## Memories of the Community of Vicos:

The way we remember it, with joy

## **The Peasant Community of Vicos**

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Memorias de la Comunidad de Vicos: así nos recordamos con alegría

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#### **Presentation**

At the beginning of 2003, the Peasant Community of Vicos asked two local NGOs, The Mountain Institute and the Urpichallay Association, for help in negotiating the return of the documentary materials from the Peru-Cornell Project (1951-1963), which were in the care of the library of Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. When these materials were returned after an arduous year of preparation by Cornell, a group of Vicosinos, including young people from the local secondary school, got involved in an effort to use the documents (photographs, documentaries and short films) to understand the significance of the long-ago events, learning to ask the memory of their collectivity for them. For almost a year, from July 2004 to August 2005, this group dedicated itself with enthusiasm to memory work: "now we see that there is more interest in knowing and it keeps getting more interesting, we want to keep on learning". For the youngest in the group, it was also a matter of being brave enough to overcome his shyness about asking questions, "[but] I overcame my embarrassment and people responded". In short, as one of the participants explained, the conviction "to cultivate our pasts" began to grow within them. The importance of memory for understanding the present and the future stands out in the very testimony that they give us.

The Vicosinos' testimonies for Vicosinos presented in this book show again and again the men and women who were either witnesses in person or through the words of their parents or grandparents to the events and occurrences portrayed in the documentary materials of the Peru-Cornell Project. For that reason, this book is the memories they decided to rescue and share with the world. In so doing, they give those of us who are not from Vicos the gift of the opportunity to listen to their reflections, to know the senses that capture joy or rage, individual interpretations and life in collectivity. The testimonies underscore the present generation's full recognition of "the grandparents" and the sacrifices they made for the wellbeing of those who live better today because of them. The value of their having freed the hacienda through their own efforts with the help received from the Peru-Cornell Project stands out in the Vicosinos' testimonies. The reflections in this memory book also speak to us of the weight of the systems of hierarchic values behind the landowner's anxiousness to show his dominance with whip and humiliating words and how these ways of being, feeling and thinking dominate Peru today in

relations between the people from the coast and those from highlands. The memory that takes shape in this book also recovers those who were courageous, despite the time that has passed: whether they are the Huaprinos Marcos Alonso, Jerónimo Tadeo and Félix Chauka, who died in the confrontation with the owner of the Huapra hacienda; the Vicosinos such as Hilario González, who organized the capture of Chancos; or the warmly remembered figure who appears in all the testimonies, Mario Vázquez. The sense of community is also at the heart of this Vicosino memory, in the history of their liberation of the hacienda as well as in the uncertain sense of the future of their land, which is the soul of the story they are telling us. The land yields less and is increasingly scarce, in part as a result of the profound change lived precisely since the time of the Peru-Cornell Project. Taken as a whole, the testimonies about forgotten abilities to produce based on integrated organic systems and a material culture free of external inputs is a way of telling us that modernity needs to learn from the past.

For all the lessons the testimonies in this book leave us, with all our heart we thank the team of the Vicosino Living Memory Project, the director and teachers of the Vicos school, the various governing councils and community leaders that supported this initiative, and especially Florencia Zapata for her professional capacity and unconditional dedication to the Vicos memory.

Jorge Recharte
Director of the Andean Program
The Mountain Institute

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Director
Urpichallay Association

## 1. Origins, events and changes in Vicos

# Origins: Vicos before the hacienda

Before it was a community, it was an hacienda.

Ilario Copitán Coleto, Tambo sector

We don't know what there was before the hacienda, because the hacienda already existed when we met each other. We can't tell you anything about what there was from before the hacienda. Before that surely other people worked it and recently we began to work by sectors, that is the way it was.

Félix Sánchez Vega, Vicos Pachán sector

Why do you think you don't know about the times before the hacienda?

**W**e are not informed. Sure, we are still from behind [later on], for that reason we don't know.

Ascencio Mesa Sánchez, Puncucorral sector

Because the truth is we are our grandparents' children and so we don't know anything about before the hacienda. What we have managed to find out is about hacienda times.

Your little grandfather didn't tell you anything about before the hacienda? He hasn't told us anything.

Eulogio Copitán Coleto, Cullhuash sector

## Mama Gregoria, and before the hacienda?

■ don't remember. Certainly our little grandparents from before know, we are from behind [later on]. We used to go to work to sow in Paltay, Lucma, with our <u>cucupas</u> [fava bean flour, wheat, cereals]. That is our parents told us that in hacienda times, when Mario Vázquez arrived, I don't know any more than that.

Gregoria Sánchez Durán, Coyrocsho sector

#### Hacienda times

In o longer remember the hacienda times, certainly our parents were on the hacienda. On the hacienda neither women nor men were idle, everyone had his or her own tasks, men as well as the women. The tenants rented out people the way we rent out donkeys, that is, to other haciendas.

Marcelino Mendoza Jara, Tambo sector

■ was born in the year when it was already an hacienda. Potato and flax were still made to be sown. In the years 1950 to 1952 it was still an hacienda. And the hacienda had mediators like Casiano García and Orlando, the Chacasino¹. In hacienda times they gave orders every week, every Wednesday. The one who was most in charge of the hacienda was Enrique Luna.

I still know Sr. Casiano and the one who made us work. At this time they rented men out so they could work for another *patrón*<sup>2</sup>.

In the hacienda time there were no days off, they were always making us work, even renting us out. They made us sow potato, flax, and the orders were always given on Wednesdays, absolutely everybody had to go to this giving of orders. The locale was very full and the one who absent was embargoed.

Testimonies collected during the "First Meeting: Vicos Memories"

At that time of the hacienda only the *patrón* was served and the peasants who worked had very little land to cultivate. The widows went with their pots to cook in order to give the men something to eat.

These haciendas, for example, when our parents lacked work on the hacienda, they rented them out as if they were donkeys to their other *hacendado* friends and they went from here to Huaraz. They went to Utcuyaco, they went rented out to those haciendas. Then they came back exploited. Before, just renting them out like that, they made our fathers work. But the day they managed to buy this hacienda, from that moment on we were free, because earlier they continually sent them rented out to any old place. It is as though you had a donkey and you rented it out because of a need for potatoes. That is how they rented out the people's strength to obtain more resources. That is the way it was before, the majority of us are here, I am not lying.

The [people] who go away and come back. Before, for example, when they were exploited by the *hacendados*, they escaped. When he was exploiting here, well, then they went there. But when the community had already bought itself, the community members who were living or who were alive now stayed in order to be community members.

Enrique Luna was from Marcará and, in addition, he was the administrator. He was from the Callejón de Conchucos but he was living in Marcará. We know Enrique Luna, he was the one who administered or collected [money]. His wife was certainly from Marcará, his house was also in Marcará, he is still alive until the present time.

Enrique Luna was good, but when they failed to function he had to apply it [the whip] in order for them to comply.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From the town of Chacas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Patrón means "master" or "boss" and can refer to the landowner or to a person renting an hacienda from the owner.

Sure, since he was the administrator he had to make the community members comply, he was very strict and very bad, he treated us like any old thing. For the good he was good and for the ill-bred, he was also bad, that time I worked. While [until] the gringos arrived, he exploited, made the peasants work, it was all for the *patrón*. Sure, he was obliged to change, he came to forge discipline at the time of Peru-Cornell, later he became more aware and he didn't exploit the people much, then it lessened. He himself is saying [in the video] that he made the people work by forcing them before the gringos came. He was no longer bitter when the gringos arrived, he [had] already modified his behavior.

In Atashpampa I was going to graze my animals and at that moment Enrique Luna arrived and he chased me wanting to hit me, he was chasing me, then. He chasing after me, he was very bad. This place of Atashpampa was community [land], now behind [later on], recently it is already completely divided up into lots.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Vicos Pachánl sector

The members of the community of Vicos were previously exploited by the *hacendados* and also served the rich like beasts of burden or horses. Who exploited were the *hacendados* or *patrones*, we Vicosinos worked only for the *patrón*'s benefit. As a reward the *patrón* gave us a piece of land or parcel to sow to maintain our families. For three days the work was for the hacienda and the other days were for sowing our parcels, but whenever they wanted to, they ordered us around like their *cholito* anyway.

I remember that in the time of the hacienda we were all subjected, because no one was privileged, whether it was night or day we had to pay attention to him including when he sent us to bring bark from the <u>quenual</u><sup>3</sup> trees, from wherever it might be, we had to make it reach the hands of the *patrón*.

My little grandfather Eusebio León recounted to us that other bad people were the female hacendados and that they mistreated [us], including they even rented us out like we were animals. I remember there were many more hacendados like Enrique Luna, but this gentleman had another hacienda in Chacas, my father told me that when I was young.

What I am seeing in this video is the person Enrique Luna, the administrator of our hacienda. At that time he made us work either caring for the animals such as cows, goats, pigs, but he also obliged us to be <u>tapacoc</u> or the watchman over the farm plots in the high part where animals don't enter. We were his muleteers, from the low part of Chancos we came carrying cabbages,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A native highland Andean tree (Polylepis **sp**.) with papery, reddish-brown bark used for alleviating toothaches.

lettuces, to the locale of the hacienda, milk, too, in big pails we carried to the hacienda, from Wishllac, Ishmus, Shacllapucro and from other places we collected more for the owner of the hacienda.

We fattened the pigs with boiled potatoes. Every woman where it was her turn to work, this way no one was lazing about. Nor were we given time to go out, all the time we were in the grasp of the *patrón*.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Wiyash sector

About hacienda times I know a lot. Every week we had to be going carrying our beds [with us], they made us go over here and go over there. The *patrón* sent for the rent, for that reason when he gave the orders, people went. He forced us to work, we were working for a little piece of land.

#### Did you work in hacienda times?

Yes, but I was still a boy, my little grandparents worked more.

Look, *mamita*, this Enrique Luna insulted people a lot and at the potato harvests when the women were carefully searching [the soil], he made the horse step on them, he didn't let them look for potatoes, he was a very bad person, even riding his horse he applied the horsewhip or whip. He only began to change in the course of time. When the gringo arrived, only then did he realize that he was excessive.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Cachipachán sector

My mother told me that before they couldn't sow in the ravines, they just sowed [in] hidden [places], she said the people from the hacienda wouldn't let them. In hacienda times one argued a lot with the *patrón*. We said to him, "You are making us work too much". We said this to him because to those of us who were plowing, all the time he also sent us by list to work. One did not fail to show respect to Sr. Enrique Luna. Previously, after the harvest the women used to glean, then, on seeing this he chased them with a horsewhip to make them go away.

Antolina Sánchez, Cachipachán sector

Like the former leader of the community, Hilario González commented to me, "When they saw this gentleman in Marcará, they said, 'if he were food, I would eat him, but I regret that he isn't food, with my taste I would go to jail and I would go to El Frontón<sup>4</sup>—because before that was its name, now jail—and I would be suffering there'". Sr. Enrique Luna treated us saying "cholo, Indian", with bad words. Even riding his horse he made it step on us, he went right over my

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> An island 7 km from Callao (Lima) that served as a much feared penal colony and political prison until 1986.

countrymen and he was very drastic. We believe that in other haciendas, too, the administrators were similar to Enrique Luna. Sr. Pajuelo was another one like that, when sniffed out the hacienda was going to pass into the hands of the *campesinos* he took possession of everything. Little by little he went taking a cow, a donkey and other things to his house, he took them to another hacienda.

Víctor Paucar, Ucushpampa sector

The tenant exploited us a lot. Because the *hacendados* were not the ones who mistreated us, [the tenants] were the ones who mistreated people. Like a contractor now does, just like that, they made us work 14 hours, all the same, men and women.

The tenants rented us out with everything, as if we were a tool for work, to the coast or to the south coast. Since we were illiterate, we didn't know anything, for that reason they mistreated us. With the *patrón*'s threats one couldn't go wherever one wanted, and when he rented one's work by day, the *patrón* or *hacendado* himself received [the money]. The peasants we just took advantage of what we possessed, a little land, where one lived from a certain amount. One worked three days free in exchange for the land and the other three days for just 20 *centimos* and also for cold food [to eat in the fields], they didn't give us anything. They just wanted us to serve the *patrón*.

Saturdays and Sundays sometimes were worked for free, we were just a few people living in Vicos. More or less in the whole sector we were just 25 to 30 families, we worked on the whole hacienda, from there [then] little by little the young people were increasing because the *patrón* wanted our children to work. Now we have increased and even this piece of land isn't enough for us.

Sr. Enrique Luna was the tenant of pieces of land in other places, but in Vicos he was the administrator. He tried to insult saying "che carajo"<sup>5</sup>, that was his word since he was the administrator of Vicos. Almost the majority of persons affirm he was bad and treated people with bad words.

We thought that Sr. [Enrique Luna] realized very late, my grandparents from years before like Marcos, Dolores, they say they carried a millstone to Pompey. Twelve Vicosinos carried it to the concentration plant in Pompey along the Quebrada Honda route. This Sr. Administrator gave them unground wheat and maize to eat, poor things. When they arrived at the other hacienda they ground it to cook and they even gave them the flour soup without salt. You would try that soup, it is like poop to eat, it is very difficult. And this gentleman was going ahead with his horse,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Che" (pronounced "shay" by the Vicosinos) which usually means "hey!", "listen!" or "guy" in Argentina and Peru, but in Vicos is always used in a pejorative way. "Carajo" is literally a vulgar word for "penis", used as an interjection like "damn" or "shit".

saying "Carajo, they can't, they can't lift it, *choli carajo*", he even punished them with a stick and he gave them work more than their strength [could bear]. Then, when Peru-Cornell arrives, he recognizes right away and he realizes right away, but very late. All of us on this planet are living beings, we live and we die. Then he, too, has died, but in another life, then we will meet suffering in hell.

Maybe he learned from his heart and maybe not; we don't know someone else's heart.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Ucushpampa sector

Enrique Luna, the tenant, made us work. In that week we worked for six days, but Enrique Luna exploited us too much. And at the farm plot he received us young people to work, he received as work personnel. And from that work Doctor Mario Vázquez suspended us, from then on our tasks were lessened. But before with Don Enrique Luna, we were exploited and mistreated wherever we were rented out to work.

Andrés Lázaro, Vicos Pachán sector

# The Times of the Peru-Cornell Project

In '52 [1952] the gringos put us to work, then we began to work in order to pay for the hacienda, sowing potatoes or in another way, and the agreement was made with the Vicos hacienda. And from then on little by little we bought [it], after a long time, with a lot of sacrifice sowing potatoes. That's all I remember and that's the way it was.

Félix Padua, Cachipachán sector

At the time of these gringos we were like servants. My mother's name is Marcela Leyva Cruz. After these gringos lived other gringos, also Miss or Mrs. Nancy Goodman, my mother was also her servant.

#### Is your mother still alive?

Yes, my mother is alive, but she didn't come here, she is in my house. My mother knows all about what they suffered in hacienda times, and my mother tells me many things. Compared [to the way] they were made to work in the community times, there [then] the exploitation was no longer like before.

#### The gringos, what did they come to the hacienda for?

Possibly they came to help the *campesinos*, like someone to say they shouldn't be exploited and to give help, Doctor Mario made it be a community. They went from house to house paying visits. After going visiting, Doctor Mario converted [Vicos] into a community. First he only came

to Vicos, he even walked around giving out candy. Before he lived in Tomás's house, from there he went down below. He is the one who made potatoes be sown in furrows.

My idea is that the Peru-Cornell Project on one hand was good, for the support in making [Vicosinos] study, read, write, before it is said they were naive, they didn't know anything.

#### What part seems to you wasn't so good?

As for me, all that ended up helping was good. Even what my mother has explained to me, beyond that, I don't know.

They almost took my mother to the United States, my little grandmother didn't want her to go. They had even bought her wool, lumber, firewood so that they could take her and my little grandmother, may she rest in peace, did not want to let my mama go. If my grandmother had let her, my mother would not have been with the family. My mother's *patrón* said she would be able to return to Vicos, she was called Nancy Goodman, she told us that she was going to return in 10 years and she didn't come back. This gringa came when she was 18 or 20 years old, she gave us a few dollars but of her own free will. The last time she came, she came to visit Lake Llacshac. I also knew her, the gringa, she came with 2 or 3 more gringas. We have her address but we can't communicate with her it is very difficult.

Elmer Vega Leyva, Coyrocsho sector

When the gringos arrived in Vicos they brought us many changes. That is, from that date we no longer serve the *hacendados* but rather Vicos, every one [of us was] liberated from the *patrones*. The peasant worker had very little land to cultivate before, rather he served the *patrón*. The Cornell Project arrived when it was like that.

Jaime Tadeo Meza, Vicos Pachán sector

My mother had been living in our Vicos <u>marca</u> [place], for that reason we know that Vicos <u>marca</u> was much exploited by the *hacendados*. Week in, week out one worked from one day to the next, at night, too, then from that time arrives the Peru-Cornell Project, who rents the hacienda from Vicos just like other *hacendados*.

For that reason the agreement was made with the Peruvian government and the United States, with the Ministry of Finance or Agriculture, to vindicate us as human beings. They were interested in our lives and I do not believe another person would have been interested.

The Cornell Project to Cornell first made the contract for five years and then they made it for another five years, that is the way this project began.

Surely the *patrones* and the *hacendados* were not aware of what was going to happen, because they [the Peru-Cornell Project] arrived legally, making a contract like the other haciendas. But they did not know that it was going to change and that it was unfavorable for the *hacendados*.

They shook hands with us, but it seems there was pressure from the government to rent this hacienda, because at that time the Public Charity Fund of Huaraz was the owner.

My mama and papa told me that Sr. Mario [Vázquez] went to the high altitudes, he sat on walls and stones and wrote, took photos, and that was how he did his thesis. And they didn't pay any attention to him, they didn't give him water, nor food did they give him. Later on he went to the fiesta to accompany with his alcohol, coca, and that was how their friendship formed, from then they gave him food just in a maté gourd, but now if you give [food] in this maté gourd to the young students, they wouldn't even eat. But poor man suffered sometimes without eating, traveling all the boundaries of the community with his notebook, pen, with his white horse, day after day he went advancing along the border.

Some gringos with the Cornell Project dressed like Vicosinos, but Mario didn't change, but he went around in his own clothes the way he arrived, all the time.

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Ucushpampa sector

## What was Mario Vázquez like?

He arrived just like a *cholito*, later on, afterwards, he began to give orders to people, already that way, but he was a good person, he was the same to everyone. He talked to all the people, we all worked together, he was a very good person. He spoke Quechua well. Mario was from Chiquián, I believe.

The North American came to study all our lives, to know how we are.

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Cachipachán sector

**Sr.** Mario Vázquez arrived and years and years he went and lived in the house of Sr. Daniel Copitán. He walked around carrying his backpack, in it he carried candy, chewing gum and to adult people he gave cigarettes. He was good, he went from house to house. Sr. Mario Vázquez suspended the tenants because the *patrón* made us work from Monday to Friday.

Deunicio Sánchez, Ucushpampa sector

### **Changes during the Peru-Cornell Project**

The project [Peru-Cornell] in Vicos was good in parts, but bad in parts. I remember that before our grandfathers didn't use synthetic fertilizers, it was only organic. But these gentlemen brought these synthetic fertilizers: urea, phosphates, poisons damaging to the land. And more before, we sowed everything natural, without these inputs.

Another disadvantage is when the project came the people went out to offer day labor but this was paid. They got used to this, because before it was all *minka*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Work done in a group for the communal good.

The people from the project already knew something about industries and they diffused it here. Because in their country they already ate it, for such reason, all the consumption is now already artificial. But before that there was natural food and everything was produced natural and more things [were produced]. On the one hand positive, on the other hand, negative.

Sr. Allan Holmberg was the Director of Peru-Cornell, he worked giving technology from the United States to Peru, doing his practical training. In these years of 1962 I was four years old, all this I learned when I worked for Sr. Hilario González, when he was the leader he told me and with him I got to meet Sr. Allan Holmberg.

Víctor Páucar, Ucushpampa sector

We didn't use pesticides either. They were used for control when the community sowed a large quantity, they fumigated when Dr. Mario Vázquez was there, he ended, he started it. He bought these products to control the potato [crop] when the Peru-Cornell Project was here. Before it was not used, we harvested potato or any other sown field without insecticide. At that time there was no illness, now it is pure medicine. When this project entered we had just known about fertilizer from the islands<sup>7</sup>, earlier we didn't even know about that. We sowed wheat, also potato, all organic.

Marcelino Mendoza Jara, Tambo sector

I remember about the Peru-Cornell Project. This project arrived with the aim of bringing changes to the community. First they divided it into sectors. Before the Peru-Cornell Project arrived, there were no sectors, because before it was an hacienda. The hacienda didn't pay us anything, on the contrary, it exploited our parents and grandparents. They worked for free, don't you see they were at the disposition of the *hacendados*? And if they didn't want to work, they took away their farming plots, they punished them and they threw them out. When they threw them out, they went to other places. In the plaza of Vicos, there was a big stone, *huanca*, this was used to punish with a horsewhip, tying up the people who did not obey, mostly thieves. It is said it was for that.

When the gringos with the project arrived, what good things did they do, did they bring good products? They just made the houses, primary schools be fixed up. We built the secondary school when I was serving as secretary.

When the gringos arrived, where did they live?

They lived in those houses which we see old, there.

The gringos didn't have any animals, but, yes, the community raised pigs.

When were you happier, now or before?

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 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$  Guano (sea bird dung) from the guano islands off Peru.

Before, because we didn't use and we didn't buy fertilizer. Now to buy fertilizer requires a lot of sacrifice.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

■ realize and I think psychologically that perhaps previously the peasants lived and produced by themselves according to their own criteria. Afterwards, when the internationals arrived from the Cornell Project, soon we were taking advantage of using pesticides, insecticides. The new seed arrived together with the project, that improved seed has replaced the crops from our own community.

Then, different diseases arrived with these new potatoes. With the arrival of the gringos cement walls were made. The eucalyptus had not existed [before the gringos].

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Puncucorral sector

Also the young Vicosinos learned to march, having wooden toy firearms that they made themselves, to learn how to march putting them on their chests, saluting the one who was teaching them. This way, when they went into the army, they already knew a little.

The community of Vicos since its creation keeps on going, changing and losing its good customs. The Cornell Project was from 1952 to 1962. Therefore, then, little by little we continue losing customs, more than anything since the earthquake in 1970. In 1956 they named the community.

Testimonies collected during the "First Meeting: Vicos Memories"

In the presence of Mario Vázquez the Vicosinos improved their lives little by little, afterwards they realized they were getting worse. Previously the Vicosinos only spoke Quechua, they just started speaking Spanish when the gringos arrived. They brought techniques for sowing in *camellones* [ridged fields] and with measurements with a stick.

Mario Vázquez at this time was organizing to make this hacienda into a community. This *señora* knows because she has lived it and many of you too know it because you lived it, the young people now don't know. Some of you no longer understand. When the gringos arrived here, to our Vicos, they brought changes. That is, we didn't just have to serve the *hacendado* in Vicos. At that time the change was made and it became a community.

Who decided the changes, the gringos or the Vicosinos? The gringos did, the Vicosinos didn't negotiate it.

Doctor Mario Vázquez made a study and then he promised us we would be free and because we were able to buy the piece of land, now it is the property of Vicos. Here today we know that then he made his study, for that reason, we managed to buy it.

When he went out to make the survey or the so-called case study at home, the people hid, saying, "Achachi<sup>8</sup>, what fear!" Because he was a gringo and they hadn't seen [one before]. In addition, these gringos ate potatoes, skins and all.

## Before the Peru-Cornell Project arrived, were potatoes fumigated or not?

No, because at that time there was no disease or anything, therefore we sowed and harvested naturally. Previously, they sowed naturally, the products were healthy and they didn't need inputs of pesticides, or insecticides. No, because earlier in their life, they themselves sowed using their own criteria, and once the internationals arrived, then right away they took advantage selling insecticides and pesticides.

New seed arrived, too, improved, then with that improvement they began to fumigate. Sure, when they brought improved potatoes, the diseases came with that potato. That is, when the new potatoes arrived, it is also where the diseases arrived, then they began to fumigate.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Vicos Pachán sector

The sowing of crops before was all disordered, furrows arrived a little while back with the Cornell Project, the advantage of furrows is that is easy to irrigate, to hill. On the other hand, in <u>tullpapa</u> it is difficult, because when it is the dry season it favors retaining the moisture, this way the plants dry up very little and you harvest more.

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Sector Wiyash sector

Before there was no opportunity for people to give their opinion, because but it would be better to appreciate their knowledge in this community of Vicos.

There were few informed people in Vicos. Every five years they collected the rent, this was rented from the State and they paid the Public Charity of Huaraz, because it represented the State, it was the owner of this hacienda of Vicos.

Doctor Mario Vázquez and some gringos who were here for many years went around talking in order to help Vicos. Before, people did not know their rights and duties, but when Cornell arrives it began to become apparent they already were in slavery. It was not out of good will that at that time he [Enrique Luna] could no longer dominate once it was already changing.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Quechua interjection denoting surprise.

When the slavery was over, they felt a little free, [they had] liberty in their work, because they already had primary schools, and since that then they began to read and write.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Tambo sector

**S**r. Enrique Luna insulted people very much, therefore when the women were gleaning the place where they had harvested potatoes he went around making the horse step on them, he was a very bad person he went around riding his horse with his whip.

He himself recognizes that he was bad before, when the gringos came he changed the way he was, there [there] he realized we are all equal. He thought he was a person of high rank. We were going to Marcará to serve him as if he were the king, like he was someone to adore.

Before he insulted the *campesinos*, he said "cholo chee..." and he said it in a loud nasty way "work, che carajo, you there, looking at the women", and when the [Peru-Cornell] Project arrived only then did he [Enrique Luna] think. That is, with the gringos. We thought the change in him was a lie, "he is very bad" we were saying. Without gringos he didn't think, when the gringo came just then he was thinking that, he remembered, but all by himself, nothing, hard [to believe].

Behind the primary school in the house [where] the motors [are kept] the doctor treated people. The clinic begins with the Peru-Cornell Project.

#### And what was it like before?

Before, well, mamita, treatment was just with herbs, with a guinea pig<sup>9</sup>. Before healing ourselves that way we lived better and [we were] tranquil. If we take a pill we are always with our mouths open because of the pain, but when we treated ourselves with herbs, we got well rapidly. Before, people got sick less than now, also there were fewer people and it wasn't like now.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Cachipachán sector

Mario Vázquez made people sow, they sowed nicely.

#### How did they sow before?

We sowed all disordered and the doctor [Mario Vázquez] made us sow by the meter, making us measure with a stick.

#### Where did you sow this way?

In the high parts, on the community's farm plots, from there [then] where Doctor Mario was already accustomed, it was turned into community [lands].

#### Before Dr. Mario arrived, what was Vicos like?

Then, we worked, there was an administrator called Casiano and others besides in this community. In this community we worked 3 days a week from Monday to Wednesday.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Passing a guinea pig over a person to diagnose their ailment, an Andean curing practice.

Did you meet with the patrón to talk?

I don't believe so.

Then who decided?

The *patrón* was independent, since he gave the orders for everything. Enrique Luna was the administrator in the community and he made [us] work.

I am an old woman now. Enrique Luna went around riding on his horse and with his whip to hit people. His character changed when the gringos arrived.

The former patrones really made us work by hitting us.

## And before they went into the army?

Yes, we went, we always went. Before there wasn't anything, it appeared when Mario Vázquez came, since that time they taught so that they go into the army, that is what my uncles warned me. I asked them, "More before, did they go to be *cachacos*<sup>10</sup>?" He told me no, they went since Dr. Mario Vázquez arrived. When he came, at that time one practiced for going into the army, it was good they went learning to serve the homeland. Before they selected for serving the homeland, at the time we were certainly afraid of being selected, it is just as well that I came out not selected, I was very afraid and some certainly wanted to go.

Now do they also make military service obligatory?

Yes, there is, but it is no longer obligatory, it is voluntary. Before, well, they grabbed us when we were walking along the street, in *fiestas*.

At this time when there weren't any volunteers they started the roundup especially in November, for All Saints' Day; they took the young men, drunk or sober, directly to the army. Because at that time there were subversives and a lot of slaughter, for that reason the young men didn't present themselves, because they loaded them like sheep without selecting. In my season, too, there was the draft. Now, well, 2 or 3 people will go.

Those that want to go, why would they go?

Could be they like being soldiers, if not, they wouldn't do it, because, for me, I never liked being a soldier.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Coyrocsho sector

**B**efore, in hacienda times it was not possible to argue like an equal, the hacienda had people who were trusted and they issued the orders to perform tasks. The *mayorales*<sup>11</sup> gave orders to the *campesino*, they were the right hand of the *patrones* or the tenants.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Pejorative slang for soldiers or police.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Overseers.

But at the time of the Cornell Project it soon changed, because at that time they named the sector representatives as the representatives of the community. And a short time ago it was changed to name a president, a treasurer and a secretary. Before, it was only as a representative or leaders from each sector, who organized people for any entrepreneurial event. At that time [of the hacienda] there was just one teacher named Doña Locha, she taught in the primary school, small like a house, very few students, just the owners' children. But after that when the Cornell Project arrived, the construction of the new primary school began there [then]. Because Sr. Mario [Vázquez] was good, because of him we are like *campesino* owners of the fields.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Ucushpampa sector

■ remember that with the [Peru-Cornell] Project we have sown potato, taking measurements with the stick, and with the team of bulls we put sticks. From there it was outlined with the team, marking, for example, like one marks with plaster<sup>12</sup>, just the same way, they marked it with sticks. And the seed, too, in one single measurement the stick was placed to put each seed, that was done so that water would flow normally and on slopes and on flat plains the *cholo* level was used. In those years of 1965 to 1967 we still saw big potatoes, one single potato weighed one kilo, and we had seed both in quantity and quality.

Those from the Project brought new white colored seed, its name was Renacimiento<sup>13</sup>. Later came another variety, Marcos, and after that several other varieties arrived and I remember that there were doctors in the time of the hacienda, they were in a team. The same with teachers, they taught the children and they taught the women to make dresses out of wool and the men to do carpentry.

Deunicio Sánchez, Sector Ucushpampa

### The slaughter in Huapra

When we got to be around 10 years of age they already made us work, they exploited us. Thank God, Dr. Mario Vázquez arrived at that time. I think some of us knew that when he was there, in Huapramarca the slaughter occurred, the *patrones* argued with our people, there were three victims and two died. Before, that is the way our grandparents suffered, in other places it was still different, but in Vicos one suffered a lot. The boys worked already and the women entered [their working life] grinding wheat, barley, *llunca*<sup>14</sup> by arrobas<sup>15</sup>, that is what I remember.

<sup>13</sup> Literally, revival or Renaissance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> In the US, chalk is used.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Hulled wheat kernels.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> An arroba is 25 pounds.

In Huapra we were also exploited by the *patrón* Leoncio López, from Huapra. We carried potatoes to down below Vicos, from there we returned bringing another 72 kilos of fertilizer, that is, we were carrying both coming and going. They began to argue and they arrived in a fight where they brought 15 couples to the place called Rayuskaka. At that time I was a Vicos *masha* or a son-in-law in Vicos. I wasn't there at the time because my son had died, because of that I went to work in Chancos when the slaughter occurred. But when I heard the sound of the shot then I went to the road, I almost met Sr. Leoncio López and when he saw me he turned off the road and I wanted to follow to grab him but he escaped from me. In this confrontation people died [were killed]: Sr. Marcos Alonso, Jerónimo Tadeo and Félix Chauka. And others remained wounded. And from Vicos, Dr. Mario, he helped us and he saw everything that happened.

And fighting like that we took away the land, because he was just a tenant. The Huapra farming plot was Sr. de la Soledad's, from Huaraz, not the *patrón's*, he was just the tenant, he outraged us saying he was the owner of the land.

Then we reached a lawsuit. Sr. Juan Baltazar was president at that time and I was his secretary, we even came to Lima to make the declaration. This gentleman didn't know Sr. Juan Baltazar, saying, "You aren't from Huapra". But the *patrón* only appeared one time to declare, from there [then] on the *patrón* disappeared. This I remember from August 13, 1960.

The police gave it to us with firearms and we only had *huaracas* [slings] and stones to defend ourselves and the ones affected have all been recognized equally. They took possession of land [in exchange] for their blood. Thank you, I have already spoken, companions.

Germán Francisco, from the Community of Huapra, during the meeting in the Ucushpampa sector

**W**e remember there was death in Huapra, but all the women threw out the *patrón* anyway, because they won. Since it was right across [from us], we saw the people were in the barley harvest and there was a fight.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Cullhuash sector

People wanted to take more land, then he [the Huapra hacendado] called the police asking for help, then the police arrived when they [the people] were in the barley harvest. Because I was from the Cachipachán sector, it was just opposite, for that reason, I saw it. And the shooting began and practically 6 people died and the rest like Augusto Baltazar were injured, even now he goes around limping, but they were saved. And Dr. Mario had his Jeep car, with that he loaded the wounded and still saved two: Manuel Baltazar and Chinchay. And the people fought with brute force. You well know, here in the community no one knows how to use firearms. I, yes, know how to handle firearms.

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Vicos Pachán Sector

In Huapra they shot, arguing over the land, wounding some and some died. They made this war over the matter of the field. This policeman the *patrón* had hired did this. A good number of people died, like 10. As the police were coming, at that time the *campesinos* were standing at attention with their slings and then they [the police] shot bullets. Sure, the [hacienda system] suited the *patrón* and not the *campesino*. For that reason they left it and some wanted it changed, they didn't like any reform, or policy.

There were shots [in Huapra] over the matter of the farming plot, some were wounded and some died. The police had weapons. There were almost 15 or 20 dead. They say that many had died.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Cachipachán sector

#### What happened in Huapra?

Doña Vicencia brought the police, for that reason the people there in <u>Huantuc Jirca</u> [Cerro Huantuc] were finished off like chickens. They made this slaughter when a person from the community was plowing, saying "You are taking land away from me". When they were <a href="https://chacchando.org/">chacchando.org/</a>6, 4 policemen arrived and finished them off. When they were in the harvest, accompanying the police they made them shoot at all the people. That date I was absent of think I left in 1965. From that time the community of Huapra no longer arises, they retired. It was fought with slings, *huaraca*, and sticks, the police fired with their weapons and the people died.

Did the other hacendados in Vicos like that things changed?

They didn't like it because the way of working was changing, everything was changing.

This didn't suit the patrón?

No, no, it didn't suit him.

What did other communities say about you? That it was good or bad?

No one came. We didn't even hear rumors.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Coyrocsho sector

## The purchase of the lands of Vicos

The Vicosinos were already the owners of the land before, in the times of Peru-Cornell, who helped us purchase the land for the community of Vicos in two parts: first the purchase and sale agreement [for the land] from the bridge upwards, second the and sale agreement [for the land] from the bridge downwards. The Peru-Cornell Project helped us, we paid it back with the price of potatoes, because we sowed potatoes in great quantities in the community. We have paid for years. These potatoes went directly to Lima. Every sector sowed and with these monies we paid the loan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Chacchar is to chew coca leaf. This is a Hispanicized Quechua word.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The speaker says he was "en registro", implying he was absent from Vicos at that time.

Before they mistreated [us] on the hacienda, for that reason everybody left, and now we have returned and we are established here now happy on our plots of land, now there isn't any exploitation. Seventy to 200 soles, this was amassed to pay. First the limit was set at 70 soles, at that time the rest was taken out of the Agrarian Bank, a loan to be paid. From there [then], yes, we owed the bank. This is the Vicos fund, and the Ullmay fund, a separate purchase. That is, Vicos is 2 purchases. I know and I have the purchase and sale agreement, you don't know, I have it and I am going to show it to you another day. Not today, *señorita*. Today I have been, since I am not so studied I have mentally forgotten, I don't remember the date.

#### How was the day of the fiesta for the purchase of the lands of Vicos?

Around the farming plots, happiness and joy. In the sector, they cooked and they ate by sector, like we cook now at fiestas. In just the same they gave [food] to eat out of happiness. That is, that day they slaughtered animals and ate out of happiness and joy and everybody danced on the same day. In our opinion, I think it is the 13th of July.

#### Can you still celebrate the date?

Why not? That was a date of transformation from what was going to be for the *hacendados*, [now would be] for the community, that must be a fiesta. Even the central president has forgotten and we have a very good proposal to go back to celebrating [that date again] in the community.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Vicos Pachán sector

After the gringos left they agreed for it [Vicos] to pass into the hands of the community. The farming plot belonged to the Public Charity and the Vicosinos purchased the land, and we paid with the potato harvests, working hard. No other community has purchased and has worked hard to obtain their land.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Cachipachán sector

Since the land of Vicos is purchased on the advice of Peru-Cornell, it is harvested and collected in cash and giving request to the Indigenist Ministry<sup>18</sup>. The representatives of this community already enter to pay in parts, we sow entrepreneurially, if you say to me, "Tomorrow we are going to sow a certain amount of potatoes, maintain them, hill them up" we harvested that profit and it was kept to pay in parts.

The community members also contributed a little money from the land they sowed like a family garden. That was almost final, but first we have a quota of 70 soles, just at the beginning of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> *Ministerio Indigenista*. Probably the Ministry of Labor and Indigenous Affairs [Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Indígenas, now the Ministerio de Trabajo y Promoción del Empleo].

purchase and sale agreement, just one time and afterwards with the communal harvest, the rest of the debt is paid, but in parts.

From the harvests, Peru-Cornell gave us the capital that it administered apart. For example, its land costs so much, from it was paid the first 75 soles, afterwards another 35 soles and finally 150 soles, and so on. When we have been paying little by little, came Agrarian Reform. Now already with the law on peasant communities we are protected because we are within the Constitution.

Vicos is very well known because it bought its land before the Agrarian Reform, it was the only community [that purchased its land], because there are other communities older than Vicos.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Ucushpampa sector

## After the purchase of the lands of Vicos

In Chancos we also raised houses and later recently other gringos arrived, but they were suspended and they threw them out. It was the Peace Corps, from the United States.

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Ucushpampa sector

**S**ome when they stole, yes, they were punished, this way with a whip. When they grabbed the *terrucos*<sup>19</sup> in Huapra they tied them up in the plaza of Vicos.

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Tambo sector

## **Agrarian Reform**

Agrarian Reform was created in 1968, when Juan Velasco Alvarado came to be President of the Republic, that is what I know.

And what happened in Vicos during Agrarian Reform?

Well, in Vicos nothing happened because we were proprietors from long before. We organized ourselves like members of the community and afterwards came Agrarian Reform, for that reason Agrarian Reform did not benefit us Vicosinos in any way, because more before Agrarian Reform we were an organized community and we had been buying Vicos' piece of land.

Before Agrarian Reform arrived we bought our piece of land. Agrarian Reform gave farm land in order to be a community to Recuayhuanca and to Copa Chico, Copa Grande, Purhuay, Huashcar. Not us, no we were the first community.

Félix Tadeo Salas, Ullmay sector

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Terrorists, referring to the Shining Path, slang.

**T**hey have still made Patsin and Recuayhuanca pick up [catch up with] [Agrarian] Reform. These towns are behind [from later on, after Agrarian Reform], from the '70s.

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Cachipachán sector Now the community says, sometimes, "one has benefited from Agrarian Reform", but that is doubtful, we even bought the lands. Reform has not benefited us even a square meter.

Testimonys collected during the meeting in the Ucushpampa sector

For example, en Recuayhuanca there were [legal] proceedings with the hacienda, because of a piece of land they made trial and trial, [lasting] years and years, and since there was bureaucracy, like now, the judges and lawyers and they never ended. I know with the Agrarian Reform recently the *patrones* left their farm lands. But in payment, we are the first initiative.

Víctor Paucar, Ucushpampa sector

## The earthquake

In 1970 there was an earthquake, on May 31.

What happened in Vicos during the earthquake?

There was a landslide of the houses, of the roads.

On May 31 Vicos was not very much damaged. Yungay and Huaraz were totally damaged.

The mudslide from Winoyo came after the earthquake in 1970, at night. At sunrise all the mud and clay had come. But fortunately that arrived as far as Wapishpampa, it didn't come out as far as the town of Vicos.

Eulogio Copitán Coleto, Cullhuash sector

In the '70s the houses ended up collapsing. On May 31 this earthquake was at 4 in the afternoon, when the houses and the churches fell down and all that was left was dust. After a while the fog covered us, and almost every day there were movements [tremors], for almost a month. This earthquake did not stop easily and we kept on being scared, some without eating for weeks and months with fright. Because it shook all the time, every minute, every hour the earthquake shook. That happened to us, I just remember that.

Marcelino Sánchez Colonia, Puncucorral sector

At the time of the earthquake there were landslides. In the ravines too, they fell collapsing, there was no way to get through and there were dead in the Callejón de Huaylas from houses collapsing. They mostly died in the towns.

Were you in Vicos that day?

Yes, I was in the field playing soccer, and on feeling the movement, all of us who were playing met in the center of the field. At first we didn't feel it because we were running, playing, later

when it was stronger we met in the center and we sat down. In Recuayhuanca we saw also that the houses were falling down. We stayed in the center of the field and next to us landslides were falling. This championship was organized for everybody, they even came from Marcará. This was in the primary school soccer field, in central Vicos.

Ascencio Meza Sánchez, Puncucorral sector

Here in Vicos did it happen a lot or a little?

A little, not much. Around Caraz, Huaraz yes, there were more dead.

Did houses fall in Vicos?

Some, a few fell, but not a lot.

Was there any one dead?

No, there were no dead.

With the earthquake also a little part of Lake Winoyo came out, and ruined many pieces of land and animals, and even carried away a part of Vicos.

Juan Tafur Ceferino, Ucushpampa sector

At that time, May 31, 1970, in that month, there was the maize harvest. I was a child, I was at the maize harvest, and my sisters were in Quebrada Honda. Also that month in Quebrada they harvested potato, oca<sup>20</sup>, olluco<sup>21</sup>. Then when my sister was descending with her horse and the quebrada [ravine] was with landslides, they left all the sacks in that very spot and some horses died there in the ravine. And I was with my mama here in the harvest. All those who were harvesting in the field, they left right there [then]. We had what was called quincha<sup>22</sup>, here we let the animals go free, because we climbed up to the peak of the mountains in fright. Almost all the people of the pampas climbed to the peaks for fear of the lakes that would come from Quebrada Honda.

José Avito Meza, Cachipachan sector

#### The taking of Chancos

In Chancos, José Vallueta was another tenant who mistreated us too much. They took us to different places, they used us like they wanted because we were from the community. The tenants abused us too much, they mistreated us in work, also food, they gave us what they didn't like any more. Later on they inventoried the community, throwing José Vallueta out. He made us go hungry, José Vallueta. I worked in two places: in the community of Vicos and with Vallueta. For this reason I didn't even know about studying, I have worked since I was a child, since I was 14 years old. They didn't even pay us, they made us work hungry without paying us,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> An Andean tuber, Oxalis tuberosa: Oxalidaceae.

An Andean tuber, Ullucus tuberosus

Wattle and daub wall. Made of interwoven canes plastered over with mud.

when we asked for food they said to us "Have you come to ask for food or to work?" For this matter they threw this person out.

## What was Chancos called before?

It has always been called Chancos, more accurately they hired people to work there during the hacienda. José Vallueta was the tenant of Chancos, which was also an hacienda. They made us go around renting us out. That is all I know about the *hacendado* José Vallueta. He has already died. He was an uncle of mine, he claimed this plot of land [Chancos], for that reason he saved the plot of land for the community. My uncle Marcos was the president, he is the one that saved it.

Félix Tadeo Salas, Ullmay sector

The Public Charity does not sell the land of Chancos. In the official land register Chancos is on Vicos land, two and a half hectares are free, on them is Chancos.

In 1984 we took it, from there [then] it passes to the community, again I say that the land has been used since many years back still. One must be frank and verbal, because [we used] pure force and also because of our ancestors' culture we are benefiting from profits and making improvements.

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Ucushpampa sector

**S**r. Enrique Luna exploited the people of Vicos, but later on when the Cornell Project arrived, he changed his behavior, he no longer mistreated us. He went along like that until arriving now in modernization. The years around 1984, we had a confrontation with the Marcarinos over the thermal waters of Chancos, there [then] it was noted that they had clearly calmed down and didn't want to make the effort, I saw that once I was mature.

Juan Colonia Flores, Wiyash sector

In 1984<sup>23</sup> the community was in charge of Chancos, at that time the leader was Sr. Luis Lázaro Leiva Cruz and Félix Padua was the treasurer. Then those gentlemen from the municipality of Marcará, that time Sr. Tomás Ramírez and our fellow countryman was a councilman, a teacher named Félix Urbano Sánchez and they already had the bill ready to declare proceedings against the Public Charity of Huaraz and not the community. The municipality took the bill to the Chamber of Deputies and Senators and there [then] they approved in favor of the district of Marcará. Then with that law they took possession one day, I don't remember the exact date, but we were awake with the first alerts. The, Sr. Hilario González says to him, "Sr. President, tomorrow will be the handing over of Chancos in favor of the municipality of Marcará". The mayor reports, and Sr. Tomas asks him at what hour is the handing over going to be. Then Sr.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The taking of Chancos was on June 26, 1985. [Compiler's note.]

Hilario arrives where I am at one in the morning: "Sr. Paucar, yesterday I received a communiqué, we have an invitation, tomorrow they are declaring Chancos in favor of Marcará, we must get organized". And we got organized, at five o'clock in the morning we were standing in the middle of the Tablatsaca bridge. At that moment, here appears the tenant. Enrique Luna [saying] "They are coming first. The *cholos* are coming right now, I convince them" this is going to be like this and like that, he is saying. Then Sr. Herminio Colonia says to him "You mistreated us in my youth, but not any more, "Where is your 'che', where is your 'cholo carajo"? He hit him with a stick and he threw him off. He came first for this handing over then from then on we had possession of Chancos for administration of the waters. We already had the land from a long time ago, since we were nurtured and our loved ones, grandparents and ancestors; it is only the administration of water we took over in 1984.

Víctor Páucar, Ucushpampa sector

## Photo captions

Panoramic view: Vicos circa 1955

Pay day: Enrique Luna handing coins to a Vicosino while Mario Vázquez is writing and Allan Holmberg observes from a little further back (circa 1954).

The Peru-Cornell research team in the field (circa 1954).

Fumigating a farm plot with DDT (circa 1954).

Peru-Cornell Project house in Vicos circa 1954 (above) and in 2005 (below).

Peru-Cornell Project researcher interviewing a Vicosino (circa 1954).

Vicosinos holding military practice (circa 1954).

Germán Francisco, from Huapra.

Allan Holmberg, Mario Vázquez [or Enrique Luna] and Vicosinos weighing the potato harvest (between 1952 and 1960).

# 3. Identity

Everybody all over Ancash is afraid of Vicos, because we are united and strong and we are all in agreement. Also along with Huapra we have come to blows just with brute force when our good buddies arrived. In 1985 we grabbed 3 terrorists, all of us together, and we brought them here to the plaza and the guys from Huapra were scared, Vicos, on the other hand, no. The word "revolution" was born here in Vicos, maybe you think it was born in other communities? We held marches, protests, in the time of Velasco we went all the way to Lima where it turned into the Revolution. He said to us: "Peasant<sup>24</sup> brother, the master will never again eat your sweat". Did he say that or not? Yes, he said it, that is the way he said it.

Previously it was "indigenous"<sup>25</sup>. For example, the Community of Vicos was an indigenous community. Then the gentleman (Enrique Luna) did not realize it was indigenous despite its being in the indigenous zone, just then he realized that he was an Indian, too. In an indigenous zone they usually said "Indian"<sup>26</sup>, but they weren't aware of it. He thought that it was insulting, but it wasn't insulting, but rather explaining; he lacked a little training and to have it in mind and that's what it was. When General Velasco came to be president of Peru he put the name "peasant" community. Then, certainly from there it ends up as a Peasant Community, but previously the native word was "indigenous".

#### Do the Vicosinos prefer being a peasant community or an indigenous community?

We would like to be an indigenous community because they are indigenous words and no one uses them any more, we have forgotten. We should use the indigenous language, because it is the custom of our parents, grandparents, and coincidentally of the indigenous community itself. And it stems from there when Mario Vázquez came to the community because he was an anthropologist with a specialty in education, and he explained to us and at that time we recognized that it was an indigenous community and we became an hacienda. What our parents were already was an indigenous community, no longer an hacienda but an indigenous community.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Vicos Pachán sector

Enrique Luna understood and then he said that he was the son of an Indian, he was from Chuquis (Chacas). The government still creates peasant communities, before there were no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> campesino

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> indígena

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> indio

peasant organizations. "Indian" was an insult, because Christopher Columbus was confused and he put this name on our Peruvian territory, for that reason they called us "Indians", for that reason we see this word as an insult. "Indigenous" is also an insult, during the time of the hacienda owners, they made us lose our customs of continuing to use that word, but this word has been changed for the better word "peasant".

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Tambo sector

He (Enrique Luna) was not from here, he was from there. For that reason he didn't know, still later he realized it. They also said "Indian" here to the peasant from Vicos, now they longer do, it changed when the community was formed.

Testimony collected during the meeting in the Cachipachán sector

He (Luna) was trusted by the master, as an Indian.

Who was Indian?

Maybe his father.

Is the word Indian good or bad?

It is an insult.

In the video Enrique Luna says that he understood that he also was Indian. It seems that before the word wasn't bad but later it changed?

We are of that very race of the Incas, the Spanish arrive to crossbreed with us, but we are the same race. For example, those from the coast treat us as "Indians" without knowing anything. It seems to me they are badly educated, because the people from the coast and those from here in the department of Ancash, or wherever, we are the same race. They will only be different because they speak Spanish, it will only be something like that. All Peruvians we are the same race, we are only different from each other by being white, black, with curly hair, but we are all the same, of the same blood. For me, there is only one race, that is what I say. Only the Spanish are of another race.

The word "Indian" is bad, they are insulting us.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Coyrocsho sector

Enrique Luna was from Chacas, he was a Tsakato Indian from that place. The word "Indian" was used as a slight, like garbage. For example, to my child and my grandchild or my brother I can say "black", "Indian" with affection, but explaining, "this means this way". We Vicosinos are also indigenous, only with the mixture from other countries that conquered now they treat us like cholos, but they don't realize that they are also Indians mixed with other races.

Where we have gone in Italy, people have respected us very much. Maybe you think they said "Cholo, Indian, go away, you are wearing *llanquis*<sup>27</sup>? Rather they came up to us and they said to us, "Talk to us about your town". For that reason I say that in other places we are more respected with our culture. Because the rain gets all of us wet and in what way, then, are we different? It is said they are not Indians, rather they are mistaken, they don't recognize that they are Indians, too.

No one can say "I am not a native" because the tropical forest is the only place these gringos did not get to. Our ancestors have lived a long time and we are native. Because if they would bring (come) from Chile, I would say "I am not Chilean". But if they bring (come) from Lima, I certainly say to them, I am Peruvian, we have inherited from them.

With the word "peasant" we most like to be called or "native Vicosinos", makes us happy.

Víctor Páucar, Ucushpampa sector

## **Photo captions**

"Previously it was "indigenous" [...] When General Velasco came to be president of Peru, he put 'peasant community". Meeting in Vicos Pachán

Vicos women winnowing corn (left, around 1954) and wheat (right, July 2005).

 $<sup>^{\</sup>mbox{\tiny 27}}$  Sandals made from strips of rubber tires commonly worn in the highlands.

## 4. Agricultural Fields

In those times there were enough [a lot of] potatoes, on a plant you opened in the earth.

Marcelino Sánchez, Puncucorral sector

This period is summer, that is, <u>usia</u> season, the dry period. In the month of March it is certainly tamia season, the rainy period.

Ascencio Meza Sánchez, Puncucorral sector

The frost kills the potato, wheat and maize when there is no rain. This is famine. If there is no frost our harvests turn out well.

Deunicio Sánchez, Ucushpampa sector

# The signs for the agricultural fields and for rain

For example, when it doesn't rain, we look at the sky, at what we call the "river" [Milky Way], it turns, if it is opposite [straight up and down], it will rain soon. Now also it is tilted, not vertical. When it has just changed, it is going to rain. I observe. In order for it to be a good year the maguey makes its way [goes] to Huaraz.

Ascencio Meza Sánchez, Puncucorral sector

My mama told me that if the rain comes before St. John's Day<sup>28</sup> it will be a good year. And if it doesn't rain on the eve before St. John's it is a bad year. What she told me is true. Later on when the fox screams and cries, hunger or famine comes. And when the little parrots come to the high altitudes, and pass overhead in groups, it is also famine. My mama warned me [about] this.

José Avito Meza, Cachipachán sector

There are birds called <u>huayanitas</u> [swallows]. When they come down through town it is a sure sign of rain. There are two types of <u>huayanita</u>, one white with black and the other black. When the black and white <u>huayanita</u> comes screaming it is because the rain is clearing up.

Eulogio Copitán Coleto, Cullhuash sector, and Santiago Reyes, Wiyash sector

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> June 24th

When the <u>capulf<sup>29</sup></u> produces in abundance, there is about to be a good production of maize. Our parents told us that: "Daughter, we are going to have maize." If the prickly pear produced fruit, they told us "The potato production will be good."

María Sánchez León, Coyrocsho sector

## **Crops and seeds**

And so, I remember my little grandfather took me as watchman for the sheep in the high part, in the agricultural fields of the hacienda, I knew the hacienda from there. Also he sowed just with majadeo<sup>30</sup> and the seeds he had, too, were all native potatoes, <u>papa</u> <u>lluta</u><sup>31</sup>, from hacienda times.

#### Why is it called lluta potato?

Because there were different colored varieties, that is why they are called lluta potato.

But in those times in Vicos there wasn't any cabbage yet, they just used  $\underline{\text{culis}}^{32}$  in food: [they made] sautéed  $\underline{\text{culis}}$ , [or as an ingredient] in *puchero*<sup>33</sup> and in the seasonings of different meals, too.

Testimonies collected in the First Meeting: Memories of Vicos

■ still know some varieties [of native potatoes] such as, for example, <u>yana wincus</u>, <u>cóndor warmi</u>, <u>wachuina</u> and <u>jallka warmi</u>. Afterward the Renacimiento potato arrived with the Cornell Project, it was white-colored and the potatoes grew big, with this white seed they got the money together to buy these agricultural lands, thanks to the grandparents. They took these harvests to sell in Lima, that's how they went about getting the money together. Now you don't see the Renacimiento variety in the fields any more, maybe other people have them from that time, but I don't have them.

In old maize I don't know any more, just some varieties like <u>dispakonkum</u>, <u>oquis</u>, <u>chawis</u>, which it seems are from a short [time] ago. From these seeds *chicha de jora*<sup>34</sup> was made, all this knowledge that we have we no longer have, because now in the market appeared another *jora* prepared on the coast. It is easier to buy, but I am trying to recover this custom of making

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Prunus serotina Ehrh. subsp. capuli (Cav.) McVaugh, capuli cherry or American cherry

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> *Majadeo* is a system of confining sheep or cattle in a fold in a field during the night to fertilize the field with their urine and dung.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Landrace potatoes; traditionally cultivated indigenous potatoes, until recently not grown for the market.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> <u>Culis</u> is probably from Spanish *coles*, cabbages, in this case referring to cabbage or a cabbage-like vegetable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> A kind of boiled dinner.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Corn beer. <u>Chicha</u> is a word brought by the Spanish from the Caribbean in colonial times, possibly of Taino origin. Also see chapter 11.

chicha de jora again. I didn't prepare [it] before because there wasn't a good maize harvest in these parts.

I still remember, before my papa sowed like that, but I still didn't sow that way, little by little this custom kept disappearing. One day I was talking with my wife and I went back to sowing a farm plot that way, then it produced well for me and I have a lot of faith in my seeds.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Wiyash sector

## What kinds of potatoes did you use before?

Now I think they have been mixed with new seeds that have arrived.

#### What potatoes were there before?

They were called <u>lluta</u> potatoes, in this there was Milagro, <u>wincush</u>, <u>sinta saya</u>, <u>cuchi isme</u>. These were better known as <u>lluta</u> potato.

Marcelino Mendoza Jara, Tambo sector

## Did they sow the same way as they do now?

They sowed with a yoke<sup>35</sup>, the same as now. The variety of potato, before then, was native potatoes. Now afterwards the white potatoes like Buen Cholo appeared.

## Which native potatoes?

Native potatoes were, then, <u>winkush</u> potato, Milagro potato, there are a lot, now I don't remember. Also the <u>papa coró</u><sup>36</sup>. <u>Uy!</u> I don't know what else I don't remember. Now improved potatoes have appeared recently behind [a short time ago].

Félix Cruz. Paltash sector

**T**he grandparents didn't go to look for seed in other places, but in Quebrada Honda they cultivated a diversity of crops without fertilizer. Now, yes, recently we go to Huaraz to look for it, to buy it by kilos or half an *arroba*<sup>37</sup>.

Lately we farmers sow what produces more rapidly. There are seeds that mature in just 3 or 4 months.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Ullmay sector

Before there was enough [a lot of] maize in the maize season or <u>quencha</u>. There they separated [it] to put away in the <u>qolqa</u> [storehouse], on the other hand, it was separated to feed the pigs or

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Bulls (sometimes cows and rarely oxen) are used for plowing in the Andes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Wormy potatoes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> An *arroba* is a unit of weight which in Peru is the equivalent of 25 pounds.

also sold to other people who had pigs. From there we saved [it] in the house of the *patrones* or storeroom, they had large storerooms; it arrived in big piles from different fields.

Vicente Copitán

In a place called Banderayacu a quantity of flax was sown in the times of the *patrones*, from there its stems were sent to make sacks. With this flax came grama<sup>38</sup> or kikuyu grass, the people when they saw this every one took it away for their farm plot or in the vegetable gardens for grass. Now you see this plant has overcome us.

Testimony collected in the meeting in the Cullhuash sector

In Quebrada Honda we sowed flax, from there we brought the stems to the factory which was below Carhuaz, in Pati, the factory was there. This served for making sacks, now sacks are already made out of plastic, at that time it was linen sacks.

Deunicio Sánchez, Ucushpampa sector

# Planting and harvest

Before we sowed on both sides and such [crops] as wheat, maize were hilled and the furrow was unknown, we sowed all <u>lluta</u> [mixing native varieties], putting the seed in [using] the plowshare. With the Cornell-Peru Project it already changed to [planting in] furrows.

<u>Lluta muri</u> [sowing, mixing varieties and without furrows] has advantages, when we want to take out <u>shaclla</u><sup>39</sup> for the animals it always stays together, there isn't any space left. But on the contrary, the [rest of the] maize plants recover their strength in order to give good production. This is still used now, the planting of the <u>lluta muri</u> or <u>tullpepa</u> [tullpapa]. In Wiyash I have sown a piece of land in this way, only when one wants to fertilize, it is a little difficult.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cullhuash sector

Before did they sow in furrows?

Just like now, 80 centimeters, I think.

Were they different or like they are now?

<sup>38</sup> Any of various grasses of the genus *Bouteloua* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Green maize plants before the ears start to develop, in Spanish green maize plants with small ears is called *chala* and is grown as a forage crop.

Now a furrow is 1 meter [wide]. For Papa Blanca, yes, the furrow is wider. Why? Because the roots come out of the furrow.

How were the harvests before?

Which one of the harvests: wheat or potato?

Potato?

The potato harvest was the same as it is now.

Félix Cruz. Paltash sector

**S**owing potatoes began with the furrow with a stick measuring device 60 or 70 centimeters long. But in hacienda times they sowed purely native potato. Also they did not select like now, but they sowed everything all together, mixed. Also they only used fertilizer from corrals. The seed was also purely native.

Testimony collected in the First Meeting: Memories of Vicos

More before, they didn't sow like that, in furrows, but they sowed disordered and they hilled making holes and now in that time came the engineers and they managed that form of potato production.

Why do they use furrows now?

Because the *gringos* made us get accustomed to it. But we certainly want go back to sowing what we did before, without furrows, because it is better. Moreover, when one hills and leaves holes, there the water collects and maintains the plants better.

Why keep on using furrows if it is better without furrows?

Formerly they planted by seasons. When it rained they sowed that type of planting. Now they sow this way [with furrows] because it is easier to water and to hill up.

### What was different before?

The row, the furrow. It was sown in both furrows, that is, they hilled another here another there, there weren't any furrows like now. We have already forgotten the disordered way to sow. Before, one sowed by steps and at each step a seed was thrown and various products were all mixed up, like maize, fava beans<sup>40</sup>, potato, all together. One sowed, for example, maize with pushpu<sup>41</sup>, quinua<sup>42</sup> and achi [kiwicha]<sup>43</sup>, calabaza<sup>44</sup> and zapallo<sup>45</sup>, all mixed one sowed between the maize. Now maize is sown alone. Yes, maize is still sown, and fava beans at the edges are still sown, but little now.

<sup>41</sup> Beans that are black and white or white with brown, dark red or yellow.

<sup>44</sup> Probably a squash or pumpkin, *Cucurbita moschata* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Vicia faba

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Chenopodium quinoa Willd

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Amaranthus caudatus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> A large winter squash, *Cucurbita maxima* 

## Why did they sow all mixed together before? Did it yield better?

It was a custom, and it also yielded better, but now I don't even see better any more. Sure when we sow the same as before, for sure, it ought to be better. For that reason those from the Ministry of Agriculture don't remember about the old ones, about the customs, but they keep modifying. I agree, we are changing, as well with clothes, because we don't continue to dress the same as our parents, then, a similar change comes, then, in agriculture.

## Would you want to change that, like in the photo?

Hard to return to what was before, it is no longer yields the same to sow all mixed together. Now we also sow all mixed together, but it needs fertilizer, without fertilizer it doesn't yield well. For example, I sow maize, squash, fava beans, peas. All that yields, why, thanks be, it yields! But it needs dung from the corrals, sachi.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Vicos Pachán sector

**B**efore one sowed in a disorderly way, all <u>lluta</u> in it, there was a greater quantity of plants and even now, when they got the ears of corn out one didn't see hardly anything. What an amount we used to get! And now only some of us sow without furrows.

Threshing was very different, because the community sowed a [large] amount, now we sow little or in order not to use horses with the quantity for threshing. Now with just two people it is harvested. In that photo one sees that they are in a single sector.

In 1986<sup>46</sup> sowing [by sector] was abandoned because we began to turn into a populated center, in those times it [belonged] to each sector. I only know that, that in the high part like Quebrada Honda, where the sector's communal lands are, now it is more [agricultural land] for the family every year. A new community member enters and the community [lands] diminish, and even now new community members keep coming in. The change has been little by little, also bit by bit, year by year.

When the community had its own economic income then everything changed, already the sectors no longer produced for the community but for each sector. But in the years around 1983, when they took Chancos, there was still an economic income for the community to perform works for its sectors.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Tambo sector

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> 1987 according to the Vicosinos who revised the text.

## Majadeo, fertilizers and pesticides

■ started working at the age of 15. In the 1940s synthetic fertilizer was not used, now, yes there are different fertilizers.

When it began from 1940 until 1945 we sowed native potatoes doing *majadeo* in the *patrones'* agricultural field, making big corrals to put all the animals belonging to different people together. They finished quickly and they passed to other fields doing the *majadeo*. That custom was lost when all of us animal owners were in Costzan Irca. Some people got together and we formed a group for doing a *majadeo* in our little field, the huts were almost nearby. There we played in a place at certain hours of the very early morning with the girls.

In the times of 1957 the community was started. They began to sow with guano from the island. That is how it was, then, when we began to negotiate the community. When Mario Vázquez arrived to study, also the guano from the island arrived in Vicos for sowing.

Before they also used fertilizer but from Chincha, better known as island fertilizer [guano]. Before there wasn't much of the things they have now, not even potato late blight<sup>47</sup>.

When the community began, there also was no widespread potato disease, remedies almost weren't needed.

Testimonies collected in the First Meeting: Memories of Vicos

#### Before, what fertilizer did you use?

Nothing, we only did the *majadeo* with sheep and cows, just that way, and we got better harvests. Now we use synthetic fertilizer because the field no longer produces, it has already become very accustomed to [synthetic fertilizers]. Afterwards, they began to fertilize with fertilizer from the corral, with fertilizer from the island that they purchased.

Félix Cruz, Paltash sector

**B**efore there was no fertilizer, we sowed only with <u>sachi</u> or *majadeo*. And some with nothing, just cultivating we sowed.

Before one sowed disordered and in the hilling up one hilled the way one wanted to, one sowed making a hole.

Synthetic fertilizer arrived when I was 14 or 15 years old. First came the saltpeter, afterward guano from the island, from then recently came urea, nitrate, those things. We ourselves were guilty of putting synthetic [fertilizer] on our fields, now they are accustomed, now they don't produce with <u>sachi</u>. The times with <u>sachi</u>, the food came out better.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Phytophthora infestans

## Why don't you do sachi or majadeo?

Because the field no longer produces with this, it has gotten used to the synthetic fertilizer.

We put fertilizer when the technicians arrived and they said "with this we are going to harvest better," just saying that. We don't accustom and we do accustom the farm plot.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

■ thought Vicos changed because of education, but the farm plot hasn't changed so much, the only change is because of synthetic fertilizer. Before we sowed without fertilizer, just with organic. I think the farm plots have become simple, they no longer produce without fertilizer, for that reason we apply synthetic fertilizer.

According to [what] an engineer says, synthetic fertilizer kills those little worms that produce fertilizer, for that reason it no longer produces without fertilizer. Synthetic fertilizer began to be used little by little, approximately since 1973, before only just fertilizer from the island was used.

Marcelino Mendoza Jara, Tambo sector

### I am going to ask you, Aunt Rosa, before, how did they sow, in furrows or how?

My mama never advised me on this. According to what I have heard, <u>tullpapa</u>. How this would be, I don't know.

We only sowed doing *majadeos* or wheat <u>sachis</u>.

## Who brought these fertilizers like urea?

I don't know who would have brought it, still back [later] this fertilizer arrived. Fertilizers from before or the first that appeared were the Chincha fertilizer, afterwards the rest of the fertilizers appeared. Now there isn't any of this Chincha fertilizer.

Rosa Vega Morán (Campanilla)

### Now it gave better production and one did not need to use pesticides. Why do they use it now?

Formerly we sowed disordered and it was hilled making holes and hurling the earth on both sides. Formerly the earth had more value and now since we are applying fertilizers, all the land is ruined. For that reason, if we apply less fertilizer, [it gives] less production, when we apply a little more, it gives good production. For that reason the earth was healthy, because we cultivated free pieces of land, new earth, in that it gave more production. More before they didn't use fertilizer either, afterward fertilizer was not yet used. Only natural fertilizer was used, at least in the higher altitudes we didn't use it. They also conserved their lands with fertilizer by making corrals, what is called sachiqui [dung from folds].

Did the gringos [from the Cornell-Peru Project] fumigate?

In those times they used remedies and big cylinders [55-gallon oil drums] were used, in those were poured products like Perfección, Matacisto and Dithane. Dithane was used in those times. For *gusanos de la tierra*<sup>48</sup>, Anhidrín; for the flies, Parathión.

Formerly the crops were healthier, fertilizers were not used and one fumigated very little. When I was a *chibolo* [kid] I still didn't know any remedy but there was a better, healthier product. Island guano was used, which was called Chincha guano in those times. Afterwards, behind, the fertilizers already came. Before they used *majadas* [folds] with the animals, with lambs, cows. More accurately, with that they didn't know fertilizers. From then recently like 1961 to 1962 came the island [guano], recently fertilizers begin [to be used]. That fertilizer is then what we call Chincha guano, from more before then, potatoes, maize, wheat, fava beans yielded a better harvest, our parents harvested better.

## Then, was the harvest better before one fumigated with remedies?

Well, now the potatoes don't grow. Before the Renacimiento potato how it grew with cow dung, sheep dung!

#### Why did you begin to use remedies?

That came scientifically, and we began to use and to fumigate with remedies.

### When one cured with remedies, the harvest was better?

It was better when fertilizer was applied, before one sowed only with island guano, for that reason the potatoes were better and we harvested better in different places. In hacienda times one sowed without fertilizer and they say that afterwards they brought new potato seed [and] remedies and that then during some years the production grew a lot. That is what a man says it was like.

#### Yes, that is what is said. Afterwards, what happened?

Afterwards came the drop in production because the land is beginning to be contaminated with those fertilizers, it is no longer the same as with the fertilizer from the corral, because it is not the same as the earthworm fertilizer [humus], as the native fertilizers. The earthworm fertilizers are natural fertilizers, which are different from chemical fertilizers. Chemical fertilizers are killing the earth, it is becoming sterile, and now nothing produces like it ought to. If we go back to using those, we can recuperate that production like before. If we can, what we lack here in our town is pasture to nurture our animals, cows and lambs. It is scarce, for that reason we can't do *majada*.

<sup>48</sup> Gusanos de la tierra: includes various species of the Noctuidae family: Feltia experta Walker, Copitarsia turbata H.S. and Peridroma interrupta (Maasen) and army worm: Spodoptera frugiperda (J.E.Smith) and S. eridania (Cramer). (Alcazar, Jesus. 1997 Principales Plagas e la papa: Gorgojo de los Andes, Epitrix y Gusanos de la tierra. Fascicula 3.6–97. Centro Internacional de la Papa (CIP). Lima, Peru. Also at <a href="http://www.cipotato.org/training/materials/Tuberculos-Semilla/semilla3-6.pdf">http://www.cipotato.org/training/materials/Tuberculos-Semilla/semilla3-6.pdf</a> (accessed May 17, 2006)

We lack technical support in order to make organic fertilizer, the earth is already accustomed, because there it no longer yields with fertilizer from dung. The earth is already accustomed to synthetic fertilizer, [without that fertilizer] it can no longer yield. We have also tested with corralled animals, it is difficult, still it yields little. For example, the land that is sterilized we can calcify it, when and only when an engineer is (well) prepared and truly works, why do we have lime? With lime we can get it back to the way it was before, because this time, in fact, because of the lack of knowledge we didn't use lime. Lack of technification because of the lack of prepared people who can orient us, for that reason we are lost. But in case that person should come, truly with that faith, with that work, with what they are earning and to value it, turn it into the way it was before one goes back to organize it. We would no longer return to using those synthetic fertilizers but the organic fertilizer.

Now I have also tested two furrows with cow dung mixed with hen dung, it turned out well, because the cow dung was hotter. Because we have practiced it with Urpichallay and with that I sowed and my potatoes came out very pretty. I tested with organic fertilizer and yes, it yields! Do you know how that is done?

I mixed with hen dung, then I put <u>cuy</u> [guinea pig] dung, I mixed all of it. Yes, it comes out well, two or three rows.

There are people from the community who already know how to do this or who are already doing it. Because of that I say, nothing is impossible when we put ourselves into our work.

Would it be to make an agreement to recover like our compadre<sup>49</sup> has done here?

Because of that I say the organic material is kept when we use organic fertilizer, it makes the earthworms increase and what has been sown grows and keeps the earth well calcified.

In conclusion, as far as I am concerned we could return to the old life in order to have all our lands improved. Or how, in order to improve, we shouldn't apply synthetic dung or synthetic fertilizers. Thus, in that way, it can also recuperate. But the developed countries manage us selling their chemical products, synthetic fertilizers. We no longer see, for example, island guano, which formerly, when I was a child they sowed potatoes with island guano. With island guano we did not lose the weakness of the land. Now the land is poor from applying so much, we are weakening the poor land more and more every time.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Vicos Pachán

Synthetic fertilizers appeared back [before], island fertilizer also appeared still [further] back [before that]. Without fertilizer we hilled up and the potatoes came out very well, only the frosts certainly did burn them. In addition they hilled them [in a] disordered [way], recently back [not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> A *compadre* is literally one of the godparents of your child or your godchild's parents, also used as "buddy", "pal".

long ago] the furrows appeared. Now furrows are used to fertilize. Before there wasn't any disease nor were fertilizers used, they sowed only doing the <u>sachi</u>, only the frost burned the crops. Before it was sowed lluta, disordered.

[In the photo] They are preparing a remedy, before they prepared it in cylinders [55-gallon oil drums] and then they filled the pumps to fumigate.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cachipachán sector

# Plagues and contamination

**P**esticides arrived when I was 25 years old. More before, there were no diseases. When they brought Canchan potato, with that, late blight disease appeared. We sowed our <u>Iluta</u> that did not catch the disease.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

Between 1980 and 1985 most of all improved potatoes appeared and the diseases like late blight, papa curo [wormy potato] and others started to attack.

The diseases of late blight and others arrived almost in 1986. In 1970 island guano also began to be more strongly used. In 1980 fertilizers, pesticide, insecticides were used, saying that it no longer produces nor is there any harvest. Up to the present time our farm plot was already accustomed.

Testimonies collected in the First Meeting: Memories of Vicos

**A** few years ago still with a loan from the Banco Agrario the poisons appeared, when one cures with this poison soon the potato is eaten with bad flavor, besides, it is no longer food.

Previously there was no poison, a few years ago these remedies hadn't yet arrived. Before potatoes produced better, on their bush they produced better. But when the disease already appeared, late blight attacked, when this happened by all means we bought remedies of all kinds to try to save [the crop]. These fertilizers a few years ago had not yet appeared, with the loan from the Banco Agrario little by little these toxic remedies for potato, because if not, the worms eat it. But they don't eat everything, that way one also shares with the animals.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cullhuash sector

#### **Tools**

The tools are different: chicos, racuas<sup>50</sup>, all out of wood.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

For us, whips, <u>racuana</u> were made purely of wood. Stems bent like a hook were sought, from that the shovel was made. And for the yoke were plowshares, they didn't have a metal tip in community times. This plowshare we tied on the point of the plow giving it a point with <u>asbuela</u><sup>51</sup>. For every task we went with our <u>asbuela</u> to be able to sharpen the tool.

Marcelino Mendoza Jara, Tambo sector

Before plowing we went with our *asbuela* put at our waist, it was useful to make our plow more pointed when it became snub-nosed. We knew that it was snub-nosed when our plowshare no longer completely entered [the soil]. Like at present metal tips are being tied on with cowhide, just like that it was tied, with the <u>qarahuancu</u> [rawhide lashing rope].

Testimony collected in the First Meeting: Memories of Vicos

In our custom of using tools we used the <u>taqlla</u><sup>52</sup>, yoke, plowshare, <u>qarahuancu</u>. The yoke tool was for plowing. A personal tool was the *racua* made of wood. <u>Qarahuancu</u> was used to tie and we shaped it like a whip.

After we had cornhusk rope, made purely of <u>penca</u><sup>53</sup>. And rope from animals, of hide, it was used for lashing, for tying.

Now we have changed all kinds of tools, for the yoke we put a metallic tip and a metallic *cincho*<sup>54</sup> to fasten [it]. Shovel, whip, are metallic and durable.

On every plow the plowshare wore away when it chased after the yoke of bulls, at times the yokes of bulls are rambunctious. There it is that the plowshare broke, then right there the team stopped, the plowshare was untied and it was given a point with the *asbuela* and later tied on the way it had been to continue plowing. The *asbuela* was used for this, and every plowman made it go [put it] there, at the waist. It was an *asbuela* with a small handle that one carried at the waist.

The *asbuela* served to put a point on the plowshare, which was wooden. It was of different kinds of wood, the [kind] most used was from the <u>potaca</u>, <u>quisuar</u><sup>55</sup>, <u>huaqrash</u>. But the plowshare made of <u>quisuar</u> is the most recommendable; it lasted longer and was stronger.

<sup>53</sup> Perhaps panca, cornhusk

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Racua, racuana, a short-handled hoe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Probably from *espuela*, spur which would seem to be a kind of knife or tool for carving wood.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> [Foot] plow

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> cincho, metal hoop or rim, girth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Buddleia incana

Before the plow was wooden. The plowshare then when they plowed it wore down and they took out the *asbuela* from their waist and made a point. Then they tied it with <u>qarahuancu</u> and kept on [plowing] again.

The *hoce* is now called *hoz* [sickle]. It is used to cut wheat, generally to look for grass for the animals.

Testimonies collected in the second Workshop for preparing the original Spanish version of this book

The present day asbuela that is used for woodworking, that's it. Before the asbuela was better, it was real steel, it was small and another shape and not like it is now. Now tools are not the same as before. Formerly the sickle was flat without teeth and now it has teeth.

Eulogio Copitán Coleto, Cullhuash sector

Formerly they made the plowshare out of <u>potaca</u>, later on it was sharpened when it wore down. The yellow colored plants lasted and the whitish ones broke quickly. If you didn't go with the *asbuela* at the waist you couldn't plow.

Félix Tadeo Salas, Ullmay sector

## Photo captions

Plow with yoke of bulls in Quetapampa, Vicos, the snow peak Copa in the background (circa 1954).

Sowing in furrows (circa 1958).

Before they sowed without furrows (circa 1954).

Potato harvest on communal lands (circa 1958).

Preparation of pesticides (circa 1954).

Fumigation of farm plots in the times of the Cornell-Peru Project (circa 1954).

The plowshare was made of wood before (circa 1958).

## 6. Other Resources and Wealth

## Water and landscape: lakes and snow peaks

The snowfall or ice that was [covering the peaks] before is no longer the same, these years it has already withdrawn further up. Only rocks remain, because there no longer is that season of snowfall. Its value is lost through much filtration.

Testimony collected during the meeting in Tambo sector

The lake is important for the community of Vicos, it is of use to us for agriculture.

Juan Tafur Ceferino, Ucushpampa sector

Lake Lejiacocha surrounds sectors of the community of Vicos and also of the community of Siete Imperios and, mostly, the district of Marcará. And we benefit from Lake Llacshac. And we are not benefiting from the lake in Quebrada Honda, only the hamlet of Wiyash has taken part of it for irrigation, over there it is benefited. Those who benefit the most from the river are Patsin and [even] more Marcará and our brothers in the Cordillera Negra, which is Ecash. The one that benefits from everything is the [hydroelectric] plant in the Cañón del Pato.

José Avito Meza, Cachipachan sector

■ believe that the lake is water, the water is important for animals, plants, human life. We speak of the lake, which is water and comes out so that it is useful enough [very useful] for nourishing us, for irrigation, even for using for the mill. Before we used mills with water, the water made them move, it is important. All the water of Llacshac, the river, we used all of it.

The lake before was more, enough [a lot], it is already diminishing now. Before enough [a lot of] water came and we irrigated with enough [a lot] and now already little comes out, the water is not the same, it is dropping. This irrigation of water comes out of Lejiacocha and is clean and here it doesn't have anything from the mine.

Testimonies collected in the second Workshop for preparing the original Spanish version of this book

## **Forests**

Now there are more forests, [at] that time [there] was less forest. Before there weren't any eucalyptus plants, when I was 14 years old, they recently planted eucalyptus, a project brought them. These plants Ramírez brought. I myself went to plant them.

In 1964 they planted forests of eucalyptus; the forests weren't planted with the gringos. The forests came with the Ministry of Agriculture; we made a forestry nursery in 1964. In the time of the gringos forests weren't sown yet, but if one or another or each one had some plants, they didn't have them like now.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Vicos Pachán sector

Now they have planted more eucalyptus, but that was more absorbed by the farm plots. Since 1966 the planting [of eucalyptus] was done all over Vicos. From that time Vicos has changed, I don't know how it was before.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Cachipachán sector

## **Tourism and the Chancos baths**

**T**ourism helps enough [a lot]. Visitors arrive and thanks be to God they leave us with our daily bread, to buy something for our house, to make our children study and [tourism] produces [enough] for all that.

We are getting accustomed, firstly we had doubts. At times we gave regular [normal quantities of] food but they [the tourists] eat very little.

Manuel Meza and Julio Evaristo, Cachipachán sector

If we are speaking about tourism, the people who are going to come, what are they going to think of us, we have paradise that we have to go back and rescue and value our customs like before the grandparents? But we see now at this moment that *Señor* [Celso León, who appears in the documentary] looks more like an engineer than a member of the community, but it is certain that he is a member of the Vicos community. They no longer use <u>wara<sup>56</sup></u> nor <u>llanqui<sup>57</sup></u>. I went into that in respect to the clothes [way of dressing] that have now been lost.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Tambo sector

I have been given to understand that more before, the sectors sowed for the community. They still did not possess Chancos at that time. For their income they had to sow all the agricultural fields of all the sectors like a business for the community. Simply the small leftover pieces of land were sown for oneself, to eat with one's family. It is beneficial, but it is not sown that way now for the community, because the community has its own economic income [through the administration of the thermal baths of Chancos], it is no longer needed for works and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Wara are black homespun wool trousers, often knee-length.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> <u>Llangui</u> are sandals made from rubber tires.

products already come in for the community chest. Before, with the sowing of the business plots of land, it was saved to meet expenses for the community, and if [anything] was left over, works were performed for each sector, the lands were sown in a global way.

Oscar Leyva, Tambo sector

## **Mining**

**A**round Winoyo there are mines: Cóndor, Arequipa, Toma la Mano, Patricia, Rataquenua, Esparta. They extract minerals such as silver, copper, zinc.

Yes, they always contaminate this river Patsin. But they are going to control there, they are throwing in lime I think to diminish that contamination.

Ascencio Meza Sánchez, Puncucorral sector

In the case of mining only businessmen exploit, the community has at no time exploited [mines]. Toma la Mano is a company, Arequipa is also a company and then there are small mines that are not working, they are paralyzed. At present only Toma la Mano is working. But here Quebrada Honda is a mining sector, therefore that river that descends is contaminated, very acid, for that reason there aren't any animals like before. The water and the grass are contaminated, for that reason the animals cannot feed there, poor animals. For that reason they are thin, sick, they are no longer fat now.

#### Will the community want to exploit any mines, as well as exploit the forests?

Yes. Formerly the community was going to exploit and including the community itself was interested in exploiting, but, because of bad luck, now the Huascarán National Park no longer allows us to, now there is no longer a law for exploiting mines. The mines that are operating, Toma la Mano, Arequipa, these are very old, before Huascarán National Park, and for that same reason they are operating. Now they no longer accept anybody for operating mines because Huascarán National Park now stops us.

Testimonies collected in the second Workshop for preparing the original Spanish version of this book

Our parents left much to be done in mining. Within the peasant community of Vicos, the biggest part is a mining zone, but we haven't been able to make use of having protection. We are not benefiting much [from] having a mine within the community. There is a mining company that is working, who has helped us just with little things. And now, since it is exploiting the Toma la Mano mine, it is repairing bridges. Then we are benefiting in nothing, but if we want to benefit, we want to have support [in] improvement in health, education, roads, water, sewer. This and many things we need and there is no support from the mining companies.

José Avito Meza, Cachipachan sector

# Photo captions

Lake Winoyo (2005)

Irrigation of eucalyptus (circa 1955)

# 7. Quechua and Spanish

### And is Quechua the same or has it changed?

Yes, because they already speak little Quechua. As we see, already they mostly speak more Spanish.

Before did they speak Quechua like we are speaking now, little grandmother?

Certainly, they talked just like this.

Rosa Vega Morán, Campanilla

#### Can you read and write Ouechua?

Yes, I can also read and write in Quechua.

Who taught you?

There is [Quechua] in books that have come out, then I read that and write, I learned [by] myself. *Did they teach you in school?* 

In Quechua nothing, nothing.

That is interesting, children spoke Quechua but they can only learn to read and write in Spanish.

Well, our Quechua is very important because it comes from our ancestors and why not appreciate it. And like they just said, our grandparents have used <u>ayu</u>, woolen trousers, all their clothes [were] constructed by themselves. Why can't we value it? We are also forgetting our Quechua. When the young people go to the city, they come back *achorados*<sup>58</sup>, now because of all of this we are also forgetting our Quechua.

Cristian Reyes, Cachipachán sector

The majority of those who know how to read and write learned in Spanish. In school, they did not teach through Quechua.

Testimonies collected during the First Meeting: Memories of Vicos.

They [from the Cornell-Peru Project] haw did they speak to you, in Quechua or in Spanish?

The rest through Spanish and the rest through English, they had translators, for that reason when we spoke to them through Quechua they made them understand.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

### Photo captions

Children from Vicos learning to read and write in Spanish (circa 1958)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Slang meaning "cholified". *Cholo* is a term for one of the several transitions between indigenous and national culture, usually considered a pejorative term, except when used by people about themselves or as a term of endearment.

## 8. Education

The *patrones* [in hacienda times] did not give us any education, for that reason we don't know how to read. I, Deunicio Sánchez, don't know how to read or to sign my name either and I don't even know any of the letters.

Deunicio Sánchez, Ucushpampa sector

# Changes in school with the arrival of the Cornell-Peru Project

More before the *gringos* arrived they say there weren't any students. The grandparents told us that they [those from the Cornell-Peru Project] bought them their notebooks so they could study. Before they said that Vicosinos 60 or 70 years old studied because the *gringos* bought them a pen and notebooks. They even paid their mamas so they could study. They say there was no school before. When they arrived people recently began to study.

### Do you believe that in that time they learned more?

In my opinion they dedicated themselves more to studying, the students themselves took more pains. One entered at 8 in the morning and we got out for lunch at 12 noon, later we went back from 1 in the afternoon to get out at 5 in the afternoon. I studied that way full time.

#### Where did you eat lunch?

In school they gave us sandwich type food and we took potatoes, those things, because there were preserved foods. We ate a boiled dinner of potato with its tuna fish, prepared in the school itself.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

I worked on roofing the school, raising the wall, on the arrival of the *gringos*, together with the mason from Carhuaz, Alejo. We Vicosinos ourselves made the school in 1952, this year the school was begun and we completed it in 1956. The masons were the persons named Alejo, Félix Caqui, these people learned to be better masons.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Vicos Pachán sector

They are in the classroom, for that we served ourselves because we worked there. In the assembly room they made them sit and made them eat.

I was a cook, sure, Doctor Mario [Vázquez] assigned me [as cook] because I had no father, I was orphaned of my father, so Doctor Mario put me in the Project [Cornell-Peru]. Thanks to him,

he showed me to cook and how to take care of the children. Then first they were given quinua with potato, the community gave potatoes and flour we toasted it <u>cachanga</u><sup>59</sup>, they ate well and it was good food then. For breakfast <u>cachanga</u>, *Quaker* [oatmeal] and chocolate, their bread and their milk and for lunch it was <u>quinua</u> with potato, an egg, too.

Well, this primary school was built in 1954 and it was inaugurated in 1956. Before they studied from Monday through Saturday, Saturdays they studied until one o'clock in the afternoon. We studied all day, before when we studied the learning was better.

Would you like for your children to study more hours?

Yes, we would like that, because they learn more, then.

Before we entered at 8 in the morning, we got out for lunch at 12 and we returned from 1 until 5 in the afternoon. A cook from Puncucorral, Sacarías Bautista, cooked.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cachipachán sector

• don't remember in what times they built the primary school, I already saw it this way, but it was certainly built in a handcrafted way. Ours at least was more handcrafted than the one in the center of Vicos, we studied in a house just crossed with timbers. I believe that before they studied better than now. Those who studied the third year of primary [school] were equal to those who complete all of secondary [school].

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

I went to primary school when the *gringos* [the Peru-Cornell Project] were here and the primary school was a school like we see now, afterwards it changed, but I no longer remember.

With what my little grandparents told me, life in Vicos was just the same. But now Vicos has changed, from 50 years ago until now it has changed enough [a lot]. The changes are more in the studies, because before it wasn't like this. Even though few studied, the boys and girls were pasturing animals, they went to the coast just like that, I, too, was a coastal person. I went to the coast because there was no exigency, whoever wanted to just went ahead and studied. And now since birth, already just directly to study. So then, before it wasn't like that, whoever wanted to, studied and whoever didn't, then no. Whoever didn't want to [study], worked in the agricultural fields and raising animals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Homemade unleavened bread made with salt, flour or corn meal and water and fried in a skillet.

#### Why did the women study little and the boys went more to study?

The parents obliged the boys to study more. Until a short time ago they said [to the women] "You, what are you going to study for, go pasture the sheep, pigs:" Now they no longer say this to them.

Marcelino Mendoza Jara, Tambo sector

Class hours were from 7 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon. At 6 in the morning we were on our way to be able to enter [classes] at 7. One ate lunch at school at 12, recess was at 10 and in the afternoon at 3. One didn't write with a pen, there weren't any, we wrote only with a pencil and notebook, which only were lined, it was a *block* [tablet], not like now that there are [notebooks of] squared paper.

Boys and girls studied the same. There were few girls, not like now, one studied together with girls. In my class there were just 6 girls.

The teachers taught us half in Quechua and the other half in Spanish, we already understood Spanish, because at our age Spanish was already spoken, more before, yes, they spoke pure Quechua.

Juan Apeña, Ullmay sector

#### Remember the Cornell times? Did they study on Saturdays or not?

One studied from Monday to Saturday. At lunch we ate fried fish and omelettes, this ration the authorities that there were [at the time] served us, that is the governing council. The one who is still alive is Sacarías Meza, from Vicospachán, he was the school cook, at that time he cooked for all the students. There was any amount of provisions, there was powdered milk, <u>Ilunca<sup>60</sup></u>, fish, we ate every day and for all the children and food left over. We had a ration of oranges, bananas after lunch.

Before education was better teaching for the students. The student that is educated for a short time doesn't have real knowledge. Perhaps there was difficulty [before] but on the part of the teachers, no. The teachers who worked then lived right here, they didn't even pay rent for a room, they didn't even go to their house all day. The worked there from early [morning], they entered exactly at 8, that's the way it was.

One single teacher taught language, mathematics...? It was one single teacher.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Hulled wheat or soup made from hulled wheat.

Before they studied *transe* A and *transe* B. From there recently one passed to the first year [of primary school]. This about the *Transición* [transition] A and *Transición* B grades, at present this name has changed, it is *inicial* [early] education.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Puncucorral sector

Formerly our grandparents didn't study, just a few of them say they studied, but the people from Maracará [the neighboring town] certainly studied more and they almost dominate[d] us, but now yes we are good in order to respond better to the other secondary schools.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cullhuash sector

## **Educational Reform**

I think this form of education changed because of politics. Because respect for the educational part changes, because normality changes, or rather, the Educational Reform soon modernized it. I don't know the year very well, but previously education was of quality, better than education at present. So sometimes when they modify norms in the educational sector sometimes the whole changes. As for us we are advanced on having completed primary, but when we enter in a competition, we are almost just like with those who have completed secondary<sup>61</sup>. We already knew how to manage letters or make [write] letters. Now maybe those of the fifth year of secondary, maybe they know how to make [write] letters? Very few will.

For example, we have the first or second year of primary school and we know how to do, to write, we know how to speak. Right now the children are half [as advanced as the grade] it is called. More or less in 1970 the form of education is changed by Agrarian Reform. Then in this time the teachers do not punish, for these reasons education has changed.

More behind already I remember, in 1970, I was 10 years old, at 11 years old I entered the first grade until the 3rd year. I was becoming educated more or less and still the Educational Reform didn't change. I don't remember well exactly, as far as I am concerned it could be '85 or '84 [1985 or 1984], one of them.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Puncucorral sector

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> In the Peruvian state (public) school system, there are 6 years of primary school and five years of secondary school, which is also called "media" or middle school.

The truth is that there was a change, the Ministry of Education changed the schedule and for that reason also the teachers for sure worked half day. Before, one worked the whole day, morning and afternoon, one studied better learning because one studied morning and afternoon. It is around then I finish in 1992 with studying just half day.

I studied around the years 1982 and I already finished with half day when I was fourteen years old in '88 I studied up to the second year of secondary and that way successively.

The educational system changed completely [from full] day to half day between 1984 and 1987 during the presidency of Alan Garcia.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Tambo sector

For me, the teachers were even well paid, the situation wasn't like at present. The teachers even wore suits, now the salary a teacher makes doesn't stretch enough so that he can wear a suit. Previously, yes they gave you lunch, but I don't know with what entity they gave [it to] you in the schools. But in our times, no longer, it was very different, they gave us wheat and sometimes semolina *mazamorra* [mush], but it was no longer like it was before, they always gave lunch in the schools.

Oscar Leyva, Tambo sector

Formerly, yes, of course, it was enough for a suit, for buying the books for training and studying more, now I believe it isn't enough because we have to do other things and activities. Because one was with the students more time, it was also better morning and afternoon and they even gave us lunch in the secondary school.

Eusebio Oropeza, teacher in the Vicos secondary school, during the meeting in Tambo sector

# School and education at the present time

They are destroying the grade school now so they can make it with noble materials [cement and bricks] like the Grandparents' House was made.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cachipachán sector

The old primary school, that is to say, has been changing because the new construction now is already of durable material, before it was pure adobe<sup>62</sup> and mud. The communities of Copa, Carazbamba and farther over there Cochapampa also now have their primary schools.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cullhuash sector

Now there are better possibilities for studying. With support they were able to study and come out good professionals, those who study at the present time few come out professionals and some don't even come out anything.

### And why is that?

It depends on each student, the performance of each student. If they [don't perform well] there is no support from the parents who do not have many possibilities.

Now it is support of the current president who brings crackers, those. For that reason I believe that the children are malnourished, it seems to me that they are not nourished by that food, but not even the students eat, because they don't like it.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

The teachers were good people, they taught more to the students, now the teachers are just bamba<sup>63</sup> too, then. As the norm already changed, it is not going to be the way it was before.

We would like for our children to study more hours.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cachipachán sector

[That the children could study more hours] It would depend on the Ministry of Education, on the UGEL<sup>64</sup>. Because now children only study 7 hours a day and they are not chronological hours but pedagogical hours, which are the equivalent of 40 or 45 minutes. The real time per day is 5 hours.

Berta Bonilla, Principle of the Vicos secondary school during the meeting in Cachipachán sector

Before the teachers were more educated, more presentable. Now teachers come [to school] like sheep, some with their *vividi*<sup>65</sup>, in only one more year, they will come [to school] naked, that is what I see. When I studied in primary school I graduated in secondary, there were good teachers. Nowadays it seems to me that they don't even finish their secondary [education], I think, working in the secondary school. Well, then, education is bad. There are teachers who

<sup>64</sup> Acronym for Unidades de Gestión Educativa [Units of Educational Management]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> An adobe is a sun-dried unburned brick made of clay and straw

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Slang for "imitation", "counterfeit"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> A man's sleeveless undershirt, hispanicized version of BVD, the brand of underwear made by Bradley, Voorhees & Day of New York.

are from the university but there isn't a good education and for that reason there is no good professionalism in the secondary or primary schools.

Now the teachers take out a sort of plaque<sup>66</sup>, they say to the children, "Stick it on, then you paint it and it's all ready". In my time they took us outside to look at the hill and we had to draw and paint it just like that. That was artistic education. Today I see, I have a little girl 7 years old who is studying in the second [year] of primary school, she brings me a sort of plaque and says to me, "My teacher me asked me for twenty centavos to pay for this and I am going to paint this Virgin Mary." Also she asked me for paint and I bought paint. In my opinion it would not be artistic education, no, it isn't even copying. In this way all the children are bad.

I have brothers-in-law who have even studied in institutes, secondary school, all of them painted. Now the exam, too, before it was to write, now it is to mark "yes or no, a, b, c, or d", nothing else. In our time it wasn't like that, we wrote everything. What is and what is not, now I think it is rather it is or it is not. Now everything is ready.

#### What do the parents think?

That is the problem, simply, since they just come to mark [multiple-choice exams], for that reason they just mark. At times by chance they can mark [the] right [answer] even without knowing, they have more chance to pass the exam.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

Almost all the exam comes to just mark now. I think that is easier and more time is saved. Before we spent more time writing, we lacked time because they gave us a very short time to develop the exam. To write required more effort.

We prefer to mark because it is easier.

Jonathan Evaristo, secondary school student, during the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

## Treatments and mistreatments

Before the teachers hit us, sure that you weren't going to study. At least one teacher from far away ordered [the students to form] a column, he covered himself if one didn't pay attention, he came and applied a whip.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Possibly a stencil.

■ am from Ullmay, when I was this size [a child] for being late we had to go through the *callejón* oscuro<sup>67</sup> [a punishment] and when we had dirty hands immediately they took us to bathe in the river, that's how it was before. Now the children go around dirty, they don't even bathe, some don't even wash their feet.

When they hit me, for that reason I still didn't study, they punished us when we arrived late. We were made late because we went from far away and also for that reason I left.

There was a guild like the departmental one of Ancash, with a leader we made investigations, we found that on the one hand perhaps we *campesinos* were already like *machismos*, then that *machismo*<sup>68</sup> still keeps on until the present day. Why do I say this, because in each place we went to [we asked] why the women don't go to study. That was the idea of the parents. The parents didn't want the women to go to study, they said, "You have to go to pasture [livestock], wash clothes, only the men have to study." That idea was that way and therefore they didn't oblige [them to study].

They sent us, only that we ourselves didn't want to go to study because we were embarrassed not to know our names. My papa and my mama certainly sent me.

Also from the school they left to seize because parents did not send their children to school. Well the child himself didn't want [to go], or his papa or his mama didn't want [him to go]. The leaders made an agreement in order to seize everyone who didn't send to school, in order to recover the seizure they still had to go with the fine.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Puncucorral sector

**S**ometimes they hit us, but they hit my companions more. Yes, yes, they hit. With affection it [learning] is better, if we don't have our homework they can scold us. It is a topic for reflection for the child and adolescent.

Verónica Saavedra, Vicos secondary school student, during the meeting in Tambo sector

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Literally, a dark alley

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Exaggerated masculinity

## Photo captions

Building the new school (around 1954)

The Vicos primary school (around 1956)

Learning to read (around 1956)

Lunch at school (around 1956)

The present school (2004)

Students during the commemoration of the anniversary of the Vicos secondary school (2005)

# 9. Authorities, greetings and respect

## The authorities

There weren't any authorities like [there are] at the present time. There was only the traditional authority, the <u>varayoq</u><sup>69</sup>, who was in charge of everybody and [whom] they respected enough [very much]. We obeyed all the commands he gave. In the case of marriage, couples who were living together, he made them get married in the month of March, he forced them [to get married].

Testimonies collected during the "First Meeting: Vicos Memories"

The sectors in this most recent [time] had not yet been formed, before, they were just hamlets. There were <a href="varas">varas</a> authorities there, but only the 10 sectors met in the plaza. The authorities before went around with their <a href="chunta">chunta</a> vara</a> [staff made of chonta wood] the one wearing the cape only was the <a href="warancayoq">warancayoq</a>. We are speaking of <a href="alcaldes">alcaldes</a> [mayors]. More before, the <a href="penadeo">penadeo</a> mayor was in charge of all the problems, more before, there were no <a href="gobernadores">gobernadores</a> [governors]. Only the <a href="warancayog">varandos</a> were responsible for the properties and arrangements for damages in the agricultural fields, for that reason, they chose older people as head. The <a href="penadeo">penadeo</a> mayors put those who were lazy or anything like that in chains. In addition, every morning they made [them] pray, they forced the people and they made them pray. The <a href="penadeo">penadeo</a> mayor was the oldest, from there they came the oldest field, the <a href="chopi74">chopi<sup>74</sup></a> field, <a href="sullka<sup>75">sullka<sup>75</sup></a> field and <a href="hummbra<sup>76">hummbra<sup>76</sup></a> field, to the <a href="alferez">alferez</a> they said [called them] <a href="albaceres">albaceres</a>. There was another who they called <a href="allqo wilok">allqo wilok</a> [the one who beats dogs]. There was a rotation of <a href="cargos">cargos</a> [positions or offices], they made the changes there. Their <a href="cargos">cargos</a> they fulfilled rotationally every 7 years and every 7 years they changed their <a href="cargos">cargos</a> and the hierarchy knew, according to what it was their turn [to do], the <a href="cargos">cargos</a> of each person.</sup></sup>

Testimony collected during the meeting in Puncucorral sector

In the photo the <u>tapagop</u> is seen, that is what those who take care of the properties of the sector are called, that is, the plantings of potato, maize, of everything that is sown on the property of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> [A person] characterized by having a <u>vara</u> (see footnote 2), or one who holds a traditional office.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> A <u>vara</u> is a scepter or staff, the traditional badge of authority, usually made of wood and decorated with silver, semi-precious stones and old coins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Chonta is a palm tree, *Juania australis*, which has a dense beautiful wood favored for <u>varas</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> A *gobernador* is the state-appointed local official in a village or small town, not a traditional authority.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> The hispanicized version of <u>varayoq</u> (see footnote 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Probably <u>chaupi</u>, "in the middle" or "between"

<sup>75</sup> Sullca, "youngest"

<sup>76</sup> Huambra, "child", "adolescent"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Alférez, "second lieutenant". The alférez is the person in charge of the food and drink and festivities celebrating a saint's day.

the sector. The authority we see in the photo during the time of the Cornell Project represents us as *penadeo* and when they performed public works, for tasks, they came with this type of flute music and their flag in front, they are the *penadeo* mayors, they went with their staff of authority. Now this custom has changed, [although] there are many authorities now. Before, there were *penadeo* authorities and their *penadeo* members, they were called <u>varayoq</u>.

At the task of repairing the Huamanyacu bridge the new traditional authorities are chosen more or less around the month of October and November, around the 15. But differences still exist, the *penadeo* mayor they no longer give him importance, only the president of the community is the one in charge of administrating what is the community's.

The authorities who are seen in the photo are all from the place of Vicos, Marcará, Copa. Until now there are authorities from different places. They still meet on appointed Sundays, such as Easter, Holy Week, that is still the custom, they assemble in Marcará.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Tambo sector

Enough [a long] time they have been the authorities *varadas* [with staffs], doing their rounds, making punishments. There weren't any other authorities, only the *penadeo* mayor made arrangements. When there was a fight, too.

## And from more or less what year are the presidents?

Since the community began. In 1958 it began with the president of Ullmay, Teodoro Evaristo, from there they formed presidents one after the other. Those persons certainly were very respectable.

I think all the change of authorities came with Agrarian Reform, there is what created lieutenant governors and all sorts of authority.

#### During the Cornell-Peru Project was there also a change of authorities?

I think there weren't any yet<sup>78</sup> at that time. Only the maximum authority was the *varado* mayor, president of the community, nothing more. They were authorities. Afterwards most recently already came all sorts of authorities.

Authority changed only the lieutenant governor. Then other authorities formed those who returned from being soldiers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Some Vicosinos point out that changes of authorities began with the Cornell-Peru Project.

These community authorities were formed when Agrarian Reform organized, with SINAMOS<sup>79</sup> the community authorities were recently organized. Before, there were just *mayorales*. When we organized the president of the community, those were [the] authorities.

Who were the authorities before?

They were the mayorales.

And what happened with the envarados?

The *envarados* almost continued the same line, yet another *cargo*, and *mayorales* [were] another *cargo*. Formerly the *mayoral* was the president or the person in charge.

When it was already a community, in 1958 they organized in the first place. There was a president, secretary, treasurer and two members-at-large, it also had a public prosecutor and the public prosecutor had a secretary and two members-at-large, it was organized that way in community times. Then there was still more authority, from there they were forming lieutenants, agents.

Who was more in charge in those years?

In those years only all of the delegates were in charge, because after the meeting the president was in charge of us delegates. Like they are in charge now, just like that. Celso León was the *personero* [representative].

Testimonies collected in the second Workshop for preparing the original Spanish version of this book

In Cachipachan, José Miguel; in Cullhuash, Miguel Reyes; the first time my father was the *cabecilla* [ringleader].

What is your father's name?

Nicanor Sánchez, he was the first delegate from the sector.

Gregoria Sánchez Duran, Coyrocsho sector

# **Greetings and respect**

Uncle, how were greetings before?

"Maquillequi." The same in the morning, in the afternoon or at night.

Félix Cruz, Paltash sector

When one greeted saying, "Maquillequita", they answered us, "Tamsanta". But more before, I think they greeted saying, "Sincano", something like that, they greeted. In my time it is what they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> SINAMOS is the acronym for Sistema Nacional de Movilización Social [National System for Social Mobilization], an entity created by the military government in the mid–1970s as part of its plan for social and economic development.

greeted "<u>Maquillequita</u>", taking off their hats, they passed each other. And when I was a *chibolito* [little kid] they greeted "Ave María purísima" and they responded "<u>Tamsanta</u>", and they passed each other. This custom is no longer seen.

Marcelino Mendoza Jara, Tambo sector

**G**reetings were also being lost little by little. In 1960 it was changed to "Good morning, good afternoon", losing the greeting called "Ave Maria purísima". Before, that one had to say, "Maquilleta mamay", and was answered, "Deme santa mamay". And the other [greeting] also was saying "SIncare mamay" and was answered "Omari mamay". This greeting was when they got married in the same year. More than anything, the greetings changed when the Cornell Project arrived, [in the] year 1952, when the administrators arrived we were forgetting the greetings.

Before, respect was very important between adults and children and the authorities. Perhaps this way we don't know [how] in particular, we have lost a lot of our respect, which was with affection

Testimonies collected during the "First Meeting: Vicos Memories"

## Photo captions

Penadeo mayors officiating at public works in Tunaspampa, Vicos (August 1954).

Authorities varadas [with varas] from Vicos and other communities assembled in Marcará (circa 1954).

Authorities from the governing council of Vicos (2005).

<sup>80 &</sup>quot;Hail Mary most pure"

## 10. Beliefs, practices and religion

A long time ago also the sun died like at four o'clock in the afternoon, it died when it was very small. Just then it was my turn to get a ticket. Now I am already 80 years old.

Testimony collected during the "First Meeting: Vicos Memories

First I ask for the Lord's blessing at the time to begin sowing, so that there may be production. I also speak to the seed so that it will hold up all year, so it won't die rapidly.

Antolina Sánchez, Cachipachán sector

■ believe that they are free here in the community of Vicos. No one says "you are going to be or you are not free". It seems that they participate because of emotion for our Lord, afterwards they withdraw and change character. Sometimes they begin to drink and they quarrel. As he says, one must choose well, with heart. Because the Lord is not to be made fun of, the Lord is on our side, for Catholics as well as for Evangelists.

Catholics also have faith in the mountains, <u>Apus</u> [mountain deities], [and] in the sacred waters as well. There are sacred trees and mountains. They worshipped this before according to their lights and they were also connected with nature. That was free in our community.

It depends on each person, sometimes there were tasks, cleaning canals, then they had to ask for permission. Because there are places the same as the <u>puquial</u> [spring], sacred or strong places, one didn't enter just like that.

That time two brothers had gone out and were enchanted by the <u>Apu</u>. They said enough [many] *rima rima* flowers appeared and on climbing the two brothers fell.

In dream or nighttime rest it appears to you in your dreams, it warns you what it is you are going to give, it asks you for everything. Then one must comply with that. In your sleep animals, people appear to you, it asks you for everything. Last year I dreamed about Huascarán, I have never climbed it, but I was on the lower part, on the ice, and I was content and I said, "How am I going to get down?" That for me was asking for something, and I went to Llanganuco [lakes] and I threw a little bit of coca. These beliefs exist.

Santiago Reyes, Wiyash sector

Yes, it is certain it exists because my little grandparents had their lands protected enough [a lot]. The belief exists, I opened some *oconales*<sup>81</sup> on a farming plot. It is very small but I extended it enough [a lot]. My grandparents told me: "You can't extend the piece of land because first you must ask permission." An "eye" of water [spring] emerged on the land and from that water a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Oconales (from the Quechua word oqho) are high (3500-4200 m altitude) swampy or humid areas.

turmanye [rainbow] emerged, white at night, for that reason I asked with my coca and my cigarette, afterwards I threw <u>patzu</u> [black clayey earth] and it disappeared. Then, it is a belief. Because my little grandfather told me that that piece of land was virgin land and I because of a whim to have a regular [large] piece of land, I extended it, I did and that "eye" of water [spring] disappeared. When one has faith, everything exists.

José Avito Meza, Cachipachán sector

These potatoes when we entered [the plot] to hill [them] up and we left [the plot] just half finished, they cry, they do not bathe. When we finish all of them, they bathe. When we finish hilling up all on that same day, they are left happy. Our little grandparents say their spirits go to the sea.

When animals do damage on the farm plot, they reveal it to you in your dreams. It cries and for sure they are doing damage. Potato, wheat, whatever you have sown in the field calls you.

Julio Evaristo, Cachipachán sector

There is a star shipshi eqaq [bright evening star] and qoya Huaraz [bright morning star]. The one that wakes up at 5 o'clock in the morning, that gives birth to a bright light, is qoya Huaraz [the bright morning star]. And in the afternoon, the one that hides at 8 or 9 o'clock at night is called shipshi eqaq [bright evening star]. They are normal signs.

Ilario Copitán Coleto, Tambo sector

■ think of the old ones, some are following the customs and some still do. The ones who are from in back [from later on] we no longer follow these customs.

Why do you think they don't follow these customs?

We do not put any interest and our parents and little grandparents don't teach us.

Agustín Tadeo Cruz, Puncucorral sector

■ believe we have <u>apus</u> in each place, but the greatest is Huascarán. We also have here in Tsucusca and the snow peak Copa.

The young people do not take any interest any more, on the other hand, we have beliefs because it has been realized in work and we still continue my father's customs with clothing and belief. We also continue with the coca and cigarette, because the coca gives energy for work and the cigarette gives energy, both of them. And for those know, coca warns then.

If our brothers hate us, I can embrace and speak with a pretty mouth, I treat them with more affection.

The majority is Catholic.

How was it in the times of the grandparents?

One single Catholic religion, because they didn't know any other religion, everybody was Catholic. The hacienda also appeared when the church was already there. The church is from long before, but they have made extension and improvement and *Señor* Copitan has learned masonry there.

The church of Vicos is from long before, from the grandfathers, but it was another shape, not like the current one. After the earthquake, after training, the boys with noble materials [cement and bricks] already modernized [it] and the present one is [built] with noble materials and has another shape.

The priest just comes from the parish of Marcará. The parish of Marcará is giving support, until the present, it has already improved.

Our custom of baptism, we always have to have our children baptized in our parish in Marcará or Vicos and we have to look for a godfather.

Testimonies collected in the second Workshop for preparing the original Spanish version of this book

Formerly parents were treated the same way, well. For example, Father Broncano came from Pariahuanca. He, already a little grandfather, died in Chancos. When he came he wanted to eat guinea pig and he wanted to eat good things.

After performing the mass, the Father only drank the water [in which] corn on the cob [had been boiled].

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Ucushpampa

In those times [of the *hacienda*] children went around barefoot, without <u>llanqui</u> [rubber tire sandals]. But nevertheless they also had much faith in the saints, they even scattered flowers in the processions.

Testimony collected during the meeting in Tambo sector

The community has generally been Catholic. And now last time there are evangelicals, which formerly weren't there, rather Catholic. Now there are different sects: there are Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals. There are like three parishes: Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, and God of Peru. Since 1985, it is the time these churches arrived.

I knew everything about the Holy Bible, at that time I was just working with *Señor* Baltasar. Seven years I was in God of Peru, which some call Pentecostal. Leaving that, I was in Dominical. I see on one hand like politics, I see and describe the different sects that way.

Juan Tafur Ceferino, Ucushpampa sector

■ was Catholic, now I am serving our Lord Jesus Christ. Of course, our Lord Jesus Christ died on the cross, on Calvary for everybody. I have left for another gospel, I have handed my heart over to serve the Lord, I am no longer Catholic. Thanks, I am in the Dominical Assembly of God Church. Here we have a church that the community donated and here we are congregating. We recently have made eleven years back like Philadelphia of Vicos. I am serving ten years. Our Lord told us,"Just to there, come this way," he called us. Then when he called me, I surrendered myself to the Lord.

There we are thirty people congregating. But it has been 120 families. They have returned back, now we are just thirty continuing now. But the rest participate apart. Of course, all Catholic had been. Like the word of the Lord also no preacher came to say the "Word of God". And when the messengers from the Lord arrived, one understands. Of course I am illiterate, I don't read, when our pastors preach then you understand. Understanding makes that word more deeply, you do not forget and he lifts you up. I also did not want to enter, I entered because they stole my animals from me, then looking for my animals I gave myself to the Lord, in Marcará. Then, having given myself that way, I came here and I met with brother Baltasar and he knew my name also. When he arrived at my house we continued with him, already together. I say "Until my death I am going to follow there just there already."

Ascencio Meza Sánchez, Puncucorral sector

I, as a Catholic, I think that here within our community of Vicos we are [for] the most part Catholics, and Evangelicals are very few. But we as Catholics we have to maintain our Catholic law. As Ascencio says, of course, by entering they enter, but they don't keep their position, they are always withdrawing. If we are going to commit ourselves we must commit ourselves. This leaving, entering, that is mocking the Lord, that ought not to be. For that reason we here in Vicos we mostly keep ourselves Catholic.

I believe here we have to understand well. I believe that the churches are of Catholics, the Evangelicals are cults. It is not a church but a cult it is called. In that case we are making a mistake.

Eulogio Copitán Coleto, Cullhuash sector

### Photo captions

Apu Huascarán (2005).

"Coca warns "

Views of the church and the plaza of Vicos in September 1955 (left) and July 2005 (right).

# 11. Fiestas<sup>82</sup>, dances and music

Even now Mamá Meche<sup>83</sup> is celebrated, flowers and tushu are brought. The fiesta was of two or three canchacs. That is, there was huanca dance, shacsha, negritos, etc. There were 8 bands of musicians. Before Mamá Meche was a good fiesta, now since there was the creation of the populated center Mamá Meche is no longer celebrated, now everybody has it in their hamlets or in each neighborhood, before the band went out into the plaza. The one that won still, was that good band that stays until last.

Judas<sup>84</sup> was the fiesta for seeds, this Judas went out all over the agricultural plots stealing from the entire parcela everything he found in his way, that is pumpkin, corn, potato and others. In the afternoon of the death he was made to ride a horse or donkey to take him for a ride saying "little grandfather". This was done to ride along all the boundaries, now it is also the custom to do this through all the hamlets.

The custom still exists, in the fiestas we have to put cow meat on a long stick with the flag on top as affection for the Pachamama.

Also I remember in the mountains flags were placed, one rented these flags from past penadeo mayors, only these gentlemen holding a cargo<sup>85</sup> position possessed this flag, and when animals were killed for the fiestas they were placed as joy in order to share with the whole family.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Cullhuash sector

## Before, what were the fiestas of Vicos like? The fiesta of Mamá Meche? Just the same as we are doing.

#### Before did they also do it with orchestra and band?

They celebrated with *roncadora*<sup>86</sup>, flute. More before, weddings were just all violin. More have been with violin, chisca [flute], with a small drum called tinya.

Félix Cruz, Paltash sector

Fiestas, there was Mercedes, it was held with chisca, roncadora, flute, they didn't even use a banner like now they only just used a large oil lamp or a wax candle tied with flowers. At least

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> A fiesta is a celebration, usually of a saint's day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Meche is the diminutive of Mercedes, in this case the Virgin de las Mercedes [the Virgin of Mercy] who is the patroness of Vicos. Her day is September 24.

Judas Iscariot, celebrated on the Saturday of Holy Week (a movable feast)

<sup>85</sup> See chapter 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> An Andean flute which has two canes, one emits a low pitch and the other a higher

there was no *corta-monte* [fiesta in which a tree full of gifts is cut down] the *corta-monte* must already be from your [Cornell Peru Project] times.

## Previously what dances were there for the fiesta?

There was only the majordomo's dance, the *huanquilla*. The *shacapa* appeared behind. *Capitanes* [a dance] hadn't either, it appeared when we are already old. These bullfight and treecutting fiestas are already new fiestas. When the first tree-cuttings appeared they just hung purely fruit on it, squashes, *ajíes*<sup>87</sup> [hot peppers], not like now that they hang <u>llicllas</u> [shawls] or clothes.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz. Paltash sector

## And dances, what dances do they present in the fiestas on Mamá Meche's day?

The dance was the shacsha. The chiscas [flutes] they constructed them from wild cane.

Rosa Vega Morán, Campanilla

Customs at marriage, in those times it was celebrated with music of the *chisca* (flute), <u>rayan</u> (*roncadora*) and <u>tinya</u>. They danced, happy with all the families, who drank natural forms of alcohol, chicha.

There was the majordomo, [the fiesta] he provided the violin and the <u>chisca</u>. The band did not exist at that date. There was <u>sargentos</u> [sergeants], <u>caballerías</u> [cavalries], <u>capitán</u> [captain], they did [these dances] in those times.

The *fiesta* of carnival [Mardi Gras] that they celebrated performing the mass of [the] Cross and its mount. In 1970 that fiesta celebrated someone who by chance received the cross that is called <u>itapuqui</u>, he ended up with the position for the next year. The cross belonged to one of their better-known families. There was a celebration of the cross that they adorned with native plants such as the *machito*, wecclla.

Testimonies collected during the "First Meeting: Vicos Memories"

Celebrations for Carnival [Mardi Gras] have pennants, the crosses of Coyrocsho, Ucushpampa, above the graded gravel road, this road is no longer used by the community members now. As a *distrito*<sup>88</sup> they also celebrate the feast day of San Judas [Saint Judas], for this the all the people come down to accompany this procession. The fiesta has also changed now, before they used large oil lamps, now already they use banners with cloth embroidered with jewels for <u>tayta</u><sup>89</sup> San Andrés [Saint Andrew] and Mamá Meche.

Farther on the dead are made to rest in the little chapel, so they enter the cemetery. In the little tiny chapel the dead person rested.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Capsicum annuum

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> A *distrito* is the subdivision of a province

<sup>89 &</sup>quot;Father" as an everyday term of respect (not of kinship).

Before it was buried only in the <u>patsa</u> [earth or <u>pacha</u>) nothing more, Later they already began to make niches standing two adobes in a triangular shape. Then, now, it is made with noble materials [cement and bricks], so every time it is changing.

The cross we see in the photo is the Most Holy Cross. Before it was celebrated with flute, now it is no longer done that way, only in Wiyash sector this fiesta is being recovered. Before other persons had their individual crosses, I think that that already disappeared. Only in Cullhuash I think *Señor* Alejandro Reyes and the rest have already forgotten, thus little by little our ancient customs are disappearing.

The food at the fiestas was <u>llunca</u>, potato <u>cashqui</u> with guinea pig, since in those times we had enough [a lot of] guinea pigs, for that reason we killed [a large] quantity to give people to eat. Because a fiesta is that way, to thank the Pachamama.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Wiyash sector

#### Before what food did you cook at fiesta time? Like they cook stews now?

<u>Llunca</u>, potato <u>cashqui</u>, it wasn't cooked like stew [is cooked] now. At Carnival [Mardi Gras] <u>llunca</u> was cooked, potato *puchero* [boiled dinner] with <u>llunca</u>, potato with guinea pig. Thirteen, 14, 15 guinea pigs were killed. Before the only band was the <u>Rima Rima</u>.

Testimony collected during the meeting in Cachipachán sector

Before the band got around [by] walking, the place where they passed is the town of Recuayhuanca. Where we were gathered [the plaza of the Ucushpampa sector) was the waiting place for the band, there they were made to wait their  $taripa^{90}$ , food and drink. They were served with a mate [gourd] or ankara [large gourd] they were served so they could eat and it was  $picante\ de\ cuy$  [guinea pig cooked in a spicy sauce] when they weren't brought their taripa, they didn't play until it arrived.

The musicians were well taken care of here, but in other places they were not taken care of like that.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Ucushpampa sector

Formerly the only band was from Pariahuanca, that the one you see [in the documentary] it is the fiesta of Mamá Meche the day of the celebration of the handing over of the bill of sale for the land of Vicos, that band played there.

Deunicio Sánchez, Ucushpampa sector

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Probably *tarifa*, "tariff", the Spanish F is regularly pronounced as P in Quechua.

The patron saint's day that is Mama Meche and the other is San Andrés. More than anything, these two saints. Also there is the Virgin of Fátima, but that still exists only in Chancos.

### Why do they not have so many fiestas now?

In each sector now we are accustomed to having our patron [saint] in each hamlet and for that reason we leave the central part abandoned, for that reason it is no longer like before.

Before they really made a fiesta. They performed traditional dances, their own, dances from the agricultural plots, *capitán de pie* [foot captain], <u>sacsha</u>. Music from that very place, there was <u>chisca</u>, flute. It disappeared when the band came, after the band, new singers come, for that reason we are losing [our customs].

Testimonies collected in the second Workshop for preparing the original Spanish version of this book

Before the fiesta was celebrated with *roncadora*, violin, <u>chisca</u>, band. And the very small *cajita*<sup>91</sup> is called <u>tinya</u>. The style has changed a lot.

Testimony collected in the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

## **Photo captions**

Procession in the Fiesta of Mama Meche in September 1955

Flag over the house of the mayoral of a fiesta (1960)

Dancers and musicians (in front of the church) in the Fiesta of Mama Meche (Mercedes [Virgin of Mercy]) in September 1955

Cruz Santísima, Fiesta of the Crosses (circa 1954)

Funeral of a <u>llullu</u> (child) accompanied with <u>tinya</u> (small drum), <u>chisca</u> (flute) and violin (circa 1954)

A band plays during a marriage ceremony (July 2005)

<sup>91</sup> The cajón, literally meaning "big box", also "coffin" and "drawer" is a wooden percussion instrument one sits on and pounds out rhythms with both hands. A "cajita" is the diminutive, so a small wooden box or drum.

## 12. Cooking, dishes and drinks

## Kitchen utensils

Formerly exchanges was carried out with [our fellow] countrymen from Chacas, they brought <u>cuntus</u> [earthenware jars] and we gave them maize or anything at all. But also some of them bought or sold cuntus aswanas [large earthenware jars or pots].

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Cullwash sector

Things for cooking were the *mate* [gourd bowl] and wishlla [wooden spoon]. The *mate* was made from a plant<sup>92</sup> that produced just like the pumpkin, it produced on the coast and they brought it to sell around here in exchange for potato or maize. We used to eat off these *mates*. And the <u>ankaras</u>, some big *mates*, were for fiestas. And *chicha* was also served with one similar to the *mate*, called a <u>putu</u>.

Marcelino Mendoza Jara, Tambo sector

Now we see [people] eating with plates and spoons. Before one ate with spoons made of wood and out of *mates*. The spoons were wooden, tender spoon. The knives were of a different kind. We peeled potatoes just with a spoon.

Rosa Vega Morán, Campanilla

Now there aren't any *mates* [gourd bowls], there are only plates, because the *gringos* brought those plates, now there are plates in all the houses and they don't use those old-fashioned *mates* any more. Now they no longer plant *mates* [gourds] on the coast, for that reason they have come to an end in the market, few still sell those *mates*.

There are [gourds], there are. But, it seems, we have already lost [the custom of] using *mates* [bowls made from gourds]. Then there is no demand. Rather, this information you are showing us right now is giving [us the idea] that it is very possible for people to once more take up the use of gourds and even clay pots again. More before [formerly], on whom did they operate? Now even the very young they cut like [they would cut] any old animal because we use aluminum that does harm.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Mate, from Quechua mati, "gourd", Lagenaria vulgaris

Now clay pots are used for harvest time or when they go to fertilize the fields with their animals, they are still used.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Tambo sector

Previously we used all gourds [gourds for everything]. My husband went to the coast, from there he exchanged with potatoes or maize [for gourds] or they gave [them to] him [in exchange] for his work. Now they find it cheaper to find [buy] plates [anywhere] on the street.

There were two kinds of *mates*, one was called <u>quellke mati</u> and the other was *mate* <u>kasqa</u>. The one of *mate* quellke was more durable.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Wiyash sector

When they went to Casma [a city on the coast] to work as day laborers, from here [Casma] they brought *mates* to use for plates, we exchanged anything for them. I still have [some] but just two now, and two more ankaras [large *mates*] ended up getting broken.

Our husbands went to work and they brought [mates], the plants of these mates they say are like squash. There are two types of mates: the quellke and the kasqa, which last less time, but are similar.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Cachipachán sector

# Traditional dishes and changes in food

How was the food before, more nutritional?

The food was the same as it is now.

What did they eat before that you don't eat now?

I don't believe so, it is just the same: olluco<sup>93</sup>, potato, maize, <u>mashua<sup>94</sup></u>, little rice. To eat wheat we have to grind it with the grinding stone. Before, we didn't know a mill with a motor or [any] other [kind of mill]. Before we didn't even know about mill stones, millstones appeared recently back.

3.Félix Cruz, Paltash sector

Aunt, how was the food before?

The foods we ate were the potato Milagro, the potato cinta saya, these old potatoes.

Before, they prepared food at the fiestas: <u>llunca</u> [hulled wheat soup], spicy potatoes, just these, no chicken, no *polladas*<sup>95</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> Tropaeolum tuberosum

<sup>95</sup> Pollada, in Peru, a "chicken party", usually given as a fundraiser

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Ullucus tuberosus

## On All Saints' Day what do they cook?

Like [they do] now: guinea pigs, roast pork, breads. The breads are made with the *concho*<sup>96</sup> of *chicha* instead of yeast.

Rosa Vega Morán, Campanilla

The grandparents' potatoes had nourishment now these potatoes no longer have nourishment although we eat just eat <u>papa lluta</u> [native or landrace potatoes].

Testimony collected during the meeting in Cullhuash sector

My little grandmother's name was Micaela Sánchez and my name is Ana Meza. My favorite dish when I was a girl was *papa seca*<sup>97</sup> with pork rind, with <u>canchita</u> [toasted corn]. On fiestas, they cooked <u>llunca</u>, a cabbage boiled dinner, potato <u>cashqui</u><sup>98</sup> [potato soup] with its guinea pig. At Carnival [Mardi Gras] they cooked potato <u>cashqui</u> with its <u>cochayuyo</u> [seaweed or lake weed] and its dried fish. Now at the present time stew is cooked, already like that.

Now we no longer eat <u>machka</u> [toasted wheat flour] and now everybody buys bread to eat for breakfast. Before, there was not that custom, rather, now we just use bread. There weren't any noodles, rice, before. Now also what the grandparents prepared, that *papa seca*, that also my little grandmother made, now I at no time make it. My little grandmother made soup out of *papa seca*, with pork rind and we liked this food. It would be good to cook what we cooked before. In order to remember the times of the grandparents we would cook from time to time.

Ana Meza, Puncucorral sector

*Culis*, a relative of cabbage, we still cultivate it until the present. It is eaten boiled with pork rind with its toasted maize, <u>canchita</u>.

The pig was deliberately fattened to obtain lard; with this the food was made. My parents, my grandparents, almost didn't know the market or Marcará either. Then they used pure lard, there was no oil.

With respect to the preparation they have mentioned of potato <u>cashqui</u>, I realize there were earlier ones. Speaking of potato <u>cashqui</u>, they prepared it with lard, they slathered a guinea pig with lard and put it on the charcoal, they didn't toast it like they do now, now, yes, they fry it, of course. Because of that part also the preparation of potato <u>cashqui</u> is already getting lost. With a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Concho, the sediment of yeast that ferments the chicha

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> *Papa seca*, originally made by broking or cutting up the potatoes left over from a <u>pachamanca</u> (a mixture of meats, potatoes and vegetables cooked underground), which were dried and used in other dishes; now the potatoes are commercially processed by cutting up and soaking in water then dried in a drying oven and made into various dishes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> <u>Papa cashqui</u>, a soup made of potatoes, chopped coriander leaf, spearmint leaves, farmer cheese, eggs and milk, garnished with garlic and onions.

stick they put it and they turn the guinea pig over and over, it cooked all alone on the charcoal, like chicken on a spit. It doesn't take long, it is just cooked quickly, we place it with a stick and turning, turning we cooked it quickly like that.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Puncucorral sector

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# Drinks: chicha and guarapo

With the sugar cane juice *mazamorra* and *chicha* are made.

What are the squeezings of sugar cane called?

Guarapo. As we said, they were making *chicha*, they made *mazamorra*, because there was no sugar. And they made *chicha* because in those times <u>jora</u> [sprouted maize for making *chicha*], afterwards there was.

Testimonies collected in Vicos Pachán sector

Para hacer *chicha* primero el maíz echaban en pozo, para elaborar la jora dejaban 15 días hasta que nazca jugo, se hacía dormir. De esto se hacía *chicha* y sin azúcar, no se utilizaba azúcar porque en esa época el maíz tenía dulce y tenía más energía y fuerza por eso solo endulzaba. Se hacía la *chicha* con olla grande, la que tienen sus abuelitas, llamada *aswana* (olla grande), para hervir la *chicha*. Los cántaros eran para fermentar la *chicha*.

Pero desde mucho antes había el azúcar. Pero azúcar blanca, no la rubia, los granos de estos azúcares eran más grandes.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

We made the <u>jora</u> in a well, we filled it with maize and we poured water, later we made it be born, covering it with <u>secshi</u>, after it has been born we took it out and we made it sleep with <u>rayán</u> leaf until what was born was boiling. And the *chicha* was very good, not like *chicha* now. Now also we can make [it] when we want. After this procedure, we kept it, after making it dry, in order to make the *chicha*. Only with the *chicha*, there wasn't the alcohol.

What lovely *chicha* it was, at least the boiled *jora* threw off enough [a lot]. The *jora* was elaborated by sackfuls, the maize had to be soaked for three days and three nights, then the water where it was born had to be taken away. Like now we sow maize, that is how it was born. Then we made it sleep covered with <u>rayán</u> for two weeks, fifteen days, in that it slept giving off a strong small. For the dancers the majordomos made *chicha* with two *arrobas* of *jora* and a sackful. It filled very large jugs.

Testimony collected during the "First Meeting: Vicos Memories

At night, the band [of musicians] was well taken care of. Punch was prepared with *chicha* and eggs. It was made to boil with enough [a lot of] beaten eggs. That was served after *dispera* or vespers.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Ucushpampa sector

# Photo captions

Aluminum pots (2005)

Mate containing native [landrace] potatoes (2005)

Grinding with a batán [grinding stone] (circa 1958)

Preparing roast pork (1958)

Trapiche [sugar mill] to squeeze sugar cane (1958)

## 13. Health and illnesses

When anyone became ill he was cured with herbs. Depending what illness one had, the plants were gathered up, like muña<sup>99</sup>, or *punto de mora*, this was used for flu.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz. Paltash sector

When they were exploited by the *hacendados*, [the Vicosinos] escaped. Also on the coast around those times was the terrible illness they call yellow fever. Yes, many of our parents, our father's brothers, died with that ugly yellow fever.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Vicos Pachán sector

Behind the primary school, in the house of the motors, the doctor cured. The clinic begins with the Cornell Peru Project.

And before how was it?

Before, well, *mamita*, one cured just with herbs, with the guinea pig [shocma: passing the guinea pig]. Before, we lived better and tranquilly curing ourselves in this way. If we take a pill we are always with the mouth open because of the pain, but when we cured ourselves with herbs we got well rapidly. Before, people became ill less than now, furthermore, there were fewer people and not like now.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cachipachán sector

When we got sick we cured ourselves only with herbs from the countryside, there weren't any hospitals near by like now. Now, certainly we all go to the hospital, I just this time I arrived for the first time with my stomach ache.

Previously, who knew the hospital, only with natural herbs that we have in our agricultural fields we got well.

Before, there was no illness, because in that time we didn't use chemical fertilizers, there was only fertilizer from the corrals, <u>sachi</u> was done in the farm plots, the animals were more in the plots fertilizing, from that we harvested healthy, without worms, without illness.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Wiyash sector

**B**efore, with traditional medicine one cured, because there wasn't [any other] way to cure. Now, when we were big [adult], already appeared transportation, hospitals, too. Also, when one wanted one walked purely on foot carrying his equipment.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Minthostachis spp.

At that time one cured only with traditional medicine, even now we use herbs, for that reason they spoke completely. Not like now that they cannot even speak. They were educated, for that reason they lived better.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Ucushpampa sector

The toad from the agricultural fields is a remedy. You grab it on its back and you make it urinate, after making it urinate, rub it on your face where you have a toothache, until its stomach is very pink. Afterwards leave it in the same place and that toothache is totally taken away. The same toad you can pass it [over someone] like a guinea pig, like <a href="mailto:shocma">shocma</a> with a toad.

Julio Evaristo, Cachipachán sector

# 14. Clothing

When the Cornell Project arrived, Vicos was already in [the process of] changing its traditional clothing. People say that some even escaped to the coast not to work, to Huaraz, those places. From there the change in clothing began. Our fellow countryman Celso León we see that he came with glasses and with clothing from outside, then there the people lost the custom.

Wool trousers keep us warmer, mostly for that reason I use them almost continuously in the mornings and the afternoons. Some jackets they wear are no longer natural, they are just bought in Carhuaz and one has them made and they are put on.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Tambo sector

**Y**es, we women use [modern clothes]. I am using my pollera<sup>100</sup> since I was a girl, it is woolen. Formerly the women certainly used the black  $saya^{101}$  we see in the photo, but that no longer exists now. Also the pollera keeps on being, but no longer like the saya. According to each place, they have their customs. The clothes we are using are modern in their place.

To dye they used <u>patzu</u> and the shells of alder nuts, with this it was dyed a very strong black.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Vicos Pachán sector

Also our clothing [changed], almost in the most recent time we recently used trousers. Before it was only <u>wara</u> [trousers] of sheepswool. The white-colored shirts were called <u>cushma</u>, but they used others of natural colors, reddish, and they used other shirts of *tocuyo* [unbleached muslin]. The sleeves and collars were embroidered with different colors and figures. But more before [that] a black *manta* [mantle or poncho] was used, the <u>ayu</u>, which they tied at the waist with <u>wachuco</u> [wide woven belt]. And so, lifting up everything, we urinated.

When we were grown up people told us they used <u>wara hucrash qonqu</u> [three quarter length trousers]. Also inside the <u>wara</u> we used <u>solapa</u>, <u>cushma</u>, on top, <u>chupa</u>. Women went around in the black <u>saya</u> [overskirt], plus the <u>muñilo</u> [blouse with embroidered pleats]. I also used a white wool hat this way, the same as my parents. They put wool tassels on the hat. They embroidered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> A full, gathered skirt, usually several layers of them are worn at once. The *pollera* is traditional since colonial times; a *pollera* was a basket put over the baby chicks to protect them from hawks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> An overskirt, a long length of fabric wrapped around aver other skirts.

the collars of the blouses with colors of thread according to their fancy. Now girls and boys no longer want to wear the wool hats but rather the *castor* [beaver or felt hat] of different colors.

Women made their <u>piruas</u> [spindles] out of different native plants for spinning, for their own clothing.

<u>Llanqui</u> [sandals made from rubber tires] also before were <u>qara llanqui</u>, made of cowhide.

<u>Qara llanqui</u> were finished or they made a wound when they hardened and they slipped when one stepped on water or it rained. In the rainy season they slipped and one walked barefoot.

The grandparents in those times used the clothing <u>ayu</u>, <u>wara</u>, <u>chupa</u>, <u>solapa</u>, <u>wachuco</u>, hat, <u>cushma</u>, all this was of pure sheepswool they themselves made by hand, without knowing the sewing machine. Only more [of them were] of the color black.

In 1956 they started to study with traditional clothes. Now we no longer use [the traditional clothes], only other clothes. In 1970, in the earthquake they helped with food, clothing, corrugated tin roofing sheets. This way little by little they changed the traditional clothes that we used. Our clothing has also been changing little by little since 1970.

Testimonies collected during the First Meeting: Memories of Vicos

Uncle, could you tell us what men's and women's clothing was like before?

For men, <u>wara</u>. Inside their trousers, white underpants. After that, <u>cushma</u>, which is on top of the <u>solapa</u>; on top [of that] <u>chupa</u>, like a jacket. It was like a suit.

Did you go like that to the ravine also?

Yes, how hot one would have felt with that.

And the women, uncle?

Pollera [full skirt], saya [overskirt], shirt, <u>muñilo</u> [embroidered, pleated blouse], <u>acshuna jacu</u> [<u>lliclla</u> (shawl) or *manta* (mantle) to cover oneself] necklaces. *Pucha*! [Goodness!] They used enough [a lot of clothes].

Uncle, what materials were they made out of, just wool?

From sheep, pure wool.

Before they went around like we do in sandals made of rubber tires or barefoot?

They used gara llangui [cowhide sandals].

Félix Cruz, Paltash sector

Before children went to school with [an] <u>ayu</u> [a kind of wrap-around skirt or sarong] and not with a uniform. Boys and girls used this <u>ayu</u>, which is dyed black and is [made] of wool. They didn't [wear] a belt either, they tied it with a woven belt [wachuco] and they used it until they were young people.

We also worked with <u>ayu</u> [wearing <u>ayus</u>]. So what are you going to do, this was the custom. We worked, we were tranquil because it was the custom. To obtain rubber tire sandals one got the long tread part of a tire and cut them, measuring one's feet and later and then they made a hole on both sides and one in the middle to fasten the strips. When I was a boy one used the hide of a cow that was secured with thread. Before women were barefoot, [their feet] did not hurt. When they used [leather] sandals they fell down, for that reason, they took them off.

Formerly clothes were washed with the herb *jaboncillo*<sup>102</sup>, it got the dirt out well, because before soap wasn't even known. Also one washed with the suds from <u>quinua</u><sup>103</sup> and our own urine.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

We went [to school] without a uniform, with street clothes, but these clothes were of sheepswool, the <u>ayus</u>. These <u>ayus</u> were worn until [one reached] 13 or 14 years of age. The first clothes were the <u>cushma</u>, there wasn't either a shirt or pants. The <u>cushma</u> was put on from below like <u>señoritas</u> put on a skirt, in this way they put on these clothes. The hats were of different kinds, they weren't like now. All of them had <u>tucllu tsucu</u> [mushroom-shaped hats]. They were sewn by hand, like the woolen hats you are seeing now, like that, but in the shape of a mushroom.

As we went around [dressed in an <u>ayu</u>] when we were 13 or 14 years old, for that reason, we were embarrassed. When I don't know what program sent sewing machines, from that time they began to sew trousers, only recently we boys put on sheepswool pants. I wore an <u>ayu</u> until I was 14 years old.

Juan Apeña, Ullmay sector

With the <u>ayu</u>, we urinated raising the <u>ayu</u> or sitting. I used it until about two years and little by little I changed it. But now the young people and children already put on other clothes and believe in themselves, but they don't even know how to greet [people], they are <u>misti</u> [mestizos] with their clothes. My godmother speaks this way, her name is María Lázaro Cruz, to your face she says "they don't know how [talk to you] to your face, they speak to your back."

Sebastián Lázaro, Cullhuash sector

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Probably Sapindus saponaria

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> A highland grain, (Chenopodium quinoa),

Aunt, are your clothes like they were before?

Before the clothes [women wore] were long *polleras*, they used them folding them over [at the waist]. And *sayas* painted in colors, the *saya* was used like it is now, not very long.

But in Ullmay I have seen that they use them to here [below the knee].

For that reason I tell you that it is just to there.

And this saya, how did they sew it? With thread or what?

With thread, then, they even sewed the decorative trim with a thorn called <u>angui</u>.

And what did they dye with, with indigo or with wild [plants]?

They dyed with <u>patzu</u>, boiling the bark of a tree, human urine, and the <u>patzu</u> that we had here close by.

What is patzu, is it stone or earth?

It is black earth.

Before they just had black or did they also dye reds, green?

Sheepswool yes, they dyed greens but also pink, all colors. But now they also dye everything.

Your hats, aunt, what were they like?

Our hats were with ribbon, covered or hanging, and the hat was constructed of sheepswool and the men's [hats] were with velvet, too.

And your jackets, aunt?

Our jackets had <u>muñilos</u> [embroidered pleats on the sleeves].

And did you make these munilos or was there someone who knew how?

The ones that made the muñilos were the ones who knew how.

Rosa Vega Morán, Campanilla

When I was a child I still used the <u>ayu</u>. Why am I going to be afraid? What I used I have to tell the truth. I remember that from my childhood, but now newborn children no longer use <u>ayu</u> everything has changed this most recent time.

Before babies or children didn't use little boots, but now behind yes, they already use these street clothes.

Before women used <u>muñilos</u>, now that is no longer used and over everything they put <u>jacu rana</u>, one sees this custom there in the photos.

Now there no longer are those clothes of the <u>quepa wanracuna</u>, or the women of this time no longer want to use [them]. Today in the elementary schools some use them for contests, <u>jacu</u> is still used, but the *saya* [is] not [used] the way it should be. Just the oldest grandparents still use them. The young people now have become modernized, because before our grandmothers just used all <u>ruripa</u> o *pollera* made of sheepswool. Up to 12 or 15 *polleras* were worn for festivities, now they just barely only put on 2 or 3 *polleras*.

A sheepswool poncho keeps one warmer, some of those who are here, we still have them, but of others, there isn't any of the others any more, including the young people no longer use ponchos. Adults, yes, use sheepswool trousers, when they go to harvests or take a walk with the animals they let themselves put on their warmest clothes.

Before it was all <u>qara llanqui</u>, just some people used *tientos*. Now it is already different, now llanquis made from rubber tires are used.

The people from before just used a single model of hats, suits, and the same way for women. That way, like the grandparents are wearing.

Traditional clothes were sewn from sheepswool. The <u>cushma</u> was for a man and for the women the *pollera* or ruripa of this shape was used.

I remember that before only the grandparents we used <u>llanqui</u> of *tientos*<sup>104</sup> with their rubber strap. When we participate in the traditional dances on anniversaries we don't know how to think how the grandparents from before had many customs. Perhaps presenting this we would win prizes.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Cullhuash sector

**D**uring the rains sandals were taken off so as not to slip, so people walked barefoot. And those who didn't take off their sandals slipped and ran without sandals. Formerly, as I told you, <u>qara llanqui</u> [rawhide sandals] were used. Recently behind [a short time ago] <u>llanquis</u> [the present rubber-tire sandals] appeared, for that reason leather llanquis are no longer used.

Formerly minors used the <u>ayu</u> that they themselves sewed, that way was the custom and adults used <u>wara</u>. They themselves spun and wove, they used everything natural. They themselves made their <u>waras</u> and when there wasn't any wool to make [them] or there wasn't any wool then they kept on using the <u>ayu</u>. It was easier to use with a wide woven belt, they used the <u>ayu</u> until they were adults. The clothes changed when the *gringos* arrived, the white shirt, too. And some who didn't have their sheep, then they didn't make their clothes.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Puncucorral sector

Formerly the custom was nice-looking, the children went around with <u>ayu</u>, they wore them until they were 18 years old. I don't remember this because that was still from before, according to what they tell us about how the children went to study at school.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Strips or thongs, usually of leather.

Formerly all children used <u>ayus</u>, but now I see that since they are born they are already with trousers, for that reason I think what times will we come to later.

They didn't use <u>llanquis</u>, at that time there were <u>qara llanquis</u>, that is to say, of cowhide. Now we see that all kinds of clothes come into fashion, before only the rich used those clothes. I still used <u>llanquis</u> which we called *tientus* [thongs].

The hats we used were woolen, they only brought them to change or they sold them to us for money. The *señores* Shanti Cárgate and Juan Meza were acquaintances who worked with hats, then they lasted a long time. Now these persons are still seen, hats on the street are thinner, now they are of no use, the rain quickly ruins them.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Wiyash sector

Now, <u>mamita</u>, we no longer use mushroom-shaped hats, what we called <u>tucllu tsucu</u>. We use *polleras* of different colors, even clothes we have lost. We no longer put on [the clothing] like before.

As for clothes, as a necklace we have the little bag to make the papers go [to carry our papers] Wara were made from sheepswool. They said to us "those who urinate through the pocket" because these clothes didn't have a zipper, they only had through the pocket. Now they no longer use them, they are now already forgotten. Now the <u>ayu</u> is no longer used because it is embarrassing.

The <u>ayu</u> was used until the age of 15, they went to school [dressed in <u>ayus</u>] opening them and they got married already with trousers. Since there were no clothes like now they didn't have anything to put on, for that reason the <u>ayu</u> was used. Now most adults are wearing traditional clothing, that is, the old people. The young people no longer [wear them], now young men are embarrassed.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Cachipachán sector

■ still used <u>ayus</u>, but they were no longer black, but like the color of the *pollera* of that *señora*. I used it when I was 8 years old.

There isn't any hat from before here, of a *señora* there almost like one but lacking its adornments.

Are there weavers here?

Yes, there are weavers, but they don't dedicate themselves much to making weavings. For example, part of the *pollera* is woven right here, but the young people no longer use this type of weavings.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

Also in the celebrations of patron saints' days single women came with traditional dress, but with ten, fifteen, twenty *polleras* and apart from that they brought carrying [carried more] because after the mass they changed and when they got tired, they still went carrying. And the young men from before upon seeing the single women of thirty *polleras*, they chose. For them the one who put on the most clothes was the richest. And that was interesting, now we are already losing [the custom].

Now they put on just one. Still before, it didn't seem that they were seated, it looked like they were standing up. I also have still seen them, but I didn't see what they chose.

Yes, I saw them, too. It was like they say, they performed that custom. Because the truth [is] the old maids before dressed more quantity, how pretty their dresses were! Now there no longer are those types, they were of different colors those dresses, they were very pretty. And they have been losing that custom little by little. Now there isn't any, rarely does one see dressed in that way. Now the total has been changed for other clothes already. Yes, it was very pretty.

Testimonies collected in the second Workshop for preparing the original Spanish version of this book

### Photo captions

Vicosino clothes in 1955 (left) an 2005 (right)

Woolen wara and chupa (Manuel Meza, Cachipachán sector, 2005)

Using the ayu (around 1955)

Ponchos (1951)

Weaver (Máximo Llulla, Cachipachán sector, around 1955)

## 15. Construction and roads

Houses have changed, too, houses from before were small, with tile and straw roofs. They were built of stone with a straw roof in a circular shape.

Rosa Vega Morán, Campanilla

Of what size did they make the adobes? With the same measurements as now?

**N**o, they were rectangles of 60 by 40 centimeters, others were of 50 by  $40^{105}$ . The adobes from before were bigger than [the ones made] now.

Before how were houses inaugurated? Like they are now with a roncadora or without anything? In silence, they didn't even cook to make a fiesta because everything was minka. They roofed purely with straw or ichu or

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Sector Paltash

The size of the adobes, now the size is 40 by 40 [centimeters], before it was 60 by 30. Now it has changed because they weigh less, after the earthquake, it was modified. Previously we hauled 30 by 60, adobes are lifted on a chisel. After the earthquake, it already changed to 40 by 40, now [it's] technified, now [it's] the new style.

#### When is the adobe the safest?

With the construction from before, of course, because it was 30 by 60 [centimeters], it was safer because it was ample. We made constructions for the school, the church, for [religious] images. But in order to live we made 30 by 60. Now it is 20 by 40. That is, that is the tie and 40 by 40 to run in a straight line. Before, it was 30 by 60, you cut it in half and that was the tie. For the school they used 60 by  $60^{108}$  and for one's own construction 30 by 30 was used.

The engineers came and construction was modified. New studies, the adobe molds were modified, the majority used 40 by 40.

 $<sup>^{105}</sup>$  Some Vicosinos who revised the texts indicated that adobes measure 60 x 30 cm. or 50 x 25 cm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> An Andean flute which has two canes, one emits a low pitch and the other a higher pitch.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Stipa ichu, a stiff grass native to the Andean altiplano

Some Vicosinos who revised the texts indicated that adobes measure 60 x 30 cm.

Before, they had more strength than now; they carried big adobes, because before they ate without insecticides, without poisons. Before houses lasted longer, even now mine is [made by using] just a chisel and it doesn't fall down.

Before, right here they themselves made tiles and bricks. There around where the church is, around there was a pass to go to Vicos Pachán. Both sides were passages, through there the community members passed [going] to work. Even at the present [time] *Señor* Germán [from Huapra] does. Those who made tiles were just people we knew, they didn't even make us lose any tiles, everything came out well. They didn't do like they do today, ovens for burning, but they just excavated in the earth and there they burned them. Now everything is already just purchase.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Puncucorral sector

Now for construction we use adobes of 40 by 40.

And why did they change?

Well, I knew those adobes, and with those adobes I am doing construction. I don't know the truth.

It changed back [before] still, before they were big, now they are small. Before was better, it changed because it weighed a lot, it was, then, since before it was 60 by 60 and 60 by 30.

Testimonies gathered during the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

Construction is getting better all the time, now we see our schools which are already of noble materials [cement and brick]. When we see them we feel proud.

Previously, in our community we just had experts who made roofing tiles, in the same place where there was clay, and the molds were of little <u>chuchua</u><sup>109</sup> sticks, so they were thick. The tile depends on the mold, when the mold is thicker; [the tile] is stronger.

Now their molds are thin, they are 45 centimeters long by 25 in width, for this reason even the rain comes in, because they are thin.

Previously, our houses were purely <u>tika</u> and <u>ocsha</u>, when we harvested <u>huascar</u> wheat we took out the stalk to cover [the roof] like tiles. Now we one doesn't even look for <u>ocsha</u>, houses are now built just with tiles [tile roofs].

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Wiyash sector

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Some Vicosinoswho revised the texts say they used contsi casha.

The school they are already destroying now in order to make one out of brick, like they made the Casa de los Abuelos [the Grandparents' House]. Well, this school was built in 1954 and it was inaugurated in 1956.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Cachipachán sector

Vicos has changed now, because there was a narrow path through where one walked to Marcará, but now, because they made the road it is already modified, including the road comes along the way of that old path.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Tambo sector

#### Before were there vehicles like there are now?

No there weren't any vehicles, they walked everywhere on foot. To Carhuaz they say they went on foot, even my papa went to Carhuaz on foot. And to Huaraz also they went on foot. Now it is that there are vehicles.

What days did you go to Carhuaz? Every day?

On Sundays. Now there is no lack of people who go on Sundays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, not even a vehicle is lacking. Before, there wasn't a vehicle to be had.

Rosa Vega Morán, Campanilla

## Photo captions

Vicos (1955)

Making adobes in Vicos (circa 1954)

## 16. Other customs

# Chacchar coca<sup>110</sup>

They also consumed and knew coca since the time of the Incas. The grandparents chacchaban [11] [chewed coca leaf].

Even the tenants [who were running the hacienda of Vicos before the Cornell Peru Project] gave us coca leaf, weighing, weighing they gave [it to] us.

From what did they make the cal [lime] to chacchar 112?

From the stone from the limestone quarry and we burn it with <a href="mailto:carca">carca</a> [dried cow dung].

Testimony collected during the "First Meeting: Vicos Memories

In order to begin working in the fields the first thing was to <u>chacchar</u>. Since they had delegates for communal tasks, he [the delegate] was obliged to <u>chacchar</u> as long as one wanted oneself. Not even the delegate obliged [them] to stand up, it had a point called <u>pactarishcanam</u> [now we are ready for work].

Juan Apeña, Ullmay sector

Coca is not a vice for us, it is to strengthen the desire [to work] and it is medicinal because of having strong calories.

(A man) bought coca by *arrobas*<sup>113</sup> and cigarettes by *varas*<sup>114</sup>, and he nourished himself with everything natural from the zone, no other foods. And he died at 101 years of age and he had [a] complete [set of] healthy teeth, moreover, he still walked well.

Testimonies collected in the second Workshop for preparing the original Spanish version of this book Now our parents or our uncles do not explain to us how it was before. Before they raised animals and in the farming plots they <u>chacchaban</u> coca. Before they <u>chacchar</u>, they put a bit of coca that they gave to the plot, like that, and began to work.

And is this still done?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Leaves of the coca plant, *Erythroxylum coca*, *Lam*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> <u>Chacchar</u> in Quechua it is not simply an act of chewing, it implies the whole ritual of sitting in a circle and the offering and receiving of coca leaf, paying a little to the plot of land where they are going to work, as well as putting the lime and coca in their mouths and moistening it with saliva, forming a ball which they keep in one cheek while they work, like chewing tobacco is held in the cheek.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Some of the alkaloids of coca leaf are only released when it is "chewed" with a tiny amount of unslaked lime or ash from burned quinoa stalks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> An *arroba* is a unit of weight, which in Peru is the equivalent of 25 pounds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> A *vara* is a Spanish measure of length, varying from 32 to 43 inches

Yes, it is still done. And some young people, some know how to <u>chacchar</u> coca and some don't. Coca gives you spirit. When one makes the wad [of coca leaves] one doesn't feel hunger, anything, it gives you strength. Cigarettes, too, just the same.

Jaime Leiva Sánchez, Tambo sector

# <u>Minka</u>

More before the Peru-Cornell, everybody worked as though to say "today for me and tomorrow for you", that way moving, moving from plot to plot. When they saw money, they soon forgot, until nowadays nobody wants to work [in the form] of <u>ayllu</u> or <u>minka</u>.

Víctor Páucar, Ucushpampa sector

Before all work was [in the form of] <u>minka</u>, it wasn't paid. Mothers cooked, the leftovers of food were distributed to the workers for her house, for the whole family.

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

In very ancient times one worked purely minka. For dinner one served with an ankara [large gourd] and from the cooking pots.

Formerly they helped families [of those] who remained widows; they helped them in the farm plots or communal work until her oldest son was grown.

Testimony collected during the "First Meeting: Vicos Memories

**B**efore, we worked for the hacienda and we worked in big groups, as <u>minkas</u>. Now the whole community works by sectors.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Puncucorral sector

<u>Pelle</u> is what we harvest and we choose potato and seed. What remains very small, little potatoes, is <u>pelle</u> and we distribute it evenly, a *canasto*<sup>115</sup>, half a sack, two little arrobas. One distributes to everybody when we work in groups. <u>Minka</u> we work in sector, for example, forty, fifty persons we sow and when we harvest we distribute the <u>pelle</u>.

There is another that we give [as a gift] when they come to the <u>minka</u>: a measure of a *canasto* such as for paying a day's labor, potatoes are given, this already without choosing [them]. That is ushua.

Manuel Meza, Cachipachán Sector

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> A basket with no handle, like a wastepaper basket in shape and a measure equal to about a gallon.

# Hygiene and haircuts

**B**efore, hair was cut very bare. Now, no, even to school they get up and just go [the way they are].

Before, there was a barber shop in the school; it was to cut the children's hair.

Because some went with a lot of hair, some had a lot of lice, then they made the lice disappear that way. They looked like sheep, they had enough [a lot of] ticks.

They had ticks, too?

No, lice. I am putting it as an example for you. Then so they wouldn't produce more lice, they cut their hair very bare.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

There was a program, because there were enough [a lot of] lice in those times, in everybody's hair there were enough [a lot of] lice. For that reason they cut [hair leaving the head very] bare, as soon as it grew they already cut it. Now recently back [a short time ago] with that they cured [them], recently the lice have diminished. For that reason everybody stayed seated carefully searching for lice, for sure they still saw [some].

Cirilo Tadeo Cruz, Paltash sector

The teachers forced us to have [our hair] cut all bare, we liked it because now we no longer combed our hair, we just washed, we saved the comb. Some ended up sad and some glad after the haircut, even though they ended up sad, they cut their hair all the same.

Testimony collected during the meeting in Puncucorral sector

The cut previous to when the hacienda arrived was bare, because so much hair covered many lice. For that reason the teacher ordered everyone peeled bald. No one was annoyed because it was an obligation.

As for me I think I wouldn't let them cut my hair bare like that.

Testimony collected during the meeting in Wiyash sector

They cut saying that their hair made them lose their intelligences. They said our hair covered our intelligence for that reason one had to have one's hair cut. And they cut the hair of others to prohibit the lice.

Before, their children were more neglected, black like that, dirty, for that reason it hurt when they cut our hair.

Testimony collected during the meeting in Cachipachán sector

# Lighting a fire

The candle was lit by striking stones. Really, when I was your age, I lit the candle in this way.

What color stones were hit?

Any stone.

What did they put next to the stones? Straw?

No, we put soot from the cooking pot. When you strike the soot on the pot, it catches fire.

Do these stones exist now?

Now there are no longer these stones. 116 Finally, we don't even do this.

Rosa Vega Morán, Campanilla

In the time of my little grandmother I remember there was a blue stone. They looked for a cooking pot and they scraped and took off what was called soot in a rag, on that they struck [the blue stone] and from there a spark came out. There they caught, there they caught that. Yes, I remember. Matches appeared a short time ago, some had [them] and others didn't have [them]. Because [whoever] didn't have matches, lit [a fire] like that.

Here, of course, the little old-fashioned grandmothers scraped the back part of the <u>callana</u> [pan for preparing corn], after scraping it they struck the stone with the sickle, then when they struck the sickle a spark fell, then it caught fire and just from there they soon lit the candles, just blowing and blowing. Please, just like that they lit their candles before, now we can still light them. Like I tell them, they took tablecloths, on that they threw soot and they struck the stone with the sickle and it caught, this even my mother did still.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Puncucorral sector

In older times, they say our grandmothers who only used a blue colored stone to start the fire, they didn't need matches like now. In Conchucos some friends made me know the stone, in that place it was brown colored, now I didn't bring it, perhaps for other dates I am going to bring it to check.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Wiyash sector

# Old games

We see a boy who is <u>chictando</u> his marble [shooting marbles]. Before they played with <u>pushpu<sup>117</sup></u>, <u>lachis</u>, <u>colorado<sup>118</sup></u>, <u>numias</u> [varieties of beans]. Now already they play with <u>brillo</u> [steel marbles], with glass marbles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Some Vicosinos who revised the texts say that yes, there were such stones, but they have lost the custom of using them

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> See chapter 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Red, kidney beans

In the game, when they lost, they stole beans from the house to keep on playing. Before, to play we also used little round riverstones.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Puncucorral sector

The [constellation of] the Siete Cabrillas [the Pleiades], before, the rich people bet how many stars are there in the sky, a round number. As we say <u>cancha</u> in Quechua and in Spanish one says the Seven Little Goats. Sometimes one counted six and sometimes seven, and the one who said "seven" won the seven little goats. And it is named like that.

Ilario Copitán Coleto, Tambo sector

## Photo captions

Chacchando coca leaf (circa 1954).

Haircutting at the primary school in Vicos (circa 1954).

Playing with little stones (Vicos 2004).

## 17. Some concerns and the future of Vicos

## Farming plots, lands and contamination

As far as I am concerned, we would recover the land fertilizing it with natural fertilizers, <u>sachi</u>, as they said before. With <u>sachi</u> the dung from the animals was used as fertilizer and the urine was used as foliar fertilizer. Our national governments and the local governments say there is going to be compatibility, how can we think of that <u>compatibility</u> while we don't produce healthy products? If it is this way, only then we can talk about compatibility.

A kilo of potatoes in Huaraz (costs) S/. 0.60 and in Lima S/. 1.00. The potatoes that have not been cultivated with chemical products can pay (the farmer) two or three times more, what they call "organic". With <u>sachi</u> and also with natural disease control.

(In) the years 1978 and 1979, I was in the ecological school in Huánuco. There I was participating ecologically almost two years. There, at that time we detected how to control that case of white tuber worms<sup>119</sup>, there *rocoto*<sup>120</sup> (a kind of hot peppers) is applied. For the frost, ashes are strained, one fills up the pump and fumigates the plant, it was controlled that way there. Now it is not done because people are idle and our agriculture doesn't improve. Also in one of the provinces Puno, for example, they do not know that synthetic fertilizer exists, or what urea would be, what insecticide would be, but they produce their products normally. In that aspect one could improve for the future

Using a bottle, ashes are dusted (onto the plant) so the worms don't attack, without using chemicals. My father did not teach me this. I did not know my father, he has already died.

Before, one sowed in new ground<sup>121</sup>, one sowed and harvested enough, because of that we didn't know about chemical products.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in the Vicos Pachán sector

Then, in order to use natural fertilizer, you need animals and pasture to raise the animals?

**B**ut pasture is very scarce. That is, we are increasing the lands we are parceling out to our community members, to our children we are parceling out, there is no longer any pasture, because all our lands are lands for sowing, then we can no longer raise more (animals) there is no longer any land either. Everything is occupied, that is the problem.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Premnotrypes vorax

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Capsicum pubescens

Instead it is getting worse day by day because of the growth of our children, they keep increasing, and the land keeps on being taken, there is no longer going to be any pasture and we are going to get to the point of famine, because that is seen. Now we no longer have land, the children we have are hundreds that are in school, and when they grow up they will form their homes. Where are they going to go? The parcels we have we are going to parcel out and we aren't going to be able to. That is, it will barely suffice to be able to live, to clothe ourselves and for education and then famine is going to come on top of this, the land disputes and we are going to arrive at those worries.

Why not? These children that are here were are they going to end up?

I don't think there is any solution. Where are we going to go? This is happening at the national level, not only in Vicos. For example, that quantity of people in Lima, when is it going to come? When a pestilence arrives, where are all those people going to go? It will come here, to the highlands, to occupy all the land and take all our plantings and there the worries are going to come, because the sea is what maintains all those citizens, the ports, Chimbote, so many people. You believe they are going to live from the farming plot? In Callao do they live from the farm plot? All from the port. But sometime a disease (affecting the) fishing has to come on top of our brothers. What are they going to eat? They will have to go out to the countryside because from there is what comes quantity of people, that is my word, *señorita*. There is also going to be nothing to sell or to maintain our families and for the animals, that's how it is.

Félix Sánchez Vega, Vicos Pachán sector

The disease arrived in a short time and so, little by little, the artificial inputs arrived, because more before, we used to sow just with dung because the land was virgin. On those lands, it gave a good harvest, now, well, the contamination itself puts us in the position of needing to use insecticides and fungicides. But that time our grandparents have eaten healthy proteins and potatoes, because everything was natural, the livestock was nourished with healthy, natural pastures. Not like now, all the pasture (is) contaminated, the environment (is) contaminated.

The lands were good, but now we already see that the farm plots no longer produce like they should or the worth of the farm plots is no longer the same as before.

Now besides we see our farm plots are small, every day they become smaller with the increasing population, and including when one sows it no longer produces like before. Before,

the question of ollucos<sup>122</sup>, cereals, maize, oca<sup>123</sup>, potato, <u>mashua<sup>124</sup></u>, gave good harvests. Now almost this is no longer like before.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Tambo sector

Now it is all sown pure chemicals, the farm plots have gotten accustomed, there is no longer any harvest without these inputs. But this harms us, the potatoes are made to grow and profit by force. Now it is just all hormones.

Juan Colonia Flores, Wiyash sector

Formerly we used pure fertilizer from the islands (and) from the corral, we didn't know any other fertilizer like now, no. What type of fertilizer there is in the market, one is even confused by their names.

But nonetheless, before with organic fertilizers we harvested better potatoes. Now we use all classes of synthetic fertilizers, but we don't realize that we are ruining our farm plots more and more. We no longer get a good harvest, even the seed has been changed, because before it was all lluta or native potatoes.

Testimony collected during the meeting in Wiyash sector

Look, everything about our grandparents has been very interesting, because before they did not use chemical cures or fertilizers. Before, one sowed with natural fertilizer, with humus, organic fertilizer, <a href="mailto:sachi">sachi</a><sup>125</sup>. For curing diseases, home remedies were made, everything natural. Now we use practically none of that.

Before they are natural products, now since at times we use chemical pesticides then at times one gets sick more quickly.

Before they didn't get sick, <u>mamita</u>, now it is what makes us sick because we also cultivate potato fertilizing, pouring poisons, for that reason we get sick more.

Before they didn't get sick, they didn't throw these remedies on them.

Could one go back to what there was before?

Yes, by practicing we can go back.

Would you be interested in practicing a little?

Well, on one hand it would be good to recover (what there was before) and mix (it) with what is modern. Now the potato (plants) are just falling over, they are dying with worm. Now we sow, if

<sup>122</sup> Ullucus tuberosus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Oxalis tuberosa

<sup>124</sup> Tropaeolum tuberosum

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> <u>Sachi</u> in Quechua, or *majadeo* in Spanish, is a system of confining sheep or cattle in a field during the night in order to fertilize the parcel with their dung.

they aren't with fertilizer, they don't produce, now it is in vain. Late blight, as soon as we sow, they already have this disease.

I believe we cannot return to what there was before. The clouds are worse, they bring the pestilence and everything dies. We are seeing with our own eyes. The little grandparents from before no longer exist, they are already dying, for that reason we the new ones are no longer like them, because our crops now produce less, not like in the times of the grandparents.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Cachipachán sector

When it was turned into a community is that pumps arrived to fumigate arrived, the pump appeared when the gringos arrived. In the times of the hacienda they did not treat potatoes because disease didn't even take hold. More before, as he said, they sowed without fertilizer, without fumigating the harvest was much better than nowadays.

#### Why do they use remedies now?

The diseases come because of the mining contamination, therefore late blight, white tuber worm and the potato tuber moth<sup>126</sup>. Then one fumigates to gather a better harvest and so it isn't lost.

### These diseases are because of the mining?

Well, it is because of the contaminations, because of the air.

In other sectors they say that from using so many remedies the land got tired and for that reason more diseases arrived.

That cannot be. For example, we have a piece of land that wasn't sown in 50 years, which they tell that our grandparents had cultivated, we sow that part without putting fertilizer, without fumigating. There is no harvest! It is like more before, they have not cultivated the piece of land, it is as though that land were virgin. We cultivate, now it should have had a good harvest, then, without fertilizer, without fumigation. Because of that I say it seems to me it must have been contamination because of the air, maybe because of worms, moths that go to that land, that is what I am saying.

I believe that is why one does not sow like before, one sows in furrows like now. Now one sows in furrows everywhere.

#### If one sows without furrows does it produce better or not?

Without furrows or with furrows it produces the same, the furrow serves us just for watering, fumigating and he plant is not maltreated.

In accordance with that, in former times, would also be to touch a little on mining, which also is one more in the contamination. Not only the insecticides we use, mining is what contaminates

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Phthorimaea operculella (Zeller)

more than anything else today, even through the air, for example. Speaking of Barrick, Antamina, Mina Cóndor, Toma la Mano<sup>128</sup>, the dump trucks come without covering (the load) with a tarpaulin then the wind comes and carries the minerals (all over). For example, more before, around the zone that I worked we had natural plants which we didn't even water, such as the *queñuales*<sup>129</sup>, *quisuar*<sup>130</sup>. We harm those plants. When I was 8 or 12 years old, I climbed up to ravine and found good *queñuales*, now I go and they aren't even my size.

## Why do you think?

Because of the mining contamination, because of the dust, mostly because the wind that blows over here and over there. Don't believe that the wind just stays deposited here. Antamina and Barrick, they say they put special bags so they are filled with gases there, (but) it is very difficult, part will enter (the bag) but most of it gets out and makes the contamination. On the tops of the hills there were plants, now we don't see those plants because of the air contamination, on all sides we are contaminated.

We want a good person like him (referring to Mario Vázquez), who changed us. The idea we have is for it (the community of Vicos) to improve a little more. Yes, because we have more inhabitants, more population, we are only a development. All the lands below have been divided up into lots, we want there to be equal for everybody. Although he doesn't come with much support, at least with a few ideas.

The population must grow far better than what we are, to what I know the community (can be). More before, the community had good locales, that today we do not see those locales. From here 10 to 12 years back, before it was divided into lots, it was better. That is, that the houses were better, now those houses I see that they are falling down. Currently we have a house that is useless. Why? Because of lack of administration, form or way of using, I don't know.

#### What do you think changed in the 10 or 11 years?

I remember very well, 12, 10 years back there was more respect only because of experience, it is not like now that the pigs, donkeys, all the animals are as if they were owners. We have leaders, but in vain, more before, the leaders created respect and the animals didn't come in just like that. Now, as we see, when we enter the community locale we can't even sit on the *champa* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Toma la Mano exploits a mining deposit located at the head of the Quebrada Honda ravine. Barrick and Antamina operate farther away from the community: the Pierina mine (exploited by the Barrick mining company) is found in the Cordillera Negra and Antamina operates in the Callejón de Conchucos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Polylepis spp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Buddleia spp.

(sod), it is totally dirty with that from the animals. Before they certainly made one respect and every one raised their animals in their houses. Now we see my neighbors who have pigs, they spend all night walking around.

For example, when I was 15, 18 years old I didn't hear (anyone) talking about trichina<sup>131</sup> (worm) and now there are enough trichina worms, a lot of disease. Why? Exclusively because of filth. Yes, it is dangerous. More before, we ate healthier and cleaner meats.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

More before, the land was still good, instead today the land is totally contaminated with the use of a lot of chemical fertilizers. Now, no matter how much we change the seed, it still doesn't yield in production and the harvest no longer turns out the same. That is, now the quantity is less in comparison with previous years. Now there are few people who sow naturally. My father-in-law still sows that way.

Previously, they lived (a) very different (way), perhaps better. Without contaminating, they lived a longer time. But since they, the gringos, arrived, we have known fertilizers, insecticides and other things. We want to improve in order not to keep on poisoning ourselves.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Ullmay sector

# Authorities, the State and privatization

The primary school from before was very pretty because one learned well, they were hygienic, one did one's homework. Now all this has been lost.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Wiyash sector

The members of congress don't worry (about us), but they just worry about earning money from the State. That we, too, are part of the State, with our income we give them so they earn, those señores. They don't worry (about us) and they aren't technically prepared to technify the members of the different communities. Perhaps some other communities are benefiting, but Vicos is never benefited by the Ministry of Agriculture, so many people that are involved (in the ministry). In spite of us participating as a town, with taxes that we buy we are paying those people, those are my words.

Félix Sánchez Vega, Vicos Pachán sector

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> The larva of *Trichinella spiralis*, which causes trichinosis.

Economically our country is very badly off, mostly the *campesino* farmers we are badly off because of the political question. Politics has us fooled, there is a lot of corruption, theft, there is no legal justice around there. That affects us a lot in order to develop more in our country.

#### How does that effect (you)?

At times there are people who take advantage of other people, they don't make themselves respected as far as the authorities are concerned, there is no honor, there is disorder and that is what our children copy.

As I say then, politics is very bad, there is no support as there should be. Our agriculture, our product of the countryside, are low-priced, everything that we work, we are not compensated. Then, it depends on the government. That is what worries me a lot, for that reason I inform you that are making programs.

We have a quantity of mines, they exploit some and some not, the only that exploits is the Toma la Mano mine. I don't believe they take care of the environment, there are institutions like The Mountain Institute, they don't even find out, they come and return saying that it is all right. It is what I see. Mining engineers go but they don't go to fulfill their functions.

Yes, the government and the Ministry of Energy and Mines go and they give them *sencillitos* (bribes) those from the mine so they shut up.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

The privatizations are now threatening, because it is not necessary that they privatize water. And Chancos the same way. Chancos is the community's, but inside it the government has the power to privatize all natural resources. For example, the Huascarán National Park that is a government institution, INRENA, gives benefits. This we do not see, that must correspond to the *campesino* where it is fitting for him to conserve nature.

We *campesinos* must benefit from the Huascarán National Park and annul that law. It should pass to the communities that are inside the territory. The theme of privatization of water and Chancos concern us.

When they privatize Chancos we have to rebel. Because now we are making improvements in education and when they privatize they cut off our hand.

Víctor Páucar, Ucushpampa sector

# Water, deglaciation and climatic change

The snows before were even lower down, now they are already disappearing.

Testimony collected in the meeting in Cullhuash sector

Because of the deglaciation it is getting lower, from what there was before is already black. For example, that snow peak Tsucushqa Raju was whiter, but now there isn't any (snow) any more, just pure rock one can already see, if it was totally covered.

Before, according to Vicosinos, it (the snow peak) was a sign, but now since the snow peak is advancing (one sees more rocks), the snow peak is no longer a sign.

## How was the sign? What sign did it give before?

When they saw water coming down, a sign so that it rains or so that the rain would go away said those who knew, these are the more greater.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Vicos Pachán sector

Rather on those rocks it opened on top, it is that one didn't see the snow, it (the peak) was covered (with snow). When it had dried recently one could one could see just the pure rock. The rainy season was coming to an end, now it is not like it was before. Then it is already very hot and little moisture, I believe that the snow is all worn away there. To other people, the environment doesn't matter to them.

Oscar Leyva, Tambo sector

We are also looking at the snow peak Copa. This snow peak is ending, from there comes the thaw water.

### Is the climate the same now or has it changed?

When I was 13, 14 years old in the month of March I grazed the cow up around the ravine in my (school) vacation in the months of January, February, March. In the time of March, it rained a lot. Enough! Torrentially, it rained! That nowadays in the months of January, February, March, it doesn't rain, almost nothing.

#### When does it rain more now?

Almost a little bit, it doesn't have much season.

#### Was it colder before than it is now?

It is almost the same <sup>132</sup>, only it rained more before.

Five years back it rained more heavily, now it has gone down a lot.

Testimonies collected in the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

Some Vicosinos who checked the texts say that before it was colder and others say that, on the contrary, it was less cold before. What they do agree on is that they perceive that the climate has changed and that it is less predictable.

## Are there any campesinos who have been controlling water quality?<sup>133</sup>

Urpichallay also, 2 years back, took carrying lime. I, especially, with my shoulders I have carried that lime. But they took (it) to a river they say that that river has more contamination, but I think that it is not sufficient with that little bit of lime, I don't believe it is being maintained until now. No, it seems that a little time they have made us carry, later on they forgot.

#### Now do you keep on?

It seems there is no longer any support.

#### The community couldn't do it alone?

Also, yes, it can be done, if there is support, interest. When there is support and participation from everybody many things can be done.

Testimonies collected during the meeting in Coyrocsho sector

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Reference is made to the project Agua para Siempre [Water Forever], executed by the Urpichallay Association and The Mountain Institute with the community of Vicos. A group of Vicosinos trained as environmental promoters still continues some activities monitoring water quality and environmental remediation.

# 18. The Living Memory Project

Florencia Zapata

I visited the Peasant Community of Vicos for the first time in 1999, never imagining that four years later I was going to begin one of my most gratifying professional and personal experiences: the Living Memory Project. The testimonies collected in the previous chapters reflect only part of this initiative in which I had the privilege of accompanying the people of Vicos.

The Living Memory Project started in Vicos in 2003, more than fifty years after the Peru-Cornell Project, one of the most important applied anthropology programs in Latin America, started off in the same community. Following the preliminary contacts between Cornell University and The Mountain Institute, early in 2003 I carried out several exploratory interviews and consultations with people in Vicos, inquiring into their memories and knowledge of the Peru-Cornell Project and their interest (and reasons for) recovering information related to that project.

Although the Peru-Cornell Project continued for more than 10 years—from 1952 to 1962, with specific activities from 1962 to 1966—and had a significant impact on the future of the community of Vicos, by the 1970s some investigators had already observed that Vicosinos were starting to forget the project and its interventions. The interviews I had with some Vicosinos gave different results. As was to be expected, the older people interviewed had more memories or information, although in many cases they did not agree. The younger people interviewed, although they had no memories of the Peru-Cornell Project since they had not lived it, the record of that experience had almost completely disappeared. Nevertheless, when I consulted them about their interest in recovering information about the Peru-Cornell Project, they showed a high level of enthusiasm.

At the same time, two consultations carried out with the Vicos Governing Council, the community's highest political authority, resulted in an official document requesting the support of two NGOs, The Mountain Institute and the Urpichallay Association, so that the community could recover the information about the Peru-Cornell Project "that is to be found in Cornell University and which is important for our history and communal culture". In their words: "It is sad when we forget", "It would be a great legacy for us, like tools for our children" That request gave the formal beginning to the Living Memory Project, which at that time had an eminently practical objective: to respond to the Community of Vicos' request by delivering copies of some of the documentary materials from the Peru-Cornell Project that are archived in the libraries of Cornell University in Ithaca, New York in the United States.

The first stage of the Living Memory Project was developed in Cornell University, between March 2003 and July of 2004. During this stage I was basically dedicated to research in the archives of the Vicos Collection in

the Cornell libraries, which have most of the university's documents relating to the Peru-Cornell Project. I focused my work on the visual materials, which had been prioritized by the people from Vicos during the consultations. I set up a data base and I made a selection of materials to be returned to the community. With the university's support, a documentary, five short films and some 170 black and white photographs, color slides and panoramic images were digitized; in addition to preparing 48 of these photographs in large format, high quality prints.

In August 2004 I returned to Peru and delivered copies of the digitized materials to the governing council, the primary school and the secondary school in Vicos. Meanwhile, the printed photographs were included in the permanent exhibition in the Grandparents' House, the community's cultural interpretation center. During the months of August and September 2004, eight presentations of the visual materials were made in the Community Hall, the primary school and the secondary school in Vicos, which more than 1100 Vicosinos attended. It was the memory "update" phase, the audience acting more as spectators and the process of dialogue or group reflection had not yet begun.

During the days in which the films and photographs were being projected, I offered to accompany the Vicosinos who were interested in the process of "thinking together" about their past and about the manifold meanings that this past has for their present and their future. Building on the interest of some of the Vicosinos, we initiated the second stage of the Memory Project, which took the form of a participatory investigation <sup>134</sup> starting from the dialogue between local memories and collective reflection. In this sense, the Living Memory Project proposed a constructive type of investigation (rather than an extractive type), in a process in which the external researchers as well as the local co-researchers agreed with each step of the project, from the setting up the objectives to its execution, sharing the production of the knowledge and the interpretation of the results of the process. Because, as Berta Bonilla, co-researcher and principal of the Vicos secondary school, commented, talking about conventional research: "Many people come (to Vicos), to gather data but we don't know what they do with these data. They ought to leave some references".

For that reason then, we had already redefined the objectives of the project. The Vicosinos involved wanted "to know more about the times of our grandparents" and "for our children to know (about those times)". In addition, the external institutions hoped to better understand the impacts of development projects from the local perspective, in order to elaborate better frameworks and strategies in working with communities, and at the same time evaluate the effectiveness of participatory research in opening more inclusive and more plural spaces for collective reflection.

With those interested in "thinking together", two groups of local co-researchers were formed: one with students and teachers from the Vicos secondary school and another with young and adult residents of the

Participatory research is that which recognizes everyone's capacity to produce knowledge, respecting his or her distinct expressions and manner of producing it, and also recognizes the value and power of this knowledge. Moreover, it emphasizes participation, understood as an exercise of people's right to control their own situation, and seek a horizontal relationship between the outside researchers and the members of the community (local co-researchers). Finally, it promotes changes that improve the situation of the community involved. (Greenwood and Morten, 1998).

countryside of both sexes. At the beginning, we decided to work until December "to see how it goes for us". With both groups the themes of interest were identified and meetings, workshops and other "labors of memory". activities were held. For example, the young people from the secondary school decided to interview adults and elderly people in the community. On the other hand, after several sessions to see and to analyze the visual materials, the second group of co-researchers decided to organize a meeting with representatives of the 10 sectors of Vicos in order for everybody to see the materials together and "talk about it" about it "When we don't talk about it, we forget."

That was the "First Meeting: Memories of Vicos", in which 84 Vicosinos of all ages met collectively to see and analyze the photographs and films, share the progress of the group of co-researchers, to elaborate an "historical map" of Vicos and propose the "products" that they as a community expected from the project. First, they decided to extend the updating and reflection process to the 10 sectors of the Community of Vicos, with meetings in each. Additionally, they decided that they wanted to have "a book on the history of Vicos" for present and future generations. As one of them said, "Thus I am grateful for being able to talk about this project (Peru-Cornell). Many years have passed to be able to recover, to know and see videos on how the project was. This way, then, those of each sector, of different ages, are together to recover everything good from our grandparents, what they left us, the negotiations they had, their customs of the whole community. This is very interesting for the youths".

At that time, it was already December and the Living Memory Project had been extended by six months. With the support of the Governing Council and the delegates from each sector, we began to organize the 10 meetings while we continued with the activities with the two groups of local co-researchers. As for the book, my "suggestion" was that it be "written by the Vicosinos themselves" who would collect local memories from local voices so it would not be one person's or a few people's interpretation. Faced by their incredulity at their own capacity to "write a book", arose the idea of making a document that would string their testimonies together that they themselves were going to give during the meetings in each sector:" *Until now we don't know the history of Vicos. A project or a little book to teach our children about Vicos would be good. An investigation to get (information) in order to know the history of the community of Vicos in more detail. Only we know, but this reaches from generation to generation. [...] In this project it is necessary for everyone to participate. (Oscar Leyva).* 

In January 2005 a new governing council assumed office, which welcomed the Living Memory Project and collaborated in the organization of the meetings in each sector. The meetings began in April, after the secondary school vacation. In every meeting the visual materials were projected and a space was opened for

The Living Memory Project was framed in the theoretical developments on the construction of collective memory, particularly in the concept of "labors of memory" (Jelin, 2002), which in the collective plane promotes debate and active reflection on the past and its sense for the present and for the future.

The register of oral histories and analyses of narratives are framed in the theory of *Narrative Inquiry*, understood not simply as stories told, but as "a form of research, a way to know" (Lyons and LaBoskey, 2002).

collective recalling and reflection evoked by the projected images. It is not hard to imagine the logistic challenges of moving a "traveling movie theater" over the mountainsides to reach every corner of the community. The local co-researchers were gaining confidence as co-facilitators, especially a group of students stimulated by the support of Berta Bonilla, the secondary school principal. As co-facilitators they not only participated in the organization and development of the meetings, but also in the elaboration of the questions and the oral record (recordings) and visual record (photographs). Every meeting, with an attendance that reached more than 100 participants in certain sectors, had its own particular flavor and color. The following oral and graphic testimonies report on the meetings and some of what they learned:

"I said one of the first times we saw the photos, (that's) enough, with something unknown, we watched and that's it. But now that we have seen it, there is more interest to know and every time it is more interesting and we want to keep on learning more because of the interest and one keeps learning new things. [...] Today it has seemed to me they have participated more. In spite of their not being men and women from that period, it seems to me that their parents or, when they were children, their little grandparents, told them and their memories are still living." Berta Bonilla, coresearcher, principal of the Vicos secondary school.

"This time we worked better [...] Before we worked differently, just showing the photos, without talking, without asking (about them) [...] now (they are) calmer this way, looking and stopping, and then what they are seeing they present to the participants, if they know they tell us so. This way we are going to work well. Our children watch, they say, 'Before our little grandparents used (things)', the children say they are going to learn." Ascencio Meza, farmer co-researcher.

"They gave more time for each photo, in order for them to think and say what place it is and who this person is, what he or she is doing and what function did he or she have. I liked that. On the other hand I was embarrassed about recording, but I overcame my embarrassment and people responded well. [...] from then on, little by little they began to share their information." Jonathan Evaristo, co-researcher, student at the Vicos secondary school.

"We would like to do what they were doing before." Testimony collected during the meeting in the Puncucorral sector "They haven't told the youth of today what they told me, all this we talked about with some grandparents and this (is what) I am sharing with the rest." Testimony collected during the meeting in the Cullhuash sector

"If any of you know the photo or know anything (about it), tell us so we all know. We must cultivate our pasts." Testimony collected in the meeting in the Vicos Pachán sector

"Previously the way to know the community was through the grandparents, contacts, asking the grandparents questions. In my town I have also known things by asking my little grandparents, for example, how they sowed before." Testimony collected during the meeting in the Tambo sector

"During the meeting it was very interesting to see how the parents and grandparents participated. It is only necessary to strike the spark." Vladimir Alvarado, co-researcher and teacher at the Vicos secondary school, during the evaluation of the meeting in the Ullmay sector

"[...] I always liked to reflect with the rest of my countrymen, [...] that way we have to keep on knowing the history of our community of Vicos." Testimony collected during the meeting in the Wiyash sector

"When I see, the house arrives in my head and I remember that they were building the school," Testimony collected during the meeting in Cachipachán sector

"Many photos that we are seeing are now in the Grandparents' House in a picture." Testimony collected during the meeting in the Coyrocsho sector.

"We want to see our grandparents more." Testimony collected during the meeting in the Paltash sector

"All right, we are all here, with young people, women and everybody whom we love to see our ancestors from the time of the little grandparents." Testimony collected during the meeting in the Ucushpampa sector

After the meetings in the 10 sectors ended, we began the work of preparing this book <sup>137</sup> that, as I give the details in the introduction, was realized with a group of more than 50 Vicosinos who analyzed, edited and organized the texts arising from the transcription and translation of the testimonies. They did this with great patience and commitment: they had already appropriated the book of their memories.

This book marks the culmination of an important stage of the Living Memory Project. As I said at the beginning of this chapter, it also reflects part of the richness of the project. I say "part" because I want to underline the richness of the process of "thinking together", talking and sharing memories and opinions and also the richness of learning. Learning that in part arises from this book, although deeper evaluation and systematization (which has already started) will be needed to understand the dimension of the lessons learned. That is one of the upcoming challenges of the Living Memory Project. As Víctor Paucar, from Ucushpampa, said: "I am satisfied that we are giving reflection for our community and for Peru, Vicos and its sectors, [...] it is the time to share all knowledge".

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#### Photo captions

Interview with Rosa Vega	
Meeting in	sector

The editorial and production team of Memories of the Community of Vicos: The way we remember it, with happiness

Books such as Minería y comunidades: Testimonios orales y gráficos [Mining and Communities: Oral and graphic testimonies] (CooperAcción, 2000) are a valuable source of information.

# List of project participants and persons who gave their testimony

Living Memory Project
Project Coordinator:
Overall Advising:
By the Urpichallay Association:
Field assistants and translators:
Facilitator:
Administration:
By The Mountain Institute:
Facilitator:
Elaboration of maps:
Administration:
Logistic support:
Cornell University Advisers:
Members of the local group of co-investigators from the Community of Vicos
Participants in the local group of co-investigators from the Colegio Pedro Pablo Atusparia, Vicos
Participants in the group for the preparation and elaboration of <i>Memories of the Community of Vicos: The way we remember it, with happiness</i>
Participants in the meeting in the sector
Others who offered their testimony

In addition to the young people and adults who gave their testimony and whose names figure in the lists, 216 boys and girls under 8 years old also attended the sector meetings.

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