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Communities of Water: An Examination of Cooperation and Conflict in Water Management
Practices in the Central Peruvian Andes

Sylvie D. Littledale

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Communities of Water: An Examination of Cooperation and Conflict in Water Management Practices in the Central Peruvian Andes

Sylvie D. Littledale
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Master of Arts

This thesis explores two examples of water management in the highland Peruvian villages, San Pedro de Llanca and San Antonio de Chinchina. One example is of cooperation and union between the two communities. The other is of conflict between the same two villages just 40 years prior. I examine ethnographic and ethnohistorical data from both the collaborative period and the conflictive period of these two communities' relations over water. The data suggest that, while the outcomes of these two periods were drastically different, the processes through which these communities came into relation with one another were quite similar. Their communal union or fragmentation depended on subtle differences in their positional relations to a common resource, water, others who needed the resource, and external entities who had authority over that resource. The result is two neighboring sister communities who flow in to and out of each other's communal orbit according to circumstance and practice, rather than permanent, abstract village identity.

Keywords: cooperation, conflict, community, water management, Central Peruvian Andes, authority, written records, Champería

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1 | Introduction

Ye::s. Us and Chinchina. It was because of water. Yes. But we have worked it out already, we worked it out later. It ended up okay, to this day we don't have any issues. They are still fine. Ah, not anymore, there wasn't any more feuding after that. We left it there.¹

-Don Vincente, Llanca, March 12, 2018

While writing this introduction, my sister Tess called me. I told her I was having trouble finding a way to start. I gave her a synopsis of the thesis: how I was discussing the fluctuation between cooperation and conflict between two Andean communities surrounding water management. As I told her about how the structures and circumstances that resulted in cooperation in one instance and conflict in another were actually quite similar, and how casually the two communities seemed to reconcile after what appeared to be a significant rift, Tess observed: “it sounds like a sister relationship. They’re constantly existing in an interplay of interdependency and animosity.” She was right and as she said it, I remembered having had the same thought while researching this thesis. San Pedro de Llanca and San Antonio de Chinchina are sister communities: they share physical proximity and a parent community, rely on the same resources, and lead separate but ever-abutting lives. As my sister and I know well, there is no other relationship that better explains how cooperation and conflict can coexist so closely and so frequently between two people. The processes I observed at a group level in Llanca and Chinchina are slower and on a larger scale, but nonetheless demonstrate these seemingly

¹ “Sí:: Nosotros con Chinchina pue’. Por el agua era. Ah. Pero hemos arregla’o ya, después arregla::mo’. Ya se quedó bie::n ya, hasta ahora estamos tranqui::lo. Ellos siguen tranqui::los. Ah, ya no, no hubo más pleito ya, ahí quedamos” (Interview with Don Vincente, Llanca, March 12, 2018).

oppositional modes of relations that are so close to the surface in a sibling dynamic. This thesis is about that dynamic: the formation of community and the dynamics of cooperation and conflict between these two communities with relation to their shared resources and circumstances. Focusing around one central axis, water management, I will explore how these two villages in the Central Peruvian Andes navigate processes of community formation and fragmentation through shifting conditions of structure, authority, and circumstance.

The two villages of San Pedro de Llanca (Llanca) and San Antonio de Chinchina (Chinchina) display recognizable characteristics of Andean communal organization. They have internal political structures and offices filled on a rotating basis by the members of the community, the *comuneros*. In exchange for serving their time as presidents, secretaries, treasurers, or festival sponsors, the comuneros gain access to communally held and maintained resources, most notably water. This structure is recognizable to an academic audience of Andean anthropology because it is described in ethnographies, ethnohistories, and archaeological findings across the Andes, including Catherine Allen's *The Hold Life Has* (1982) from Cusco, Frank Salomon and Mercedes Niño-Murcia's *The Lettered Mountain* (2011) from Huarochirí, as well as *The Huarochirí Manuscript* itself, written in Quechua around 1608 and translated by Salomon and George Urioste (1991), among others. This Andean structure is based on the principles of reciprocity, *ayni*, and rotating responsibility. Both are forces that, in theory, effectively mediate conflict and provide natural consequences for noncompliance with community expectations. Although the enactment of this structure is still a major part of the community life in Llanca and Chinchina today, with the observance of the traditional annual meeting, *huayronas*, and water ceremonies, *Champerías*, for example, the resonance between the structure and the contextual reality of the communities at any given moment varies and can

sometimes dwindle. This is particularly important in the case of these two closely neighboring but distinct communities who share struggles with both external natural and political resources. Llanca and Chinchina are both very small communities, of less than 50 people combined in 2018, who are political annexes of a larger town, and district capital, San Andrés de Tupicocha. They share a watershed, the Carnacha Ravine, and their agricultural and pastoral jurisdictions overlap; however they maintain distinct rights and organization over the use of irrigation resources. The environmental, cultural, and political context that these villages share puts them in a precarious relationship with one another that makes both conflict and cooperation inevitable. In this thesis I will discuss two contrasting moments in Llanca and Chinchina's recent history that demonstrate the processes through which these two communities constitute and define themselves through periods of conflict and cooperation. The groups that emerge in the data force a breakdown of the concept of community in the sense of any one consistently defined group. Instead, the larger village populations form different circumstantial, but nonetheless real and effective, communities that unite or conflict depending on the allocation of resources and authority.

Two Villages: Context

Peru is organized geopolitically in a nesting of regions: Department, Province, District, Town. Once at the town level, there are occasionally more local divisions that are negotiated and recognized by the state to varying degrees. Llanca and Chinchina are annexes of the larger town San Andrés de Tupicocha (Tupicocha), capital of the district of the same name. The Tupicocha District is located in the highlands of the Rímac River Valley in the Huarochirí Province, in the Department of Lima (Figures 0.1 and 0.2). Tupicocha is divided into ten *parcialidades* (“corporate descent groups”), often internally referred to with the Andean term *ayllus* (Salomon

and Niño-Murcia 2011:21-22). Smaller and on the other side of the ridge above the town of Tupicocha, Llanca and Chinchina are classified as annexes of the capital town, not parcialidades. While the community of Tupicocha is composed of its ten parcialidades, Llanca and Chinchina, along with six other annexes, are associated communities that answer to the governing body of Tupicocha. Villagers in Llanca and Chinchina are the permanent tenders of their land (much of which has been in their families since before the founding of the villages), but Tupicocha is the official landlord for all land in the territory of the two villages. This relationship fades in and out of prominence during the year, becoming particularly salient in January at the official town meetings of both villages and Tupicocha. Each year, both Llanca and Chinchina are required to report their *libros de acta* (local written records) to the authorities in Tupicocha along with a list of active comuneros (community members). Should the list become too short, Tupicocha has the authority to annul either village's status as an independent annex and absorb the community into the larger town of Tupicocha. This would not only impact the villages' identities as independent communities: losing municipal recognition of village governments would also weaken the autonomy the villagers do have to manage their own resources.



Figure 1.1. Map of the Huarochirí Province in Peru with District of San Andrés de Tupicocha indicated in green. Map by author.



Figure 1.2. Satellite image map showing the location of the villages of San Pedro de Llancha, San Antonio de Chinchina, and San Andrés de Tupicocha within the boundary of the District of San Andrés de Tupicocha. Map by author.

Each village has its own political structure to support the production of these lists and to manage internal communal affairs. The town of Tupicocha is a state-recognized *comunidad campesina*, or peasant community. Salomon (2004:44) defines a Peruvian peasant community as “a self-governing corporation controlling the rural orbit: community fields, pastures, and infrastructures including canals, terrace walls, and reservoirs. It also leads the ritual part of in-town life, notably the patron saint festivals.” Llancha and Chinchina also identify and organize as

individual peasant communities, though they are recognized at a state level as being a part of the peasant community of Tupicocha. Members of a peasant community are called comuneros. Each comunero, in exchange for their family gaining access to communally managed resources, assumes village political and ceremonial roles on a rotating basis and commits their labor to communal projects. As Salomon and Niño-Murcía (2011:24) put it:

Signing on as a comunero is a much weightier matter than just being a citizen. It entails thirty years of rigorous service, costly ritual obligations, and a succession of onerous terms as officer. Most of all, it demands work. Every comunero's livelihood depends on having the commons well maintained, for his or her family's labor and capital will be applied to them.

When a village member is first initiated, often around the age of twenty, they become an active comunero. This means that they are responsible for participating directly in village work parties, *faenas*, and are in the rotation of directive positions in the village political system. Once they have served thirty years participating in the *faenas*, and have served in every directive position, they become a passive comunero. Passive comuneros are no longer responsible for laboring in *faenas* and are no longer on rotation for directive positions, but still they maintain their rights to use communal resources. In 2018, the youngest passive comunero in either village was a man who was turning fifty. He had not lived outside of the village of Llancha for any extended period of time, so he had been contributing to his thirty-year term of service since he was twenty years old. Most of the other villagers his age had spent periods of up to ten years of their young adulthood in Lima working and starting families. When they had returned to the villages, they had to make up that time and still had almost a decade left to serve before becoming a passive comunero. While passive comuneros are technically not required by the community to labor in *faenas*, those that are physically able often do. This may be due to their

own volition, but it may also have to do with the shrinking populations of the peasant communities and the need for extra hands during particularly labor intensive faenas.

The political authority in an Andean peasant community is called the *junta directiva*, the governing body. It consists of a series of positions, including a “president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, two aldermen (*vocales*), and two controllers” (Gelles 2000: 51-52). These positions are filled on a rotating basis: each active comunero is responsible for fulfilling each role at least once throughout their thirty-year term. However, comuneros are not appointed to political roles randomly: the junta directiva takes into consideration the timing and nature of each comunero when assigning them a role. For example, one villager from Chinchina had told me that one of his fellow comuneros was a very intelligent man but struggled with public speaking. Because many of the main political roles, especially the president, involve representing the community to larger communities, like the town and district municipalities of Tupicocha, the villagers of Chinchina found ways to incorporate this man in village politics without directly appointing him to be their spokesperson. In addition to political roles, sponsors for village festivals are also appointed on a rotating basis. This is a particularly financially burdensome responsibility because the festival sponsor must feed the whole community as well as arrange all ritual activities. This often includes hiring musicians, dancers, or religious officials from other towns. The financial toll is also taken into consideration when appointing sponsors. Comuneros have the opportunity to contest their assignment if they feel unable to fulfill the responsibilities (though they are not always successful at relieving themselves of the role). Llanca and Chinchina are two separate peasant communities, each with their own political structure. They are recognized as such by each other and by the overseeing governments of Tupicocha and the surrounding districts.

The two hamlets of Llancha and Chinchina are physically separated more by elevation than by distance. The village of Chinchina is spread out along a horizontal section of what is now a dirt access road, but up until the early 2000s was a footpath. Its elevation is approximately 10,000 feet above sea level. It does have a center where the village school is located along with a cluster of other houses, but most Chinchina residents live in houses considerably spread out from one another (Figure 0.3). Llancha is a much denser village. It sits on a knoll at the top of a very steep switch-backed climb on the access road, located probably less than a mile in distance from Chinchina but over 1500 feet above it, at approximately 11,500 feet above sea level (Figure 0.4). To hike from one village to the other, most villagers use an even steeper path that cuts through each of the road's switchbacks and goes directly up the incline. Some of the houses of Chinchina residents are about as far apart from each other as the center of Chinchina is from Llancha, but they are located at the same relative elevation. On a daily basis, it is uncommon for villagers from one village to have much interaction with villagers from the other. Grazing patterns are determined seasonally and range across the entire mountainside: depending on the time of year, herders from one village will often be grazing their flock closer to the other village. Herders from both villages will sometimes pass each other on the road or by their houses. These passing interactions are friendly and polite, and sometimes involve catching up on logistical news or gossip. On a typical early morning in either village, it's common to see neighbors discussing matters outside each other's houses, but I rarely saw a member of one village specifically go to the other to discuss something. When I did see this, it turned out to be a formal contractual interaction: a villager from Chinchina had worked as a cement layer in Lima, and a villager from Llancha had contracted him to build a plumbed bathroom for his family complex.



Figure 1.3. Overhead Google Earth view of the village of Chinchina. The largest cluster of buildings at the top half of the photo is the village "center" and is indicated by the largest red arrow. There are three other major homesteads in the village that are spread out from the center, all are indicated by smaller red arrows. Image courtesy of Google Earth.



Figure 1.4. Overhead Google Earth view of the village of Llancha, with buildings clustered much closer together than those of Chinchina. Image courtesy of Google Earth.

Many villagers of the older generation, in their 70s in 2018, had a spouse from the other village, but this was much less common among the population of active comuneros, most of whom were in their early 50s. By the time I was doing fieldwork, most of the immediate family units had consolidated in one village or the other and there were few people who had close relatives in both. Relations between villagers were cordial but reserved. One day during the rainy season, my colleague and I hitched a ride from Peru's main highway up to the villages with a family from Chinchina who had been in Lima for the weekend visiting family and selling produce. It was common to share rides to and from the villages because there are no public transportation routes that go there, and it is cheaper to share the rental costs of a private vehicle. A woman from Llanca, Doña Verónica, was also making the trip up from Lima and I had asked the Chinchina family if we could wait and give her a ride as well. They generously agreed, knowing that we were pressed for time, hoping to get up the mountain before it began to rain. It did begin to rain hard on our way up the mountain and the truck only made it to the outskirts of Chinchina before needing to turn around at a washed-out section of the road. After hiking in the rain, we arrived at the Chinchina family's house first and they offered us some hot soup before my colleague, Doña Verónica, and I made the final climb up to Llanca. My colleague and I knew the family well and had the familiarity to walk into their kitchen and accept the meal at the table, as we had been invited to do many times before. Once inside, I realized that Doña Verónica had stayed out on the patio that was sheltered by a tarp. Doña Flora, the mother of the Chinchina family, served us inside, but when she gave me Doña Verónica's bowl of soup, she indicated that I should bring it out to her on the patio. I went outside and ate with Doña Verónica. There did not seem to be any tension between the families. I had seen them have pleasant passing interactions many times before. But Doña Verónica was respecting a clear, though unspoken,

boundary not to enter the family's intimate space. Not being from either village, this boundary did not appear to apply to my colleague and me. After eating, we cleaned our plates and the three of us headed up to Llanca.

In addition to the local political and social distinctions between Llanca and Chinchina, the national government of Peru recognizes them as distinct communities as well. Each village has their own elementary school. These schools are established and managed by Peru's Ministry of Education, a federal agency. Each school has one teacher who is assigned and stationed by the Ministry of Education. It is the responsibility of the community to provide the teachers with food and living quarters, either in a section of the school building or in a separate house. In 2018, each school had fewer than ten students each. In fact, Chinchina's school year started with just two students. There was overall concern from parents in both villages that if this situation were to catch the attention of the Ministry of Education, the schools would be closed. This would mean that families would either all have to move to a larger town with primary schools, often the city of Lima where other family members live, or they would have to split up, with one parent (usually the mother) taking the student to go to school in another city while the other parent stayed in the village tending their flock and fields. For decades, neither school has had more than ten students apiece, so the prospect of merging the two schools would likely produce a student population large enough to justify the appointment of a teacher and educational resources by the Ministry of Education. However, this idea does not seem to be on the table for either village. Parents from both Llanca and Chinchina were committed to defending the survival of their village school: reaching out to families who had already left to come back and enroll their kids as students rather than join forces and relinquish one of the schools. As of 2021, the last student

permanently residing in Chinchina was in her final year of elementary school, after which she would have to go to live in Lima with her older sister to enroll in middle school.

Methods and Data

The data for this thesis come from fieldwork I conducted in Llanca and Chinchina between January and March of 2018. During this time, I lived in the village of Llanca and conducted ethnographic interviews, recorded observations while participating in village life, collected and mapped toponyms, and photographed the local records of the village of Llanca. Archaeologist and colleague, Bradymir Bravo Meza, co-conducted many of the interviews with me. The overall focus for the data collection was on the relationship between the villagers and their landscape. My initial intent with this research in 2018 was to record the location and background of toponyms used by modern Huarochirí residents and compare them to the toponyms referenced in the ethnohistorical text from 1608, the Huarochirí Manuscript (Salomon and Urioste 1991). Therefore, much of the interview data record place-based oral tradition and descriptions of how villagers from Llanca and Chinchina conceive of their landscape as living and agentive (Littledale and Chase 2021). These lines of inquiry organically brought up questions of community and sociopolitical organization, which make up the material discussed here. These questions also lead to our recording of the village political records along with the interviews and geospatial data.

At the time of the study, there were 22 permanent residents in the village of Llanca and 25 in the village of Chinchina, including children. The average age of the adults in both villages was 62. Of the 13 households I spoke with in both villages, only one was a couple below the age of 45, and only four families had children still in elementary or middle school. For the purpose of privacy, I have used pseudonyms for all of the villagers I refer to by name in this discussion.

All of the interview data and historical records from Llanca and Chinchina are in Spanish. Linguistically, the region of Huarochirí has been almost entirely monolingually Spanish-speaking since the mid-twentieth century. According to Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:22), “the ancestors of Huarochiranos, including the creators of the anonymous book [the Huarochirí Manuscript], spoke both Quechua and an ethnic tongue of the Jaqaru (Aymara-family) group, now extinct.” However, likely due to the province’s proximity to Lima, by the mid-1900s, almost no Huarochiranos were native speakers of an indigenous language. Data from the Peruvian state from the 1940s reports that 88.2% of men and 91.2% of women in Huarochirí were Spanish speakers, 0.3% of men and 0.8% of women were monolingual Quechua speakers, and only 16 people were said to know Aymara (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:23). Today, any resident of Huarochirí who speaks Quechua or Aymara almost always has migrated from another region where the language has survived in its local dialect. This, however, does not mean that all indigenous language influence is gone from the region. Many aspects of the highland Huarochirí accent in Spanish can be traced to linguistic elements in Quechua or Aymara root languages, such as favoring the “i” vowel sound over “e,” e.g. pronouncing the word spelled *mejor* as “mijor” (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:204). Additionally, a large portion of toponyms collected from the two villages have linguistic roots in indigenous languages.

Ethnographic Interviews and Observation

In total, I interviewed 28 individuals, representing all but three adults who were permanently residing in Llanca and Chinchina at the time of study. I conducted and recorded a total of 26 interviews, 16 of which were with one individual and 10 of which were with two or more individuals. The total recorded interview time is 19 hours and 22 minutes. The interviews I conducted were informal, often in the home of the person I was speaking to. The sample size

for the interviews was not predetermined, as the populations of the two villages were so small that the goal was to speak with all members of both communities. In order to accommodate the daily schedule of the comuneros, I almost always conducted the interviews in the afternoons or early mornings. It was common that during the interview, the person I was speaking to was simultaneously milking their goats or cows, preparing their burros for a day's work, cooking, or tending to the house. There was no scripted format for the interviews. They often started by asking the villager to describe toponyms, e.g. what a certain place is like and why it is called what it is. From there, these descriptions often brought up new questions that would lead to the accounts of personal experience, family stories, and communal lore. In order to preserve the word choice and integrity of the original accounts of the villagers, I recorded the interviews using audio with a cellular device and then transcribed them into a written format. Towards the end of February 2018, I lost a section of approximately six additional hours of recorded interviews in a technological complication. All of the villagers whose interviews had been lost graciously agreed to sit down with me again to redo their interviews. While the loss of data was unfortunate, the opportunity to return to the material we had already discussed during a second interview often led to a much more elaborate discussion than we had had the first time.

These interviews largely consist of oral traditions centering around the landscape, but they also include descriptions of land-use practices and social and familial village dynamics. One of the main themes in the interviews was the annual water ceremony called the Champería. About halfway through my fieldwork, I learned of this ceremony and asked every person to describe it to me in all subsequent interviews. Twelve of the interviews (46.1%) include descriptions of the Champería from different villagers. These descriptions form a major part of the data I present in Chapter Two of this thesis.

In addition to conducting interviews, I was able to observe and participate in various aspects of village life. The majority of the time that I spent with villagers was either in their homes around mealtimes or attending village political meetings and festivals. Mealtimes in the villages were unique moments when most of the household members were in the same place at the same time. Their rigorous agropastoral daily schedule means that most family members will be spread out across the Carnacha Ravine during the day, either with their herds or in their *chacras* (cultivating plots), from around 5AM until sundown. My commutes from house to house for interviews allowed me to mimic the highly mobile lifestyles of the villagers and observe their passing interactions with one another on the roads and paths that crisscross the mountainside. When I visited families in their homes around mealtimes, I was able to observe their family dynamics in what were mostly multigenerational family compound houses.

During my fieldwork and in subsequent years, I also had the opportunity to attend multiple village political meetings and festivals in Llanca and Tupicocha. At the beginning of my fieldwork in January of 2018, I attended Llanca's annual town meeting, the huayrona. I was also present for the ceremony of the opening of the school year in Llanca in 2018. In 2019, I attended Llanca's patron saint festival in celebration of San Pedro and the founding of the village. I was also able to attend the huayrona in Tupicocha in 2018 and in 2020. Observations and photography from attending these events and spending time with families in Llanca and Chinchina provide supplementary and contextual data for the discussions I present in Chapters Two and Three.

Transcription and Translation

The interview data that I include in direct quotations is transcribed and translated from the original audio recordings in Spanish. Bravo Meza and I have transcribed most of the

ethnographic interviews in their entirety into written Spanish. These transcriptions maintain the exact wording and audible expressions of the speakers, as well as a phonetic spelling of their pronunciation when it differs from standard Castilian Spanish. To indicate tonality in the transcriptions, I have adopted conventions from Du Bois (1991, 2006). The most common transcription conventions used here include the following. A colon (:) is used to indicate prosodic length, e.g. if a speaker elongated their pronunciation of the “o” sound in the word hello, it would be written as “hello:” The number of colons indicates the length of the lag. An apostrophe is used to indicate part of a word being dropped in pronunciation, e.g. if the “t” sound has been dropped from the pronunciation of the word mountain, it would be written as “moun’ain.” Pauses in speech are indicated by an ellipsis (...).

For the sake of flow and accessibility, I have translated the fragments of the interviews that I directly quote into English. All translations are my own and for each fragment of translated speech longer than a few words, there is a footnote containing the original Spanish transcription. For one or two words of quoted speech, the original Spanish is included followed by a translation directly in the body of the text. To prioritize meaning and flow, in some cases I have paraphrased a sentence or changed the order of wording to make the sentiment of the speaker more understandable in English. I have also simplified excessive discourse markers, repetitions, and self-corrections made by the speaker in the English translations. In each of these cases, the corresponding Spanish version included in the footnote has not been altered from its original transcription.

Toponymy

Part of my fieldwork in 2018 was the collection and mapping of toponyms. These formed the initial talking points for most of the ethnographic interviews I conducted. In addition

to the interviews, my colleague and I developed maps of the Carnacha Ravine that indicated the locations of toponyms used by villagers of Llanca and Chinchina to refer to the surrounding landscape. The toponyms were recorded using two methods. The ideal method was the use of a handheld GARMIN GPSMAP 64st device and to physically arrive at the location of each toponym to record its coordinates and then upload it into a comprehensive map. When this was not possible due to rainy conditions, landslides, and low visibility, I held indoor consultations with villagers using a digital Google Earth map on a laptop, on which the villagers pointed out the names of features that they recognized, and I would create a point directly on the computer. These data points were then transferred into ArcGIS for processing. In total, I recorded 174 toponyms within the Carnacha Ravine (53% percent of which appear not to be of Spanish language origin, but rather have roots in the historical local Aymara dialect or Quechua). These toponym data provide the reference points for the events discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

Footage of the 2018 Champería Ceremony

The focus of Chapter Two is the annual water ceremony practiced in Llanca and Chinchina called the Champería. My research funding and schedule did not allow me to attend the ceremony in 2018, so my colleague, Bravo Meza, and I arranged for him to accompany the organization *El Champal*² to document the 2018 Champería in Llanca and Chinchina through video and photography. The footage includes 200 photographs and close to an hour and a half of recorded video, including drone footage. The documentation was directed and facilitated by

² The organization *El Champal* (full name *El Champal de Cocachacra*) is a volunteer-based social organization located in the town of Cocachacra, Huarochirí, at the base of the road that connects Llanca and Chinchina to the Rimac River Valley and Peru's central highway. The organization runs a small hostel and uses the proceeds from the hostel business to fund community projects in Huarochirí on topics including cultural heritage, economic development, arts, education, and international exchange. My colleagues and I have collaborated with them to facilitate archaeological and ethnographic research in Huarochirí since 2016.

Bravo Meza and the main photographers and videographers for El Champal were Anthony García Crespin, Elodi Badets, and Ricardo De la Luna Rueda. They have granted me access to this material and it is the source for all observational data pertaining to the 2018 Champería ceremony that is presented in Chapter Two. All other uncited photographs are by the author and Bravo Meza.

Libros de Acta

During my fieldwork in 2018, Bravo Meza and I were granted permission to photograph the complete pages from ten of Llancha's libros de acta. These are the handwritten records of all formal village activity and decision making produced by the village secretary. The photos of the libros de acta include entries that span from the founding of the village of Llancha in 1964 to 2003. This material provides the bulk of the ethnohistorical data that is discussed in Chapter Three.

A Note on Gender

This thesis describes predominantly male dynamics and characters. Men are the primary actors in the processes that I discuss here. Women are not absent, but, especially because these data rely heavily on narrative, their roles and voices are not highlighted in the telling and documentation of the events in question. In Llancha and Chinchina, and all of Huarochirí, women are present and hardworking alongside men in the fields and share an equal part in the labor of the landscape, but they do not represent the majority of characters participating in village politics or faenas. When I was in Llancha and Chinchina in 2018, no women were members of the junta directiva of either village. This is the standard in Andean villages though there is nothing in local regulation, at least in Huarochirí, that states that women cannot assume authority roles in village politics. In 2020, when I attended the huayrona in Tupicocha, we

watched the ceremony in which new presidents were appointed for each of the distinct kin/social groups, called *parcialidades*. One of the new presidents of the ten *parcialidades* was a woman (Figure 0.5). While there was a general buzz in the crowd of jest and surprise as she was called up, she was adorned with the ceremonial *quipus* (Andean knotted cords used for record keeping [Salomon 2004]) with just as much formality and respect as the other nine male presidents. A wonderful moment was captured in Figure 0.6 when the group of new presidents were all lightheartedly bickering in front of the crowd about how to correctly don the *quipus*, and a member of Tupicocha's administration happily helped fasten the *quipu* around the female president's shoulders.

Again, it is unusual but not impossible for women to integrate into village authority positions. Village resources and authority positions are distributed according to a villager's status as a *comunero* of the community. The general arrangement is for there to be one *comunero* per household for each adult generation and for the man to have that status; granting rights to communal resources to the entire family but, alone, assuming the rotating political titles. For the most part, women only become *comuneras* if they are a widow or if a couple decides to have active *comuneroship* in two communities. This was the case for a couple I met in Chinchina where the man, Don Diego, is from a larger town, Chaute, lower down on the mountain and the woman, Doña Claudia, is from Chinchina. They lived on the edge of the jurisdictions of both villages and decided, in order to maintain access to water and land in both, that Don Diego would maintain his *comunero* status in his hometown of Chaute and Doña Claudia would be a *comunera* in Chinchina. Despite this arrangement however, Don Diego, not Doña Claudia, was representing their family in photos of the 2018 *Champería*, where only Llanca and Chinchina

were participating, not Chaute. Aside from the visitors from El Champal who documented the event, no women were present at the ceremony at all.



Figure 1.5. Newly appointed presidents of Tupicocha's ten parcialidades at the 2020 huayrona. They stand in front of the assembly, each adorned with their parcialidad's ancestral quipu. The one female president stands on the far right. See Salomon (2004) for further discussion on quipus in Tupicocha. Photo by Jose Saravia and Alexandra Mendoza.



Figure 1.6. A member of Tupicocha's junta directiva smiles as he helps the new president into her parcialidad's quipu during her inauguration at the 2020 huayrona in Tupicocha. A professional photographer was present (seen on right) to document this huayrona because the Ministry of Culture officially recognized Tupicocha's quipus as national cultural patrimony and presented the community with their declaration at the meeting. Photo by Jose Saravia and Alexandra Mendoza.

I attended the huayrona in Llancha in 2018 at the beginning of my field work. Though I had already received permission from both villages through personal communication, it was necessary to attend the huayrona and officially request permission to do my fieldwork in Llancha because I was to be housed in their *local comunal*, or community house. That day, I had hitched

a ride up to the villages in a van full of people from Llancha who lived in Lima and were returning to the village for the huayrona. Among them were the sisters of the then-president of the village, who were boisterously chatting and drinking along with the men. After arriving, my colleagues and I waited for hours while the huayrona meeting went on in the *local comunal*. When it was finally my turn to address the group, I saw that the sisters were present at the meeting. They ended up being the most vocal and demanded the most explanation from me about my intentions and the outcome of my project. None of the women who actually lived in Llancha at that time were there: they were all represented by their husbands. I had not met the sisters before that day and can only assume that they were there in the capacity of comuneras, but I do know that they no longer reside in Llancha, and at the time, none of them held positions in the junta directiva.

Additionally, when it comes to records kept by the villages themselves, women are either not marked or are very rarely mentioned. In the libros de acta from Llancha, it is only in the late 1980s that any specific mention of a woman as a significant party of a transaction appears, and these mentions are few and far between. The labor and workload of women are taken into consideration in village estimates, but their voices appear to be largely absent from this documentary source, which provides the critical material for the second half of this thesis.

There are many aspects of female participation in village affairs beyond the formal positions of authority that are grounds for their own study, such as their culinary contributions to communal events, the dynamics amongst them in fulfilling those roles, and their input and influence on their male counterparts' actions and decision making in the official positions of authority. However, in 2018, knowing that my time was limited, I chose to first access the narratives that were most readily offered to me, which (rather predictably) ended up being male

dominated. It became apparent very quickly that when I went to a house to conduct a family interview, the women were often present but said little while the men spoke more and were often referred to as the greater authority on topics of village lore. I chose to first focus on getting the interviews that were offered, that is, either with men alone or with predominately male voices. In subsequent years I have had more conversations specifically with Llancha and Chinchina women to learn more about their perspectives, though all of them have been informal and in the context of visiting friends rather than conducting fieldwork. I still intend to return to these women academically in the field and in my analyses but, for now, given the material I have, they do not feature significantly in the narratives I am analyzing here.

Overview

In the following discussion, I will explore two episodes in the recent history of water management in the villages of Llancha and Chinchina that display two seemingly opposite types of relationships: one cooperative and the other conflictive. I will discuss how the processes of cooperation and conflict are actually quite similar in these two communities. In the context of water management, residents of the Carnacha Ravine enter into flexible communities that fluctuate between cooperation and conflict according to their comparative positions to resources and the negotiation of authority.

In Chapter Two, I discuss a modern ethnographic example of cooperation by examining what is today a collective practice of water management between the villages of Llancha and Chinchina. This chapter draws mostly on ethnographic interviews and observations of the practice itself to explore the mechanisms that bring these two groups together through collective labor and reverence to a commonly recognized superhuman authority: mountain deities and powerful ancestors.

Chapter Three focuses on an ethnohistorical example from Llancha and Chinchina's recent past: a period in the late 1970s of notable conflict and division over a water source among the two communities. By following the accounts that were recorded at the time in Llancha's libros de acta, I examine how the two villages challenge one another through the written word and competing relationships with the government agency, Peru's Ministry of Agriculture.

In the concluding section, I discuss how both examples are reconciled in the identity of Llancha and Chinchina as closely linked, sister communities. These two periods of village history from the Carnacha Ravine are characterized by very different dynamics: one by cooperation and communal integration, and the other by undeniable conflict and competition. Initially, I was shocked to find such distinct examples of both dynamics so close together in the recent history of these two villages. However, when broken down into elements of process, materiality, and the distribution of authority, these two periods of Llancha and Chinchina's relationship display parallel structures of community formation and definition. Depending on subtle shifts in the circumstances, the communities of Llancha and Chinchina may be brought together through these structures, or they may be driven apart. In either case, a resulting scenario of cooperation is never far off in structure from one of conflict, and vice versa. The two villages transition between these two modes of relation with relative fluidity.

2 | Water and Cooperation

Andean Geography and Water

Peru's central Andes, where Huarochirí is located, has a wet and a dry season each year (D'Altroy 2015:36-37). During the dry season (from around April to November), this region and altitude of Peru has mostly clear days with strong sun and a significant drop in temperature after sundown. Around November the rainy season begins and lasts through March. During the rainy season in Llanca and Chinchina, a day may begin with a clear sky, but by noon, a thick, cold fog will rise up the mountain from the valley below and envelop the two villages completely. Even when it is not raining, the fog at this altitude becomes cloud cover and is dense enough to soak through clothes and skin and to blur visibility beyond a few feet (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The duality of the seasons creates a precarious relationship with water: "in the desiccated Andean landscape, water signifies two things: longed-for fertility (via rain or irrigation) and dreaded danger (because rain often takes the form of devastating earthslides and flash floods)" (Salomon 1998: 15).



Figure 2.1. The village of Chinchina enveloped in cloud.



Figure 2.2. The main street running through the village of Llanca with approaching cloud cover.

The rain is essential, unpredictable, and destructive to life in the villages. The steep terrain of the mountain where the villages are perched is conducive to frequent and large-scale landslides in wet conditions. The side of the mountain where the villages are located folds in *quebradas*, or vertical ravines (Figure 1.3). These *quebradas* are weak spots where the mountain gives way in the rain. One evening in Chinchina, I was sitting around the kitchen table in a family's home, and it began to thunder and rain hard. After every thunderclap, one of the young girls in the house would stare at me, wide-eyed, and say "pasó huayco" ("there was a landslide"). While the young girl gripped her chair, assuredly predicting disaster, her father was only half sitting in his, ready to spring up at any moment and run back out into the rain. After particularly loud crashes, the father would grab his hat and rush outside, followed by his sixteen-year-old son, to secure part of the roof or to make sure that none of the structures around their house had been damaged. Aside from my presence, nothing about that day was unusual for the family or anyone else who lives in the two villages. The same scene would play out the next time a storm came through.



Figure 2.3. View from the mountain peak of Shaucañi down into the Carnacha Ravine, the folds visible going up the mountain faces are what are referred to as *quebradas* or vertical ravines.



Figure 2.4. The dirt access road passing through the village of Chinchina.

Almost every year the narrow dirt road washes out in at least one, if not multiple, *quebradas*, blocking vehicle access to the villages for much of the rainy season (Figure 1.4). The villagers do not bother renting the expensive machinery to fix the roads until after the rains stop because it is almost certain that the roads will wash out again before the season ends. When the roads are closed, villagers hike in and out for supplies and to see family living elsewhere. They hike along the undriveable road because the steeper, more direct trails leading down the *quebradas* to the valley are more dangerous in the rain than the washed-out section of the road.

In addition to the landslides, the foggy haze of the rainy season causes significant reductions in visibility and traction for villagers working in their chacras and grazing their herds across the landscape. In interviews in 2018, villagers told me that the mountain is alive and that it becomes harsher and meaner during the rainy season. They told me stories of people who had been tricked by the fog and led astray by the mountain. They also told me of encounters with *encantos*, animals and figures produced by the mountain that would appear and cause harm to villagers. One foggy day, I visited a family in Chinchina before hiking down from the villages to the valley. The eldest member of the community, who was 89 at the time, told me that hiking around the mountain in these conditions was dangerous, and told me to carry salt as protection against the malice of the mountain.³

³ In interviews and in casual conversations with me, villagers would often reference salt. It seems to be regarded as a powerful substance. Multiple people mentioned that carrying salt helps protect a person who is out hiking from the mountain's trickery, especially on foggy or rainy days like in this example. Additionally, villagers would reference salt when telling me about a mass suicide event that had occurred centuries ago among the previous inhabitants of the Carnacha Ravine in a stone structure that is located above the village of Llanca. Though I was unable to get a detailed explanation, villagers would tell me that the *abuelos* (historic inhabitants of the landscape whose remains are found in funerary caves and structures all over the ravine) would not or did not eat salt, and this brought them to suicide. A very similar narrative was studied by Frank Salomon (2002: 487, 502) in the town of Tupicocha in which he interprets the role of salt to be a reference to the state monopoly and high taxation of salt in place in Peru in the 1600s, when this mass suicide event is said to have taken place. The lack of salt consumption, and allusions to its relation to superhuman entities, could also be a reference to an Andean fast, documented as having been practiced in

During the dry season, however, drought devastates the supply of drinking, cooking, and washing water and prevents the irrigation of commercial crops and livestock feed production. Allen (2002: Kindle Location 894) observed that “in the dry Andean highlands water is chronically scarce, and the welfare of the community depends on the arrival of rains in August and their departure by early May.” While Allen spoke of the Cusqueño rainy season, a few months longer than Huarochiri’s, the villagers in Llancha and Chinchina face the same reality. They wait anxiously for a good rainfall every year to replenish the natural springs that send water down the mountain, even if it does come with landslides and dangerous conditions. This is where water management becomes extremely important. The annual wait for water is not a passive one, but one that requires quite a bit of collaborative planning and manual labor. The scarcity of water in these communities is not always due to the overall lack of water in the landscape, but rather to the immense difficulty of concentrating and channeling the available water to the communities and their chacras. D’Altroy (2015:312-313) discussed the complexities of Andean water management during the Late Horizon (ca. 1450-1532), yet this description is still highly applicable and accurate to modern water management: “Although enough rain often falls to support agriculture without irrigation, precipitation is not sufficiently predictable to ensure a healthy annual crop... It should be noted that the water management was not solely dedicated to growing plants, but also contributed to maintaining pastures for the flocks.” The engineering and use of irrigation systems produce a social network that organizes water distribution. Since water is such a valuable resource, the social organization of water distribution and the upkeep of irrigation systems have particularly high stakes. Paul Gelles (2000: 54-55) describes physical and

early colonial Peru, prior to undertaking a significant ritual involving communication with a divine being: “To fast thus meant to abstain from sexual contact, to drink no alcoholic beverages, and to eat no food seasoned with salt and aji” (MacCormick 1991: 185).

socio-political water management in Cabanaconde, a large Andean community in the Arequipa region of Southern Peru:

Conflict and cooperation within the irrigation commons... must be understood in relation to the availability of water. Power and different attempts to capture water are inscribed in the scratches and gouges that cross Cabanaconde's broken territory... The principal means of expanding the annual availability of water has been the cleaning of the high springs that feed the Hualca-Hualca River through the maintenance and rehabilitation of canals built in pre-Columbian times and through the seeking out of new sources of water... At the other end of the scale, small scratches next to the large gouges of Huataq and Majes [major canals], are the tiny springs and channels of water at the high end of the Hualca-Hualca River basin that, until recently, were dug out every year to increase the flow of water. In between these two extremes are the heavily used canals, intakes, and secondary canals of the fields themselves. Although these canals receive constant minor and occasional larger modifications, they have been in continuous use for at least five hundred years. Here, too, power is inscribed in the different culturally determined forms of distribution that guide their use today.

Andean irrigation systems, large or small, are constantly being repaired or renovated and are at the center of community politics and organization (as I will discuss below).

The major type of water management in Llancha and Chinchina is in the form of irrigation canals and water-storage systems. While many of the current canal systems run along pre-Hispanic canal routes originally made of stone, the villagers have been updating and maintaining the canals by cementing them, and in some cases, installing plastic tubing. Figure 1.5 shows a working canal below Chinchina that has been cemented. However, to the left of the modern canal, the original stone canal structure is visible and still forms an important structural component and route for the modern canal. Figures 1.5 - 1.7 show that the canal systems themselves require maintenance and updates. Figure 1.6 shows an uncultivated, unirrigated small *quebrada* between the villages of Llancha and Chinchina. I include this photograph to give an idea of what the landscape looks like without direct intervention or maintenance. Compare this with Figure 1.5, and while it is not completely free of vegetation (the picture was taken about half a year after large scale maintenance), there is a considerable difference in the area

surrounding the irrigation channel that has been cleared of most vegetation. It is not only important to clear the brush surrounding the canals but to also clean the vegetation build up inside the canals. Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:104) point out: “In Tupicocha, as in most high villages, the canals that feed the fields suffer collapses and algal congestion during the rainy season.” In addition to brush clearing and cleaning, maintenance of the material of the canal or receptacle itself is also necessary. A tape-job is visible in Figure 1.7, either to seal a leak in the tubing or to secure a vulnerable joint between two lengths of tubing. The open cement and stone canals are even more susceptible to damage and obstruction than the closed tubes. According to Izumi Shimada (1994:42), pre-Hispanic stone canals can lose up to 85% of their water through seepage and evaporation. Seepage is less of an issue in the newer cemented canals (see Figure 1.5), but cracks and leaks still do occur and can cause devastating water loss if not attentively monitored and repaired. Crack and leak repairs on the cement canals in Huarochirí, which includes the majority of canals surrounding Llanca and Chinchina, are typically done with breaker bars and shovels to break away the cracked section and then are filled in either with cement or natural material to seal the leak (Gelles 2000:78). A massive amount of labor is required to monitor the entire water system and then repair all damaged areas to ensure the best water yield. This is one of the principal reasons that Andean communities are organized around communal resources and shared labor: the maintenance of the water resource is too great a task to complete without input from the entire community.



Figure 2.5. Canal that has been updated with cement, but the original pre-Hispanic stone canal is visible to the left.

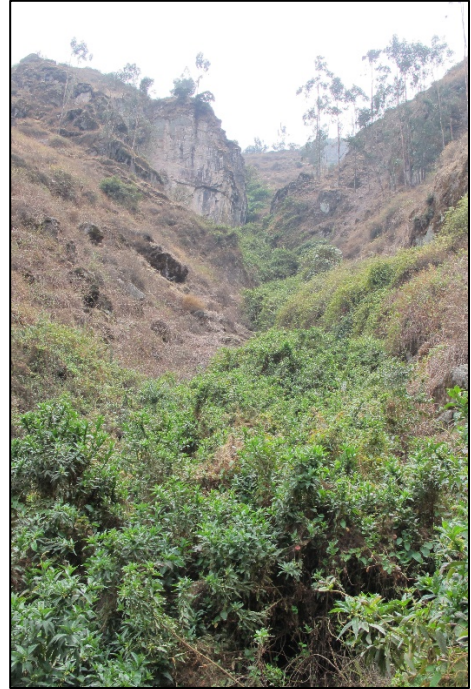


Figure 2.6. Quebrada between the villages of Llancha and Chinchina with unmanaged vegetation.



Figure 2.7. A section of water channel where the original canal has been excavated and replaced with plastic tubing.

The Champería

The maintenance of the irrigation system is kept up by communally organized faenas. Gelles (2000:199) describes faenas as “communal work service; a kind of labor tax required of community members.” Faenas are a system of communal labor utilized across the Andes (Allen 2002) and are part of the requirements for being a comunero. Comuneros must participate or pay a fine at every faena for the community in order to keep their status and rights to the community held resources, such as water and public spaces (the village chapel, local comunal, and school). In Huarochirí, one of the most important faenas of the year is combined with the annual ceremony of the Champería⁴ in which the manual labor needs for maintaining the principal irrigation system are paired with the devotional needs of the mountain, the grantor of water. While I have never managed to personally attend a Champería ceremony, much of the ethnographic interview data I collected in 2018 consists of extensive descriptions of this ceremony by a variety of comuneros from both Chinchina and Llanca. Additionally, the organization El Champal (see Footnote 2), accompanied by my colleague Bravo Meza, documented the 2018 Champería ceremony in Llanca and Chinchina through video and photography and has granted me access to their material. Through ethnographic interviews, my own observational data, and visual documentation the remainder of this chapter will consist of a detailed description of the Champería ceremony and how it conditions a collaborative relationship between the communities of Llanca and Chinchina.

⁴ Champería comes from the word *champa*, which is a block of entangled roots traditionally given as a tribute to the main body of water around which the ceremony is performed (Salomon 2021). As far as I know, the villages of Llanca and Chinchina do not include a *champa* offering in their Champería, but Salomon (2021) did observe this practice in Tupicocha’s Champería in the 1990s.

In the Spring, usually in April or May, most male villagers from both Llancha and Chinchina come together to perform a ceremony called the Champería. The ceremony involves a faena to clean the irrigation canals leading down from the Carnacha Ravine's main water source and a ritual to petition the mountain for a good supply of water in the coming year. The stretch of canal that is the focus of the Champería is approximately two miles long and runs from a reservoir called Toma de Carnacha to the Lumputa Reservoir (Figures 1.8 and 1.9).

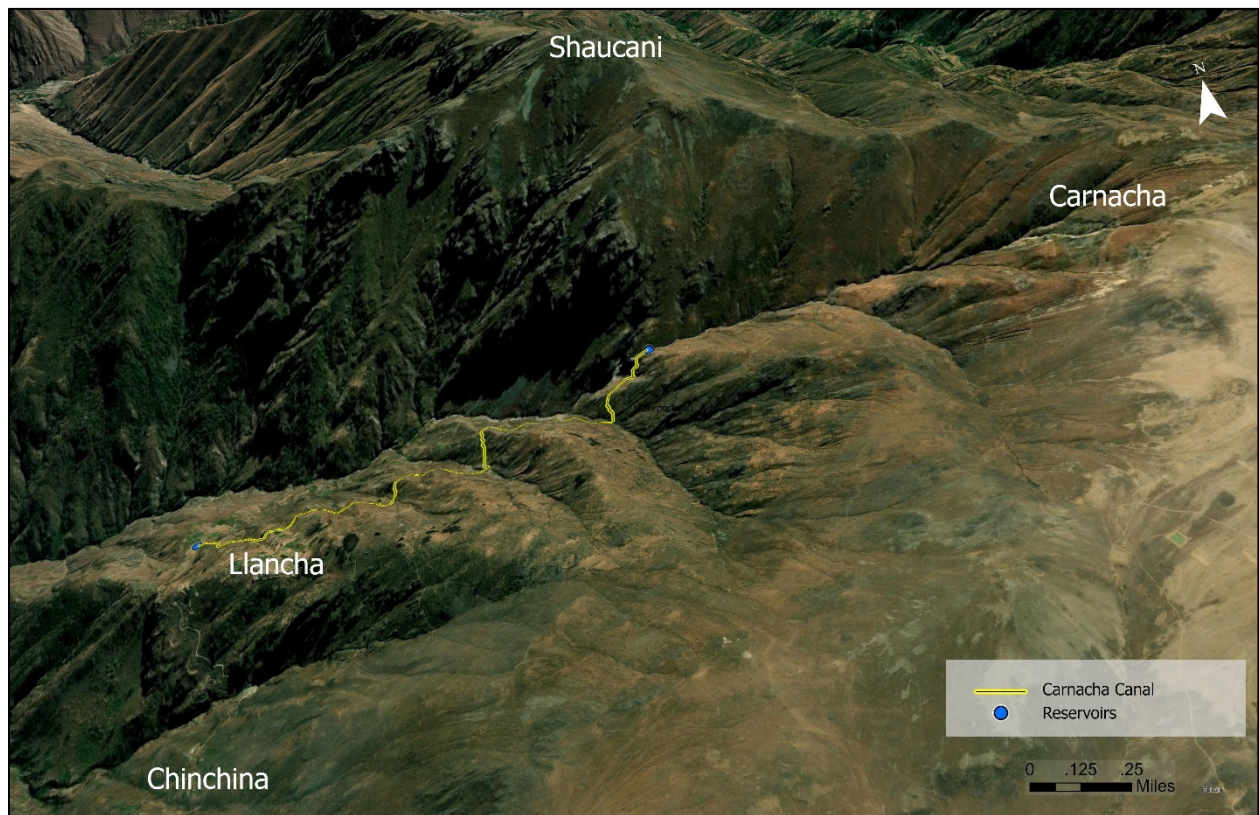


Figure 2.8. 3D Terrain map of Carnacha Ravine showing the Carnacha Canal in yellow. Map by author.

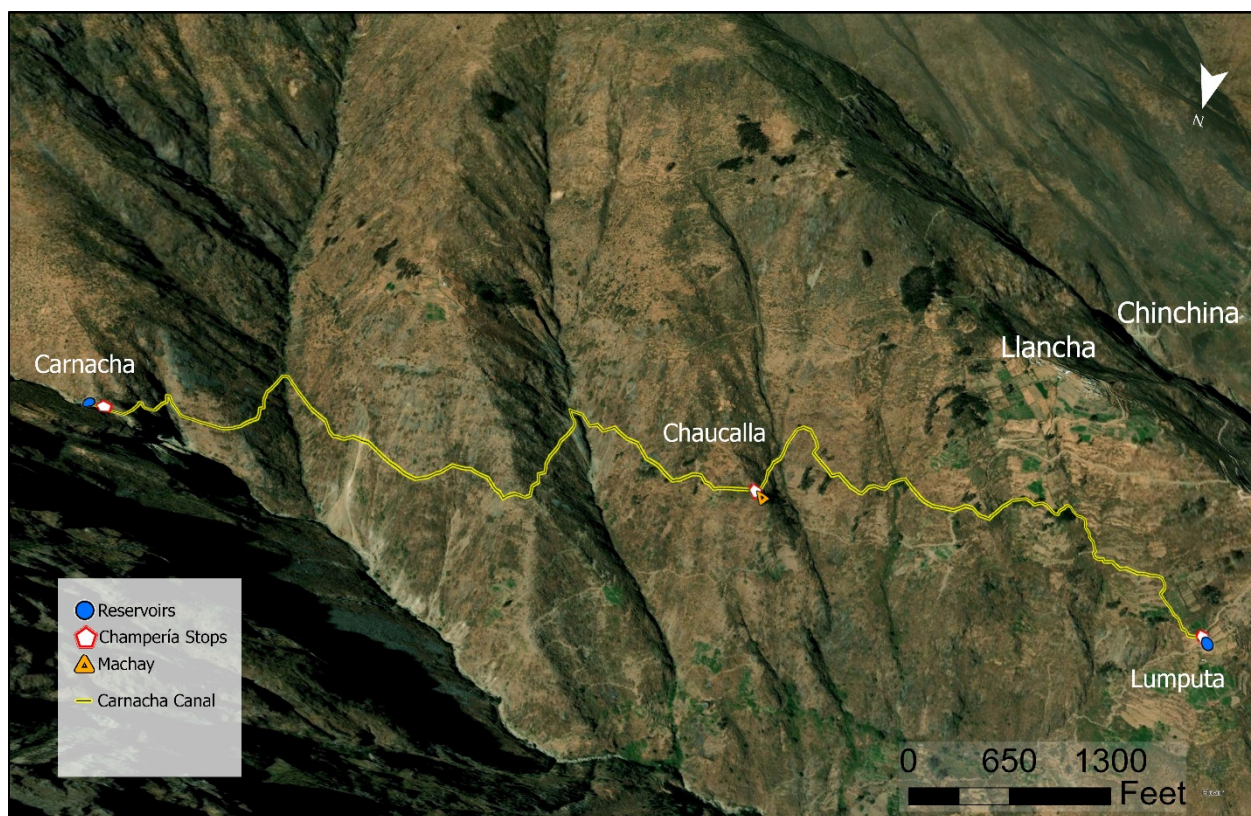


Figure 2.9. Looking southeast at the southern face of the Carnacha Ravine at the Carnacha Canal showing the stops along the Champeria path. Map by author

Participants and Ceremonial Roles

Among the participating comuneros, most contribute by laboring in the faena, but there are a few specific organizational and ceremonial roles that must be filled to conduct the ceremony. These roles include the committee of *regantes* (irrigators), two *gastadores* (providers of supplies), two *huaris* (petitioners to the mountain), and the musicians.

The committee or community of regantes is, significantly, not organized along village lines but rather it includes every comunero who utilizes irrigation resources from the waterwork in question, in this case the Carnacha irrigation system. Almost every adult male living in both the villages of Llancha and of Chinchina was a member of this committee in 2018. In the context of this committee and of the event of the Champeria, no organizational distinction is made

between the two villages. The group is defined by the relationship that the regantes have to the water source. In photographs of the meetings at various points of the ceremony, the seating lineup of regantes shows a random distribution of villagers from Llanca and villagers from Chinchina. There appeared to be no significant grouping according to village affiliation, family, or generation. Bravo Meza attests that these seating arrangements were spontaneous and that this event represents a moment in which affiliation with this water source, rather than with a village, is the more significant social identity (personal communication 2022). The committee of regantes has an internal structure similar to the general village political structure with a junta directiva, a governing board, including a president, vice president, secretary, as well as other roles. The junta directiva of the committee of regantes coordinates and performs the ceremony. Just like the committee, the junta directiva includes members from both villages.

In addition to the junta directiva, another important role in the Champería is the gastador. Gastador translates literally as “spender.” At the Champería, there are two gastadores. The role of the gastadores is not perfectly clear and consistent across descriptions of the Champería that were told to me in interviews and in observations by Bravo Meza at the ceremony itself. Some descriptions seem to overlap with some of the responsibilities with the huaris (discussed below). What is shown in the photographs and what was conveyed to me about the Champería in 2018, was that the gastadores provide the supplies for each ritual element of the ceremony. For each meeting, there are customary items that are consumed or used. It is the job of the gastadores to provide and distribute these supplies to the participating comuneros during each meeting. One villager from Chinchina told me: “and for this, well, we also name two gastadores, who bring

liquor, fireworks, corn beer, to carry out the faena of the Champería.”⁵ Other common items consumed and offered during these ceremonies are coca leaves and cigarettes. The vagueness of defining the role of the gastadores at the Champería is very fitting because in practice, these specific responsibilities are completed in accordance with the circumstances rather than adhering to strict rules. For example, in photos of the 2018 Champería, both gastadores and members of the organization El Champal are seen distributing supplies to the group at the opening meeting and throughout the day. As guests, the members of El Champal were eager to participate and assist in the ceremony, and in their typical hospitable fashion, the villagers welcomed them and invited them to participate. Still, participation by El Champal members was limited to the more general distributive tasks of the ceremony, while the more specialized tasks were left to the appointed villagers who had the experience necessary to complete them (which will be discussed below). In the final pictures of the opening meeting, each comunero had a flower in their hat,⁶ was chewing coca with their *calero*⁷ in-hand, held or smoked a cigarette, and had drunk both a small shot of cane liquor and a cup of *chicha morada*.⁸ That process, facilitated by the gastadores, was repeated twice more for each of the three meetings that occur throughout the day of the Champería.

The huaris⁹ assume the role of the intermediary between the community and the mountain, MamaMária. The huaris are responsible for directly making the petition to MamaMária for water and then communicating the mountain’s response to the assembly of

⁵ “Y para esto pues se nombra tam’ién dos gastadores.. que llevan trago, cohete, chicha, para:: realizar el:: la faena de la Champería” (Interview with Don Héctor, Chinchina, March 8, 2018).

⁶ The *enfloro*, discussed below

⁷ A *calero* is a small gourd bottle of crushed lime which is used to activate the coca leaves for chewing.

⁸ *Chicha morada* is non-alcoholic corn beer made from purple corn. The drink has a deep purple color.

⁹ See Salomon and Niño-Murcia’s (2011: 106) discussion of the huari in Tupicocha’s Champería: “The word *wari* in Quechua means primordial. The Huaris are costumed dancers who impersonate the ancient ancestors of the village.” See also Duviols (1973) on a more in-depth discussion of the term huari.

regantes. The huaris must climb to the highest peak in the Carnacha Ravine, Shauncañí. There, they have two jobs. The first is to gather as many wildflowers and medicinal herbs as they can. Just below the peak of Shauncañí, there is an assortment of valuable plant species that only grow on this region of the mountain, and each has a specific medicinal quality. It requires skill and knowledge to find and correctly identify the appropriate plants for collection. When Don Héctor, a villager from Chinchina, told me about the location and type of plants that the huari needs to collect, he said: “you have to know, because there are people who just go and sometimes, they don’t bring anything back.”¹⁰ Many other villagers had directed me to Don Héctor when they found out that I was looking for information about village customs and the surrounding landscape. They would say “ask him, he’s curious and remembers everything.” The votes of confidence from his peers made it clear that Don Héctor was knowledgeable and that this was an admirable quality. Don Héctor’s words and tone had indicated that the opposite, being unknowledgeable and unable to identify the correct plants, was embarrassing and would lead to an unimpressive and incomplete performance as huari.

One day, after hearing that I would not be able to make it to the Champería, the then-president of Llanca, Don Simon, told me he would show me some of the traditional musical instruments that are used in the ceremony. I showed up at his house early the next morning as we had agreed, but he was not there. His mother, Doña Elena, was there and she said that he had gone out to collect flowers. I had expected him to simply take out a few instruments to show me before he set off for his long day of work in the field. Instead, he had gotten up especially early and he returned laden with flowers from his chacra. Then, he and his mother donned the

¹⁰ “Y:: hay que conocer pe, porque personas que van así no ma’, a veces no traen nada” (Interview with Don Héctor, Chinchina, March 8, 2018).

traditional garments worn by the huaris and modelled for me in front of the peak of Shaucañí, the destination of the huaris (Figure 1.10). Don Simon explained to me that the flowers he had collected were the ones he grows in his chacra to sell, not the typical wildflowers collected by the huaris, since those can only be found at the top of the mountain.



Figure 2.10. Doña Elena and Don Simon modelling traditional ceremonial garments, enfloro, and musical instruments outside their home in Llanca with the peak of Shaucañí in the background.

In order to carry their personal belongings, their offerings to the mountain, and the herbs and flowers back down the mountain, the huari traditionally wears a colorfully woven *alforja*, modelled by Don Simon (Figure 1.10), or a *calshimanta*, modelled by Doña Elena. An *alforja* is a shawl-like garment with large pockets on each end that is slung over one shoulder and is used to carry what the huari has with him. A *calshimanta* (colorful blanket) is a large shawl that many women in highland Huarochirí wear daily tied around their backs to carry just about anything: food, produce, or their own children. The photographed *calshimanta* is a new and particularly

vibrant one used for special occasions, though even the quotidian ones are also made with brightly colored cloth.¹¹

The second job the huaris must complete atop the mountain of Shaucañí is to speak directly with the mountain, produce an offering, and make a formal request for water in the coming year. This is not a figurative process, the huaris must literally speak to the mountain and receive an answer, which they write down in their notes and carry back down the mountain to recite in front of the rest of the group. Don Vincente, from Llanca, said to me: “yes, the huaris go early up to Shaucañí, there they speak, they say, with MamaMária. They speak as if the Señora were present.”¹² Almost all villagers used the name MamaMária when referring to the mountain. MamaMária is the specific mountain associated with the peak of Shaucañí. Were a Champería to be held on a different waterwork then the petitions would be directed to that corresponding mountain. However, I was told that, there were in fact two mountains, a female and a male, and that it was necessary to speak to both. Don Simon told me: “they call the mountain of the woman MamaMária, and the other they call Pencollo.”¹³ After this interview I had asked others about there being a female and a male mountain; and usually only after I had asked, they confirmed that the male mountain was Pencollo. Bravo Meza confirmed in 2018 that during the Champería ceremony the huaris had made a point of speaking with both MamaMária and Pencollo individually. In some cases when asking about the female and male mountains, I was told two completely different names. In the capital town of Tupicocha, the two mountain deities are referred to as Pencollo and María Capyama or Catiana (Salomon and Niño-Murcia

¹¹ The gendered aspect of these garments is discussed later in this chapter.

¹² “Sí. Los huaris que van temprano para Shaucañí, allá habla dice con MamaMaria. Ellos hablan como qui [sic] estuviera presente la señora...” (Interview with Don Vincente, Llanca, March 12, 2018).

¹³ “...le llaman al cerro de mujer le llaman MamaMária, y al otro le llaman Pencollo” (Interview with Don Simon, Llanca, March 11, 2018).

2011:104-105). In video footage of Llanca and Chinchina's Champería, as one huari nears the peak of Shaucañí, he stops to give a liquor offering to Pencollo and to "Mama Catiana."

Nonetheless, when he and other people started to tell me about the Champería, they would still always use the name MamaMária to refer generally to the mountain spoken with during the ceremony. MamaMária seems to be the most prominent reference and the only one brought up consistently when villagers speak of the mountain they pay tribute to during the Champería.

The mountains have a specific type of authority over water. Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:105) observe that the villagers of Tupicocha consider their mountain deities, Pencollo and Mama Capyama (or Catiana) to be the *dueños*, the "owners" of the water. MamaMária and Pencollo are treated the same way by villagers of Llanca and Chinchina. Their Champería therefore is a ritual manifesting "village water law" (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:105-106), an arrangement that is similar to the land agreements they have with the town of Tupicocha: villagers negotiate their tenancy over a resource that is not their own.

When villagers told me about communicating with the mountain, they mentioned an interesting challenge: a language barrier. Don Vincente told me that the mountains speak and understand only Quechua. He said "the huaris speak of Pencollo, of MamaMária, over there. They come up with a way to speak with the Pencollos."¹⁴ Since the mountains only understand Quechua, and the villagers don't speak Quechua, they have to speak an improvised Quechua when they talk to the mountain: they make it up as they go along. The huari makes an offering of the traditional coca, cigarettes, liquor, and corn beer, and then speaks their improvised Quechua to the mountain, asking for water. When they write down the response from the mountain, it is

¹⁴ "Y los huaris hablan de Pencollo, de MamaMária, allá pue". Sacan su manera de de hablar de los Pencollos" (Interview with Don Vincente, Llanca, March 12, 2018).

also in this improvised Quechua. Upon returning to the faena, they do an interpretation of the note in front of the whole group. One of the huaris from 2018 allowed for the note, that he had written on the inside of a cigarette pack, to be photographed (Figure 1.11). At first glance, the note appears to be written in Spanish in what looks like rushed handwriting. But on further inspection, only some of the words are actually recognizable as Spanish, and even those that are do not seem to be in a conventional grammatical order. This note became the basis for an interpretive performance in front of the huari's fellow regantes later in the ceremony. Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:113) describe almost exactly this scenario from Tupicocha's Champería: "they [the huaris] are not in possession of a fully inscribed legalistic text... Rather, they have in their hands a roughly scribbled, frequently not even legible, simulacrum of writing... The actual performance is improvisational in its exact wording" (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:113)

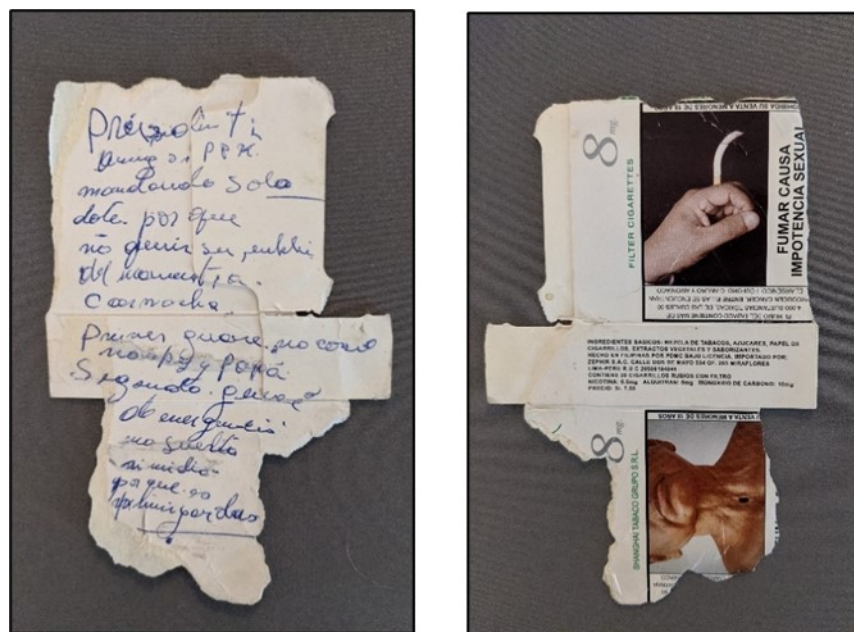


Figure 2.11. Front (left) and back (right) of huari's note from 2018 Champería written on the back of a cigarette pack.

After collecting the wildflowers and herbs and conferring with MamaMária and Pencollo, the huaris start heading back down the mountain. Once they reach the site of Toma de Carnacha, they open the spigot on the reservoir to allow water to flow down the canal system that has been cleaned by the faena workers. Because of this, most villagers who described this to me said that the huaris “*llegan con el agua,*” arrive with the water, or that they “*traen el agua,*” bring the water. As they hike back down the canal, it is their job to assess the work that their fellow regantes have done and to then deliver the message about whether MamaMária and Pencollo are satisfied with the offerings and work or not. The huaris meet the rest of the group at the last stop of the Champería, Lumputa. Don Vincente described the huaris’ arrival as a dance, where they dance around the reservoir with their shovels. The huaris distribute the herbs and flowers they brought back with them. Don Simon described the ensuing performance to me as follows:

Ah ya, they are big flowers. They lay out everything, flowers and other herbs also they lay out. For everyone, for everyone. They arrive and they manage to catch up with everyone and they have their knapsack, they take it and put out the mesa. There’s a mesa that’s for the cross, they put out their blanket and start to distribute the herbs. And when they go to distribute the herbs, they make jokes. They say to you ‘this is what MamaMária sent you.’...and then they do, one goes as a woman and one goes as a man. So they keep talking and handing out all the herbs. They finish and they leave with the fireworks, also they set off fireworks. Yes, they give their declaration and everything and to everyone and since they have arrived there, they’ve finished for this year, let’s say “2018, completed”¹⁵

Don Vincente, Don Simon’s father, added:

They divide their herbs, they speak their Quechua, they speak of MamaMária, that she sends a lot of water, that the acequia has to be nice and clean, nice and clean! That is

¹⁵ “Ah ya, son flores grandes. Todito lo ponen, flores y otras hierbas también van poniendo. A todos, a todos ya. Llega y llega de alcanzar a todos entonces ya tienen su quispe, agarran y ponen en la mesa. Hay una, la mesa que está por la cruz ponen su manto de.. empiezan repartir la hierbas. Y cuando ellos van repartiendo las hierbas hay unos chistes pues. Ah te dice ‘esto te mandó este:: MamaMária’... Y entonces ellos eh hacen, uno hace de mujer y otro el otro hace de varón pues. Entonces van hablando van entregando todito la hierbas. Terminan y:: van con cohetes también botan los cohetes. Sí ellos dan su manifestación todo y y cada uno como ya llegan ellos ahí, ellos ya cumplieron ese año, vamos a poner ‘2018 ya cumplen’” (Don Simon, Llanca, March 11, 2018).

what MamaMária says. The acequia, when it is clean, the acequia, MamaMária, they say she is ha:ppy and she sends a lot of water...and when the acequia is...dirty, not well cleaned, MamaMária, they say she is annoyed, she gives us very little water.¹⁶

This is one of the most important elements of the ceremony; the integrated quality check and punishment for not adequately fulfilling responsibility. The huaris bring the verdict of the mountain to the group after having inspected the entire canal. Through the highly organized labor structure, the junta directiva keeps track of who is responsible for each section of the canal. Any section deemed inadequately cleaned or repaired provokes immediate consequences for those responsible. These consequences come either in the form of a fine or a ritual public whipping in front of the cross (villagers say that historically this was a real flogging, however today it is very light and largely symbolic). Don Héctor described this process to me as follows: “Then they [the huaris] do the assessment. They call up each user [regante] individually. And there’s a—let’s say there was a stretch of canal that was the responsibility of some guy, and he didn’t clean it, didn’t improve it, so they’ll call him to the santísima cruz [to be punished].”¹⁷ As Don Simon mentioned, the role of the huari is not just to punish the other comuneros: the presentation of critique must also be entertaining. When the huaris address the group, it is a performance of comical antics and lighthearted teasing. The two elements of this process, the fact that the huaris take on the role of messenger, as well as their humorous delivery of the assessment, create a sort of buffer that helps relieve some of the tension of direct critique.

Because of this, the job of the huari not only requires physical fitness and an intimate knowledge

¹⁶ “Ellos dividen su yerba, hablan su quechua hablan de:: de MamaMária, que mando bastante agua, que la ‘cequia tiene que ‘tar bien limpio, ‘*¡bien limpio!*’ es que dice MamaMária. La ‘cequia- está limpio, la ‘cequia. MamaMária dice que está contente, y e:: manda bastante agua...Y cuando la ‘cequia está limpio o sucio, no ‘ta bien limpia’o, MamaMária dice que está molesto [sic], poca agua nos da” (Interview with Don Vincente, Llanca, March 12, 2018).

¹⁷ “Entonces ellos::: hacen esa calificación. Lllaman usuario por usuario. Y hay una::, por decir un tramo que era de tal fulano y no lo limpió, que no lo mejoró, entonce’ lo llaman a la Santísima Cruz” (Interview with Don Héctor, Chinchina, March 8, 2018).

of the landscape, but it is also an essentially creative performance that deals with the delicate intricacies of intracommunity critique.

Gender can have an important role in these performances. Women are typically not present for the Champería in Llancha and Chinchina. In Figure 1.10, Doña Elena was modelling what she would typically wear to an Andean ceremony or festival, but in general, she would not be present during the Champería. This is not universal at all Champerías in Huarochirí. Robles Mendoza and Rojas Robles's (2019) documentation of water ceremonies in the Santa Eulalia Valley of Huarochirí shows women participating at the communal meetings of Champerías in the towns of Huanza and San Pedro de Casta. Photographs in Salomon and Niño-Murcía (2011: 112, 114) show women participating in ritual elements of Tupicocha's Champería in 1994 and 1999. However, in narratives and at the 2018 ceremony, women were absent in Llancha and Chinchina's Champería.

Nonetheless, the physical absence of women does not mean that the Champería is centered around the male gender. In multiple interviews (e.g., see Footnote 15), villagers mentioned that the two huaris are meant to represent a woman and a man. This is consistent with the heavy theme of dualism found in modern and past Andean customs (Allen 2002: Kindle Location 4209; Gelles 2000:102-103; Salomon and Urioste 1991:15). Gelles (2000:51) points out how the practice of irrigating chacras is gendered in Cabanaconde: "Although the heads of households and the water authorities are predominantly men, both women and men are skilled and active in irrigation from a young age. Many women are consummate irrigators and carry out the most burdensome tasks." This is also the case in Llancha and Chinchina, and the presence of a partnership between a female and a male in the Champería is also evidenced in the two mountain deities, MamaMária and Pencollo. At least today and within the memory of those who

spoke with me, the gendering of the huaris is symbolic: those assigned to be the two huaris are always men. However, Don Ramiro from Llancha mentioned that in his parents' generation, one of the huaris would cross-dress as a woman in an outfit similar to Doña Elena's in Figure 1.10. This is not very difficult to imagine. Crossdressing and sexual humor are a major part of Andean festivals in general. At the huayrona (annual town meeting) of Tupicocha, most of the day is taken up by a logistical meeting in which the village reviews significant events and infractions incurred over that last year and appoints new authority positions for the new year. This meeting is followed by a parade. Contrasting starkly with the formal and solemn proceedings of the morning meeting, the parade is essentially a comedy show. Each of the parcialidades has an act. They promenade, dancing down main street in costumes, competing to act out the most ridiculous and hilarious scenes that often utilize crossdressing and sexual humor to get the most laughs (see Figure 1.12).

Don Ramiro had melancholically described to me how this custom of cross dressing in the Champería has begun to change and fade within his memory. He mentioned that the younger generation tends to be too embarrassed to cross dress and become immersed in the part. While this ceremony is taken very seriously by the villagers in Llancha and Chinchina, a major part of Andean ritual is performance, humor, and spontaneity (as I will discuss below). The role of the huari is not just prescriptive but contains elements that I would compare to doing an improv or standup comedy show: not an un-nerve-wracking responsibility. There is an impressive contrast between the exuberant and often chaotic performances during village festivals and the quiet, composed, and private demeanor of most Andean villagers in everyday life. Those who have central roles in these rituals and festivities need to engage in complex codeswitching. They must act with the appropriate solemnity in the context of the formal village meetings and then, very

soon after, transform into entertainers, competing for the biggest laughs from the crowd. The standards of dignity are reversed in these moments, and those who fully commit to the most outrageous performance are the most celebrated. To perform these aspects of Andean ritual requires chutzpah and a honed instinct that, according to Don Ramiro, the younger generation has either not yet acquired or is unwilling to do so.



Figure 2.12. A scene at the parade during Tupicocha's huayrona in which a man dressed as a woman has jokingly thrown himself on another man directly in front of Tupicocha's junta directiva (standing behind the table and peaña). The scene includes other costumed characters that are all part of the "Danza de las Curcuchas," a dance that is performed at various festivals throughout the year and is traditional to the Huarochirí Province.¹⁸ The characters in this scene include the miner (second from right in a helmet and orange construction pants), the grandfather (on left in white wig), and the llama (in brown costume, second from left; not traditional to the Curcuchas but is the mascot of this parcialidad). The llama and the miner attempt to save the man from the libidinous woman. Onlookers laugh and record the performance on their phones. Photo taken by Jose Saravia and Alexandra Mendoza, January 2020.

¹⁸ The dance was originally created as a satire of the Spanish colonizers and has evolved to incorporate other characters in Huarochirí's social history. There are not many academic sources detailing the Danza de las Curcuchas (or Kurkuchas). See Ramírez Arévalo (2019) for an overview of the custom in the context of education and cultural heritage revitalization.

The final official role in the Champería is the musician. Figure 1.13 shows the two traditional instruments associated with the Champería ceremony, the *cacho* or *cornete* which is the horn, and the *tinya*, the drum. The music is an important and dynamic element to the ceremony, accompanying and announcing significant events throughout the day. The *tinya* is a small hide drum that is held in the air by a string handle with one hand and beat with a drumstick held in the other hand. The *tinya* provides a steady, echoey beat. The *cacho* is a circular horn made up of large cow horn segments fastened together, in this case with tape, into a spiral with a narrow mouthpiece and a wide opening. It is held steady in one hand while the other hand holds the mouthpiece. Considering its size, the *cacho* has a surprisingly delicate, deep flute-like tone and provides the melodic element to the music while the *tinya* provides the underlying beat. These instruments have significant longevity in the Huarochirí region. Similar instruments, translated as drums and panpipes,¹⁹ are referenced multiple times in the 1608 Huarochirí Manuscript in association with canal cleaning festivals and dancing (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 58, 115, 135). Like the huaris, the musicians cover a lot of ground during the Champería. They accompany the huaris in their send off and in their return, but they also accompany the work party and are present at each of the ceremony's three meetings. Since they are meant to follow members of the Champería at opposite ends of the canal throughout the day, the musicians are constantly hiking from one place to another to keep up with the events of the ceremony. The

¹⁹ Translations of panpipes in the manuscript may refer to reed panpipes, a different kind of wind instrument to the *cacho*, but in some cases, panpipes are translated as flutes, e.g., “his golden panpipe (his flute was likewise of gold)” (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 115). The exact nature of the instrument is unclear and may refer to multiple types. Regardless, the manuscript includes multiple references to the combination of a drum and a wind instrument, often in the context of a water ceremony or dance battle. Documentation of other Champerías in Huarochirí shows the use of the *tinya* and a different, recorder-like, wind instrument called a *chirisuya* (Robles Mendoza and Rojas Robles 2019).

music, together with the lighting of the fireworks, provide an auditory embellishment to each major process or event during the ceremony.



Figure 2.13. Musicians at the 2018 Champería. Don Hugo (left) plays the tinya and a musician contracted from Tupicocha (right) plays the cacho. Photo taken by El Champal.

Prior to the 2018 Champería ceremony, Don Ramiro had told me that, even though music is an important element of any local ceremony, very few of the current residents in either village are practicing musicians. While Don Simon and Doña Elena had so generously shown me the instruments, neither of them knew how to play them. Don Ramiro told me he remembered that Don Simon’s grandfather had been the one to make the instruments (because he had always had the best bulls to provide the horns), but the younger generations typically do not play them. I asked Don Ramiro about people in the villages today learning to play the musical instruments, and he replied with the same melancholic tone he had used when discussing the huaris: “Yeah, now it’s difficult... in reality, not anymore, no... They don’t have the same rhythm as before, I

mean the custom.”²⁰ As a result, Llancha and Chinchina have to hire a musician from another village to come play at their Champería in order to have music. Don Héctor’s family in Chinchina expressed concern that there would not be enough funds to contract music for the Champería in 2018, in which case they would have to do without. I knew I would not be able to attend the ceremony that year and had been looking for a way to contribute, so I provided the funds to contract a musician to come to the villages to play during the ceremony. Figure 1.13 shows the musicians for the 2018 Champería. The man on the left is Don Hugo, a villager from Llancha who does know how to play the *tinya*, but the *cacho* player on the right was hired from Tupicocha. Don Ramiro also remembered that each region used to have their own characteristic tones and melodies. He said, “and now they are sharing everywhere...now they mix it... the music”²¹ as fewer and fewer locals in each town are learning to play the traditional musical instruments. This loss of regional musical diversity has had a direct impact on the Champería and other village festivals in Llancha and Chinchina. The *cacho* player did come from just over the ridge in Tupicocha and played on an instrument local to Llancha, but during the patron saint festival of Llancha in 2019, the festival sponsors contracted a band from a different region of the province. Because each region has their own musical style, and Llancha and Chinchina no longer have their own musicians, their festivals often create hybrids of local customs with music from other parts of the province or country.

The Ceremony

The ceremony begins at the Toma de Carnacha, the place where the irrigation system intercepts the stream that flows down from the Carnacha Waterfall (Catarata de Carnacha)

²⁰ “Bueno, ahora es difícil...en realidad, ya no, no...ya no lo llevan el mismo ritmo digamo::’ la costumbre” (Interview with Don Ramiro, Llancha, March 13, 2018).

²¹ “Y ahora lo están compartiendo en todos lados...ya lo mezcla este: música” (Ibid.).

(Figures 1.9 and 1.14). Everyone gathers for the opening meeting around the *santisima cruz*, the most holy cross, at this site early on the morning of the Champería. The regantes all sit along a line, surrounded by their tools for the day and their herding and companion dogs, who typically follow them wherever they go. It is the responsibility of the junta directiva to begin the first meeting of the day with the appropriate rituals. Salomon (2004: 48) described this process for faenas in the town of Tupicocha and, being the capital town to these villages, the description is an accurate starting place:

At the beginning of any faena, the authority assembles the crew ceremonially. Someone must write down attendance, usually the ayllus' (community's) respective elected secretaries. Two rituals sanctify work. The first is the *armada* (from *armar*, 'to prepare, set up'): a distribution of cigarettes, coca leaf, and shots of liquor. It 'sets up' an action group for the next task. The second is *enfloro* (enflowerment) or garlanding of the work cross, and the hats of all present, with rosettes of the appropriate plant.

The *armada* is set up around the cross and consists of the same items that the gastadores distribute to each comunero. The items in the armada are not consumed but laid out as an offering to the cross, the mountain deities, and the *abuelos* (discussed below). This array of offered items is sometimes called an armada and sometimes called a *mesa*, which translates literally to table in Spanish. Mesa is the term more commonly used in Llanca and Chinchina.



Figure 2.14. The opening meeting of the 2018 Champería ceremony at the site of Toma de Carnacha. The regantes sit in a line at the base of an agricultural terrace as the gastadores distribute the goods for the opening rites. The santísima cruz is on the far right. Photo taken by El Champal.

The enfloro is consistently the opening of every scheduled ceremonial or logistical communal event in the villages, and in most of the highland Andes. Put simply, Don Vincente described it to me as: “there they pass out the enfloro. The enfloro, what is it? The flower! Each person has their little flower, each one. At the most holy cross, they put the flower there, and then they divide them up.”²² Don Héctor said: “to pass out the enfloro, in other words they give a little branch of a flower to all of the users (regantes).”²³ This is physically exactly what happens, a bunch of flowers are provided, and each attending member of the meeting receives a flower to put in their hats. Salomon (2004: 48, 65) stated that in Tupicocha, villagers described the purpose of the enfloro to be the establishment of an “auspicious context” and to obtain the necessary

²² “Ahí pasan l’enfloro. El enfloro, ¿cuál es? ¡la flor! Cada personal tienen [sic] su florcito [sic] cada uno. En:: en la santísima cruz, ahí le ponen la:: la flor, y allí ya dividen ya” (Interview with Don Vincente, Llanca, March 12, 2018).

²³ “...pasar el enfloro o sea dan una ramita de flor a to::do [sic] los usuarios” (Interview with Don Héctor, Chinchina, March 8, 2018).

permissions from the mountain deities to proceed with the ceremonies and tasks of the day. While this explanation closely tracks with how villagers of Llancha and Chinchina characterized other elements of the ceremony, like the offerings to the cross and the mountains, their description of the enfloro was typically much more logistical. To them, the enfloro first and foremost was a mechanism for taking attendance: if one was present at the initial meeting, they received a flower in their hat and were not to remove it for the rest of the day. Having the enflowered hat signaled to everyone else that one had been in attendance at that day's obligatory gathering. Lacking a flower on a day of communal assembly indicated that one was due to be fined or publicly punished for tardiness or absence. This process is perhaps slightly redundant on a day like the Champería because part of the opening meeting is, as Salomon (2004:48) described, to *pasar lista* or to all sign an attendance sheet managed by the village secretary. However, on a day like the huayrona of Tupicocha where hundreds of people are present at the meeting, passing an attendance sheet around is less convenient and the enfloro becomes a much more practical element of the ritual. In addition to convenience, on a communal meeting day the attendance sheet records meeting turnout in archival form while the enfloro is a physical, interactive mark of participation that all attendees engage with, not just the junta directiva. Regardless of its immediate practicality, the enfloro remains a ritual signifier that all those present with a flower in their hat are now engaged, acknowledged, and held accountable in the ceremony of the day.

The photos from the 2018 Champería ceremony show that the enfloro, the distribution of the offering goods to the assembly and to the cross, and the passing around of the attendance list happened simultaneously. As described above, these opening rites were carried out and facilitated by the junta directiva and the gastadores. The cross, or *peaña*, is a central feature of

any village meeting or ritual. When describing the setup of the meeting hall for Tupicocha's huayrona, Salomon (2004:140) wrote: "the great plaza has a sacred center: a peña or small pyramid-based cross adorned with the national flag and the whip of civic discipline." Villagers refer to the cross as *santísima cruz*, "most holy cross," and every person present at a meeting or ceremony must salute the cross, bowing their head, bending a knee, and lifting their hat, before entering the meeting and every time they walk by the cross throughout the day. The portable cross brought to the Champería and carried to each of the ceremony's three stops is small, lacks the typical pyramid base and is adorned with flowers as well as the whip. The focus of this ceremony is canal maintenance and paying tribute to the mountain deities, however the cross that is central to the entire meeting is a Catholic cross. In the Andes, and in much of the colonized world for that matter, worship of local deities and Catholicism constantly coexist (see Allen 2002). In Llanca and Chinchina, these two religious traditions are one, having been almost fully integrated into one another in both the material ritual practices of the villagers as well as their oral traditions and interpretations of their landscape.

After the opening rituals at the first meeting, the junta directiva names the huaris and they are dismissed to climb the mountain. This is an excellent example of how prescriptive ritual and improvisational ritual combine during the Champería. Throughout the day, there are strict rules about attendance, organizational authority, paying respects and offerings, and quality of work. However, this does not mean that the authority upholding these rules is unquestionable. During the opening meeting in 2018, the junta directiva named Don Vicente, an elder comunero, as the first huari. Rather than simply accepting the role, he stood up and addressed the group in the

formal vocal register²⁴ used for public speaking in the villages. He argued that, as a passive comunero, he had completed his responsibilities to the group in years past and that he was physically unable to hike to the peak of Shaucañí. He suggested that it would be better for only one huari to go than to ask someone who cannot perform the task correctly to go do it. He added: “Señores, we are mistaken to name innocent people, señores.”²⁵ Innocent was a term often used in interviews with me. Its meaning can change from context to context but in general it refers to a lack of ill intent, to inculpability. In this case specifically, an innocent person is someone who has no outstanding responsibilities to the community and who therefore should not be asked to overexert themselves in a task they cannot physically do. Following Don Vincente’s comments, the seated group deliberated and eventually accepted his refusal. Another member of the group, Don Arturo stood up after this and, again in the public speaking register, expressed his disapproval that the tradition of dismissing the huari with music and having the musicians follow the huari was being neglected. He argued for a renewed commitment to the tradition and how important it was to have the huari be accompanied by music. Again, this comment was followed by deliberation. Finally, Don Fernando, also an elder, stood up to speak. He said that he was a gastador, however he was willing to volunteer to make the climb and act as a huari, accompanied by the musicians.

After this, the problem at hand was solved and all those involved in the sendoff of the huaris began preparing. The volunteer huari prepared his bag with provisions for his own food

²⁴ There are many definitions and connotations of the term register in linguistic anthropological discourse. Charles Ferguson’s (1994) definition is a useful orientation for how I use the term here. He discusses register as follows: “A communication situation that recurs regularly in a society (in terms of participants, setting, communicative functions, and so forth) will tend over time to develop identifying markers of language structure and language use, different from the language of other communication situations” (Ferguson 1994:21).

²⁵ “Señores, nos equivocamos en nombrar gente inocentes señores” (Video of Don Vincente, taken by Anthony García Crespin of El Champal, Champería ceremony, May 23, 2018).

and offerings to the mountain, had an empty backpack to carry back the flowers and herbs, and had a handful of fireworks and a walking stick. Everyone else began cleaning up the supplies from the opening rituals, as the sendoff of the huaris also marks the end of the first meeting and the start of the work party. The one gastador who was left collected loose, unchewed coca leaves and liquor bottles from the group. Within two minutes the volunteer huari, Don Fernando, stood ready in front of the group and the music began to play. He dropped his head and raised his hands, carrying his walking stick, backpack, and bag full of offerings. In this position he danced in front of the assembly, tipping his hat and spinning from side to side to salute the entire group. The steps to this dance look simple and elegant, with the dancer's feet barely lifting off the ground. Though, from personal experience I can attest to the great amount of grace and skill required to dance with the correct rhythm and to make it look effortless. The dance lasted for around a minute, after which Don Fernando took his leave away from the group towards the trail leading to the peak of Shaucañí. He was sent off with fireworks from the remaining crowd. Not recorded was the naming of the first huari, Don Andrés. He did not participate in the sendoff and is only later seen in videos higher up on the mountain with Don Fernando. This concluded the opening meeting and marked the first split of the two parallel components of the ceremony that operate separately and then intertwine as the day progresses. The huaris set off up the mountain to perform the responsibilities described above, and the rest of the regantes set off to work on the canal and headed towards the second stop of the Champería.

While the sendoff of the huaris is an elegant and ceremonial moment, their next task is a grueling six-to-seven-hour hike. The video footage of the huaris in 2018 shows a combination of formal, performative moments of offerings to the mountain and casual conversations during rests and consultations over the different plants they were collecting. Much of the footage shows the

huaris explaining things to the member of El Champal who was filming them, either about which plants they were looking for or, more generally, how the Champería works in the villages. Their official consultation with MamaMária and Pencollo was not recorded. However, as mentioned above, there is footage of Don Fernando making a liquor offering to Pencollo and Mama Catiana. As the huaris make their way up the mountain, they periodically set off fireworks to alert the faena below of their whereabouts at important moments throughout the day, such as the petition to the mountain or the opening of the tap on the canal. This practice also serves as a communication tool with the musicians whose task it is to move between the huaris and the rest of the group.

At the second stop of the Champería, Chaucalla, the faena pauses their work for a rest and the second meeting of the day. Footage from 2018 shows regantes along the canal, one shoveling gravel accumulation out of the canal while others further down the line weeded and cleared brush away from the canal with their hands or with machetes. Another regante used a crowbar to remove a large tree trunk that had fallen across the canal. The group usually arrives at Chaucalla around midday. At this point, the huaris have not yet arrived and are still on the mountain. The faena congregates and the cross is set up again. The petition to the mountains is not only the responsibility of the huaris: the junta directiva also has a special role in adequately paying tribute to the mountain deities. In an interview, Don Héctor described the proceedings at Chaucalla:

And there, down below there is a cavern where there are a lot of skulls. There are gentiles there. Then the communal directive arrives at twelve o' clock, they arrive at that place. And they send the deputy, the alderman, and one other regante to take out two skulls...they say one is female and the other is male... and they make a *mesa*, they put out the cross and they put the two skulls there, and the *abuelito* they say that they help us with the acequia and to pay respects to the mountain...and if they don't do it the water doesn't come! It doesn't get here! It stops at the middle, and it filters out there, it stays

there. In other words, its obligatory to take the skulls of the ancestors out. And well, you pay respects, and yes, you put a cigarette, they put coca, they give them their liquor.²⁶

Across the Carnacha Ravine there are a number of pre-Hispanic and colonial era mass gravesites, *machayes*, which are naturally formed caves with built structures around them and *chullpas*,²⁷ which are independently standing grave structures.²⁸ The *abuelos*, *gentiles*, or ancestors refer to the human remains found in these funerary structures. In Tupicocha, Salomon (1995) translated their name to the “beautiful grandparents.” Both in Tupicocha and in Llanca and Chinchina, these *abuelos* are not interpreted by villagers as their literal genealogical grandparents, but rather as the people who are ancestral to the place and to the landscape and therefore hold great power and must be respected. As Don Héctor stated, there is a *machay* below the canal at the place called *Chaucalla* that houses a number of disarticulated human skeletons. Figure 1.15 and Figure 1.16 show him and another *regante* bringing the skulls up from the *machay* at *Chaucalla* and the adorned cross and *mesa* with offerings for the skulls.

²⁶ “E ahí hacia ’bajito hay una caverna donde hay bastante calaveras.. Ahí gen hay gentiles ahí.. Entonces llega la junta comunal a las doce en punto llegan en ese lugar. Y’el alguacil, el el vocal del:: comité, con un *regante* lo mandan sacar una, dos calaveras... Se supone que’s hembra y macho... Y acá ‘cen una *mesa*, lo ponen la cruz y lo ponen las dos calaveras ahí, y el *ahuelito* [sic] dicen para que para que nos ayude en la ‘cequia y:: que da el cumplimiento del cerro... ¡Y si no l’acen eso el agua no sale! ¡No llega! Se queda en medio, por ahí se fi:ltra, se queda. O sea obligatoriamente hay que sacar el:...el cráneo de lo:: de los ancestros. Y ya pues das cumplimiento, y sí, ¿no?, le ponen su *ciga:rro*, le ponen su *co:ca*...le dan su *tra:go*” (Interview with Don Héctor, Chinchina, March 8, 2018).

²⁷ Salomon (2002:479) translates the word *chaucalla* as burial house or *chullpa*. The villagers of Llanca or Chinchina did not seem familiar with this meaning when I asked them what the toponym *Chaucalla* meant, but the translation is convincing given what we know of the site. There are many toponyms with non-Hispanic origins in the Carnacha Ravine that the villagers use but do not know Spanish translations for.

²⁸ One funerary structure in the Carnacha Ravine can hold over one hundred individuals’ remains (Bravo et al. 2017).



Figure 2.15. Don Héctor, acting as a representative for the junta directiva, and another regante bring the two skulls (abuelos) up from the machay at Chaucalla at the 2018 Champería. Photo taken by El Champal.



Figure 2.16. The two skulls (abuelos) from the Chaucalla machay positioned under the santísima cruz with offerings of liquor, flowers, coca leaves, and cigarettes at the 2018 Champería. Photo taken by El Champal

The musicians follow those who bring the skulls out of the machay and the entire group watches them arrive and arrange the skulls around the cross. The skulls are laid out on an alforja at the base of the cross. The mesa is prepared around them. Flowers and coca leaves are placed around them, and a bottle of liquor and two cigarettes are lit and placed by their mouths. According to Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:104-105), in Tupicocha, these skulls are meant to be manifestations of Pencollo and María Capyama or Catiana, the mountain deities. This interpretation was not specifically communicated to me in interviews with villagers from Llancho and Chinchina. Rather, as shown in the quotation above, the abuelos were often described as helping the villagers appease the mountains, not being the physical manifestations of the mountain deities themselves. However, in a video of the moment when the skulls were set

out by the cross, Don Héctor uttered the name Pencollo as he was arranging the skulls on the alforja. The rest of what he said is inaudible, so it is unclear whether he was addressing the skulls directly or addressing the fact that the skulls were assisting in the general offerings to MamaMaría and Pencollo made throughout the day. Regardless of whether the abuelos are manifestations of the mountains or separate entities, they fall into the same category as the dueños of the water. The mountains, the abuelos, and the huaris represent beings that are distinct from the comuneros by their quality of being ancient and autochthonous to the landscape (see Footnote 9 on the definition of the term huari). In contrast, the villagers consider themselves relative newcomers and are tenants, not dueños, of the land and its resources.²⁹

What ensues surrounding the mesa with the skulls is, what is in the Andes, a very typical communal meeting. After having worked half the canal at this point, regantes stand up and discuss their opinions, bring up issues, and plan for the future of the canal. In 2018, Don Héctor stood up and asked that one of the elder comuneros give a testament to the tradition so that the members of El Champal who were visiting to document the ceremony could better understand what they were doing. Following this comment, the musicians played as Don Romeo, an elder from Chinchina stood up. His statement was bittersweet.

On my part, I deeply thank you. But this custom that my parents had before, we are already forgetting it totally. But what are we going to do? We, by being here, we're encouraging the young ones to fight for this canal. This requirement is from the year 40 (1940) onwards. We haven't seen a canal like the way you are seeing it. Everything was with loose stones, there are parts with no canal, with nothing. In the future, we need to improve it. You've seen the ravine, how is it? From there we irrigate our living. Without the cement, without protection, something from our Capital, we are here fighting for it,

²⁹ See Salomon (1995) for discussion of Tupicochan ethnohistory on this subject. See also Duviols (1973) and Chase (2016) for a discussion on the “biethnic” cultural tradition of Andean communities according to a huari-llacuaz (invader, newcomer) duality.

those of us present today. Allow me to apologize señores regantes and all the visitors.
Thank you very much.³⁰

He sat down as applause followed his statement and the musicians played again to mark the end of his turn. The next video shows Don Héctor and the same regante as before bringing the skulls back to the machay and carefully putting them back where they found them along with the remnants of the offerings from the mesa. When the inside of the machay at Chaucalla becomes visible, the surface of the cave floor is covered with human skulls and disarticulated bones. Additionally, there are what might appear to be littered bottles around the opening of the cave. Watching Don Héctor carefully replace the skulls with the liquor bottle offering makes it clear that those bottles are relics of past Champerías and independent offerings.

The faena group then resumes its work and makes their way to the third and final stop, the reservoir at Lumputa. At this point, the huaris have begun to come back down the mountain, indicating their progress to the rest of the group by setting off fireworks. When the huaris arrive at the Toma de Carnacha, they open the tap to let the water flow from the reservoir down the freshly cleaned canal. At this point, they alert the musicians because they must meet the huaris and ceremonially “bring the water” back to the group. As I mentioned above, this is a common phrase to describe how the huaris arrive, however the timing does not match up perfectly; the water makes its way down the canal in a matter of minutes while the huaris still have an hour or two of hiking to catch up with the group.

³⁰ “Y de mi parte, les agradezco bastante. Pero la costumbre de que antes mis padres tenían [sic] lo estamos olvidando totalmente ya. Pero ¿qué vamos a ‘acer? Nosotros, por estar presente, estamos animando acá a los jóvenes para que luchen por este manantial. Este requerimiento es del año 40 hacia adelante. No no había no no hemos visto una toma así como ustedes lo ven. Lo están eh todo era con piedras echadas, hay partes sin canal sin nada. Y ya en adelante, debemos mejorarlo. Ustedes como ven ese barranco, ¿cómo está? De ahí riego nuestra vida. Pero por no haber nuestra cementera, y proteger, algo de nuestro capital, estamos luchando los presentes que estamos hoy día. Déjenme disculpar señores regantes y todos visitantes. Muchas gracias” (Video of Don Romeo, taken by Anthony García Crespín of El Champal, Champería ceremony, May 23, 2018).

A canal might look clean and sealed, but as the water flows down it for the first time, any mistake or missed section becomes apparent. As the huaris come down the canal, they assess the work that has been done and address any issues that arise after seeing the water flow for the first time. They look for patches of moistened soil around the canal that might indicate a leak or places where the vegetation on either side of the canal was not sufficiently cleared. Other problematic areas are more obvious. Footage of the huaris on their way back down the canal in 2018 shows them working on an approximately six-foot section of the watercourse that is missing a canal. As the gushing water creates muddy runoff down the side of the mountain, they work quickly to dig a ditch deep enough to carry the water to the next section of stone and cement canal.

The arrival of the huaris at the rest of the group coincides with the final stop of the Champería at the reservoir of Lumputa. The group in 2018 arrived before the huaris and they had time to set up the cross, and then waited for the huaris to arrive. A video taken at 5 PM at Lumputa shows two regantes laughing as they helped one another saw a plastic bottle in half to create two drinking cups as they waited. An hour later the sound of the musicians indicated that the huaris were arriving. Similar to the initial meeting, the first huari, Don Andrés, seemed rather uninterested in participating in the festive ceremony. He quietly joined his peers as he arrived while Don Fernando, the volunteer huari, newly adorned in a colorful alforja, came running in with the musicians and fireworks, waving a shovel in the air. He ran in dancing the same steps as he had in the morning, though he and the music went at a much quicker pace. He then ran down to the point where the canal meets the reservoir and began dramatically shoveling the gravel that the water had accumulated at the mouth of the reservoir. He flung the tip of his shovel with each scoop to launch gravel and water high in the air. He came back up to the group dancing as he had

in the morning, took a bow, and, looking exhausted, nearly keeled over on the ground to finally rest.

After the ceremonial arrival of the huaris, the final meeting consists of a second enfloro in which the huaris distribute what they collected at Shaucañí, and they read the note from MamaMária and Pencollo. Both huaris in 2018 participated in the enfloro and distributed the wildflowers and medicinal herbs as the music played. A video shows the tail end of the volunteer huari reading his letter (see Figure 1.11). He says: “we cannot let go of the customs of the Lord, there are people who were not present today, señores.”³¹ He nods solemnly looking carefully at the letter as he holds it up to read. Don Fernando held the letter up *as if* to read it but recall that the note itself is not written in plain Spanish, but rather extemporized “Quechua” with a few orphaned Spanish words here and there. The “reading” of the note is part of his improvised performance as huari. The section of the letter that he read during the recording was clearly more serious, however Bravo Meza did confirm that preceding this, he had been lightheartedly teasing and scolding the regantes. Solomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:113) attest that the combination of different moods is quite characteristic of this type of ceremony:

Depending on the morale of the village at a given date, the ‘letter’ may be gentle and cordial... or it may include pointed reminders about failures of duty and reciprocity. Andean peoples have an undeserved reputation for solemnity. In fact, laughter is a big part of this celebration as of others.

Don Fernando, our volunteer huari of 2018, gracefully demonstrated all of these tones and energies throughout his performance as huari.

The final official act of the meeting is to name the huaris and gastadores for the following year, which is decided, as with all other communal responsibilities, on a rotating basis. Footage

³¹ “No suelten las costumbres del Señor. Hay personas hoy no presentes señores” (Video of Don Fernando, taken by Elodi Badets of El Champal, Champería ceremony, May 23, 2018).

of 2018 shows Don Héctor, who appeared to be the president of the committee of regantes, taking the cross in his hands and standing in front of the five regantes who had been appointed a role for the 2019 Champería ceremony. They all stood with their hats off, facing the group. Don Héctor announced their responsibilities as regantes of the canal. Along with this statement, he names all relevant structures of communal responsibility ranging from the committee itself, to the capital district of Tupicocha, to the nation of Peru as witnesses to the act of bestowing the appointed comuneros with their new responsibilities. The five nominees took a vow of responsibility and were dismissed by each bowing and saluting the cross.

At this point in the ceremony the sun has begun to go down and the formalities of the day are over. Festive drinking and dancing ensue, as is typical in most Andean festivals and communal events. A video taken at 6:45 in the evening shows three elder regantes dancing together to the music as they pack up the supplies of the day and begin to head home. They joyfully shout as they dance, “let’s go to Chinchina! There’s liquor there, let’s go to happiness, to Chinchina, let’s go!”³² A customary greeting in the Andes is a light handshake, however the video proceeds to show a typical scene in which, after festivals have been performed and drinks have been had, the custom changes to giving strangers hugs and wrapping one’s arm around their shoulders. As the video ends, all three men go up to one of the visitors cheering and hugging her as they walk by.

Tradition?

The Champería ceremony involves various preordained rituals that are repeated annually. In the ethnographic interviews I conducted that focused more generally on the villagers’

³² “¡Vamos a Chinchina! ¡Ahí hay trago, vamos a la alegría a Chinchina, vamos!” (Video of comuneros, taken by Elodi Badets of El Champal, Champería ceremony, May 23, 2018).

relationship with their landscape, ritualistic tradition did not play a central role. The overall body of ethnographic data that I collected from Llanca and Chinchina described a much more elusive, yet still alive, landscape that presented itself and interacted with villagers in protean, non-verbal ways. Most of the interactions with living aspects of the landscape that were described to me were spontaneous and personal in nature (Littledale and Chase 2021). In the context of these other discussions, the Champería seemed like an outlier. The descriptions of the Champería are reminiscent of a much more historically recognizable way of speaking about the Huarochirí landscape. The 1608 Huarochirí Manuscript features tales of the landscape deities, *huacas*, and their interactions with the local human populations. In his introductory essay to the English translation of the manuscript, Salomon (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 18-19) described *huacas* as having “vibrantly individual personalities” and interacting directly and verbally with each other and with human inhabitants of the landscape, just as MamaMária and Pencollo are said to do during the Champería.

Additionally, water and canal cleaning festivals are directly referenced in the manuscript. Chapter Six describes a variety of personified animals, namely the Andean fox, puma, snakes, and birds, gathering to clean and fix a canal that had just been expanded by the most powerful *huaca* of the time, Paria Caca (Salomon and Urioste 1991:62-63). Chapter Seven refers to the tradition—described then as both old and continuing—of canal cleaning during the month of May in association with the worship of the woman/*huaca* Chuqui Suso (Salomon and Urioste 1991:64). Chapter 30 describes a group going to a place called Purui to perform a canal cleaning at the end of the rainy season, which corresponds to the Spring, when it is still currently practiced in Huarochirí (Salomon and Urioste 1991:135).

Aspects of the ceremonies described in the manuscript resonate closely with the modern Champería, such as the nature of the event being a faena and the timing of the ceremony in the Spring. Additionally, modern toponyms and descriptions of the Champería reference linguistically pre-Hispanic names for addressing the mountain (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:23, 104). This is despite modern Huarochirí residents having been almost entirely monolingual Spanish speakers since at least the 1940s. These names have roots in the two native languages, Quechua and the local branch of the Aymara language group, Jaqaru, that were widely spoken in the region into the 19th century.

The historical references give depth to how the villagers refer to the ceremony as a custom that their parents had, one that they are losing but which was so vibrant in previous generations. However, while the descriptions of the Champería from interviews painted a picture of how the ritual is “traditionally” prescribed, the 2018 ceremony displayed what I so often observed elsewhere in the villages: improvisation. Throughout the ceremony there was an interplay of script, problem solving, and creativity. An example is the scene at the opening meeting in which Don Vincente manifested his disapproval of being appointed the second huari. The regantes in this scenario showed a combination of deep respect for authority and process as well as the creation of a space dedicated to challenge and democratic deliberation. The original second huari still followed protocol by respectfully addressing the group and speaking in the recognizable register, even when he was expressing an opinion contrary to the decision made by the authorities. Then, with the emergence of the volunteer huari, a combination of deep respect for tradition and a flexibility to improvise on the spot is shown, allowing the ceremony to move forward. In fact, the improvisation was precisely what allowed for the tradition to be carried out at all. At the end of the meeting, the group only ritually sent off one huari, rather than the pair,

and he donned his typical work clothes and a backpack instead of the calshimanta and alforja that were shown to me as the traditional huari clothing. And yet, had the group been stubbornly loyal to the tradition of naming the huaris as the only possible form of nomination, they would have ended up with a regante unwilling to perform the ritual dances of the huari, and an older gentlemen who would not have been able to make the climb to speak with the mountain, and who would not have been able to return laden with wildflowers and medicinal herbs. The improvisation, not only in terms of the creative performance of the huari, but the organizational improvisation that made the 2018 Champería possible is essential to the tradition itself.

The flexibility in the identities required for the performance during the ceremony resonates with the flexibility of the external identities that are shifted or abandoned temporarily during the Champería. As I discussed in the description of the junta directiva, the organization of authority during the ceremony specifically ignores existing village political hierarchies and creates a new, parallel system that integrates members of both villages. The two main conductors of the ceremony who had directorial positions of the junta directiva (though their specific roles were unclear) were Don Ernesto, an elder member of Llancho, and Don Héctor, an active comunero of Chinchina. They worked together at each stop in the Champería to facilitate the relevant rituals for each meeting. Socially, all documentary evidence of the 2018 Champería shows a mixing of members from both villages throughout the day in seating arrangements at meetings, working groups, and casual clusterings. In the entire set of video footage of the day, no reference to either village is made, nor are titles referring to one's status as a comunero or political position outside of the ceremony used. The only exception to this was the final video in which three regantes are boisterously suggesting carrying on the festivities in Chinchina, and it is notable that this only happens after the ceremony is over. The significance of this is largely

explained by the fact that they all happened to live in Chinchina and as the collective festival was over, those who were heading to the same place decided to continue drinking together there.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, there are a number of ecological and economic reasons that make a collaboration of this sort between the two villages likely. Due to the steepness of the landscape, it is inevitable that villagers from both Llanca and Chinchina expand vertically from their respective hamlets in their agricultural and herding practices, resulting in many shared regions of the cultivated ravine. Additionally, intermarriage between the two villages creates inheritance patterns in which it is not uncommon for a member of one village to be bequeathed a plot of land that is closer to the other village. As demonstrated in the description above, the labor needs required to maintain a canal that serves an entire horizontal swath of the Carnacha Ravine also produces a situation in which a collaborative labor commitment is highly beneficial to all involved. These conditions create the likely scenario of collaboration during a water cleaning festival like the Champería. However, they do not necessarily suggest or inspire a truly enduring integrated social organization, despite this being exactly what is expressed and performed throughout the Champería. The work done and the tribute paid to the mountain could theoretically be completed under differing circumstances. The responsibilities of the Champería *could* be distributed according to village affiliation and one's role in their own village's political structure. Nevertheless, there are multiple elements of the ceremony that lend themselves to the protection of the solidarity of the communal entity that is established in the Champería. The democratic decision-making structure combined with the integrated element of judgement and assessment in the Champería communicate and manifest values that are performed by all of the regantes present (Littledale 2021).

The medium for the democratic deliberation is the public speaking register that I mentioned above. This is how the villagers address the group during the various meetings of the Champería. This register has a number of stock phrases that are inserted at the beginning of most public speaking turns that include formal terms, including *señores presentes* (present sirs), the honorific *estimado* (esteemed) to address someone, and the full name of the village, not its shortened common name (e.g. San Pedro de Llanca rather than just Llanca). The speech often includes repetitive references to the current situation and repeatedly addressing the group with pronouns, for example “Señores, we are mistaken to name innocent people, señores” (see Footnote 255). Not only are there specific words and phrases that indicate this public speaking register, but a specific rhythm of speech is adopted as soon as one stands up and formally addresses the group. The rhythm consists of emphasizing every other or every third word and noted pauses after each sentence. In their article amending John Austin’s (1962) speech act theory, Luke Fleming and Michael Lempert (2014) discussed the role of poetics, form and style of speech and language, in language performativity. They point out that “poetics is a dimension of persuasion and should not be separated out and treated as “mere” aesthetics.” (Fleming and Lempert 2014:487). The rhythm and repetition of speech is an important poetic element of the public speaking register that is both itself phonetically and aesthetically persuasive, as well as an indicator to all present that this speech is official, eligible for going on record, and grounds for deliberation. The difference between casual conversational dialogue and statements spoken in this register, in the context of a public meeting, is so striking that, immediately, visitors who are given the floor will adopt, or at least attempt, the register. I distinctly remember waiting to enter the huayrona of Llanca to ask for permission to do my field work in January of 2018. I waited for hours while the meeting was held inside before I was invited to give my piece, and the entire

time, I was rehearsing the formal phrases that I would add to my pitch in order for it to feel appropriate, or even be acknowledged in the meeting. This does not always go well, as outsiders can often mistake formal and reverent language with overly spiritual language and context. In that same huayrona, a member from El Champal was also speaking. El Champal is an organization including Peruvians and international volunteers. However, most of its Peruvian members are from Lima or other larger cities, and none of them are from the Andean highlands. As the member from El Champal ended his speaking turn, he requested permission to present the president of the community with a *k'intu*: a ritual and spiritually specific offering of coca leaves (with a Quechua name) commonly practiced in the Cusco region of Peru (Allen 2002: Kindle Location 3183). The president looked at him blankly and said: “a what?” He sat there perplexed as he was presented with the coca leaves. The moment was painfully awkward as the room had clearly been misread. The member of El Champal had correctly perceived that the atmosphere called for a heightened degree of formality and payment of respect, however his gesture had gone in the wrong direction, resulting in a spiritual offering that seemed random and out-of-context. This example demonstrates how the very specific linguistic requirements in an Andean communal meeting viscerally differentiate the context from that of everyday encounters. Even as an outsider, one quickly realizes that language tone and register is essential if one wishes to be taken seriously by the group. As visitors, we certainly do not always get it right, but witnessing the contrast between public and casual speech in this context makes it clear that overshooting the mark is better than not attempting to match the register at all.

As mentioned above, the use of this register marks speech that is intended to be heard by all publicly and put under the consideration of the whole group. But the stock phrases themselves are not just empty markers. The exaggerated formality and reverent speech serve to buffer the

challenging or combative points of view that are often being shared in those moments of public speaking. For example, when the Don Vincente stood up to make his case for not being chosen as huari, he was going directly against a decision that the community authorities had just publicly expressed. However, this was not considered a show of disrespect or even a rebellious act because he had expressed his opinion in the format and register of public discourse, which is inherently cushioned with honorifics and has a rhythmic reminder that he is staying within the limits of acceptable deliberation. Similarly, when Don Romeo stood to give a testimony of the Champería at Chaucalla, his words were quite critical of how the group was handling this custom and how they had neglected their duties to maintain the canal. Again, he opened his turn by respectfully addressing those present with the appropriate honorifics, maintained rhythm throughout, and closed by profusely thanking everyone, even receiving applause. The intentional creation of a space for dissent in public settings in which any individual has a right to express their opinion on any matter provides a conflict management system built in to communal affairs. Were there no option for appropriately expressing disapproval in a communal setting, uncontested voices of authority could threaten the democratic structure of local politics, and when disapproval was expressed, there would be no apparatus or structure to fall back on to manage critique and avoid escalated conflicts. Publicly pushing back on decisions made by the authorities is in fact a very common practice in Andean public meetings. In the 2020 huayona that I attended in Tupicocha, almost every comunero who was appointed a role for the coming year made a public statement attempting to recuse themselves. Each statement was made in the same vocal register and each statement was considered and either accepted or rejected by the authorities.³³

³³ It is important to keep in mind as well that positions of authority in these Andean communities are filled

This structure of public buffering and critique is also demonstrated in the form of judgement that is communicated and built in to the Champería. Performances exhibit specific behaviors that communicate, and in ritual, this often is meant to define ideal behavior vs. nonideal or dangerous behavior within the local moral framework. The Champería does this explicitly by incorporating a judgement component coming from both the mountain deity and the community itself.

In the assessment from both MamaMária and from the community, the focus is on how well the canal has been cleaned and whether or not each regante has pulled their own weight in the ceremony. As discussed above, the tasks involved in cleaning the canal and gaining the mountain deity's approval are inherently communal. The canal is long enough that it cannot be cleaned by one or even a few individuals and it cannot be broken up into individual parts: if one section of the canal is not sufficiently clean, the entire water-flow is affected, so it must be an integrated effort. The assessment by the mountain deities is not said to be based on the intent or work ethic of each regante, which would index a personal transparency between the deity and the individual subject, but is instead based on the participation and contributive action that allows or hinders the communal work being completed. This indicates that the point of communication between the villagers and the mountain deities is the condition of the canal itself, which is representative of the entire group. Therefore, even though the huaris serve as messengers, the entity that ends up communicating with the deities themselves is the communal unit, not the individuals within it.

on a rotating basis. Therefore, while a certain few comuneros may have the right to an ultimate verdict at a given moment, this is only temporary, and all others present will at some point in their careers as comuneros fill those same positions.

To achieve this objective of the ritual requires coordination and organization of the communal unit. The integrated communal manual labor is not the only requirement of successfully completing the ritual. Both the communal deliberation of the conference with the mountain deities and the participation of the abuelos is crucial. Villagers have repeatedly told me that if they ever just do the canal cleaning without sending huaris up the mountain and making an offering to the abuelos, the water will dry up within a month and leave them in drought for the rest of the year. The success of the ritual requires that the cross, the ancestors, and mountain deities are explicitly honored during the ceremony. The feedback that they receive and give to each other outlines what the ultimate “good” looks like. The good regante is present and punctual at community events, provides high quality labor to the communal task at hand, and respects the cross, mountain deity, and ancestors, as well as the communally appointed authority figures. In this instance, the reinforced behavior is both directly beneficial and necessary to the entire group and is also orchestrated through the political structure of the group. The behavior expected of each individual regante is what is necessary to establish the communal entity or subject that is capable of communicating and placating the mountain deity and securing the livelihood of both villages throughout the year. The standards being set in this ceremony through assessment by peers, deities, and ancestors are ones of community. In the context of the Champería, that community is not defined by village affiliation, it is defined by the relationship to the Carnacha canal.

Triangulation

The Champería ceremony presents a process in which a group of people enter into collaboration and mutual responsibility with one another in the face of two things: a shared need for water, and an entity that is external to the group and that has authority over the water source

in question. The group of people who share the need for water from the site of the Toma de Carnacha consist of members from two otherwise independent neighboring communities, the village of Llanca and the village of Chinchina. The fact that members of both villages need water from the Toma de Carnacha presents the possibility for collaboration in laboring the irrigation system, but that alone does not make collaboration inevitable. In the case of the Champería, however, water management does not only involve manual labor. The regantes of the Toma de Carnacha are not the “owners” of the water there. Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:105-106) point out that the villagers of Tupicocha consider their mountain deities, Pencollo and Mama Capyama (or Catiana) to be the “Owners” of the water and part of the Champería consists of a negotiation with them for permission to use it. Villagers of Llanca and Chinchina treat their mountain deities, MamaMária and Pencollo, in the same way, and we know that the interface for negotiations with them is the communal unit. Therefore, the stronger the communal unit of regantes is, the stronger the relationship is with the “owners” of the water. Because the nature of the water management on an irrigation system like the Toma de Carnacha favors a larger group, it is likely that the strongest communal unit possible is one in which the members of the two villages come together into one group. This is especially true in the context of urban migration that has led to population decline in recent decades, leaving each village with fewer than 25 permanent residents and far fewer active comuneros. However, it is not just the increased numbers that work in favor of the Champería goes in this arrangement. One unified community that is organized and has mechanisms for internal accountability is much better suited to meet the standards being assessed by MamaMária and Pencollo than two or more separate groups working on the irrigation system would be.

The circumstances surrounding the Champería facilitate the emergence of a community that seems to temporarily transform the existing geopolitical organization and social identities of the inhabitants of the Carnacha Ravine. The group observed during the Champería ceremony emerges from the triangulation of three elements: a critical resource (in this case water), a group of people who share the need for that resource, and an external entity that has authority over the resource in question. The members of the group are identified by their shared need for a particular resource. The nature of the relationship between members comes out of the properties of the resource itself and the conditions presented by the entity that holds authority over it. The challenges of water management in the highland Andes, exhibited by the Toma de Carnacha, and the standards set by MamaMária and Pencollo create a situation conducive to collaboration between the villages of Llancha and Chinchina. In fact, the Champería ceremony represents an integration of regantes that seems to go beyond collaboration and, temporarily, creates a separate communal unit that is independent from village identity. Once the requirements of the Champería are met, the rigidity of the triangulated circumstances that had created the group eases, and the geopolitical and social affiliations with each village take precedence again. The ephemeral community that emerges during the Champería does not occur in a vacuum: the particularities of behavior and ritual are determined by the cultural realities of the people entering this dynamic. As discussed above, the structures and customs practiced during the ceremony are very reminiscent, many are replicas, of customs carried out by each village independently at other points of the year. But the communal unit that carries out the ceremony and which presents itself to the external authority emerges from a specific triangulation of shifting conditions.

The problem of managing access to water within a social group or among communities sharing a watershed can be enormously vexing to everyone involved. Many issues arise from the ubiquitous problem of how to deal with a commonly held essential resource, such as water, pastures, fuel, clay and stone quarries, salt sources, and the like.

(D'Altroy 2015:313)

Explosives

I found out about the explosion incident during a conversation that almost didn't happen. I knew that Don Vincente was not particularly interested in talking to me in general, much less again after I had lost the recording of the first interview that I had done with him. But after my colleague persuaded me to go track him down in his chacra during a break in his workday, he did agree, unenthusiastically, to speak with me. I attribute that to his wife Doña Elena, who is my friend and who successfully urged him to talk to me. Given this attitude at the start of the interaction, he was surprisingly forthcoming in his responses to my questions. After we had been talking for a while, I asked him about the *muquis*, the small rascally people who are said to pop up and cause havoc around mining projects or instances where the mountain is being exposed by construction. This is what he said:

The muqui, the muqui? We have a canal up above called Puquio Sangre... Ya. And Puquio Sangre... we didn't have water here. So we were building a stream [canal] there. A::nd we had been in conflict with Chinchina. Because Chinchina accumulated the water below, they didn't want to give us water up here anymore. So it went on, well, the conflict, it went on and on and on, that feud was intense. A::nd up here we had already

built a sealed tank. And people from Chinchina went in the night and threw explosives in the tank. And they blew up the tank with explosives.³⁴

At this point, it was March of 2018. I had just spent two months living in these two villages, interviewing villagers every day about their history and relationship with the landscape. This was the first time I had ever heard of any kind of inter-village conflict between Llanca and Chinchina, let alone one involving explosives. Up until that moment, my understanding of the dynamic between Llanca and Chinchina was exactly what was written in Chapter Two: a fundamentally collaborative relationship, even if quietly independent in day-to-day life. This was especially true in the context of water management. The news of a conflict involving an explosion having occurred within the past few decades does not change what I observed in 2018. However, the fact that it happened within the memory of a living comunero suggests that the relationship I saw was not as rooted or stable as one might assume based only on interviews and the Champería itself.

What had caught me so off-guard, Don Vincente had seemed unphased about; mentioning the explosives as a side note to a different story. He started telling me about the time a muqui appeared to the engineer Ricardo Orihuelas during the irrigation project that had been at the center of the conflict. It turned out that Orihuelas was a director of irrigation in Matucana, the capital of Huarochirí Province, who had been called to mediate the conflict between Llanca and

³⁴ “¿El muqui, el muqui? E, um, este era, nosotros tenemos un manantial arriba que se llama Puquio Sangre... Ya. Y Puquio Sangre... Nosotros no tenemos [sic] agua acá. Entonces ese ese chorro nosotros ‘tamos levantando. Y:: nos hemos agarrado juicio con Chinchina. Porque Chinchina acaparaba el agua abajo, ya no nos quería dar el agua arriba. Así que se siguió pue’ el juicio, siguió, siguió, siguió, fuerte era ese pleito. Y: e arriba ya en hemos hecho el depósito de un estanco. Y ese ese depósito del estanco, fueron los de Chinchina y lo tiraron explosivo en la noche. Y:: lo botaron el estanco con explosivo” (Interview with Don Vincente, Llanca, March 12, 2018).

Chinchina and to supervise Llanca's irrigation project.³⁵ Don Vincente described how Orihuelas had been the one to see the muqui during one of his inspections of the construction site and had warned the group, because muquis tend to cause trouble. Don Vincente said "and that is the muqui, that is the dev- the de::vil. They say that, well, that it causes something disgraceful, a feud, o::r someone can die there. That's what came out to us, yes! That time. We didn't see it! Not us..."³⁶ Don Vincente estimated that this event had happened around 1978 or 1979. When I asked specifically about the conflict between the two communities, he said "Ye::s. Us and Chinchina. It was because of water. Yes. But we have fixed it already, later we fixed it. It ended up okay, to this day we don't have any issues. They are still fine. Ah, not anymore, there wasn't any more feuding after that. We left it there."³⁷

I experienced cognitive dissonance throughout this entire conversation. It is true that while living in the villages, I had witnessed a notable independence between the two communities on a daily basis, with little casual interaction across members of each, apart from discussing logistical matters. But I had not seen any signs of tension or confrontation along village lines and in the oral history I recorded, the only story I was hearing was one of cooperation and shared tradition. And yet, I was sitting with a highly respected member of Llanca listening to him tell me of an incident in which members of Chinchina had blown up Llanca's central water source. On top of this, Chinchina had been a major cause of Llanca's water shortage in the first place, restricting access to what is today the center of their shared

³⁵ Salomon (2004: 52) points out that in Huarochirí, rural technocrats associated with government programs and NGOs are often referred to as "engineers."

³⁶ "Y ese es el muqui, ese es el ese es el dia- el dia::blo que dicen, ese pue' ese trae dice pue' para que haiga [sic] una desgr::acia, un pleito, o:: una persona que puede morir ahí. ¡Ese nos salió, sí!, ese tiempo. ¡Nosotros no le hemos visto!, nosotros no..." (Interview with Don Vincente, Llanca, March 12, 2018).

³⁷ "Sí:: Nosotros con Chinchina pue'. Por el agua era. Ah. Pero hemos arreglao ya, después arregla::mo'. Ya se quedó bie::n ya, hasta ahora estamos tranqui::lo. Ellos siguen tranqui::los. Ah, ya no, no hubo más pleito ya, ahí quedamos" (Ibid.).

irrigation canal and water ceremony, the Champería. Not only was the news itself unexpected, the tone with which the news was communicated was surprisingly nonchalant. How was it possible that after experiencing a rift that dramatic within the past forty years, these communities today collaborate on the very thing that caused the conflict, and describe it as a long-standing shared tradition?

At the time, I had thought that this was the first time anyone had mentioned this event to me in all twenty hours of recorded interviews that I had. It was not until I was reviewing an interview I had done two months earlier with a younger comunero in Llancha, Don Ramiro, that I noticed he had actually told the same story when I asked him about the muquis. He just hadn't mentioned the explosion. When I asked about muquis, he too immediately referred to the visit from Orihuelas, "*el ingeniero*" (the engineer). In his version, he only went as far as to say that there had been a problem at Puquio Sangre and that Chinchina had had all the access to water so the comuneros of Llancha had decided to build a reservoir and canal above their village. He did not mention that there had been any further conflict after that project had begun. He did say that the engineer was the one who first introduced the name muqui to refer to the small, dancing person that they had all seen. Don Ramiro's story began with "*nos contaron,*" they told us. Don Ramiro's father, Don Ernesto, was a young comunero at the time of the conflict but Don Ramiro was still a kid. The older generation of villagers were in their seventies when I spoke with them in 2018 and records in the libros de acta from the 1970s confirm that all of them were active comuneros at the time of the incident. I had spoken with every comunero in both villages, including at least eight villagers of this generation, however Don Vincente was the only person who directly told me about the explosion.

My discovery of this incident happened at the end of my fieldwork and, since it was not relevant to the report I was writing at the time, over the next few months this bit of information floated to the bottom of my ethnographic data barrel. However, what seemed like a very serious conflict occurring within the past forty years of village history contrasted so starkly with the harmonious air of the descriptions of water management I recorded in 2018. It became difficult to ignore the more I wrote about community dynamics and landscapes in Llancha and Chinchina. Returning to my ethnographic data with this in mind a few years later, I struggled to find any more information on the incident beyond the short conversation with Don Vincente and the undetailed mention of it in Don Ramiro's interview. I decided to look for records of the event that might have been written down at the time in the libros de acta that I was permitted to photograph from Llancha. What I found makes up the majority of this chapter.

Everything that I found in the libros de acta corroborated what Don Vincente had told me, yet the trajectory of the entries documenting this event reveal details of a much more complicated process than what was relayed to me in that interview. In her ethnography of a Cusqueño community and their political struggles with government entities, de la Cadena (2015:15) writes: "the written word was mightier than the spoken one; its leverage in legal disputes (local ones included) was undeniable, and it could only be countered with another written word." In Huarochirí, as Salomon and Niño Murcia (2011) discuss at length, it is *especially* in local legal disputes that the written word is the mightiest. This observation played out exactly in the entries in the libros de acta of Llancha from the year 1978 that pertained to the conflict at the Puquio Sangre waterwork. Not only do the entries record events from that time, but the binding nature of the written word and the documentation itself contributed directly to the explosion, both physical and of patience.

Libros de Acta

Written records, called the libros de acta, are a central part of community and political activity in rural Andean villages. They are written by the secretary of the village, one of the official posts filled by comuneros on a rotating basis. Handwritten in most places, the libros de acta include descriptions of all community events, including huayronas and faenas, and any and all types of decision making and transactions regarding communal resources (Figure 2.1). Within the communities, these documents are recognized as valid and requisite forms of record in archival, political, and disciplinary cases.



Figure 3.1. On the left, the secretary of the junta directiva of the committee of regantes takes out one of the libros de acta at the first meeting of the 2018 Champería ceremony in Llanca and Chinchina. On the right a regante returns to his seat after saluting the cross. Photo taken by El Champal.

Scholars have noted the important role of written documentation in Andean communities as constitutive of relationship, action, and identity. For example, Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:31) discuss the profuseness of written records in community life: “Nearly all collective action above the level of household intimacy, and even some intrahousehold business, is

structured in such a way that the scenario for action itself includes making a record of the action. In the realm of the collective, nothing is ‘done’ until it is written up.” This suggests a mutual constitution between an event/context and the record of that same event/context. Michael Silverstein’s (2019) framework for the emergence of a text, or language event, is a useful way to conceptualize how the action and the record of the action can inform one another. Two key terms for this process are entextualization and contextualization, which he defines in the following way: “The process of coming to textual formedness we term *entextualization*; the process of how discourse points to (indexes) the context which seems to frame it we term *contextualization*” (Silverstein 2019:56). In other words, entextualization refers to the process by which a text is defined and recognized as such. Contextualization refers to aspects of the text’s contents that reference the context where it was created. In the example of the libros de acta, the entextualization process and the contextualization process are interdependent and intertwined. Because the act of record-keeping is a criterion for a collective event to be acknowledged in these communities, the entextualization of the text, libro de acta, points to and is active in the creation of the context in which the text itself emerges. The contextualization of the libro de acta entry is explicit because its contents describe the context where it was created, and yet the context is not recognizable as such without the text being created and recognized. This dynamic indicates a mutually constitutive relationship between the libros de acta and the context in which they are written.

The libros de acta are not just an integral agent in village action, but in the makeup of the communal entity itself. Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:3) argue that written records in communities like Tupicocha *produce* a communal entity that is physical and stable in ways that day-to-day life in these places are not: “the accumulation of writing is felt to create that virtual

thing, ‘community.’ Writing is felt to give community a body and a physical presence immune to the flaws and dangers of daily interaction.” Llancha and Chinchina engage in these same practices of intensive documentation and similarly rely upon them for internal consistency and order.

During my fieldwork in 2018, Bravo Meza and I were granted permission to photograph the complete pages from ten of Llancha’s libros de acta (Figure 2.2). The libros de acta are currently the only rigorous historical record of the villages of Llancha and Chinchina specifically, and provide an account of the activities, negotiations, and transitions occurring in the villages since their founding. When the president of Llancha agreed to let us photograph the books, the general assumption was that he would hand us all the libros de acta that were not currently in use. These consisted of Books Two, Four, Five, Six, Seven, Nine, Ten, Eleven, Twelve, and Thirteen.³⁸ Though in retrospect it is tempting to ponder whether or not the omission of specific books (specifically Book Eight, as will become apparent in this chapter) was intentional, there was no indication that there was any strategic curation of the books that were handed to us at the time. The date range of the books photographed spans from the founding of the village of Llancha in 1964 to the year 2003. The books themselves are hard cover, blue-lined notebooks with stamped numbered pages. A book is considered active at the writing of its first entry and remains “open,” that is, active in village record keeping, until it is filled up or replaced in the rotation by a newer book. In general, the title number of each book refers to the order that they were “opened” in, or the chronological order of their first entries. There are exceptions to this, for example, the opening date for Book Twelve (see Footnote 38) is significantly earlier than

³⁸ Book Two (1964-1967), Book Four (1964-1972?), Book Five (1969-1986), Book Six (1972-1988), Book Seven (1974-2002), Book Nine (1978-1991), Book Ten (1974-2003), Book Eleven (1984-2000), Book Twelve (1966-1983), Book Thirteen (1988-1996)

expected given the order of the other books. It is likely that Book Twelve was originally opened without a number early in Llancha's history of record keeping and was retrospectively numbered for bookkeeping purposes. Because these books are created by hand and in the context of a small democratic community, their structures are not entirely rigid. Little inconsistencies like this are common and ethnohistorians have to be ready and willing to hypothesize on the contextual circumstances that might have caused a deviation from the expected structure.

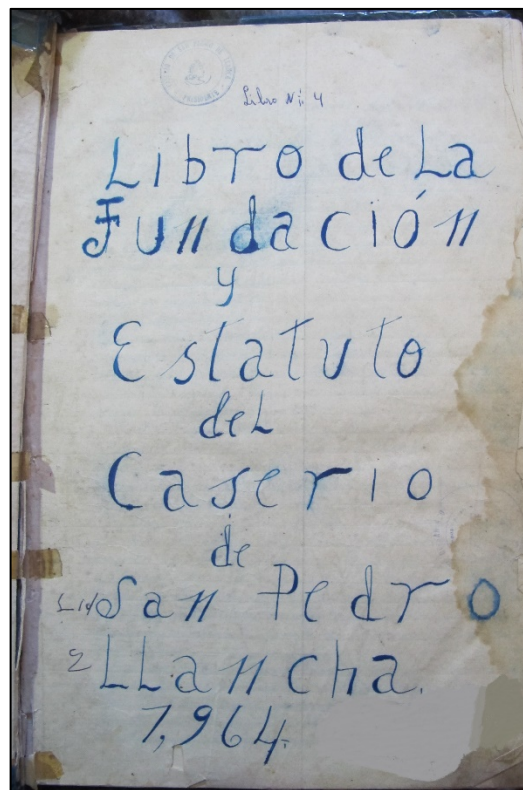


Figure 3.2. First page of Book 4 of Llancha's libros de acta, titled Book of the Founding and Statute of the Hamlet of San Pedro de Llancha 1964.

Unlike the title numbers, the contents of the books are often not in chronological order because there are usually multiple active books at any given time. Some books are opened for specific projects or specific types of entries. For example, Book Five is dedicated to a project at a site called Wilcapampa and only entries regarding faenas or transactions pertaining to that

project are recorded in it. Likewise, Book Six is dedicated to *Constancias de trabajo*, records of work, and the book only contains entries regarding faenas. Other town records from this period, such as census lists, initiations of new comuneros, donations, and huayronas were recorded in other books that were open at the time. This results in significant chronological overlap among entries across various books and the average date range for a libro de acta is 15.5 years. For example, the first entry in Book Five, titled “Agreements Regarding the Wilcapampa Project 1969,” is dated to that year (1969) and its last entry was written in 1986. Within the timeframe that Book Five was active, Llanca opened Books Six, Seven, Nine, Ten, and Eleven.

I will continue to seek permission to scan the remaining libros de acta from Llanca and the libros de acta from the village of Chinchina as well. However, the ten full volumes that are currently available provide a rich account of much of Llanca’s history as a municipally recognized village and include many references to interactions between Llanca and Chinchina as well as events that have involved and/or implicated both villages. Particularly with respect to resource negotiations that the villages have been engaged in with neighboring districts, external companies, and each other, these records provide a summary of the activities and decisions that were made from the perspective of the villages, and a reference to the other involved parties.

The libros de acta, and written records in general, are record-keeping devices, but they also have an active role in day-to-day village life and the formation of the village unit itself. I learned this on the ground during my fieldwork in a series of interactions that I had coordinated rather ungracefully. My initial approach to scheduling in the field was intentionally spontaneous and flexible. By 2018, I had already been visiting the villages for two years and had observed that in Llanca and Chinchina, much like in the rest of Peru, they seemed to have a tendency of making plans at the last minute. This was especially true for the villagers who, as agriculturalists,

were often guided by the schedule of their crops, the weather, and attending to unexpected family matters spread out between Lima and the Andean highlands. When arranging a car for a trip up to the villages, I would often call every villager I knew the night before or that morning to see if anyone happened to be coming in from Lima that day and needed a ride. This was common practice among villagers of both Llanca and Chinchina since there was no public transportation that made it the whole two and a half hour drive up the mountain and none of the villagers have their own vehicle.

Upon arriving to live more permanently in Llanca to conduct my fieldwork in 2018, I had assumed that this style of scheduling would be the most appropriate within the villages to work around everyone's busy and unpredictable workdays in the fields and with their herds. This was true to some extent; I learned that my opportunities to speak with villagers in either Llanca or Chinchina had to be flexible and had to be either before six-thirty in the morning or after four-thirty in the afternoon. But people were often caught off guard when I vaguely asked them if we could meet "later on" to further discuss my ethnographic questions. From my perspective, I was trying to communicate that I was not asking for any hard and fast commitments and that it was up to them if they wanted to do it and when. However, it seemed they were often both surprised at the suddenness of the suggested meeting as well as quite uncomfortable with having the responsibility to arrange an appointment with someone they did not know well and for something they did not entirely understand the purpose of.³⁹

³⁹ Early on, my colleague did inform me that my phrasing "*más tarde*," for "later on" when speaking to villagers communicated to them later that same day, whereas I had meant some other time in the coming weeks. A switch to the phrase "*más adelante*" sufficed to resolve that confusion. Though, this gringo error on my part did not seem to explain the entirety of the awkwardness of those interactions.

Some elaboration on this point came in the second half of my fieldwork, after the fog of the rainy season had gotten too thick to safely hike around the mountain collecting toponyms. As the range of the villagers' typical daily commute shrank in closer to their homes, as it does every year at this time, I turned to using digital maps on my computer and asking villagers to indicate toponyms on the map. I did this much more often with villagers in Llancha because I was staying in their communal house and it was easy for those who lived close to come visit me to see the maps (Figures 2.3). A common comment during those sessions was that I should really be talking to some other, more knowledgeable comunero. These deferential referrals were often towards comuneros of the oldest generation of villagers, but in general represented a relatively inclusive list of the residents of Llancha. During one of these conversations over the maps with the then-president of Llancha, Don Simon, he mentioned that this should really be done in a communal setting so that they could all correct each other and add to what others may have forgotten. He pointed out that the best way to communicate with everyone and to get them all on the same page is posting a message on the announcement board that was on another communal building along the street running through the center of Llancha (Figures 2.3 and 2.4). The content I was dealing with was communal, and democratic responsibility in Andean communities is taken very seriously.



Figure 3.3. Google Maps overhead view of the village of Llancha, north is at top. The red arrow indicates Llancha's communal house, and the blue arrow indicates the building with the public announcement board. Image courtesy of Google Maps.



Figure 3.4. Example of a public announcement board in the village of Chaute, located below the villages of Llancha and Chinchina in the Carnacha Ravine. Chaute is a larger town than Llancha and therefore has a greater number of lists and announcements posted, however it is similar in appearance and function to Llancha's.

I began to realize that writing can be recognized and used as a kind of call to action, an igniting of village identity that, when activated, signifies to all comuneros that a communal

responsibility has arisen and now, on a level transcending personal initiative to that of community service, they are held accountable to answer the call. Don Simon's suggestion was generous, however this Andean "Bat Signal" is not to be used lightly or by just anyone. I did once try to incorporate this into the structure of my scheduling with comuneros, though with only partial success. I posted a message about meeting in the communal house to discuss the maps, however not many people had seen it by the suggested time and most ended up just coming up to me individually to set up a meeting time. Retrospectively, I realized that without the initial communication happening at a communal meeting and the expressed backing of a respected member of the group, an outsider's ability to mobilize village responsibility is quite limited. This makes a lot of sense given that one of the foundational requirements of community membership is communal responsibility; the definition of being a member of the community is to have responsibility specifically to other members, not to just anyone. In order for this to have been an effective way for me to interact with comuneros, I would have had to immerse myself in the process of producing written village records since the beginning of my fieldwork. Not just anything written holds this binding communal property: a written record that was produced in the context of the community unit and by an authority figure in the community is what is recognized as a relevant communal text. For the written word to have the full power that it can often have in this Andean community, there are a number of felicity conditions required that I was slowly picking up on.

I did observe that the writings of the villages were the most consistent "physical presence" of the village unit (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:3). Throughout my fieldwork I had been debating the best way to contribute to the two communities before I left. The presidents of both villages had told me that, while the libros de acta were a central and necessary part of each

communal gathering and decision, they had no secure place to store the records in between meetings. Either the president or the secretary of the village was responsible for keeping the books in their home, where they were vulnerable to water and smoke damage and general wear and tear. For my parting contribution, I settled on gifting each village a wooden bureau, and had locks installed on each drawer to keep in each village's communal house as an option for secure archival storage. Yet, once again, where I had learned a lesson in principle, I failed to recognize the importance of process.

I had not yet shaken my early scheduling habits before departing, and poorly planned my delivery of the two bureaus to each village. While I had correctly identified a gift, perhaps one of the only gifts that could indiscriminately pertain to the village as a community rather than to one or a few individuals, I still missed the key opportunity to present it to them as such. Due to last minute planning with the cabinet makers, I had only managed to call each village president the same morning that I planned to arrive in the villages with the bureaus. I completely missed the president of Chinchina, leaving the bureau in his family store while he was down in Lima. When the president of Llancha met me, he again informed me that this would have been a moment to gather the comuneros because it was a donation to the group as a whole, however having arrived last minute, this was unrealistic. Nonetheless, he showed up at the communal house of Llancha, where we had the bureau, with an active libro de acta in hand. In conversation, I informally explained to him my intentions of giving the gift and he informally accepted it and thanked me. Then we both engaged in our own respective processes of validation through documentation. I asked for a photo of the president with the bureau as proof that it had been received by a representative of the village that I could then turn in with my ethnographic data and receipts to my academic department (Figure 2.5). He wrote an entry in the libro de acta recording that on

March 13th, 2018, my colleague and I had gifted this bureau to the community for the purpose of providing safe storage for the village records (Figure 2.6). We all signed the entry. I clearly had not learned my lesson well enough by that point to better handle the presentation of my gift to the community. However, as they always do, the village president made it work, and the event was recorded in a document recognizable and accessible to the entire community.



Figure 3.5. Don Simon receiving the bureau that Bravo Meza and I gifted to the village of Llancha in the local comunal in March of 2018.

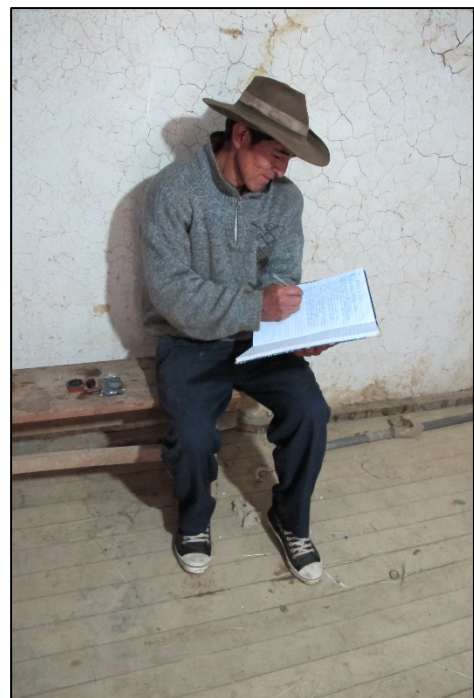


Figure 3.6. Don Simon writing an entry in one of Llancha's open libros de acta recording the gifting of the bureau to the village of Llancha. The entry was signed by Don Simon, Bravo Meza, and I.

Water Conflict in the Libros de Acta

A typical entry in a libro de acta begins with a statement of the date, location, community present, the geopolitical affiliation of that community, and the nature of the assembly being recorded. For example, the first entry discussed here begins with: “In the town of San Pedro de Llanca, belonging to the District of Tupicocha, province of Huarochirí of the Department of Lima. Today on the date 15th of April of the year 1978 a general meeting of the Community was carried out in which the following was established.”⁴⁰ Following this opening is usually a statement of the purpose of the meeting or event being recorded and what was discussed and decided. This is often written in the form of brief, bullet-pointed or numbered lists. The decisions or results of the communal event are stated, and the entry always ends with a statement such as this one found at the end of the same entry cited above: “with this, our assembly was dismissed and the citizens and authorities of the Town proceed to sign this act.”⁴¹ All present sign the page at the bottom of the entry. Below and overlapping with the signatures are a series of seals stamped on the page, including one for the president, the secretary, the treasurer, the lieutenant governor, and the village delegate, among others. All of the seals are specially made for the community, each of Llanca’s seals includes the name San Pedro de Llanca along with the title. A broader look at consecutive libro de acta entries shows that when one entry lays out a plan for a future meeting, later entries very often confirm that the meeting had been carried out. This drives home my mistake of assuming that the spontaneous planning style was the only way that villagers organized their time. After studying the libros de acta, it became very clear that

⁴⁰ “En el Pueblo de San Pedro de Llanca perteneciente al Distrito de Tupicocha, provincia de Huarochirí del Departamento de Lima. Hoy en la fecha 15 de abril del año 1978 se realizó una asamblea general de la Comunidad en lo cual se llevó a cabo lo siguiente...” (Libro de Acta Book Seven 1974-2002, page 21).

⁴¹ “En cuanto se levantó nuestra asamblea y a continuación firman los ciudadanos y autoridades del Pueblo” (Libro de Acta Book Seven 1974-2002, page 21).

individuals may arrange their time at the last minute, but when it comes to community matters, formal planning is respected and enforced.

This is the general format for entries in the libros de acta, however their content and structure vary according to the activity being recorded and who is recording it. While I concur with Salomon and Niño-Murcia's (2011:31) argument that for an action to be recognized in these villages it must be written up, it is important to point out that this does not mean that every aspect of the action is recorded. These records are requisite but not requisitely exhaustive. Entries in the libros de acta in Llancha really record decisions, not processes. An understanding of processes is usually only discernable by looking at a sequence of entries together, and even then, they are always only partial records of the proceedings. The level of detail in a given entry depends on the secretary and intricacies of the issue at hand. In general, the records are of established community expectations and whether or not they have been met, not of why or how the expectations are agreed upon. The entries often mention debates occurring during community meetings but rarely include an explanation of the details and points of view being debated.⁴² This is an important reminder, as we go into the recorded events leading up to the explosion that Don Vincente told me about, to refrain from interpreting these records as holistic accounts of the events of 1978 in Llancha. Fortunately for this endeavor, the incident in question did turn out to be a particularly intricate issue, resulting in a much more detailed set of entries in the libros de acta compared to the ones preceding and following the conflict. During the tenuous moments in the conflict, the entries become more narrative-oriented and include a more diverse mix of social, political, and logistical commentary, rather than the more common, abbreviated logistical lists that make up the majority of the libros de acta entries. Nevertheless, it is important to remember

⁴² See Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:51) on discussion of the treatment of debate in the libros de acta.

that even the more descriptive entries are by no means exhaustive accounts of everything that occurred during this time, nor were they intended to be by the secretaries who wrote them.

April 15, 1978, Llancha

The first record of the incident at Puquio Sangre was on page 21 of Book Seven and dated to April 15, 1978.⁴³ The entry states that the town was planning to submit a proposal to the Ministry of Agriculture and Nutrition Agrarian Zone II in Lima (*Ministerio de Agricultura y Alimentación de II Zona Agraria*). The proposal was for an irrigation project concerning a canal running from the spring called Puquio Sangre (Figure 2.7). Puquio Sangre translates to Blood Spring, which might seem fitting considering the story later relayed to me about the site, however, as shown in this entry, the spring had this name long before the alleged explosion. The name also resonates with a tendency in the Andes to conceptualize water as a vital fluid, such as semen or blood (Allen 2002: Kindle Location 931; Salomon and Urioste 1991:14). This may be part of how villagers interpret the spring, however, most of them told me that the name comes from the red, bloodlike hue of the water at Puquio Sangre caused by the high iron content of the soil in that area. In the entry, the comuneros committed to contributing and organizing the funds for the project themselves, as is typical for most village projects.

⁴³ Henceforward, libro de acta entries will be cited in the following format: Book number will be indicated as B#, followed by the page number. E.g. (B#7, pp.21). The date of the entry and the location where it was written are indicated in the title of each subsection.

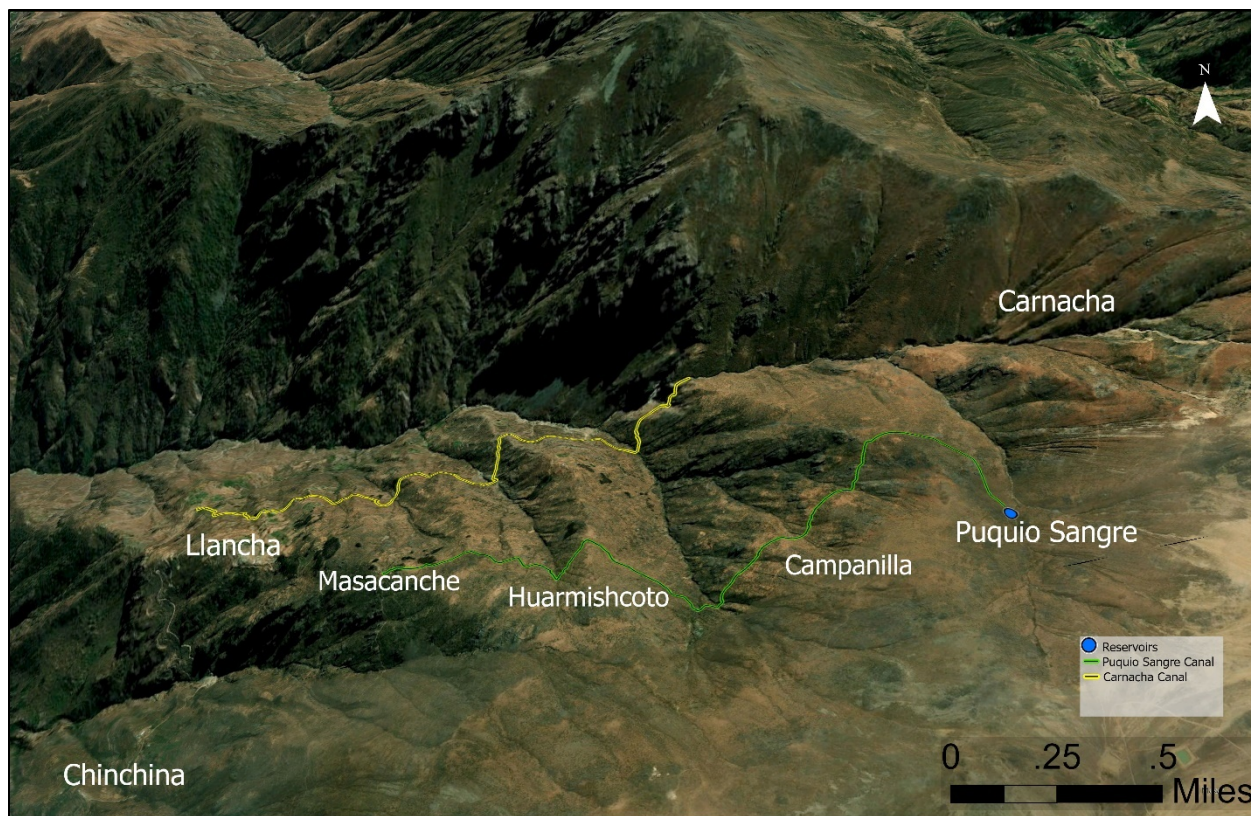


Figure 3.7. Map of the Carnacha Ravine showing the Puquio Sangre canal in green. The path of the canal was recorded in 2017 using a handheld GPS and is the same canal whose construction/rehabilitation was proposed in April 1978. Map by author.

This first entry brings up a central element of the ensuing conflict: the involvement of the government agency, the Ministry of Agriculture (and its subsidiary offices), in the villages and their water management. Government regulation of water and irrigation played a major role in how this conflict progressed, despite the fact that the conflict itself and the proposed waterwork directly affected a group of only around fifty people. State involvement in contexts of hyper-local irrigation management began to occur largely during the twentieth century: “Over the course of the present [twentieth] century the tendency, in general terms, has been to pass from

private control over water to state control, due to this resource being considered a public good, whose use should fundamentally respond to a social function” (Apaclla et al. 1993:60).⁴⁴

Prior to the republican era of Peruvian history in the 1800s, the colonial government had intentionally not centralized water management, leaving water distribution and irrigation to be regulated privately by local communities, as they had done since before the arrival of the Spanish (Apaclla et al. 1993:62). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the republican government instated a system of nested department, provincial, and district commissions for water management staffed by farmers of the region. The national *Código de Aguas*, the Code of Waters, was written in 1902, establishing that property rights over water belonged to the legal owners of the land on which it was found. During this period, much of Peru’s agricultural land was organized into hacienda plantations that were worked by local peasants and owned by wealthy landlords. Apaclla and others (1993:63) argue that “the Code not only favored... the latifundios, putting at risk the small farmers and peasants, it also stimulated even greater concentration of land.”⁴⁵ Even after the 1933 national Constitution declared rivers and lakes as public resources, the sociopolitical consequences of the previous policies did not change. Irrigation management remained under the control of the hacienda lords that dominated the agricultural landscape of the country at the time (Apaclla et al. 1993:63). Rural indigenous communities who were not part of an hacienda typically managed land and resources communally and organized internally, often according to social structures of reciprocity and communal labor. Llancha and Chinchina were not subject to hacienda land management, mainly because their landscape is not conducive to

⁴⁴ “En el transcurso del presente siglo la tendencia, en términos generales, ha sido pasar del control privado del agua al estatal al ser considerado este recurso un bien público, cuyo uso debe fundamentalmente responder a una función social” (Apaclla et al. 1993:60).

⁴⁵ “El Código no solo favorecía de este modo a los latifundios, perjudicando a los pequeños agricultores y campesinos, sino estimulaba aún más la concentración de las tierras” (Apaclla et al. 1993:63)

any centrally run, large-scale agricultural operation. However severe poverty was endemic to rural indigenous communities who were not part of an hacienda, and they were often vulnerable to expansionist landlords looking to accumulate resources (Mayer 2009:9).

It was not until the 1969 Agrarian Reforms that water fully became a public resource and was enforced as such. Legal policy that had been adopted in the early 1960s to support small peasant communities in the face of the haciendas was subtle and largely ineffective, sparking demand for a more radical political shift in Peru. General Juan Velasco, who led a successful military coup in 1968, overturning the government and seizing control as president, launched the first phase of the Agrarian Reform in 1969, including the *Ley General de Aguas*, the General Law of Waters (Hopkins 1985: 18). Velasco's Agrarian Reform was a technocratic land reform designed to abolish the hacienda system and to stimulate higher rural standards of living, a larger internal market, provision of capital for rapid industrial development, and increased agricultural production in the context of Peru's growing capitalist economy. This took form in an overhaul of Peru's agricultural production, replacing the private haciendas with state-run cooperatives. Those that were not in a cooperative were subject to a full hierarchy of state regulation of all natural resources. Oré and Rap (2009:33) characterize the government's influence over water during this period by the "growth of hydraulic infrastructure, the state institutions for water, and the definitive centralization of water management in the State with the Agrarian Reform of 1969."⁴⁶ The conflict between Llancha and Chinchina occurred just a decade after the Agrarian Reforms, after the government hierarchies that were established to maintain a top-down management of water and irrigation were put in place, as they still are today.

⁴⁶ "...la ampliación de la infraestructura hidráulica, las instituciones estatales del agua, y la centralización definitiva del manejo del agua en el Estado con la Reforma Agraria de 1969" (Oré and Rap 2009:33).

However, despite some of the publicized statements at the time, these reforms were not established with the support of the Andean peasant community in mind. As Mayer (2009:4) points out, Velasco's reforms "were implemented through the imposition of 'models' derived from beliefs that a scientifically correct formula could be designed and enforced to change human character and behavior, thus bringing about a reduction of class conflict and inequality, and the achievement of social cohesion" (Mayer 2009: 4). These reforms combated the hacienda system because Velasco's government saw it as archaic, not because it exploited Andean peasant communities, who were seen by the government as equally archaic. The government support offered by the reforms was focused on the larger, now state run, agricultural cooperatives that were becoming capable of stimulating the domestic and international economy. Apaella et al. (1993:63) discuss the nature of state intervention in water management prior to the reforms as being limited to regulating water distribution and conflict resolution among water users, rather than investment in improving irrigation infrastructure. After 1969, areas of Peru where the large state-run cooperatives were possible, such as the North Coast and the central Mantaro Valley, received significant investment from the government in irrigation projects and infrastructure. Because the Huarochirí highlands were not conducive to large-scale agricultural operations, many villages there remained independent agropastoral peasant communities through the reform period (Salomon 2004:45), receiving comparatively little government investment in agricultural infrastructure. Consequently, the nature of state intervention in water management in Huarochirí remained largely the same as it had been prior to the reforms: consisting of little more than distribution regulation and conflict management. In order to carry out the irrigation project at Puquio Sangre proposed by Llanca, it was the responsibility of the community to provide the

labor and funds, while the regulatory permits and inspections were handled by government agencies.

October 8, 1978, Llancha

Six months from the first entry regarding Llancha's water problem, another entry (B#7, pp.22) states that the comuneros of Llancha had submitted their proposal to the Ministry of Agriculture, and that it had been received. A visit had been planned for Ricardo Orihuelas, subdirector of Water and Irrigation (*Aguas e Irrigaciones*) for the Rímac Valley Matucana, to come inspect the site on October 18th. It also states that the village of Llancha would be responsible for housing Orihuelas and for arranging his commute from the nearby town of Chaute. They established a fine for anyone denying these services and wrote a to-do list, as follows:

- a. "Urgently provide transportation.
- b. Make a good reception at the site
- c. List the present comuneros and authorities
- d. Fundraise among everyone to do a *pachamanca*⁴⁷ in the presence of the inspector and distribute among everyone in attendance."⁴⁸

October 18, 1978, Puquio Sangre, Llancha

The next entry (B#7, pp.24) is titled *Acta de Inspección*, Act of Inspection. This entry was recorded during the scheduled inspection, the purpose of which was to confirm the need for new irrigation construction, and that the site of Puquio Sangre was the appropriate location for a new irrigation renovation project. Orihuelas was present in the village and verified that Puquio

⁴⁷ A *pachamanca* is a Peruvian pit roast. Tubers, beans, sweet tamales, and many different types of meat are roasted on hot rocks and buried in an inground oven, often built with brick or adobe. The word *pachamanca* refers both to the food and style of cooking as well as the event of cooking and eating the food. It is labor intensive and is typically a celebratory event involving a large group of people.

⁴⁸ "a. Poner movilidad urgentemente. b. Hacer un buen recibimiento [sic] en el lugar c. Listar presente comuneros y autoridades d. Porratar [sic] cabre todos para hacer una pachamanca en presencia de lo misionado y desipar [sic] entre toda la concurrencia en la población" (Libro de Acta Book Seven 1974-2002, page 23).

Sangre was the water source of highest interest to the villagers of Llancha. He measured water flow from Puquio Sangre at the exact location of the proposed well and reservoir, which were meant to capture rainwater and flow from the Carnacha Ravine and bring it to a site directly above Llancha village called Masacanche Grande. Orihuelas confirmed that Llancha's land was arid and was in a condition of drought, putting at risk the villagers and all their livestock (estimated at the time to be 150 cattle and 500 sheep and goats). The entry states that the regantes of the Lumputa water source (the comuneros of Chinchina) had prohibited the villagers of Llancha from watering their livestock or washing their clothes from that water source, creating a critical situation for the villagers of Llancha. They affirmed that this proposed project would not impose on the slope that feeds the Carnacha/Lumputa water source, and that it is of great importance to Llancha because it would triple the output and ability to work small parcels of land and raise livestock to support their families. Stating that this project would only cover the fundamental needs of the population, they requested permission to construct the canal from the site of Puquio Sangre to the site of Huarmishcoto. Though it is not officially stated in the entry, the description of the inspection implied that the request was granted by Orihuelas and this is confirmed by the following entry discussing the next steps in planning the project.

The condition of Puquio Sangre at the time of the October 18th entry is not clearly stated, however from personal observation and discussion with villagers, it seems unlikely that the proposed project was for the construction of an entirely new canal, but rather was a renovation of a historic canal system that had fallen into disrepair on this upper part of the Carancha Ravine. In August of 2017, along with two colleagues and a villager from Llancha who showed us the way, I hiked up to the peak of Shaucañí. The route we took was different from the route taken by the huaris during the Champería and went directly up from the village of Llancha to a site called

Masacanche (or Masacanchi). We then traversed the mountain towards Shaucañí along what appeared to be a very old canal system that had been reconstructed with cement (Figure 2.8). Similar to many of the other canals on the landscape, the stone foundations of a historic canal are visible to either side of the newer cement canal. Based on the situation described in the entry, I assume that in 1978 this canal was in no condition for use and did not have a reservoir, thus contributing to the water shortage in Llancha. En route to Shaucañí, we passed the site of Puquio Sangre where a stone and cement reservoir intercepts the canal at the natural spring along the Carnacha Ravine at a point above the Carnacha Waterfall (Figure 2.9). It was well into the dry season, so the reservoir and the canals were mostly empty, with vegetation growing in and around them. This is the reservoir that the comuneros of Llancha were requesting permission to build in 1978, the impetus for the ensuing conflict.



Figure 3.8. Cement canal with historic stone foundation visible on either side located above the village of Llancha between the sites of Huarmishcoto and Puquio Sangre. Photo looking northeast at the peak of Shaucañí.



Figure 3.9. Stone and cement reservoir at the site of Puquio Sangre that collects rainwater and directs runoff from the quebrada (upper portion of photo). The reservoir has an intake canal (center) that picks up water from the quebrada and directs it into the basin. On the left is the outtake canal that connects to the Puquio Sangre/Huarmishcoto irrigation system feeding the village of Llancha. This photo was taken in August of 2017 during the dry season and the reservoir is largely empty and not feeding the canal.

During my fieldwork, Don Ramiro drew a croquis map for me depicting toponyms across the section of the mountain above the village of Llancha (Figure 2.10). Almost every toponym referenced in the libro de actas appears on it. Don Ramiro included, and labeled, the section of irrigation canals and tubing running from Puquio Sangre to the village of Llancha. According to Don Ramiro's map, it appears that the fold in the mountain that siphons water to Puquio Sangre is slightly offset from the fold where the Carnacha Waterfall and the main deposit mentioned in the 1978 entry (B#7, pp.24) are located. This was the Carnacha/Lumputa water source, which is indeed the same water source that is currently the focus of the collaborative ceremony of the Champería practiced by Llancha and Chinchina. Corroborating what Don Vincente told me in 2018, this entry establishes that less than fifty years prior to what is today a cooperative celebration, the Toma de Carnacha was not only *not* a collectively celebrated water source, its use by villagers of Llancha was being actively prohibited by comuneros of Chinchina. Suddenly the undertone of tradition and nostalgia for the Champería of the previous generation in the narratives told to me by villagers of both communities becomes much more complicated.

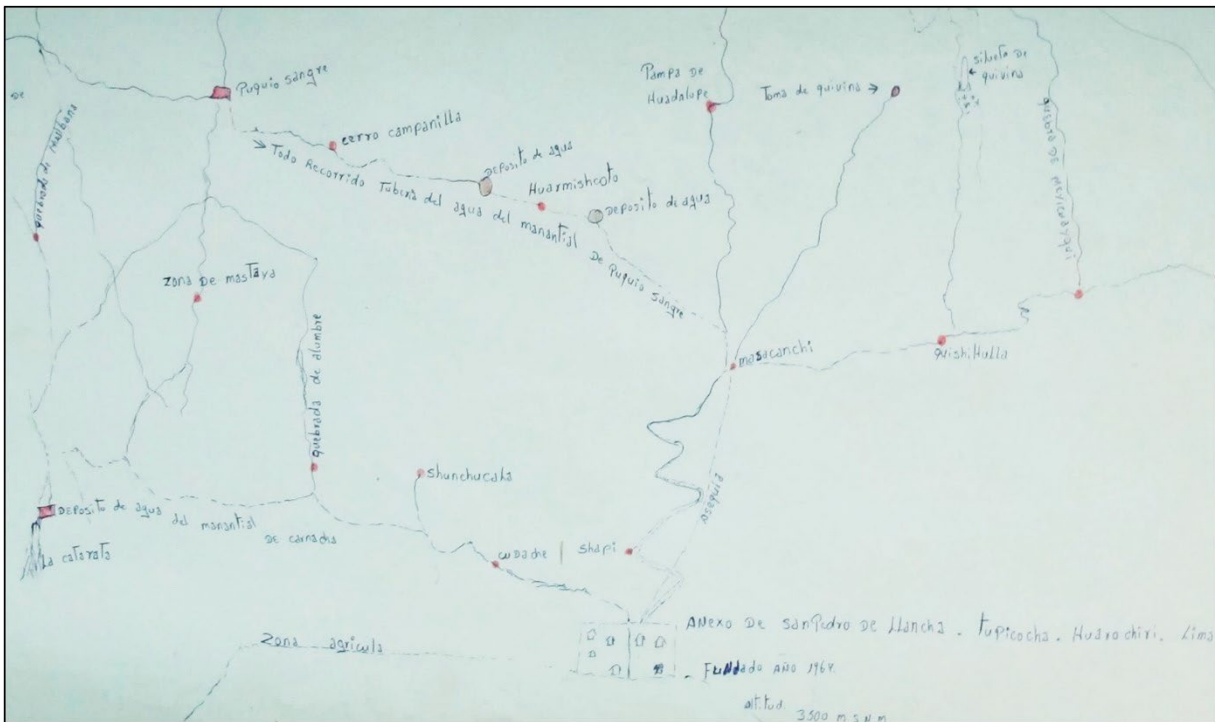


Figure 3.10. A section of the hand-drawn sketch map by Don Ramiro depicting the portion of Carnacha Ravine above the village of Llancha (which indicated by buildings drawn at the base of the map). Irrigation canals and reservoirs are indicated and labeled along with other well-known toponyms. (Note that a reservoir at the site labeled Puquio Sangre is indicated in this map drawn in 2018 by a red rectangle).

In all of the discussions of the Champería that I had with villagers in Llancha and Chinchina, I kept hearing comments about how the tradition was being lost, or how the speaker’s parents had been more faithful to the tradition. At the beginning of his interview, one of the first things Don Ramiro said about the Champería was, “and the thing that’s a bit strange, you know? is that that custom is already being lost...because in reality, the way they did the custom before, they did the custom... Now in the new generation, they find it pretty difficult to carry out that custom.”⁴⁹ During the Champería itself someone testified to the fact that the custom was being

⁴⁹ “Y lo que a veces extraña un poco ¿no?, de que ya se está perdiendo esa costumbre. Uhuh y: po’ que en realidad como hizo más antes se llevaba esa costumbre... Ahora ya la nueva generación le de: algo difícil o:: complementar esa costumbre” (Interview with Don Ramiro, Llancha, March 13, 2018).

lost (see Chapter Two). Don Simon talked with me about the longstanding tradition of the Champería and then mentioned that Llancha used to do a Champería on a different part of the mountain:

Ah and with the huaris more than anything, like I said, well they're a sign, a tradition that has been around for many years here. When I was small, well, they came here. From here [Llancha] we did it as well, from here, the spring at Quivi:na, at Puquio Sangre... Yes, sometimes, what happens is that people, I don't know, sometimes they want to change, you know? And then they don't do it, for example with us here in Llancha in the upper part where there are water turns, we don't do it anymore. Everyone used to do it, there were huaris everywhere.⁵⁰

This was one of the only allusions to Llancha ever having had a separate water ceremony tradition. But Don Simon had mentioned it saying that they had “also” done a Champería, without specifically referring to *not* doing the Champería at the Toma de Carnacha with Chinchina. From the material that I have collected, both ethnohistorical and ethnographic, we do not know the long-term history of how these two villages conducted their water ceremonies before the late 1970s. The entries in the libros de acta of 1978 do not suggest that Llancha and Chinchina had *never* collaborated on a water source before. We know the tradition of the Champería was not new, and the collaborative tradition practiced today may not have been new either. However, what we do know is that, at least in 1978, this was not a tradition that was practiced collectively between the two villages and that the ceremony that is performed today by both communities together, was established, or reestablished, sometime between the years 1978 and 2018. In my ethnographic interviews about the Champería, all mentions of change were ones

⁵⁰ “Ah y lo los huaris más que todo como te digo pues son una seña una tradición que llevan ya de muchos años acá. Cuando yo ya estuve chiquito ya: pe venían acá. De acá [Llancha] también hacíamos, de acá el manantial de Quivi:na de Puquio Sangre.... Sí, a veces, que pasa que la gente, no sé:, a veces ya quiere hacer un cambio y ya no hacen ya, por ejemplo de nosotros de acá de Llancha en la parte arriba que viene la mita de agua, ya no hacemos ya. Todos lo hacían, en todos los sitios había huaris” (Interview with Don Simon, Llancha, March 11, 2018).

of nostalgia and of lost custom. However, this 1978 water conflict shows that the tradition of the collective Champería, the most elaborate tradition that I was told of in the villages in 2018, had been *created* within the last forty years. Whatever reconciliation, regeneration, and tradition building that must have occurred during that period is absent in the oral tradition that was relayed to me.

October 22, 1978, Llancha

The next entry (B#7, pp.26) records a meeting led by the junta directiva in Llancha to discuss the budget for the proposed irrigation project. Again, it is not explicitly stated but the implication is that they had been approved by Orihueles to go ahead with the project. The main emphasis of this meeting was to establish transparency of the budget. The budgets that were to be turned in to the Ministry of Agriculture by the president of the community were presented to the group so that all comuneros were aware of the amount of money pledged to the project, and that there was a consensus to move forward. Additionally, the community reached an agreement for a 500 Peruvian Soles contribution per comunero (which is a very large amount at the time and still today) “to sustain our purpose in the meantime,”⁵¹ while the budget and grant proposals were being submitted to the respective authorities.

“Fines de noviembre” (?),⁵² 1978, Llancha

The next entry (B#7, pp.27) documents a meeting to mark the official beginning of the Puquio Sangre/Huarmishcoto project and to plan the first day of faena. The first point declares

⁵¹ “...para el sostenimiento [sic] de nuestro propósito por mientras” (Libro de Acta Book Seven 1974-2002, page 26).

⁵² The entry is dated to *finés del noviembre* (end of November) of 1978. However, based on the dates of subsequent entries regarding the project and the fact that this entry was clearly written before the faenas were underway, I believe the entry refers to a meeting that occurred at the end of October, not November. The date written might have been an error or an indication that this entry was written retrospectively in November but referring to events that had occurred in October.

the opening of the project, citing that the office of *Administración Técnica del Distrito de Riego Río Rímac Zona Agrario II Ministerio de Agricultura* (Technical Administration of the Irrigation District Rímac River, Agrarian Zone II, Ministry of Agriculture) had measured the distance between Puquio Sangre and Huarmishcoto to be 2,600 meters. The second point states that all those present had agreed that the first faena would be held the 13th of November and continue for the entire week until Saturday the 18th. The third point establishes a s./300 fine for those who do not attend the faena. The fourth point confirms that the community planned to request a guarantee of support from the Sub-Prefect of Matucana. The fifth point is a reminder of the s./500 contribution expected from all comuneros established in the previous entry, and states that those who do not contribute by the first day of the faena (the 13th) would be fined an extra s./100. This is the last entry relating to the Puquio Sangre/Huarmishcoto project written in Book Seven.

November 13, 1978, Huarmishcoto, Llancha

The next entry (B#6, pp.111) regarding this project is in Book Six, showing that Book Seven and Book Six were both being actively used in 1978. The entry records the opening faena for the Puquio Sangre project that took place at the site of Huarmishcoto. The entry emphasizes that the opening of the canal at Huarmishcoto was being carried out with the permission of the Ministry of Agriculture and with the support of the provincial capital Matucana. At 10 AM, during the customary round of enfloro, the documents that had been exchanged with the office of the Agrarian Zone II of the Ministry of Agriculture's Office of Technical Administration of the Irrigation District Rímac River were presented to the group. All comuneros examined the report and voted to ratify the document and move forward. At this time, two villagers from Chinchina arrived at the faena. The men from Chinchina held the villages offices of *Vigilante Repartidor de Aguas*, or supervisor of water distribution, and the lieutenant governor. They arrived in protest to

suspend the project, claiming that they had an order for suspension. The claim was rejected by the villagers of Llancha on the grounds that those from Chinchina failed to present any paperwork of their own to back up their claim. The villagers of Llancha showed the villagers of Chinchina the paperwork and authorization that they had received from the respective provincial and ministerial offices of Agriculture. The entry notes that it was 11:19 AM as this confrontation was taking place, directly following the start of the faena opening meeting. Though he was not mentioned at the beginning, the record states that the president of Chinchina was present as well and at this time had restated that they did not want the comuneros of Llancha to carry out the project. After reading Llancha's permit documents, he accused them of being faked; "*firmados con mintiras [sic]*" or signed with lies. Chinchina's protest did not have the desired effect. The comuneros of Llancha continued with the faena as originally planned given Chinchina's failure to produce any documentation that contradicted their own. After seeing this, the villagers of Chinchina left "*sin ningún motive,*" or without any motive.⁵³ Llancha's faena went on as usual and the president of the community called for the rest hour at 1 PM. The ensuing meeting, the second hour of custom, included a summary of the work completed up to that point. They had advanced digging a total of 120 meters along the proposed canal. Each of the fifteen attending regantes contributed a bottle of liquor and they all signed the *constancia* of the opening of the canal. After completing the faena, and following a "*pequeño debate,*" a small debate, the

⁵³ The addition of the qualifier "sin ningún motivo," rather than simply saying that those from Chinchina left, can be interpreted in a few ways and it is not entirely clear from the context what the secretary of Llancha meant by this. It possibly referred to those from Chinchina *no longer* having a motive for protest, or it being a lost cause, after seeing Llancha reject their objection and so left. It is possibly communicating that those from Chinchina left without a problem, that Llancha did not have to forcibly kick them out. It might also be a general reference to their unexpected and, in Llancha's perspective, futile motive for showing up at the faena in the first place. Regardless of its specific meaning, the phrase adds emphasis to the statement that the protestors left having been defeated by Llancha's demonstration of their authorizing documents.

comuneros of Llancha decided to form a community of regantes to establish an organized group for the project of Puquio Sangre/Huarmishcoto. This is a similar group to the committee of regantes of the Carnacha canal described in Chapter Two. They established a fine of s./ 300 per day per person for failing to show up, not applicable to the other comuneros who were not appointed in the new group. They then signed and closed the entry.

Similar to what de la Cadena (2015:15) observed in the Cusco region, the written word during this dispute was the ultimate vessel of authority and the pivot point upon which arguments and decisions were made. For the villagers of Llancha to carry out this project legally, they needed to obtain a permit from the Ministry of Agriculture. However, the event of a government official independently discovering and going all the way up to the village to prosecute an unpermitted project represented an unlikely and distant risk. The much more immediate risk faced by the villagers was exactly what came to pass; they were confronted not by a government official, but by their own neighbors. When this did occur, the comuneros of Llancha were armed with the documents, officially signed and sealed by Ministry of Agriculture officials, declaring their right to carry out the project. The protestors from Chinchina tried to contest these documents, however, they found that the documents “could only be countered with another written word” (de la Cadena 2015:15). Because of the democratic structure of both villages, if Llancha had produced their own libro de acta entries establishing the right to do the project, they would not have held any weight in this scenario: one cannot simply declare their own authority to do something and expect others to recognize it. It is vital that there be an external entity with objectively recognizable power, such as a government agency, that provides the authorizing documents. In Hobbesian terms, the two villages seek out a third party to exercise a monopoly of force/authority over them to avoid direct and violent confrontation with

each other. The collectively recognized currency of this authority is written documentation. Therefore, despite the protestors' vocalization of their concerns and declaration of having an order of suspension, and even their accusation of false paperwork on the part of Llanca, Chinchina's complete lack of countering paperwork rendered their protests ineffective and dismissible. In the libro de acta entry, this is the precise reason that the comuneros of Llanca gave for disregarding the protest. The implication was that had Chinchina presented their own paperwork backing up their arguments, Llanca's assembly would have been forced to officially recognize their complaint. This not being the case, Llanca was able to continue as planned.

November 14, 1978, Morocanza Esquina, Llanca

The next entry (B#6, pp.113) was written the next day and records the second day of the faena on the Puquio Sangre-Huarmishcoto project. This faena day appears to have passed without much incident because the first record of it was written at 3 PM and reports on the progress already completed during the day. The group had assembled at a site called Morocanza Esquina. Fourteen comuneros were present.

November 15, 1978, Campanilla, Llanca

The following entry (B#6, pp.114) records the third day of the faena and begins at the site of Campanilla. Again, this faena day appears to have been uneventful. Campanilla is a toponym referring to a large stretch of a relatively smooth slope on the mountain in between Puquio Sangre and Huarmishcoto. The associated toponyms used below refer to specific places located within the broader area known as Campanilla.

November 16, 1978, Campanilla Curva Llanca

There are two entries dated to November 16th, 1978. The first (B#6, 115) is titled *Acta de Nombramiento*, act of naming. The entry states that during the opening meeting of the fourth day

of the faena, the community established the “Junta Directiva of the Annex of San Pedro de Llanca Committee of Regantes.” The entry states that after a “*caluroso debate*,” heated debate, the assembly selected the comuneros who were to fill the authority positions of the committee of regantes. These included president, secretary, treasurer, two spokesmen, and a supervising distributor of water.

The second entry (B#6, pp.116) dated to November 16th is a record of work and pertains directly to the progress made on the fourth day of the faena. The entry was made at the side of Campanilla Curva. The entry states that they had appointed two commissioners specifically to produce the documents that needed to be turned in to the Agrarian Zone II offices, including the *Acta de Nombramiento* and the general structure of the committee.

November 17, 1978, Campanilla Quebrada, Llanca

The next entry (B#6, pp.117) records the fifth day of the faena. It was written at the site of Campanilla Quebrada and records the progress made along the canal for the last day of the faena for that week. The next faena day was agreed upon to be November 22nd, when they “would present the project to the commissioned boss according to his travel agreed upon by the comuneros regantes.”⁵⁴ It is not entirely clear who the “commissioned boss” is. It is possible that this refers to an official from Matucana, perhaps Orihueles, but subsequent entries do not provide any further clarity on this point. The entry then states that the lieutenant governor of the committee had announced that he would go to Matucana to meet with the Sub Prefect and, following their order, present them with the guarantee that the work on the canal is being

⁵⁴ “Quedando para la fecha 22 del presente mes en donde en ese día los hará conocer el jefe del comecionado [sic] según su viaje acordado por los comuneros regantes” (Libro de Acta Book Six 1972-1988, page 117).

completed as agreed. Before closing and signing, the entry states that eighteen comuneros were present at the faena.

November 22, 1978, Campanilla Portillo, Llancha

The next entry (B#6, pp.118) was written at the site of Campanilla Portillo and records the first day of the second week of faena. The faena crew had installed a foundation using stones and earth at the intersection of the canal with the ravine. During the midday break, two new villagers had presented in front of the assembly requesting to be accepted into the project. “*Despues de largas discusiones,*” after long discussions or arguments, the two new members were accepted, at which point each of them paid their due contributions. The entry makes no reference to the “commissioned boss,” whose visit was expected for this day in the previous entry. Upon closing, the entry states that the foundation was built according to the permit.

November 24, 1978, Santa Rocita, Llancha

The following entry (B#6, pp.122) is titled General Assessment (or Budget) of the New Watersource Puquio Sangre to Huarmishcoto.⁵⁵ The location of the entry was a water outlet called Santa Rocita. It is a summary and budget report for the work that had been done up to that point. The assessment states that the new canal was built by nineteen comuneros regantes in eight days. Each comunero’s work was valued at s./ 500 per day. The total value of nineteen comuneros at s./500 per day for eight days was calculated as s./76,000. An additional s./500 was added per comunero for the formalities and procedures regarding the project, adding up to an extra s./9,500. S./386 were calculated for the cost of the paperwork and a record for each comunero during the project. After additional miscellaneous costs, the total cost of the project up

⁵⁵ “Balance General de la nueva Toma de Puquio Sangre hacia Huarmishcoto” (Libro de Acta Book Six 1972-1988, page 122).

until that point was estimated at s./88,730. This amount in the 1978 Peruvian Sol values approximately \$70,000 in today's US dollars.

November 8(?),⁵⁶ 1978, Llancha

The next entry (B#6, pp.124) describes a meeting that took place in the village of Llancha and the entry states that “*después de caluroso debate,*” after heated debate, the regantes decided to schedule the faena to construct the reservoir at the mouth of the water source, Puquio Sangre, for December 18th through the 21st. They included the phrase “with the opening of the canal already finished with ministerial authority”⁵⁷ before proposing to schedule the next phase of construction. Upon scheduling the next phase, they make a point of mentioning that the next step is taken according to the national authorization that they were seeking at the time.

Even within the libros de acta (the documentation that later becomes the validating substance of a collective action), there is still a need to cite external documentation that is also involved in the action being recorded. This was demonstrated as necessary in the first confrontation with Chinchina. If Llancha had only presented documentation produced internally to their community, their own libros de acta, it would not have held any weight with Chinchina as a separate entity challenging Llancha's right to carry out the project. Llancha and Chinchina's ability to write internally valid documents in their own communities is equal, so a case of one village's word (or libro de acta) against another would end in stalemate. As discussed above, it was necessary for Llancha to seek validation in written form from an external entity who held

⁵⁶ This meeting occurred after the opening of the canal had been constructed so the date written on the entry is questionable. It is likely that the date was incorrectly written and this meeting either occurred on November 28th or December 8th.

⁵⁷ “...que ya terminando la apertura de la asequia [sic] teniendo el [sic] autorización ministerial” (Libro de Acta Book Six 1972-1988, page 124).

authority over *both* Llancha and Chinchina in order to establish their right to carry out the project. In anticipation of a repeat of the confrontation with Chinchina, Llancha made a point to constantly reference their “trump card” in all subsequent documentation of the project.

December 18, 1978, Puquio Sangre, Llancha

The next entry (B#6, pp.125) was recorded at the site of Puquio Sangre. The entry states that the committee of regantes were assembled to build the reservoir at Puquio Sangre, and points out that “the work was only possible due to the effort of all involved and with the help of providence.”⁵⁸ A consensus was reached to each contribute an additional s./100 to sustain the project.⁵⁹ The following statement opened the new phase of the project: “On this day we commenced work on our reservoir to bring water to our property, already having all the ministerial authority and permission.”⁶⁰ Lastly, the assembly named directors for the project at hand.

December 19, 1978, Puquio Sangre, Llancha

The next entry (B#6, pp.126) is titled as a record of work. The first thing stated in the entry was that the committee of regantes had dispatched a spy who was appointed from the comuneros of Llancha, to “find out if the Sr. R. Orihuelas, director of irrigation, was able to

⁵⁸ “...dicho trabajo solamente se dio el adelante con el esfuerzo de todos y la ayuda de la probendencia [sic]” (Libro de Acta Book Six 1972-1988, page 125).

⁵⁹ At this point in the entry the handwriting switches from cursive to print, though it appears to be written in the same pen. Either the secretary chose to switch writing styles at this point, or a new secretary took over the record keeping. These kind of small changes and inconsistencies are common in libro de acta entries and provide windows into the moments when they were written: sometimes a pen runs out of ink, a word is written incorrectly and crossed out, the handwriting is sometimes notably rushed and messy while at others it is uniform and carefully printed. The aesthetics of how the entries are written mimic the flow of the events that they record.

⁶⁰ “En este día de trabajo se dio comienzo [sic] a nuestro trabajo de nuestro deposito para llebar [sic] el agua a nuestra propiedad ya teniendo toda facultad y permiso del ministerial” (Libro de Acta Book Six 1972-1988, page 125).

arrive, with it in mind that he might arrive according to what was known through the words expressed by many people”⁶¹ (this is explained in later entries). Following this statement, the group is said to have deliberated with “*muchos debates,*” many debates, regarding the appropriate fines and punishment for a comunero who had missed a portion of the faena work. Finally, the actual report of the faena is included and states that the reservoir construction had begun.

December 20, 1978, Puquio Sangre, Llancha

The following entry (B#6, pp.127) records the next day of the faena at the reservoir. It is a brief entry and only mentions the presence of twenty-two comuneros regantes at the faena.

December 21, 1978, Puquio Sangre, Llancha

The next entry (B#6, pp.128) is also brief and is another record of work on the reservoir. The entry was written at the afternoon meeting and rest hour at 3 PM. This entry clarifies the earlier reference to a visit from Orihuelas. At the meeting, five comuneros of Llancha were appointed to wait for Orihuelas, “who communicated to us that he would set out on the 22nd of the current month to do an inspection requested by the Town of Chinchina.”⁶²

Here we see Chinchina correcting their previous error. When they had initially arrived in protest to Llancha’s faena opening the new waterwork, they had failed to produce any paperwork that could counter the documents held by Llancha authorizing their project. This attempted protest was explicitly disregarded by Llancha for that reason, as stated in their record of that first faena day. Though I do not have access to the parallel libros de acta from Chinchina for this

⁶¹ “...saber que si pudiera llegar el Sr R. Orihuelas, jefe de riegos pensando que pudiera llegar al sitio según sabido por voces botadas de muchas personas” (Libro de Acta Book Six 1972-1988, page 126).

⁶² “...en donde nos comunicó que hiba [sic] salir para la fecha 22 del presente para hacer una inspección solicitado [sic] por el Pueblo de Chinchina” (Libro de Acta Book Six 1972-1988, page 128).

period, which surely chronicle their decisions, we know from this entry that after Chinchina had been unsuccessful at the faena, they had turned to a different strategy. It is still not entirely clear what the specific issue that Chinchina took with Llancha's plan to construct the canal and reservoir at Puquio Sangre was. We can only assume that it had something to do with water distribution and concerns of this affecting the flow at the Toma de Carnacha, despite the initial inspection having claimed that it would not have a significant impact. Regardless, it seems that Chinchina had chosen to advance their protest within the Ministry of Agriculture, the very permitting agency that had authorized Llancha's project in the first place.

In a democratic community (like Llancha and Chinchina both are), authority and autonomy are flexible and track with actions and temporary roles rather than fixed positions. Authority can be rotational, as with the village government roles that each comunero rotates through during their term of community service. It can also be circumstantial through the process of getting permits granted by an external institution such as the government of Tupicocha, or a national government agency like the Ministry of Agriculture. The holder of a permit granted by an external authorizing entity then has the autonomy to act in a way they would not normally be able to. In the context of the construction at Puquio Sangre, at the beginning of the project, Llancha had circumstantial authority and autonomy that outweighed Chinchina's authority to protest in an effective way. From this perspective, Chinchina's appeal to the same agency that had granted Llancha that authority in the first place was a logical next step in their attempt to detain the project. The Ministry of Agriculture, and its subdivisions in Matucana, as the source of Llancha's authority, was Chinchina's only option for both undermining that authorization directly and obtaining their own authority capable of countering Llancha's. This entry in the

libro de acta shows that Llancha felt obligated to officially acknowledge the move on Chinchina's part.

December (?) 22,⁶³ 1978, Puquio Sangre, Llancha

The next entry (B#6, pp.129) records an advancement of a seven-by-two-meter section that was one-meter deep on the reservoir at Puquio Sangre. At the midday rest hour, the five comuneros who had been appointed to wait for Orihuelas on the day of his visit arrived at the group with the news that Orihuelas had not yet left when they had seen him at 10 AM. By the three o'clock rest hour, it became apparent that Orihuelas would not arrive that day and the group voted by majority to postpone further work on the reservoir until January, 1979, and after Orihuelas's inspection. The entry also states that the president of the community would make a trip to Matucana to provide a report on the progress of the project so far and to report the newly appointed authorities of the committee of regantes.

By appealing to the authorizing figure of Llancha's project, Orihuelas, to do an inspection, Chinchina managed to force Llancha to engage with the protocols established by community and legal expectations of dealing with external authority figures. Llancha was obligated to employ a number of their comuneros in correctly receiving Orihuelas for this unexpectedly scheduled inspection. Additionally, the coordination of the inspection and its failure to occur on the appointed day contributed to Llancha postponing work on the entire project because continuing while an unrealized inspection had been issued put them at risk of violating their permit. At least in temporarily detaining Llancha's project, Chinchina was successful at manipulating the available resources of authority in their favor.

⁶³ The date of this entry is written in Book Six as November 22, 1978. Given the order of the entry in Book Six, that it records work on the reservoir, and that it later mentions Orihuelas's visit, I am assuming that the date of the faena was actually *December 22nd*, rather than November.

December 25, 1978, Llancha

The final entry (B#6, pp.130) in the libros de acta that I had access to pertaining to the conflict records a meeting that took place in the village of Llancha after the inspection by Orihuelas. The entry reads:

Being the hour 10 in the morning, the session proceeded where the señor president made known the report of the Señor Don Ricardo Hurihuelas [sic] who had set out on the date of the 23rd of the present month to do the inspection requested by the Town of Chinchina against the Town San Pedro de Llancha.⁶⁴

The use of the word “against” leaves no doubt that Llancha interpreted this inspection as a confrontational move from Chinchina. The entry states that Orihuelas had only made it to the site of Shunshucala Ravine, located in Figure 2.10, and did not make it to the Carnacha Ravine where Puquio Sangre was located (referring to the specific watercourse rather than the region on the mountain). At that point, all had returned to the town of Chinchina and convened in the house of a Chinchina comunero at around two or three in the afternoon. The president of Llancha, along with the municipal agent and the lieutenant governor of Llancha were present at the meeting. The villagers of Chinchina, in the presence of Orihuelas and the assembly, requested that Llancha’s irrigation project be suspended. After an unsurprisingly “*caluroso debate*,” Orihuelas, having heard both sides and acting as the mediator, subpoenaed both parties to report on the 24th of that month, the next day. Then:

After listening to the motives of the *Chinchineros*⁶⁵ present, the regantes of the Town of Llancha agreed to continue with our work, because we have the respective Order from

⁶⁴ “Siendo ha [sic] horas 10 de la mañana se procedió la seción [sic] en donde el señor precidente [sic] hizo conocer el informe del Señor Don Ricardo Hurihuelas [sic] quien ha salido en la fecha 23 del presente mes hacer la inspección según solicitado por el Pueblo de Chinchina en contra del Pueblo San Pedro de Llancha” (Libro de Acta Book Six 1972-1988, page 130).

⁶⁵ “Chinchineros” is not a term I have heard used either by villagers from Chinchina or Llancha to refer to residents of Chinchina in recent years. Given the context, I suspect that it was used here by Llancha in not quite a derogatory way, but perhaps a patronizing one. This represents a notable break from the reverent

the Ministry of Agriculture, Agrarian Zone II where the said concession on the 24th will not accept any (other) arrangement with those from Chinchina. By request of all the comuneros regantes we should continue with the work.⁶⁶

The entry ends with the comuneros of Llancha agreeing not to resume work on the reservoir until January 9th, 1979. The way the entry is written, it is not clear which parts are referring to discussion occurring at the meeting this entry is recording, and which are being relayed to the assembly by the president, referring to discussions that had occurred in the meetings with Chinchina. It seems as though there were possibly two prior meetings, the one on the 23rd and then another just with the authorities from Llancha and Chinchina on the 24th, though there are no entries in the libros de acta that I have that record those meetings. Whether there had been one or two meetings, Chinchina's effort to use the institution represented by Orihuelas to shut down Llancha's construction project appears to have failed. Presumably in the presence of Orihuelas, Llancha identified Chinchina's complaints as invalid or insufficient, and declared that they would continue with the project. Though Orihuelas did not manage to arrive at the project site to conduct a physical inspection, it seems that after presiding over the debates between Chinchina and Llancha, his assessment of the overall situation was in favor of Llancha.

Aftermath (or lack thereof)

This is where the information from the libros de acta regarding this incident comes to a halt. The next entry in Book Six (pp.131) is a record of work regarding the construction of a new church in Llancha from June of an unspecified year, and the one after that (pp.132) is dated to

diction of the public speaking/public record register discussed in Chapter Two, indicating that the boundaries of village protocol were approaching their breaking point.

⁶⁶ “Después de escuchar los motivos de los Chinchineros presentes los regantes del Pueblo de Llancha acordamos en seguir adelante nuestra obra, porque nosotros tenemos la respectiva Orden del Ministerio de Agricultura II zona Agraria en donde dicha concesión del 24 no aceptará ningún arreglo con los de Chinchina. A pedido de todos los comuneros regantes el trabajo debemos de seguir adelante” (Libro de Acta Book Six 1972-1988, pages 130-131).

the year 1980. The next entry in Book Seven (pp.28) is dated to April 1st, 1979, and is a general entry regarding community standards established at a routine community meeting, with no reference to Puquio Sangre or Chinchina. The following entry in Book Seven (pp.29) is dated to 1980. The explosion of the reservoir at Puquio Sangre, which according to Don Vincente had occurred after the start of its construction, and so would be happening “any time now” along this timeline, is not recorded. Nor was the completion of what is today a finished and working reservoir at Puquio Sangre (Figure 2.11).



Figure 3.11. Large cement plaque on the wall of the reservoir at Puquio Sangre.

In fact, in all of the libros de acta that I have photographed, there is a general absence of entries from the year 1979, with many entries dated to 1978 and many dated to 1980. I assume that much of this missing material was recorded in Book Eight, which I was not able to photograph. Given the context, it is tempting to posit that the missing Book Eight from the libros de acta volunteered to me by Llanca’s president was not a coincidence. However, as I stated at the beginning of this chapter, I maintain trust that he gave us the inactive libros de acta in good faith. That being said, it was and still is at the community’s discretion to withhold village records

without our knowledge if there were things that they did not want us to see. It is also possible that the village of Llancha is no longer in possession of Book Eight. In the interview where I first learned of the incident, Don Vincente had made the comment: “Ye::s, it was intense. Yes, they came from the commissary post in San Damian. Ye::s, they captured them all. It was intense, the conflict was intense, señorita.”⁶⁷ The “post” Don Vincente is referring to is the police commission. If it is true that villagers from Chinchina blew up the reservoir at Puquio Sangre *and* that the culprits were “captured” by the police, then it is possible that any libros de acta recording this incident could have been taken by the police at the time as evidence for the case. However, since pursuing this hypothesis is beyond the scope of this thesis, it remains hypothetical for now.

So, whether Book Eight was omitted strategically or not is not the focus of the discussion I am engaged in here. Even if the literal explosion of the Puquio Sangre reservoir did not ever occur, we are left with the fact that it was described this way by a villager who was there, and the primary documents recording the conflict leading up to it show us that a significant schism between Llancha and Chinchina took place in 1978. The details of the process of escalating conflict leading up to the literal or figurative explosion may tell us more about the opposite process: how the two communities were able to go from such explicit opposition to such integrated collaboration and trust displayed in the Champería in 2018.

Similar to the absence of recorded entries from the year 1979, there is very little information about Llancha and Chinchina’s relationship in the available libros de acta following this incident. Between 1979 and 2003, the last year recorded in Llancha’s libros de acta that are

⁶⁷ “Sí::, ese fue bravo. Si e vino del puesto de San Damián. Sí::, lo captura::ron todo. ‘Taba bravo, el pleito era bravo señortia” (Interview with Don Vincente, Llancha, March 12, 2018).

photographed, there are only six entries that mention Chinchina at all, and none of them pertain to the incident at Puquio Sangre or to future collaboration at Carnacha. Two entries in Book Six from 1987 record a joint faena that Llancha and Chinchina did together to repair some of the paths that ran through both villages (B#6, pp.185, 187). Book Eleven records a joint sports day, something that villagers had told me they occasionally did, taking place in Chinchina in 1988 (B#11, pp.29). An entry from 1985 in Book Nine details land that had been distributed by the Town of Tupicocha and references Chinchina's allotment along with those of Llancha and the neighboring town of Chaute (B#9, pp.54). A later entry in Book Nine records another joint faena to work on paths between Llancha and Chinchina in 1990 (B#9, pp.92). Book Thirteen records a faena in Llancha in 1991 to maintain the eucalyptus patch at a site called Shapi, located above Llancha, for which they had hired villagers from Chinchina for assistance (B#13, pp.75).

The simplest reason for the absence of record for the emerging collaboration between Llancha and Chinchina in water management is that it could have happened after 2003, at least in an official capacity. While internal factors are unknown, many known external factors that occurred in the twenty-first century could have contributed to a shift in irrigation needs, prompting a reorganization of water distribution in the Carnacha Ravine. Villagers have told me about recent changes in the distribution of crop cultivation due to climate change and a massive decrease in pastoralism due to restrictions placed on jointly used grazing lands in 2010 (Arozena 2015). Additionally, the controversial former president of Peru, Alberto Fujimori, responded to economic recession during the early 1990s associated with the Internal Armed Conflict in Peru by establishing and investing in social development organizations such as Peru's Social Fund (FONCODES). FONCODES's programs included "nutrition and family planning projects, rotating credit schemes, and projects for the construction or rehabilitation of schools, health posts,

water and sanitation systems, rural roads, electrification schemes, and small-scale irrigation works” (Schady 2000:292). Within the last decade, FONCODES has launched at least two programs in Llanca and Chinchina focused on dairying and guinea pig husbandry (the latter much more successful than the former), which have shifted how villagers organize and invest their time and resources. During the 1990s and the early 2000s, such investment in utilities and social programs from organizations like FONCODES in Huarochiri may have impacted internal resource management dynamics between the two communities.

Another possibility is that, as I believe is the case today, the committee of regantes of Carnacha has its own set of libros de acta. The establishment of a cooperative organization with both Llanca and Chinchina surrounding the Toma de Carnacha irrigation system could have been recorded anytime between 1979 and 2003 in a separate set of libros de acta that I did not have access to. A useful next step is, of course, to request permission to see the missing libros de acta from Llanca and to see Chinchina’s as well, along with any libros de acta from the committee of regantes. However, in the meantime, there is still much that can be said of the information that is available.

Triangulation

From the trajectory of this conflict as seen through Llanca’s libros de acta, certain themes arise that track closely with the dynamics discussed in Chapter Two. The same three pillars of triangulation, resource, users, and external authority, emerge as central drivers of the community dynamic, though this time they drive the two groups apart rather than closer together. The need to manage water again spurred both villages into action, but the initial unequal access to the water source introduced a heightened element of competition between the two communities. In this case, the third element of the triangulation, the external authority, was

actively sought out by the villagers of Llanca in the form of the Ministry of Agriculture.

Llanca had initially found themselves at a disadvantage when faced with the potential conflict with Chinchina and had pursued external support to counterbalance. The external authority in this case was to be used *against* the other village, rather than as a cause for collaboration.

Llanca took action to define their own community through the triangulation of a new source of water at Puquio Sangre, a new committee of regantes, and a relationship with the Ministry of Agriculture that protected them against neighboring villagers who were not part of their new community of regantes, i.e. those from Chinchina. Chinchina, who initially had the upper hand when their section of runoff from the Carnacha Ravine remained abundant where Llanca's had dried up, suddenly found themselves outside of a triangulated community that was supported by a more powerful, outside source of authority, the Ministry of Agriculture. In what appeared to be a combination of retaliation and self-defense, they took steps to counter this newfound stronghold of Llanca's by attempting to establish their own triangulation with the Ministry of Agriculture and their water source. In Chapter Two, the principal media for negotiation between the community and the external authority (the mountain deities) were manual labor, offerings, and non-archival writing (the huari's note). In Chapter Three, the collectively recognized media for negotiation with the external authority (the Ministry of Agriculture) were written records.

Written documentation seemed to guide the majority of the decisions made by Llanca and Chinchina throughout the entire process of the conflict. The importance of the written word in Andean communities has been pointed out by many scholars (de la Cadena 2015; Salomon 2004; Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011). However, it is not just any written word that has weight but rather written word that is directly connected with a position or institution of authority. When dealing with matters internal to the community, the authority figure can be of the village junta

directiva, but when dealing with other groups, the authority backing the written document is often necessarily external to the community itself. Llanca's records are rife with declarations that their actions were permitted by the Ministry of Agriculture. In fact, these written references extend beyond the libros de acta. The reservoir at the site of Puquio Sangre has a large plaque, most of which is illegible due to weathering and low-resolution photography (Figure 2.11). However, in the opening statement on the plaque of the reservoir itself, one can make out the words, "*Confirmado con bendición(?) Ministerial,*" "Confirmed with Ministerial blessing." Down to the physical waterwork itself, Llanca was concerned with establishing in writing their right to build, as granted by an external institution of authority (the Ministry of Agriculture). As we learned from the first encounter with Chinchina, this granted authority is only valid if it is backed up by the correct "paperwork." When Chinchina's failure to produce their own paperwork was pointed out, they then tried attacking the validity of Llanca's paperwork by claiming it was "signed with lies," though to no avail. Following this incident, nearly every entry written in Llanca's books cites their permit to complete the project, including the physical project itself (Figure 2.11). The next step taken by Chinchina was to obtain the paperwork they were lacking the first time they showed up in protest: a documented complaint and inspection by Orihuelas. It was only at this point that Chinchina managed to affect Llanca's progress on the project at all. However, after Orihuelas concluded that Chinchina's complaint was not grounds to detain the project, things began to go off books, both literally because this is the point where available documentation of the incident ceases, but also in that, according to Don Vincente, Chinchina disregarded the authority of protocol and documentation and took to physically sabotaging the reservoir.

In Chapter Two, I discussed how complaints and confrontation have their rightful place in village protocol, and it is this fact that allows the communities to handle, and even invite, dissent without it escalating to uncontrolled conflict. This was also true throughout the process chronicled in the libros de acta. However, something clearly happened that elevated the conflict from one of the “heated debates” confined to a typical village meeting to potentially one of violent sabotage. At every attempt, Chinchina’s authority to have input on the decision for the new construction was ultimately rejected. They were repeatedly excluded from this new and powerfully triangulated community that Llancha had formed around the Puquio Sangre waterwork. I have already emphasized the incredibly high stakes involved in water management in the highlands of Huarochiri. D’Altroy (2015:313) says the least when describing how, in the Andes, “the problem of managing access to water within a social group or among communities sharing a watershed can be enormously vexing to everyone involved.” Access to water, for personal use and consumption, cultivation, and animal husbandry, is a life and death issue, and in the Andes, access to water requires labor intensive and highly political management. Chinchina initially put Llancha in a vulnerable position, both with regards to their sustenance and their political authority, when they denied Llancha access to the Carnacha/Lumputa water source. However, this changed dramatically when Llancha sought out support from the Ministry of Agriculture that surpassed Chinchina’s authority to control the water source. Chinchina then, presumably in fear of losing control of the water they did have access to, took every step they could within the democratic village structures available to protect their resource and autonomy. Where Llancha had been able to address their issue by leveraging authority through the written word and protocol, Chinchina failed to do so.

The dismissal of Chinchina's protests not only undermined their authority and autonomy with regards to the resource in question, it solidified Llancha's alliance with the external authority that holds power over both villages. A major stage for this conflict was Llancha's libros de acta. Given the constitutive relationship between these two communities and their libros de acta, a dismissal of Chinchina's protest in the written record of Llancha goes beyond a question of water rights. Chinchina's recognition as a village entity was threatened since it was not being reflected in the libros de acta, and therefore in the actions, of its sister community. In this situation, it is not entirely surprising that Chinchina would act out violently as the pressure against their autonomy and identity as a community increased despite their efforts to diffuse it.

This presents a curious predicament in which the conflict between Llancha and Chinchina is not based on fundamental animosity, but rather on positional authority with regards to access to a common resource. The biggest threat to both villages is to be triangulated against each other in this situation: Chinchina's villagehood and autonomy is being threatened by the alliance between Llancha and the Ministry of Agriculture, and Llancha is vulnerable to Chinchina's retaliation which is no longer bound by village protocol since Chinchina is excluded from the new communal relationships. Ultimately, it seems that the most effective way to repair this rift is to reinstate Chinchina and Llancha back into each other's structures of mutual responsibility, protocol, and record keeping. Though there is no evidence of this in the available libros de acta, the ethnographic account of the event indicates that this is exactly what happened. At the end of my interview with Don Vincente, he said:

After that, we worked it out. Yeah, because he [Ricardo Orihuelas] was a superior authority, he made the verdict, he said 'No, no, no more. You aren't meant to fight. Everyone wants to eat here. Give them water here for Llancha and you all (Chinchina) get your water down below and without a fuss, don't fight anymore.' That's how we

worked it out. It worked out, it was left there:: We wrote an A:ct that we wouldn't fight anymore.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ “Después de ahí, ya:: hemos arregla’o ya. Ya:: él [Ricardo Orihuelas] cómo era una autorida’ superior, él ya dictaminó, dijo ‘No, no, no ya. Ustedes no son pa’ pelear. Acá todos quieren comer. Dele el agua pa’ca pa’ Llanca y ustedes [Chinchina] agarran su agua abajo y tranquilo y ya no pelen.’ Así arreglamos ya. Arregla’o ya quedó:: Hacimos [sic] un a:cta que ya no vamos estar peleando” (Interview with Don Vincente, Llanca, March 12, 2018).

4 | Conclusion

The “Other”

Despite the dichotomy of collaboration and conflict, the events discussed in Chapters Two and Three share a great deal of structure. In Chapter Two, we can observe a communal unit and political structure in modern narratives and in visual documentation. The material for Chapter Three is largely the product of communal political structure. In both, the collective decision-making body is central. Also in both, the collective is confronting an external source of authority that has the power to either reinforce or constrict the group. In Chapter Two, this external source is in the form of the mountain deities and the abuelos. In Chapter Three this dynamic is present and more complicated because there is the external entity of the Ministry of Agriculture which presides over both Llanca and Chinchina, but the two villages are also external entities to one another.

In-group and out-group dynamics and how they come into being in the first place are classic issues in anthropological discussion. The incorporation of external sources of authority or governance into local communities is a common structure for historical narrative around the world. Marshall Sahlins (2017:145) discusses the pervasiveness of the “stranger king” narrative in multiple African communities (Lunda, Ndembu, and Nupe) but notes its prevalence in origin stories from North and South America as well. The general structure of the stranger king narrative is that a foreign stranger arrives in a community and becomes king, and it is precisely their foreignness that allows them to occupy the ruling position. Sahlins (2017:155-156) points out that it is, in part, the stranger’s ability to break cultural rules and taboos that specifically allows them to hold authority over the people who are bound by them. An authority figure must

in some way be differentiated from its subjects in order for it to hold and exercise its authority. Particularly in democratic communities, like Llanca and Chinchina, even though authority is distributed on a rotating basis, all members of the group have, by definition, equal power to act upon the group. Therefore, any ultimate or unquestionable authority *must*, in some way, be external to the group because the nature of having that type of authority in the first place goes against what it means to be a member of the group.

This narrative is not new to the Andes. D’Altroy (2015:87) observes its pervasiveness and power in Inca origin myths; when discussing myths of one of the famed Inka emperors, Wiraqocha Inka, he says, “The image of the stranger king— seen first in the founding ancestor Manqo Qhapaq— was so potent that some Inca elites told Cieza [Pedro Cieza de León] that Wiraqocha Inka was also an outlander.” According to Steve Stern (1993: 45), in the colonial context of the Andes in the mid-1500s, it was common that indigenous Andean communities would resort to using the European legal system to settle internal disputes. However, the dynamic of the stranger king is not always one of conquest. Sahlins (2017:148) notes that “the stranger-kingships are generated neither by internal conditions nor by external relations alone, but in a dialogue between them.” In the example discussed in Chapter Three, both Llanca and Chinchina *sought out* the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture to aid them in mediating their conflict, it was not imposed on them.

A similar dynamic of external power acting on internal affairs occurs in Chapter Two, however, the roles of “strangers” and locals are reversed. The regantes of the Carnacha water source were the relative outsiders to the area (Salomon 1995). In this scenario, the real locals are the mountain deities and the abuelos while the villagers of Llanca and Chinchina are the newcomers, acting as the current stewards of the land. However, the mountain deities and the

abuelos, even those that are personified like MamaMária and Pencollo, are not described or considered to actually be *of* the community. To be *of* the community one must be a comunero, or be associated with one, who participates in village political dynamics and assumes communal responsibilities. The mountain deities and the abuelos are recognized and important in the communities but they are not comuneros and therefore are still external entities. The mountain deities and abuelos are “strangers” to the community because they do not participate directly as members of the regante community, and they hold a power over the waterflow that no one member of the community can possess.

Materiality

In both examples, there is a third element added to the relationship between the community and the external authority. This is the circumstance or immediate need of the community, the water itself. Water is the instigator for both examples discussed in this thesis. The complications of rendering natural sources of water into usable and plentiful resources for highland communities in the Andes makes water management a constant concern in village life. The circumstance, in this case water, is a necessary pillar and instigator of the dynamic between the villages and the external entities they interact with, which in turn condition their interactions with each other. In this way, the events and processes discussed in Chapters Two and Three are firmly grounded in immediate material conditions. In his book *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*, David Graeber (2001:54) adopts a materialist approach he defines as: “one that sees society as arising from creative action, but creative action as something that can never be separated from its concrete, material medium.” (Graeber 2001: 54). This is exactly the interplay that we see in Chapters Two and Three between the material conditions and the politics and social relations of the community. The nature of the relations that emerge surrounding the task of

water management are by no means determined by the task itself, but the relations are built upon it as a foundation.

Water as a basis for the negotiation of relations is not often the way natural resources are described in Andean ethnography from the past few decades. A similarity that shows up across recent descriptions of Andean communities ranging from the Cusco region (Allen 2002; de la Cadena 2015) to the southwestern Andes (Apaza et al. 2021; Van Vleet 2008) is the predominance of cosmological understandings of the environment as principal motivators and mechanisms for action. Therefore, most natural and environmental processes are described as having agency, characters, and volition. This theme is recognizable in Llanca and Chinchina in their discussion of the living mountain and the abuelos, but it is far from their most notable characteristics when discussing water management.

A commonality described in Allen (2002), de la Cadena (2015), Apaza et al. (2021), Van Vleet (2008), and in the Huarochirí Manuscript (Salomon and Urioste 1991) is that the relations between Andean villagers and water are based on *who* or *what* the water is perceived to be as a fellow, but more powerful, member of society. Apaza and others (2021:4) argue that, in Puno, “The Aymara... consider the water as a living and vivifying being... Water is life and it is not a resource as for those who have economist views.” While these authors observe communities in which water is an agentive member of the community in some capacity, villagers of Llanca and Chinchina do not describe it this way. In contrast, I would argue that in Llanca and Chinchina, water *is* viewed as a resource. The substance of the water itself and its physical properties were at the forefront of most discussions I have had with villagers on the topic. Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:106) observe this precise dynamic in Tupicocha’s Champería:

Tupicocha's interpretation of Mama Catiana and Señor Pencollo as 'water Owners' is quite literal. The climactic ritual in which the Huaris with their musicians mediate between the Owners and the irrigators sums up the state of village water law in a single exchange of messages: a petition for water use, and a concession to the users.

The negotiation of water does include non-human living entities in the mountain, i.e. MamaMária, Pencollo, and the abuelos, but the substance itself is the currency for such negotiations, not the source or substance of conscious vitality. In the face of such negotiations, groups form and dissolve according to each member's positional relation to the resource of water. This was also the case during the water conflict in 1978. The regantes who would later collaborate together on the Carnacha water source were divided into two groups in negotiations with the Ministry of Agriculture according to their positional relations to Toma de Carnacha and to Puquio Sangre. The details of how this division progressed from there and the results of the negotiations with the Ministry of Agriculture were products of the "creative action" (Graeber 2001: 54) of all those involved, but the respective positions to the material resource of water were always an integral part of the communal arrangements.

Narrative

An important element of this ethnography is the fact that the majority of the data discussed here are narratives that the villagers of Llancha and Chinchina have produced about themselves. Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps (2001:225) point out the important role of narrative and conversation in communal reflection: "everyday narrative activity offers a forum for grappling with the meaning of unexpected, often problematic life events. Narrating allows co-tellers to distill the details and logic of a particular experience and to reflect upon the implications of the experience for the future." Two major "problematic" life events are emphasized in the narratives that I discussed in Chapters Two and Three: the conflict of the Puquio Sangre water source in 1978, and the general sentiment of losing tradition brought up in interviews about the Champería

and the ceremony itself. In the former, Llancha manages conflict as a community and further defines and distills the boundaries of their community by documenting their conflict with Chinchina. In the latter, members from both communities use narrative as a reflective device to curate the telling of their water management history to highlight the collaborative relations they value currently and to downplay fragmentation.

As I discussed in Chapter Three, Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:31) argue that the libros de acta in these Andean communities are constitutive of the communities themselves. Discussing narrative in general, Marita Eastmond (2007: 250) makes a similar point: “Put simply, narrative is a form in which activities and events are described as having a meaningful and coherent order, imposing on reality a unity which it does not inherently possess.” Even for records and narratives that are produced in real time or in short order of the events being experienced, the act of crafting a narrative imbues its contents with order and meaning. When an event is written up in the libro de acta of a community, it not only solidifies and publicly acknowledges the fact that it has taken place, but it also establishes and characterizes the event as one that pertains to the community as a whole and becomes part of its collective history. Despite the potentially chaotic or combative nature of certain events, like those described in 1978, the written entries of said events that survive are structured, signed, and sealed by the community, affording them at least some degree of control and ownership. Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011:26) describe the aggregate effect of the practice of collective narration as being an opportunity for the communities to define or redefine themselves:

Written records over the long haul manifest the cycles of production, construction, and solidarity in ritual. A complete year of recordkeeping, presented at the New Year’s plenary meeting (Huayrona), is a beautiful thing, because it concretizes success in overcoming the myriad fights and hazards of the year to re-create the beloved virtual entity, the village.

If reality is particularly uncertain or precarious, the opportunity to revisit and perhaps reorganize it in the form of a narrative can be a useful tool both in reconciling with what has previously happened but also in preparing for future instability.

Specifically with regards to cyclical events, like water management cycles, the reflective nature of collective narrative projects into the future: the reference and remembrance of past experiences through narrative or commemoration can serve as a guide for the navigation of current and future experiences (Bakhtin 1986; Basso 1996; Ochs and Capps 2001). This is particularly salient in the narratives told to me about the Champería ceremony. The overwhelming tone in most interviews was one of nostalgia. Don Ramiro, a villager from Llanca, expressed sorrow at what he perceived to be the loss of the musical tradition, the unwillingness of the younger generation to commit to the performance of the huaris, and the overall lack of commitment to the ceremony. Don Simon, also from Llanca, noted that during his parents' generation, "there were huaris everywhere" (see Footnote 50) but today they only do one Champería ceremony. During the 2018 Champería itself, the elder Chinchina villager, Don Romeo, scolded his companions for having neglected the canals and the tradition. During one of my conversations with Don Héctor from Chinchina about the Champería, he ended the interview on a pessimistic note: "it's the story of the huari that we're telling you more or less, like I said...it's losing authenticity more and more each time...that's how it is."⁶⁹ These are just some of the examples of melancholic remarks made by villagers when describing the custom.

Nostalgia for local tradition and sentiments that it is being lost is not uncommon, particularly in rural/urban communities like Llanca and Chinchina who are so close to the metropolis of Lima.

⁶⁹ "Así es. Y de 'sa manera es el:: la historia del huari que más o menos les tamos contando, como digo no es este::, la aute- la autenticidad se está perdiendo pe cada vez, cada... Así es" (Interview with Don Héctor, Chinchina, March 8, 2018).

However, in the context of the recent inter-village dispute in 1978, this nostalgic undertone for what is today a collaborative tradition from members of both Llancha and Chinchina does some important reflective work. Ochs and Capps (2001:2-3) state that: “narrative activity becomes a tool for collaboratively reflecting upon specific situations and their place in the general scheme of life...In these exchanges, narrative becomes an interactional achievement and interlocutors become co-authors.” By describing the Champería with nostalgia to me in 2018, the villagers are collectively placing value on the tradition that they now share. Through these narratives, they establish a framework to understand the ceremony of the Champería as an important, long-standing tradition (Ochs and Capps 2001:3).

In addition to this, the general lack of reference to the conflict of 1978 by almost all villagers represents a collective narrative decision, conscious or not. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) discusses in *Silencing the Past*, the omissions, “silences,” in the narrative accounts of the past are just as integral to the story as the parts that are included. While the process of “silencing the past” is often bound up in larger power dynamics and paradigms of class, race, politics, etc. (Trouillot 1995), in this example, the silencing of historic conflict in collective narrative allowed for the two communities to retrospectively recharacterize their relationship. By *not* discussing the 1978 conflict when I asked villagers to describe their practices and customs around water, they created a narrative that brought the collaborative nature of their water management at the time to the fore. Based on Don Vincente’s nonchalant tone when he first told me about the conflict, it does not seem like there was any explicit agreement among villagers not to mention the event. In other words, Don Vincente did not appear to have the demeanor of someone who was breaking a communal taboo when he told me about it. Rather the absence of the conflict, or any reconciliation efforts that may have occurred afterwards, in the narratives people told me

seemed more like an organic effort by both communities than a hard and fast rule. Regardless, as Eastmond points out (2007:249), “in the dynamic interplay between experience and expression, experience gives rise and form to narratives, but it is also organized and given meaning in the telling.” Collective narrative has the capacity to stabilize a constantly changing present: by describing something as a custom or tradition, one can justify the present state of things by implying that they have always been that way. In describing the importance, rootedness, and endangered nature of the collective Champería, the villagers of Llancha and Chinchina manifest longevity in their collaboration (which we know is only 40 years old in its current state). While this is largely an internal process of redefining their collective history amongst each other, they also succeeded in convincing me as an audience: up until my second interview with Don Vincente, my understanding of the relationship between Llancha and Chinchina was that it was cooperative and reciprocal, and even after learning of the conflict, these are still the predominant features that I see in their relationship.

Producing Community

I have discussed how across these two examples of community formation in Llancha and Chinchina there is a common structure: a resource, a group of people brought together around that resource, and an entity external to the group who has authority over the resource. However, a notable element of the communities that emerge from these structures, is that they are temporary or transient. As I pointed out in the introduction, the relationship between Llancha and Chinchina resembles one of sisterhood: the nature of their relation to one another fluctuates between cooperation and conflict while they navigate their simultaneous interdependence and potential to be rivals. They share resources, physical proximity, and vulnerability to larger authorities that, much like siblings living under the same roof, provide near constant

opportunities to work together or to go head-to-head. Whether they do the former or the latter is largely dependent on the circumstances, and as those circumstances evolve, so might the relationship between the two communities.

The Champería produces a unified community from two otherwise separate ones for a distinct period of time and in a certain context. The conflict in 1978 represented a schism that turned two separate but peaceful neighbors into rivals. But the conflict settled into neutrality and then into collaboration within a relatively short historic period. The shared structure in these cases is therefore not a rigid, permanent, predictor of behavior but more like a set of circumstances that to some degree restrict and guide behavior. William Sewell's (2005:151) definition of cultural structure tracks closely with what I have observed: "Structures... are constituted by mutually sustaining cultural schemas and sets of resources that empower and constrain social action and tend to be reproduced by that action...Structure is dynamic, not static; it is the continually evolving outcome and matrix of a process of social interaction." The structure I have observed here is certainly dynamic. The interplay between village political organization (cultural schemas) and water (resources) in both examples are similar, and yet the results and conditions of the two examples are unique and circumstantial. Graeber's (2001:59) description of social structure is also quite precise for these examples:

'Social structures'—like any other sort of structure—are really just patterns of action. But they are very complicated patterns: they not only coordinate all sorts of intentional human action, they are also the means through which actors are continually redefining and even remaking themselves at the same time as they are reproducing (and also inevitably, changing) the larger context through which all this takes place.

Through action and narrative, the villagers of Llancha and Chinchina engaged in the redefinition of their communities and relationship both in conflict and cooperation. Similar cultural patterns of democratic political organization, ritual, and relations to external authorities guided the

actions taken in 1978 and in 2018, and through them the relationship between Llancha and Chinchina fluctuated and evolved. Both Graeber (2001) and Sewell (2005) describe structure as a relatively consistent set of positional relations of cultural and material elements and both point out the propensity and necessity for those relations to change and shift over time. One of the most striking aspects of discovering the conflict of 1978 was then observing the tranquility with which it was described to me and the degree of integration that is practiced today in what I now know to be a post-conflict collaboration between the two villages. While similar patterns of behavior produced communities in 1978 and in 2018, the composition of those communities were quite different. The community formed in the 2018 Champería was composed of people who were explicitly excluded from one another's communities in 1978. The villagers in Llancha and Chinchina have an ability to flow in and out of each other's communities, even in sometimes violent ways. Like sisters, their contextual bonds (mainly geographical and sociopolitical) make a permanent alienation unlikely and potentially devastating, but the day-to-day, or decade-to-decade rapport between them may be volatile due to their high levels of similarity and familiarity and the high stakes nature of their shared resources.

The overall pattern of fluctuation in the relationship between Llancha and Chinchina is apparent once one is aware of their recent history of water management. However, in this thesis I have examined the processes of how these fluctuating communal relationships actually play out. When I first began doing fieldwork and research, I had assumed that the communal actions and sentiments of each village were bound and guided by an allegiance, a form of nationalism, associated with the village identities of Llancha or Chinchina respectively. I had assumed that an abstract concept of "Llancha" or "Chinchina" as separate communal identities followed villagers around throughout lives. Instead, what I found is that these communities are anything but

abstract. As Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011: 26) argue, the entity of the village is created through actions and relations such as record keeping, mutual accountability, and collective manual labor. Comuneroship in either village is what determines the majority of a villager's communal affiliations, however, they are not limited by this affiliation if the appropriate circumstances and need for a different communal organization emerge. In the modern collaboration between villagers of Llanca and Chinchina over the Carnacha water source, the group of regantes take on the task of collaboratively cleaning and maintaining the canal, they hold each other accountable through mutual responsibilities, and they engage in record keeping. These actions produce the temporary community that is the Committee of Regantes for the Toma de Carnacha. Just as the already established communities of Llanca and Chinchina were individually recognized as such by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1978, the Committee of Regantes is collectively recognized and engaged with as a community by the external authorities relevant at the Champería, the mountain deities and the abuelos. Perhaps part of the reason the 1978 conflict between these two villages was left behind so quietly, was because the communities that were feuding were circumstantial. The material conditions and the circumstances that produced the two oppositional communities changed and shifted over time, and with them, the villagers redefined and adjusted their communities according to their new circumstances. Eventually, those circumstances encouraged the production of a new collaborative community.

Circumstances beyond just water access continue to shift in highland Huarochirí: the route of a recently proposed central highway passes within a few miles of the villages, comuneros of both villages are concerned that their shrinking populations might jeopardize their Annex status to the town Tupicocha, more and more villagers are investing in specialized

agriculture rather than pastoralism, and families are increasingly spread out between the villages and urban areas to accommodate their children's education. These are just some of the changes that are occurring in Llanca and Chinchina and many other parts of rural Huarochirí. Going forward, we will likely see new communities, and perhaps new divides, emerge as the circumstances continue to rearrange and be managed by these small villages.

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