* situated in the corral. We can also refer to the delivery to the Earth of the portions of animal ears cut during the ritual of *Señalada*. These examples would seem to have more to do with delivering that which has been multiplied than with *Pacha* feeding: the multiplying that the Earth enabled (by means of breeders, with crops and herds) goes back to it to foster it.

The transitive capacity of the *illa* bodies, including *erakas*, that allow multiplying, abundance and fertility, appear to act as catalysts for the rearing network devices. The *eraka* is not a potato variety: it is a body that contains a dense accumulation of possibilities that make potatoes exist within nurturing networks. We might think that they embody the *ánimu* of its ‘species’ and bring luck to the human breeders, acting as the double of the reared (cf. Taylor 1974).⁹ These lush bodies are exploded and contained at the same time. They synthesize the forces that stress such relations, since nurturing means being able to handle fluidity, and also the ability to retain it. So, is the *eraka* a potato? Yes and no. It is a potato, and it is all potatoes at the same time, including all those that help to bring into existence and are cooked and eaten daily. We could say that all potatoes that are cooked and eaten also have a little part of the *eraka*. They are partial connections between potatoes: more than one and less than two (Strathern 2004). But potatoes ‘are not’ *erakas* spontaneously before leaving the ground; they have to enter into a relation with those who dig them up. The *eraka* is partially a potato, although it is outside of the logics of transformation, use and circulation of the potatoes; it is associated with other multiple bodies (doubled, repeated) and therefore comes closer to the community of the *illas*, powerful beings, enablers of fertility.

Saying that the *eraka* is a potato would not be an error but an equivocation. Not taking this equivocation into account would stymie, for example, any conservation plan, because how one might think about the conservation of something that both is and is not a potato? In 2009 the Community was the recipient of a project implemented by UNDP (the Small Grants Program of the United Nations), whose objective was to “promote self-sufficiency in food through the conservation of Andean ancestral crops (potatoes, corn, beans, quinoa and quiwicha) providing the necessary waterworks” (PNUD 2009: 40). The work also aimed to “ensure and promote conditions of security

8 The *bocas de la Pacha* (mouths of the Earth) are the wells, located in different places, from where the Earth is fed.

9 Following other work, it could be suggested that the *erakas* condense the potatoes’ *ánimu* (Bugallo & Vilca 2011: 23). Arnold & Yapita (1996) refer to the potato as an *ánimu* of the Earth.

and food sovereignty”. This “rescue and conservation of Andean crops” program was approved by the Community; however, if we ask the huacheños about the potatoes planted by them, they would not mention the *erakas*, as they are not ‘a type of potato’ whose seed can be kept.

Thus we could argue that to preserve potatoes and maintain food autonomy, the continuity of *erakas* is essential. The *erakas* would not ever go to a germplasm bank, or to a varieties registry (as referred to in the Argentine legislation): its only place is in the local sociocosmology, without which their body would disappear. The introduction of improved seeds, homogeneous and stable, that ensure simple constant shapes suitable for registration, patenting and mechanization, undermines the heterogeneous, unstable and ‘lush’ forms of nurturing (as a Gordian knot that, without being understood, is cut). The equivocation is being defined: it is always ‘potatoes’ that are discussed, but while on the one hand it is *Solanum tuberosum* and a ‘resource’, on the other hand it is *eraka* and *pirwa*. In this regard, if homogenized germplasm is a political action, nurturing also is. And there are many worlds in which the political action of modern agriculture can overwhelm, alter and threaten to modify ‘a simple potato’: those *erakas* that, although not cooked, open the way for the rest of their relatives to come to the pots.

Times of the meat

The slaughter of bred animals for consumption, mainly goats and sheep, is a common situation in Huachichocana. On occasion, its purpose is the preparation of daily meals (soups, stews, roast), but on occasion they are also used for festive meal preparation and rituals. In any of these cases, the transformation of the animals into edible meat is an object of care and is achieved through the implementation of specific techniques. Generally, the animals reared are treated as *hijos* (children) by the people, so the relations between *crianza* and the kitchen are again complex, due to the eating of that which one nurtures, such as potato *hijas* who go to the pots after harvesting.

The killing is usually performed by slaughter or disgorging, avoiding the suffering of animals and caring especially about the way in which the *ánimu* (a ‘main spirit’) will leave the bodies. The animals are placed on the floor facing *sol de mañana* (the morning sun, to the east) which is where the *ánimu* will be going. Provided that it had been released by disgorging and correct bleeding, it will return to the family of the shepherd in the form of *suerte* and the multiplication of the herd. The time of disgorging and bleeding is especially important because that is where *la carne se hace* (the meat is made, it does not exist before as such) and where it renews the possibility of continuing to multiply the animal family. It is due to this release of vital energies that the sacrifice should not be carried out on bad days, Tuesday and Friday, because the *ánimus* could be captured and devoured by other types of beings (non-humans, witches).

The preparation of the edible meat continues during the disgorging and the first drying out. The butchering is performed immediately after the killing and it begins with the separation of the internal organs, flesh attached to the bone, and leather (Pazzarelli 2017). The internal organs are removed carefully and have different uses: stomachs and intestines are emptied and cleaned (and sometimes cooked immediately); the fourth stomach (*panchera*) is put to dry and then used in cheese manufacturing. The gallbladder (*hiel*) is put to dry in some place away from animals (dogs, cats, birds) until completely dried out, since there is also a part of the luck of the shepherd on it and it should not be stolen by anyone. During this process, *illas* can appear within the animal body: little balls (stones, bezoars) that are immediately collected by the owners to multiply *suerte*. Again, the transitive capacity of *illas* of animals is present, as has been argued for the *erakas*: animal *illas* can also be ingested directly by the shepherd, without the mediation of any culinary technique.

The leather is separated from the meat and bones (ribs, legs) and is hung to dry on a hook in a room until the next day; it should not be stolen by anyone during this time, since the family's luck would leave. Finally, the leather (including the skin and hair or wool) is folded on itself, imitating the position of live sleeping animals (*dormiditos*); it will remain this way until the next day when it will be put to dry in the sun. The head can be dried, without the removal of its internal organs, and is usually saved for ritual meals.

During disgorging and skinning animals, the life force and *suerte* are revealed in their liquid and wet parts: on the one hand, the blood during the slaughter; on the other hand, the traces of blood, juices and wetness of the parts put to dry after the butchering. The meat that has been skinned and set to dry is called *fresca* (fresh) and some precautions fall on it: not only it should not be stolen, but it cannot be boiled immediately as it would be sour and bitter. Both flavors are related to other parts concentrating the animal forces, such as the gallbladder, which suggests that the meat retains a certain vitality when still wet. This condition is lost during the drying process which lasts until the following day (or sometimes only until that night). From that moment, the meat can be eaten without any problems and using any cooking techniques: these meats then turn into edible matter and do not keep the vitality that they possessed hours ago (see other details of this process in Pazzarelli 2017).

The foregoing points out to the complex relations of nurturing that are revealed in Huachichocana, which do not end when an animal (or a plant) is slaughtered and transformed into food. On the contrary, because they are joined with their animals in a particular type of family, shepherds must take care to handle the vital parts of the animals' bodies in order to make them edible, making sure that how they do it does not result in no luck. Each process of disgorging and butchering, then, is a process of elaborate modulation of these vitalities that places the consumption of reared meat in

the framework of a network: between the *ánimus*, the bad days, the blood, the *illas*, the *hacer secar* (drying out), and *suerte*, all of which configure the particular cosmopolitics of meat consumption. The particularity of this kind of consumption is that cooking meat does not depend exclusively on human decisions; rather, it connects different sides of the world.

Pancheras

All the highland communities of the Tumbaya Department, Huachichocana included, are often recognized for the quality of their sheep and goat cheeses. With milk from their own herds, the famous molded cheeses are made not only to be consumed within the families, but in different market circuits in nearby towns or in the capital city. Among other things, cheeses provide a good income for the families involved; this income sometimes increases because of tourism. Production, however, is highly seasonal and depends on the rains and newly available pastures, and on the birth cycle. Thus, between December and March (the summer rainy months), cheese production increases considerably in parallel to the increase in the production of milk and the shepherds' movements between the different locations.

Pancheras allow curdling of the milk to transform it into cheese. They are formed by a part of the animal belly (the fourth stomach or abomasum) that, once extracted during butchering, is put to dry filled with salt in some corner of the patios or porches. Once dried (a process that lasts between one to six months) it is placed in a container with serum of the previous curd, and it will remain there for some months while it is being used. From that moment, the whole set of abomasum, container and serum will be called *panchera* or *panchero*. Every day when clotting milk it is necessary to add a bit of hot water along with this serum and let the mixture rest for about one hour. Then, the curd is separated from the serum, poured and pressed with both hands in molds made of twisted *cortadera* (*Cortaderia* sp.) leaves. The squeezed curd remains inside the mold sealed with a flat stone until the next day when the cheeses are ready to be consumed or stored. The serum that is separated from the curd is put back in the container with the *panchera*, so as to curdle the milk the next day. The local production of cheeses is thus articulated and defined by these particular milk flows: *pancheras* and curds.

The use of the *pancheras* is without doubt the technique that allows cheeses to exist, but they do not constitute the only way to do so. Cheesemakers recognize that they can also curdle milk with pills and alcohol purchased in nearby towns and villages, and they sometimes even refer to the industrial processes of cheese production by arguing that it does not include the handling of the same substances. However, only *pancheras* curdle milk in these hills. This is interesting if one focuses on the highly seasonal nature of cheese production that depends not only on those moments with large amounts of milk, but also has an impact on the temporality of the *panchera*. Therefore, if there is no milk

to curdle there will not be any serum to feed the *panchera*, and it will become sour and acid, losing its capacities. This usually happens at times of drought and especially affects young families, whose herds are usually smaller and with less dairy capacity, or who have lesser ability to handle the serum. This means that when the rainy season arrives, the first cheeses must be curdled sometimes with borrowed serum, so families exchange it between themselves, activating relations of kinship and reciprocity (Pazzarelli 2014).

What we are highlighting here is the huacheños' refusal to use products other than *pancheras* to manufacture cheeses (products which, needless to say, would be easy to access) and the emphasis on following the local processes to curdle milk, although sometimes they can be seen (to an outside eye) as more complicated and unstable due to their particular seasonality. On the contrary, rather than complicating the process, the seasonality of the *pancheras* and the local importance they possess reveal that the serums not only curdle milk, but also curdle kinship relations. We could weave several arguments to support this idea. The *pancheras* and serums come from the herds bred by shepherds, taken literally as part of the family, whose members are both milked daily (and a part of them becomes *panchera*) and slaughtered, thus enabling the flow of milk, serums and cheeses. In addition, this seasonality embodies the movements of families in the inhabited landscape, occupying different *puestos* in search of pasture and water, activating in these movements relations with specific beings (waterholes, hills, caves, rocks). Finally, the scarcity of serum is resolved through loans from a related family. In other words, to curdle milk with *pancheras* does nothing more than reveal that what is at stake, as it was always, is kinship; here, in the form of serum. In this sense, the seasonality of the *pancheras* perhaps has less to do with the imperfect particularities of a traditional curdling system than with the need to think about local kinships (Pazzarelli 2014). Therefore, unlike using the pills, it is when a *panchera* dries out that the huacheños are obliged to seek serum, and the serum would be another way of saying 'relatives'.

Excesses in relations with animals

As mentioned above, within *crianza* relations there may be situations that are characterized as vicious (when an edible plant refuses to be raised, for example) and involve risks. We would like to mention now another dangerous situation: the excessive handling of animals' meats. Although shepherds spend their days together with their herds of goats and sheep, at the end of their lives they are partially prevented from continuing with the killing. It is said that they have already killed a lot, that animals no longer want to die with them and *sus cuchillos no cortan* (their knives do not cut – they do not respond as expected). These restrictions are clearly placed on the side of those that regulate the consumption of meat from reared animals, as described above; however, in the case of hunted animals the danger of excess is also present.

An interesting situation occurred in the hunting of vicuñas (*Vicugna vicugna*) some decades ago. The vicuñas are partially connected with both worlds of relations: they are savage animals for the human shepherds, and cattle for *Coquena*, their non-human shepherd (see also Arnold & Yapita 1998). Then, when hunters (the same local shepherds) wanted to catch vicuñas, they had to agree first with *Coquena* on the delivery of some camelids, usually through *challas* and specific requests. After fulfilling these requests, if they hunted beyond the agreed, they would be accused of *enviciados* (being vicious) and attacked with different kinds of illness. That is to say, it was an agreement between shepherds that tended to regulate the relations between different sides of the world: the one of the human shepherd and the one of *Coquena*. At present, however, it is recognized that this pact is not enough, because *Coquena* is not the only guardian of the vicuñas. Since conservation projects were launched, there are state provisions prohibiting the hunting of vicuñas in the region, which has been declared a species in danger. Occasionally, the National Gendarmerie is there to ensure that nobody hunts them. In these cases, then, it is said that the hunters must carry on additional pacts, such as the delivery of money or some other good to the gendarmes (a sort of ‘rituals of bribes’); even in these cases, the hunting can be agreed on, but excess is punished. Relations between excesses, vices and greed in the hunting of animals have clear resonances with the spoiling of plants, and the recusing of relations, as suggested earlier.

In all the cases above, the danger of certain excess is latent: neither kill nor waste more than necessary, or hunt without need. Edible meat, fibers and leather must be handled only to a certain level: again, the strain of the nurturing arises between the need to open the bodies, and ‘trap’ what is necessary. What is interesting is that the danger of excess is a central component of the local relations: when *Pacha* claims for an excess not agreed on, what is at stake are the relations of the human world of the shepherds who can be threatened by the influences of *Coquena*. Even before the presence of the National Gendarmerie and bans on hunting, the vicuñas were prone to be the subject of equivocations and unfortunate encounters between different worlds: vicuñas are savage animals for the hunters, cattle of *Coquena* and protected species for the state.

Equivocated kitchens

Some years ago, in the framework of UNDP projects already mentioned, proposals arrived in the Community that promoted the installation of *cocinas económicas* (iron stoves) to regulate some ‘excesses’ of the local cuisine. According to the information provided by these institutions (PNUD 2009), and to interviews with the technicians in charge, these excesses can be summarized as the disproportionate use of firewood (associated with the desertification in the region) and the excessive emissions of smoke and gases.

These kitchens, already installed, take different forms, but in all cases they were to replace the traditional stoves by structures built with bricks, iron plates and chimneys,

articulated also with *hornos económicos* (iron ovens) (although we will not deal with them here, see Pazzarelli 2016). The firewood is placed in enclosed spaces that allow one to regulate the entry of air and the combustion process; the fire is used for cooking in a direct way, mediated by a plate with holes ('hobs'), while the smoke is drawn out of the kitchen through the chimney. In this way, smoke and firewood are regulated. In spite of the potential changes in culinary relations that these new structures could create (which implied, in theory, doing away with the traditional fire pits), they were accepted and incorporated by many families, and the project ended up being very successful. It is interesting to note here, however, that the reasons given by the NGOs explaining this success do not coincide exactly with the local gaze. There are several equivocations that are necessary to point out.

On the one hand are the excesses. When one asks if firewood is a scarce resource, huacheños would respond positively indicating that where they live *no hay leña* (there is no firewood) and increasingly even less. However, we have already mentioned that in Huachichocana no more than seven families inhabit simultaneously in a wide territory of ravines and *puna*, so the area should provide firewood for seven fire pits. But it does not: *no hay leña*. This assertion, however, has angles that are revealed by inquiring into its relational sense, as we also said that neither things nor people nor any other being exists outside of special relations. Everything is entangled: things should 'end together with another' in the framework of "forced" mutual implications (Martínez 1989: 64) characterized as mutual nurturing. In this sense, if there is no firewood it is because there are no people making it, because it only exists as a virtuality that must be realized – as when one makes meat. Like any other local way of doing, the harvest of firewood follows specific techniques and processes for selection of species and timber that are harvested and processed in the framework of relations between plants and people – which include, for example, permissions and signals to cut down dead cacti.

Does this imply, then, that in reality 'there is' firewood and the huacheños' words should be reconsidered? Or is it that the technicians of the NGOs do not understand what the communities say? There is no hidden meaning in the expression *no hay leña*: it describes a 'real' situation, but it does not relate to a technical 'reality' of an external environment, and their motives are not linked to any type of over-exploitation linked to traditional practices. On the contrary, the logical consequence of local practices might be that there is wood, and the denial could be translated as 'there are no relations that allow for firewood': generally, because families are reduced when people migrate and no longer live in the hills.

Note, then, a detail: the technical evaluation coincides with the local assessment, since both claim that *no hay leña*. Again, it is thus not a wrong interpretation but an equivocation (Viveiros de Castro 2004). Technically, the lack of firewood would be a consequence of over-exploitation based on traditional practices (which need to be

‘adapted’ to efficient technologies), while the local perspective points toward the opposite: it is the impossibility of *hacer leña* (making firewood) as it was always made, which leaves the hill full of just wood. In the equivocation, the final postulates are similar (there is no firewood), but the initial premises are completely different because they report different worlds (*criar*; exploit) (Viveiros de Castro 2004: 17-18).¹⁰

The second ‘excess’ is the smoke, which according to the NGOs is of two types: one that is added to the rest of the planetary emissions of CO₂, collaborating with the greenhouse effect; and the other filling the kitchens, affecting eyes and respiratory tracts. The first type of smoke would affect a ‘common natural good’ (climate, environment), and would be placed next to the one that large industries based on coal or fossil fuels emit daily. This argument suggests a type of ‘balance of guilt’ where it is difficult to discern the role of huacheños’ fire pits on climate change and points to another sort of responsibility. But it is articulated on the same idea: the assessment of inherent problems to traditional knowledge about the use of firewood, after which the communities are designated as beneficiaries of an ‘efficient technology’. The second type of smoke is articulated with arguments of preventive medicine. However, there are different options within the local architecture that, without altering fire pits or firewood, could regulate the concentrations of smoke: construction of larger kitchens or small windows over the fire pits, among many others. That is to say, even agreeing with the preventive arguments, there are local solutions that can be carried out.

To present the problem in another way, it could be said that the project aimed to reduce the danger of certain ‘excessive conjunctions’: between the smoke and the ‘climate’ (decreasing the first) and between smoke and people (moving it toward the outside of the kitchens). However, the relations between people and smoke is not always ‘unhealthy’, since fire pits are often a meeting and communication place with the ‘other’. A brief example: the cracklings and speaking of fire and the shape of the smoke are *señas* that multiply in each culinary event. The signals are small events that announce in advance certain domains that are beyond their manifestation: the singing of some birds that announces the arrival of relatives, for example (Pazzarelli, Marconetto & Bussi 2015). Other *señas* anticipate the summer rains: if the fire *humea mucho* (produces a lot of smoke) and it is hard to start up it is a signal that the rains will continue; in contrast, if it fires up or burns quickly and with normal smoke it is a *seña* that rainfall will decrease with the wind’s arrival. It is only through the fire that speaks and smoke that makes eyes cry that the *seña* appears, and the winds and rains are announced. This example

10 Considering other projects that attempt to ‘improve’ traditional knowledge, the problem of firewood would perhaps be analogous to the accusation of overgrazing by Puna shepherds when assessing rates of desertification (Quiroga Mendiola 2012; for other equivocations between projects and communities see Allen 2002: 239).

is sufficient to bring up an idea: fires and smoke do not begin or end in the kitchen; their contours are not there. Nor are the outlines of the iron stoves that partially hide the fire and extract the smoke out of the kitchen, reducing literally and materially the manifestation of certain *señas*, not allowing the fire to speak as before.

How can we then understand that the project was a success considering the above? This project involved many assemblies and meetings, between local people and technicians, after which the families had autonomy to build the structures, and each kitchen was unique and modified differently from its previous architecture. However, this did not mean that either the fire pits or the fumes disappeared. Among other things, almost all the families have more than one kitchen: the iron stoves were installed in the houses while the traditional ovens survived in the posts. There was then a multiplication of culinary options: to the existing *fuegueros* (fire pits), bread ovens and gas stoves were added the iron stoves and ovens. This contradicts the expectations of the project on the reduction of the use of fuel wood and smoke, and at the same time questions the local acceptance of the project: does the project ultimately coincide with the local perspective on kitchens, firewood and fires? There is no single answer to the above, since families installed the kitchens (coinciding with the NGOs arguments), but that did not save smoke (or firewood).

We would like to ponder this particular ‘answer’ to this sort of intervention, modified and repositioned in the local universe. We believe that the equivocation about kitchens is represented as a sort of partial connection (Strathern 2004): on the one side, a project with international financing that wished to reduce smoke and use of firewood; and on the other hand, the reception and local installation of iron stoves which multiplied the culinary forms and their fumes. The meeting does not summarize or synthesize any of these positions, and there is no consensus or mid-point: both are connected, but it does not cancel the difference existing between them. The project is in itself an equivocation: a ‘productive or fertile equivocation’ that without being reduced to any of their previous positions (Holbraad, Pedersen & Viveiros de Castro 2014) opens to a culinary multiplicity and to worlds that intervene positively on the ‘lack of firewood’ but without economizing on its fumes.

Fertile memory

We have already mentioned some situations that reveal that the landscape is not a backdrop against which human stories are told, but that it is constituted by a number of differentially distributed beings over the inhabited spaces. Lagoons, hills, water holes, caves, rocks and rivers are articulated with houses, cultivation plots (*rastreros*, *sembraderos*), corrals, old mining operations, abandoned houses, archaeological sites and cave paintings. The ‘living’ landscape (Vilca 2009) of Huachichocana is embodied in these different ‘bodies’, some of whom (the ancient houses, for example) could be

considered from a foreign gaze as less ‘natural’ than others. However, they are all there, forming a “constellation of sentient entities” (to use the expression of De la Cadena 2010: 341), which, together with people, give shape to the networks of *crianza*. It was these ideas which unleashed the knot of the last equivocation which we want to reflect on here: that which involved us in the task of ‘rebuilding’ the community’s history, as every time that we asked about the past the huacheños took us to visit their places (Lema & Pazzarelli 2015).

If we return to the flows and networks of mutual nurturing now it is because they embody everything that is relevant to the relations with the local landscape, manifested especially in the form of different types of meal offerings. In the case of the *dar de comer* ritual, for example, the mouths of the *Pacha* are defined material and spatially in different places of the landscape: inside the rooms of houses, in gardens, corrals, in *rastrojos* and fields, in water holes, canals, and grazing spaces. Each one of these places is visited and fed. In addition, many of them and others are also *challados* with a small libation (of wine, spirits or alcohol), the offering of cigarettes and fresh or chewed coca leaves. Generally, people accompany the gesture by sipping a drink, by smoking a cigarette or *coqueando* (chewing coca). Added to the mentioned spaces, there are small lagoons, roads, some special rocks, abandoned houses, archaeological sites, caves and cemeteries. In fact, any space of the local landscape can potentially be *challado*, and nobody would be surprised if a place that never was the object of ritual attentions begins to be one at some point. In addition to being alive, this constellation of beings that we call landscape is articulated with different ritual food practices. Both forms, feeding and *challa*, enable these relations by means of different types of products or substances that are ingested (in the first case, with the mediation of the culinary practices that allow meal elaboration), revealing that intake and sharing are privileged forms with which to relate with others.

Additionally, and summarizing ideas mentioned above, we suggest that these connections are updated in the form of mutual relations that help to sustain places (Martínez 1989). They feed and *challan* those *rastrojos* and grazing places animals use, as well as water holes which serve each of the families and some caves or important stones on the roads that are used throughout the year. On those relations depends the fertility of what is at stake (water, crops, animals, circulation). Such responsibility does not depend only on those that feed or *challan*: the Earth and water holes also nurture and return to the people what they need. This is an important point that we want to emphasize: the nurturing network we refer to incorporates all those beings and relations involved with the development of daily life (fertility). In other words, each one of the places-beings which are fed or are *challados* is linked with the nurturing relations that take place in the present. Therefore, although the landscape in Huachichocana is marked in different ways because of various historical events (for us), that does not mean that all of these ‘historical places’ are subject to memory: just those that currently help to sustain the

landscape, allowing the *crianza* fluxes. The above suggests that local memory (and its culinary code) is only for those (human or not) who *crian* (nurture) the place.

In other words, the logic of the memory we refer to is one that defines breeders, and only they are the raw material for recall, since the condition of breeder is earned by doing. There is no logical possibility of breeders outside the practical space, since all of them must be 'active'; and although it is true that many potential breeders can be defined (human and non-human), this does not mean that they are this way a priori: it is necessary to engage in the relation to become a nurturer. This daily and ritual renewal of the agreement between persons and other places-beings is what allows one to continue being part of the network, and most of the time it is done through foods or offers of products for intake.

It is, however, necessary to make two observations: first, does our proposal assume that in Huachichocana there are spaces that are not powerful or important, or unable to breed? We believe that the key is to consider that these particular forces (human or not) are defined in the framework of specific nurturing relations in which they are involved, and that some are more significant than others. Therefore, not all these beings fall into the same type of relationship with people, nor between themselves. This also means that these 'others' (caves, water holes, hills, abandoned houses, archaeological sites) are not identical and there can be as much difference amongst them as that existing between one of them and the people: a cave is very different from a water hole, and although in both one can recognize relations of nurturing, they are never exactly the same. However, all of them are essential to understand how life in Huachichocana is sustained. This leads us to our second point: does this mean, then, that huacheños have 'chosen' those beings with which they wish to relate? Of course not. There is no 'cause' behind these relations (of the functional or historical type) that enables us to explain the situation, simply because people do not choose any more than they have been chosen: the forces of the landscape cannot be reduced to any set of human decisions.

Thus, if memory is linked to persons, families, non-human beings and to the places in terms of *crianza*, then that memory does not necessarily have anything to do either with a history, or with a past: at least not with our 'history' filled with progressions and sequences (Lema & Pazzarelli 2015). This does not mean that these relations cannot be sustained for long; on the contrary, if all parties are 'in agreement', they are updated on a regular basis, usually through sharing food. When we started our inquiries about the past of the place, we understood that the landscape and its spaces would be an important part of the narration. We did not imagine, however, that *challar* and *dar de comer* were essential requirements to enable the memory of a story that was pure present. In other words, we believed we were talking about the 'same' thing, but the 'huacheña history' turned out to be the fertile and present memory of a hungry landscape.

A pot where many worlds fit

As we said at the beginning of this paper, the situations listed above present relations that, being partially connected between them, put on the table different equivocations. We started with *erakas* that are and are not potatoes; followed with the butchering process that allowed the existing of edible meat; serums and *pancheras* that are flows of kinship; the care and respect for different types of mutual relations, the excess of fumes that try to be regulated; and ended with the 'history' that is a present fertile memory. In all these cases, culinary relations embody others that, apparently, were not there: of kinship, mutual nurturing and communication with non-human beings. We want to highlight two aspects here, in the form of the last two connections that we hope will continue provoking others.

On the one hand, this work suggests the need to consider culinary relations in their own ontological terms. Pots (culinary relations, that is) do not define the limits of the worlds, but allow them to be lived in connection and articulation with other beings, relations and sides of the world. Thus, potatoes that are cooked in stews 'are not' the *erakas* that are dug out in the fields, but are tied to them, and in turn they are articulated with an extensive array of other lush bodies and *illas*, which can potentially be cooked or not. The cheeses produced daily do not seem to bear the mark of the local kinship, until one looks at serums and *pancheras* that curdle milk and circulate among landscapes and families. In other words, as everything is liable to be nurtured, fed or chewed, pots embody a particular network of relations in which the world of the kitchen has no predetermined limits: it does not end where the embers stop heating, but rather multiply following, for example, the path of the smoke signals.

On the other hand, we suggest the need to consider these relations and equivocations in the light of conflicting encounters with different 'resolution' levels (Almeida 2013), which embody kitchens, their products, and their meals. Whether in the ways of raising plants and animals, or the considerations of the manufacture of cheese, the agreements with other shepherds (humans or not), the meetings with non-governmental organizations, or in the conservation of plant diversity, we always find something that suggests that things (the world) could be another way. It is clear that these encounters are better defined for us when the worlds that are found are those which would embody apparent radical differences: the communities and their relations with the state or non-governmental agencies, for example (also see De la Cadena 2010). While this may be so, what is certain is that the indigenous worlds which we are focusing on are not reduced to binaries of the 'us-them' type, nor to completely human relations.

Every day and at every step in the hills, people have encounters with 'others' that should be properly treated and mediated, most of the time by meals or *challas* offerings. At each of these meetings there are also excesses that must be handled: thus, the number of vicuñas that it was possible to hunt in the hills could not exceed the number agreed on with *Coquena*, since in that excess there are also at least two worlds involved. In other

words, the culinary handle of excesses always deals with the possibility of relations being different and the world they enact being 'other'. Here rests the cosmopolitical force of the culinary relations described: they allow the possibility of partial connections between worlds. The equivocations are always there, with daily occurrence, and involve the state, us, and the non-governmental organizations, but only as one of their potentials. There are also *Coquena*, the hills, the relationships of families among themselves, the *pancheras*, the *erakas*, plants and animals. Thus equivocations are also internal, because the world has many possible 'sides', and all have the possibility of being achieved.

Depredation and excess in relation with animals, over-exploitation and no firewood, conservation and the *erakas*, show us equivocations that allow us to open the pots' lids and to glimpse at the worlds involved. *Pancheras* not only curdle milk, but also curdle kinship relations, just as seeds of different crops are woven and overlap in kinship relations and neighborhood; serum and seeds are condensations of dense networks of kinship. Similarly, just as the contours of fires and smoke are not confined to the kitchen, the contours of potatoes are not confined to a cultivation plot. As we have stated from the start, these are not different 'visions of the world': they are different worlds brought into existence, which involve an ontological multiplicity which in turn enables different political and cosmopolitical 'codes'. Finally, the equivocations outlined in this essay are intended to give some insights so that certain worlds are not subordinated to others, and so that they may continue being brought into existence in the pots that are, perhaps now, warming up in the hills.

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