

Heritage cosmopolitics: Archaeology, Indigeneity, and Rights in Bolivia and Argentina

Volume 1 of 2

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Signature: *Francesco Orlandi*

*To my family and kinfolk,
the dead, the still living, and those yet to come.*

Abstracts

This dissertation tackles the contemporary consensus on rights-based approaches to heritage management, conservation, and research through a multi-sited archaeology ethnography of two iconic sites of the south-central Andean region: the UNESCO World Heritage site of Tiwanaku (Bolivia), and the Sacred City of Quilmes in the Calchaquí Valleys (Tucumán, Argentina). The investigation is at the crossroads of archaeology, anthropology, and political sciences and aims to improve interdisciplinary methodology within the field of Critical Heritage Studies by showing conflictive, entangled configurations of memories and aspirations beneath the definition and exploitation of indigenous heritage in the present as much as in the past. The analytical assessment of what ties the fields of cultural heritage and human rights together in both field locations – in spite of national and academic demarcations – provided effective conceptual and evidentiary tools of translation across world-making practices, which I describe in terms of heritage cosmopolitics in this thesis. These assemblages shake taken-for-granted meanings of heritage/rights, while tangibly crafting my own fieldwork and questioning the logic and police of neoliberal multiculturalism.

Resumen

Esta tesis doctoral analiza el actual consenso sobre planteamientos de gestión, conservación e investigación del patrimonio basados en los derechos a través de una etnografía arqueológica multisituada de dos sitios emblemáticos de la región andina centromeridional: el sitio arqueológico de Tiwanaku (Bolivia), Patrimonio Mundial de la UNESCO, y la Ciudad Sagrada de Quilmes en los Valles Calchaquíes (Tucumán, Argentina). La investigación se sitúa en la encrucijada entre la arqueología, la antropología y las ciencias políticas y se propone mejorar las metodologías interdisciplinarias dentro del campo de los estudios críticos sobre el patrimonio, mostrando las configuraciones conflictivas y enredadas de memorias y aspiraciones que subyacen a la definición y explotación del patrimonio indígena tanto en el presente como en el pasado. La evaluación analítica de lo que une los campos del patrimonio cultural y los derechos humanos en ambos escenarios – pese a las demarcaciones nacionales y académicas – ha proporcionado eficaces herramientas conceptuales y empíricas para la traducción de prácticas de creación de mundos, que en esta tesis describo en términos de cosmopolítica del patrimonio. Estos montajes ponen en tela de juicio los significados de patrimonios/derechos que se dan por sentados, al tiempo que elaboran de forma tangible mi propio trabajo de campo y cuestionan la lógica y la regulación policial del multiculturalismo neoliberal.

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Glossary

(a) *Aymara*, (q) *Quechua*, (s) *Spanish*

Achachilas: (a, q) Animated mountains and ancestors.

Aguayo: (a, q) Blanket often decorated with fine weavings of Andean symbolism and used to carry either babies or things, and then unwrapped to deposit offerings for sharing during public encounters.

Akullico: (a, q) The act of sharing coca leaves among a group of people, usually associated to formal conversations and interactions.

Apacheta: (q, s) Pile of stones placed at the intersections of divergent paths as wayside shrine throughout the Andean region.

Apus: (a, q) The principal mountain-ancestors of a territory.

Ayllu: (a, q) Andean socio-territorial polity.

Ayni: (a) Mutual assistance and reciprocity among the components of the *ayllu*.

Aynuqa: (a) Community plot for collective uses of the *ayllu*.

Cacique: (s) Indigenous community authority in the Calchaquí Valleys.

Cargos originarios: (s) Governance System of the *ayllu* according to customary law

Chakra: (q) cultivated family plot.

Ch'alla: (a) The act of drinking and pouring the land with alcohol.

Copla: (s) Folk music typical of Northwest Argentina.

Encomienda: (s) colonial institution through which Spanish administration rewarded conquerors with land and workforce.

Jaqi: (a) Andean social-subject.

Maestro: (s) a person who is a skilled archaeological worker; also used to refer to *yatiri* (a)

Mallku: (a) the name given to the person performing community authorities according to the rotation of *cargos* (s).

Marka: (a) country of origin, territory of belonging and circumstance of the journey.

Pacha: (a, q) Life itself according to Andean cosmovision.

Pueblos de indios: (s) A colonial-era administrative entity replacing the *encomienda* and intended to collect the royal tax from autonomous native communities.

Sayaña: (a) family-plot associated to the rights and obligations deriving from being part of the *ayllu* (a).

Suka kullus: (q) Prehispanic agricultural system that has been object of experimental reconstruction in collaboration with local communities in many areas around the Titicaca Lake, including Tiwanaku.

Yatiri: (a) wise person who is able to read coca leaf and the signs of the landscape and the ancestors; also called *maestro* (s).

Wak'a: (q) Animated sites or objects that actively partake of community social life.

Wax'ta: (a) Offering paid up to Pachamama, it usually consists of sweet treats, called *dulces de mesa* (s), coca leaves, alcohol, incense, and other ingredients all wrapped in a bundle and burnt.

Wiphala: (a) Aymara multicoloured chequered flag that turned into a symbol of Indigenous peoples' political uprising.

Willka Kuti: (a) Literally translates "the return of the sun" and stands for the celebration of the Aymara New Year in coincidence of the austral winter solstice the 21st of June.

Zafra: (s) Seasonal work at the sugar cane plantations in Northwest Argentina.

Acronyms

APS-EU: Associazione per la Partecipazione allo Sviluppo (Italy) – European Union

ASTAT: Asociación de Trabajadores en Arqueología de Tiwanaku (Bolivia)

CACOT: Consejo de Ayllu y Comunidades Originarias de Tiwanaku (Bolivia)

CIAV: Comunidad Indígena Amaicha del Valle (Argentina)

CIAT: Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Tiwanaku (Bolivia)

CIAAAT: Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, Antropológicas y Administración de Tiwanaku (Bolivia)

CIQ: Comunidad India Quilmes (Argentina)

DINAAR: Dirección Nacional de Arqueología y Antropología (Bolivia)

EAAT: Ente Autónomo Tucumán Turismo (Argentina)

ECIRA: Estudios Comparados Interdisciplinarios de la Realidad Andina (Argentina)

FPIC: Free Prior and Informed Consent

INAI: Instituto Nacional Asuntos Indígenas (Argentina)

ILO: International Labour Organization

MLAL: Movimento Laico per l'America Latina (Italy)

NWA: Northwest Argentina

UNESCO: United Nations Education, Science, and Culture Organization

WB-DCI: World Bank – Indigenous Community Development Program

WHL: World Heritage List

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Castri di Lecce, 26th June 2021

26th January 2022

To break a promise is to deny the reality of the past; therefore it is to deny the hope of a real future.

Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Dispossessed*, 1974

Aruskipt'asipxañanakasakipunirakispawa

Estamos obligados a comunicarnos, a pesar de toda la conflictividad con que actuamos los seres humanos, que, además, afrontamos y solucionamos con la comunicación.

[We are obliged to communicate, in spite of all the conflicts in which humans act, which we also face and resolve through communication.]

Juan de Dios Yapita, *Página Siete*, 17th March 2014

En d'autres termes, notre monde, ce monde-ci, contient toutes les impossibilités et toutes les bifurcations que l'on pouvait imaginer.

La bifurcation ne désigne plus une séparation entre mondes impossibles entre eux, c'est notre monde qui contient toutes les impossibilités et les bifurcations possibles et convenables.

Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema, Truth and Time: the Falsifier*, Lecture 04, 6th December 1983.

Chapter 1. Introduction

“Which is your *marka*? You, from what country?... Have you come... have you already been to my house?... Well, it must have been another one. Just like you he asked me: ‘How are you doing? How are you in Tiwanaku? Before how it was?’ [...] If you want, we do *wax’ta*. Yes, there are a few people who come and leave money, about twenty, thirty bolivianos... I can do a *wax’ta* for you, there. With your name. You do a *wax’ta*... so that everything will be good for work, for health, so that everything will go well”

(Interview with Don S., Tiahuanaco, 12th September 2016).

This dissertation explores how heritage policies implemented during the last four decades Latin America, particularly in Bolivia and Argentina, seemingly to facilitate Indigenous inclusion in domestic and international law in the wake of multiculturalism policies and debates, have been in fact conducive to reproducing and perpetuating deep and long-standing patterns of colonial asymmetry. By looking at the heritage-making processes in both study areas it is possible to foreground the disciplinary character of modern policies beyond the multicultural or plurinational rhetoric characterising each discrete scenario. This research perspective finds its way through the folds of the logic of recognition, and it has the potential of bringing to light how Indigenous peoples’ politics have been rendered imperceptible by the same policies ordering their visibility in the political landscape.

The visualisation of socio-material arrangements founded on conventionally excluded bodies, places, and practices makes room for a perspective to investigate the relationships between heritage and rights from its connection with the contemporary past of the southcentral Andean region (Figure 1.1). In the following chapters, this thesis will show these alternative configurations by exploring *heritage cosmopolitics*, by which I mean a kind of rooted politics that stems from enacting and rendering perceptible the discarded things of modernity by those who have long been left out of the definition of what things are and which ones really matter. In the process of reclaiming spaces and the power to define things, they challenge modernist common-sense divides between present/past and culture/nature.

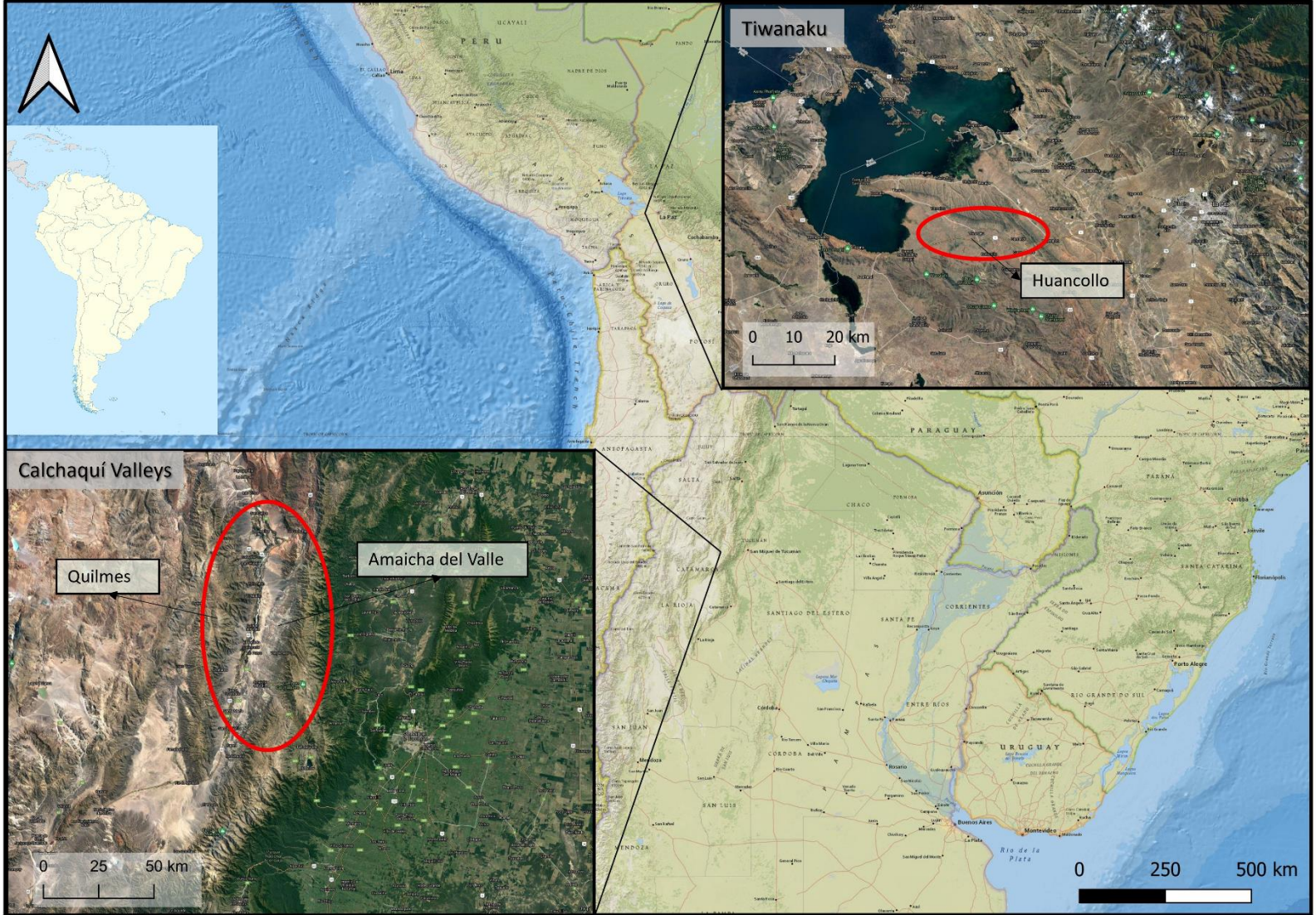


Figure 1.1: Map showing the locations of the two case study sites in South America.

At the crossroads between critical discourse analysis and material culture studies, my thesis illuminates the recent national and international efforts driving the incorporation of heritage issues within the legal sphere of cultural rights. I wonder which is the place of Indigenous peoples' rights and heritage within this evolving framework, while assessing to which extent this trend has been the outcome of the progressive emergence and the leading role that these grassroots organisations assumed in the global scenario.

This research is about identifying actors, networks and knots keeping together the fields of cultural heritage and human rights through selected case studies in the Autonomous Municipality of Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, and in the Indigenous communities of Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes in the Calchaquí Valleys of Northwest Argentina. It does so by designing a multi-scalar approach: at a local community level, it is highlighted the ways in which people engage with their territories and the vernacular memories attached to those landscapes; at a national level, the disjuncture created by the hegemonic configuration of heritage and rights relationships, which propagandises the historical belonging of a specific group of people to a certain place; at a global level, the traces of agents, knowledges, and projects involved in the making of the cosmopolitan discourse on ecological sustainability and cultural diversity, which creates compacted localities and blinds heritage and rights behind the logic of multicultural recognition.

The introductory quote is an episode extrapolated from the story that follows in the next section. The vignette describes a series of events during my first research stay in Tiahuanaco, one of the core sites of this dissertation, a formative experience that led me to identify the central research problem that inspired this thesis. The research was a small ethnographic survey conducted as an offspring of my master dissertation, which I undertook in collaboration with the team in charge of the community-led reassessment of the UNESCO management plan for the World Heritage List property officially registered with the name "Spiritual and Political Centre of the Tiwanaku Culture" (CIAAAT, 2016; Orlandi, 2016). This story gives a measure of the communicative incommensurability of questioning notions that are only taken for granted from the point of view of Euro-Western modernity – the "equivocation" at the heart of any anthropological inquiry according to Viveiros de Castro (2004) – which is often experienced in

conversations with local Indigenous and rural people about their relationships with archaeological remains and their relatedness with the territory. This story succinctly, and powerfully, foregrounds the idea that translation is a form of “knowledge presuming a difference” (Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 20); a principle that provides a thread through the various themes and issues addressed in the dissertation. Following the story, the chapter summarises the research design and objectives of the dissertation and provides a synthesis of the contents of the different chapters.

1.1 “We who speak words know nothing”: becoming part of the conversation

The first time we met was a sunny and windy Monday morning, Don S. was inside his stall in the handicraft market just outside the main entrance of the archaeological site’s fenced perimeter, listening to the radio and idly waiting for tourists to arrive and show them his replicas of Tiwanaku’s main monuments. The little wooden huts composing the market had been built with funding from the Netherlands’ international cooperation agency to let the artisans from the village and the nearby communities display their products and shed themselves from the harsh winds and sunlight of the Bolivian Altiplano. At first glance, he probably thought I was another *gringo* looking for souvenirs; and actually, he was partially right. Yet, Don S. was also a former worker in the governmental reconstruction projects that irrevocably changed the appearance of the ruins during the 1970s, and that was why I wanted to approach him in the first instance. He was someone who knew the history of the ruins deeply and still works with them very closely, thus, I asked him whether he was available to record an interview.

Don S. said nothing but took some coca leaves from his bag under the counter of the stall and let them fall from his fingers, that is, not throwing the leaves away but just letting them go, while always keeping sight of them and attentive to reading the composition they create as they fall on the surface. The old man looked up and told me to come back at 2pm. I could not understand anything of what he did, but we reached an agreement on something. Don S. agreed to share his words with me, and he did so almost without words.

That afternoon I returned to the market, and Don S. welcomed me to enter the wooden stall and wait there while he was searching someone out to act as an

interpreter because neither he had confidence in his ability to express himself in Spanish, nor did I have the basic knowledge to carry on a normal conversation in Aymara, let alone conduct an interview. Although none had listened to his plea for help, Don S. was still interested in sharing his memories about working at the ruins, so we sat on two benches and tried to understand each other. Somehow the conversation went on. He told me about the harsh working conditions to lift the monoliths that had just been unearthed, and about the Spanish conquerors who broke the Gate of the Sun and ravaged the pyramid of Akapana in search of gold that was never found. He also complained that his children had to emigrate to Argentina to make a living, despite the large amount of money circulating around the management of the ruins.

The conversation moved through misunderstandings and silences, then I asked him his thoughts about the ceremony of the *Willka Kuti* on the 21st of June, the Andean New Year in coincidence of the austral winter solstice, which used to be a stage for the president Evo Morales' performance of power. On the moment, I could grasp only single words from what he replied, but his gestures were passionate while handing his bag of coca leaves, and he looked like disregarding the presence of Morales, as well as the centrality that the celebration of the solstice assumed under his presidency; there were other, even more important, occasions in which a *wax'ta*, an offering, is paid up to the Earth, to Pachamama, such as during August, which had just passed. It was only when I slowly listened to the recording again that his answer became clearer, which was one that makes the ethnographer's senses tremble: "this one knows, and we who speak words know nothing. This one knows, the coca knows" (Orlandi, 2016: 35).

Approaching the end of the interview, Don S. asked me back about my family, my country, my job. He asked me whether I had been already there because it seemed to him that I was somebody else, who also had come from afar asking those kinds of questions. Eventually, he proposed to make a *wax'ta* on my name. We agreed on the date, the Thursday after that first encounter; Friday is also a dreadful day. I visited him at his spot in the market on that morning and he dictated to me the list of ingredients required to properly prepare the *wax'ta*, warning me to buy everything exactly as it was indicated, and from a specific shop near the plaza of the village; he even showed up in the shop to be sure that I was buying the right things!

Unfortunately, I no longer have this list of ingredients, and what makes the loss even more bitter is that it was voluntary. In fact, a few days after the *wax'ta*, I left it to a French guy I randomly knew through mutual contacts in the village of Tiahuanaco, and it happened that when he found out that I had talked to Don S. about making a *wax'ta*, he begged me to give him the list, which apparently he had been searching eagerly for, as if it were the most precious treasure, to connect the dots of a conspiratorial web intercepting reptilian fantasies, Andean mysticisms, and pseudo-scientific stances of any sorts. I handed the list over to him, so that I did not have to continue to listen to his stories, which left me with the deepest regret of having lost an important testimony to, and a source of, multiple unthinkable encounters.

Listening and other sensory abilities were profoundly tested when it was finally time to go and prepare the *wax'ta*. My disillusion was huge while realizing that we were not heading to any sacred ceremonial place of the sort I might had pictured in my fantasies about the field, e.g a clearly recognisable feature of the landscape that could have been labelled as “indigenous heritage”. Instead, halfway between the market and his residence community, we entered a small storeroom that he rented to work on and store his handcraft replicas, as well as to take some rest and drinks on the way home after a working day beside the archaeological site.

We were becoming even more lost in translation at that point. We sat inside and shared refreshments and coca leaves, while Don S. began to prepare the bundle with all the components that would constitute the donation to be burnt out for Pachamama, the main *Apus*, i.e., the mountain-ancestors of the territory, and what Don S. insisted on calling “your *marka*”: my country of origin, my hometown, my family, the circumstance of my journey. It was very dark, only a thin beam of light came through the ajar door. He asked me to choose from the pile of coca leaves scattered on the blanket those three which seemed the finest to me and to blow on them.

Then, he went on reading through the coca leaves that I picked up and completed the bundle with my name placed on it. Once the package was composed, we went outside to search for dry cow dung to light the fire where the *wax'ta* would burn. Before placing the wrapped offering into the flames, Don S. told me that it was necessary to pray – I told him that I did not know how to do it; although disappointed, he continued chanting Hail Marys and paternosters alone, while the

offering was burning, and I stood silently wondering what all that experience was about, and what I was lacking to make sense of that. At the end, Don S. handed over to me a piece of the rope that he had used to wrap the bundle together and suggested leaving it in my wallet for good luck. In this case, I treasured his advice and kept the bit of string with me, until it eventually fell apart.

The experience of meeting Don S. during my first stay in Tiahuanaco in 2016 materialised in that tiny piece of thread as much as it remained stuck in my mind well after I left Bolivia and landed in the UK to start my PhD, which this dissertation brings to conclusion. I did not take any picture of that encounter, apart from the recorded interview, because I guessed that would have been disrespectful. Yet its memory continued to haunt me, despite any physical support, to the extent that writing down from my fieldnotes the earliest draft of this introductory vignette was the first thing that truly entrapped me as I took my desk in the postgraduate room of the department of archaeology at Exeter. I felt the urgency of recreating that experience through writing and in doing so putting its frightening presence aside to make sense of it as research data in connection with other encounters in the field.

In the process, I came to appreciate how that ceremony was a terribly similar enterprise: just as I had drawn on my academic and sensory background to shape the memory and learn more about the relationship between Don S. and his physical and social environment, so the old craftsman had drawn on his own knowledge and memories of previous encounters with strangers to learn more about me in that short lapse of time in which it happened to know each other. The difference of perspectives lying in how we approached to understand each other – either as a piece of a puzzle or as a whole subject; the latter means that whatever the subject does not know still composes it, as there is not a predetermined form things can assume to fit in, but an elusive completeness, that which *‘only coca knows’* and nonetheless affects us in the shape of luck or disgrace.

Acknowledging Don S. ability to interview me back through the ceremony disclosed one’s own place of enunciation within a sincere exchange in which two subjects interact with each other, aware of their mutual lack of knowledge, and without trying to impose a univocal point of view but moving towards a “collective disalienation” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 1987: 62). What struck me about Don S.’

method of inquiry is that it was almost speechless and rather performed through things and gestures.

In the crawl between speech and practices, the materiality of successive configurations of heritage and rights was becoming clear among the troublesome communication, enacting a diversity of questions: how was the relationship between heritage and rights conceived by the people who live within this web of social and material relations? What kind of national and transnational networks have made it possible? How can the scattered debris of these encounters contribute towards an archaeological understanding of the present realities of these communities?

Engaging with alternative epistemologies to western science and collecting the “right ingredients” as they become apparent in the mutual interactions between people and landscape seemed to me as an appropriate pathway for engaging with the decolonisation of archaeological thought and practice. Archaeology can contribute towards the intercultural translation of the silences and multiple temporalities embedded in the material culture that bridges the fields of heritage and rights, recovering lost memories to craft new social interactions based on the resurrection of forgotten or discarded things of modernity, many of which are labelled “indigenous”.

1.2 The research problem and design

The overall aim of this thesis is to unveil the patina of those things that could point to an Indigenous intervention in the making of the public beyond national interests and cosmopolitan bias. To achieve this goal, my research design draws on a multi-sited fieldwork conducted in two iconic examples of conflicts triggered by contentious interpretations and practices regarding indigenous heritage in the American continent, particularly given their specific political weight in their respective national contexts.

On one side, Bolivia is a well-known case of strong interplay between transnational Indigenous peoples’ rights movements and the political reconstruction of the State, which culminated in the promulgation of a new Plurinational Constitution in 2009 but building on the long memory of anti-colonial struggles agitating the country since before its independence as a nation-state in

the 19th century. On the other side, Argentina is an example of settler-colonial State in which Indigenous peoples' political autonomy was firstly recognised through colonial treaties, then forcedly assimilated into national imaginaries, and currently tolerated within the multicultural framework sanctioned by the constitutional reform in 1994. However, by addressing these two field locations, it is possible to track convergences and juxtapositions despite national particularities and academic traditions. This dissertation focuses on two of the most iconic archaeological sites in the region, Tiwanaku in Bolivia, and Quilmes (recently renamed as the Sacred City of Quilmes) in Argentina. Each of them played important yet distinct roles in the prehispanic history as well during the colonial and republican periods of each nation. They are paramount examples of the complexity surrounding heritage policies and Indigenous peoples' rights in South America, which have characterised the last decades in the region and continue to shape its present.

The south-central Andes region has been closely integrated since prehispanic times through symbolical and economic circuits, which were disrupted in first instance by the Spanish conquest and administration, and subsequently by the post-independence fragmentation into sovereign nation-states. Tiwanaku and Quilmes were not in direct interaction with each other in prehispanic times (Tiwanaku's heyday as macro-regional influential political centre had already waned when Quilmes emerged as regional centre in Northwest Argentina). Yet, both the Bolivian Altiplano and Northwest Argentina were entangled with each other through the continuing circuits of materials, people, knowledges, and the various forms of tribute to different masters, from the Incas to the Spanish and subsequent republican governments. A second thread of continuity can be identified in their similar contemporary political circumstances, as the histories and fates of both sites are entangled with the discursive genealogy of nationalistic conceptions of cultural heritage in each country, including the often-superfluous symbolic gestures of protecting "indigenous heritage" under neoliberal multiculturalism. At present, both Tiwanaku and Quilmes are managed in partnership between government agencies and Indigenous organisations in their respective territories, after decades of struggles to renegotiate heritage values and conservation strategies in each of the two case studies.

Domestic and international policies aimed to multicultural recognition stimulated grassroots political activism and rights-based demands that force nation-state bodies to redistribute the cultural and economic capital attached to “indigenous heritage”. Both case studies offer the opportunity to assess the failures of multiculturalism to ensure respect for the rights of Indigenous peoples, making public the persistence of colonial models of heritage governance. Therefore, the conflicts generated over the property and exploitation of “indigenous” cultural and natural resources in the present reveals a third dimension of multi-sited common inquiry in the “ontological disagreements” (see De La Cadena, 2015: 281) prompted by complementary and antagonistic arrangements of heritage and rights across both research areas.

1.2.1 Outline of thesis structure

This Introduction has brought attention to the main themes, and it follows presenting the chapters structure of this dissertation. The first part of the thesis is dedicated to setting the theoretical and methodological foundations of the investigation. Chapter 2 explores the boundaries and interconnections generated around the empirical object that I call heritage/rights system. Using this object of analysis proved extremely useful to systematise the three intertwined literary reviews presented in the chapter: state of the art regarding legal and academic developments on the relationship between cultural heritage and human rights; critical anthropological perspectives on the heritage and rights of Indigenous peoples; and the development of archaeological theory about the ethical and political tensions of the present.

The methodological strategy that unfolds in Chapter 3 responds to the theoretical and ethical challenges posed by the unpacking of the debates conveyed by the heritage/rights system. Building on the interdisciplinary epistemological scope of archaeological ethnography and counter-mapping, the chapter presents the multimodal methods of data collection and analysis according to a multi-sited research framework that merges oral, material, spatial, and audiovisual sources into a single relational database. The chapter overall stresses the importance and shows practical avenues of moving the critique toward dominant heritage-making and cultural rights practices to the non-discursive field of material culture inquiring.

The second part of the dissertation is opened by Chapter 4, which presents the historical and scientific background to the multi-sited fieldwork conducted in Bolivia and Argentina. The chapter devotes particular attention to illustrate the aesthetics and legal regimes that characterise heritage/rights arrangements as markers of the persistence of colonial relationships in each scenario. It is foregrounded that the Latin American region is particularly well suited to investigate into the ability of things to resist the classificatory ordering imposed on them by the dominant tropes of modernity, and to figure out the concurrently causes and effects that shape and replicate distinctive global inequalities.

Chapter 5 addresses the multiple temporalities and social affordances as they materialise in and around the archaeological site of Tiwanaku to dig into the complexity of the relationships between the Bolivian state and the Andean *ayllus* as two separate yet interconnected polities. Tackling the long memory of encounters between State and Indigenous histories, the chapter further analyses the context in which the inscription of Tiwanaku in the World Heritage List happened and the political negotiations that the UNESCO designation triggered at multiple scales of interaction. This analysis is central to the whole structure of the dissertation as it aims at showing the cosmopolitical struggles emanating from the activation of indigeneity through a multiplicity of media support, some of which labelled “indigenous heritage”, tangibly conveying the tools either to regulate social consensus or spark autonomous strategies of emancipation in the interstices of the ambiguous rhetoric of the Indigenous State¹.

The third part of the thesis is devoted to unravelling the multi-sited fieldwork starting from Chapter 6 that shows an innovative approach to chart, visualise, and embed the consultation and consent-seeking processes with local

¹ The turbulence of Bolivian democracy became abruptly manifest since I returned from fieldwork in 2018. Evo Morales’ strongly disputed victory of the presidential election in November 2019 worsened opposition to the continuation in power of the same government apparatus of the last fifteen years, preventing Morales from assuming his fourth presidential mandate. The popular outcries across the country were obfuscated by the intervention of the army that put in power a *de facto* government supported by the land-owning and mining oligarchy, until the new elections in October 2020 proclaimed to the presidency Luís Arce, Morales’ former minister of economy. It is therefore difficult to argue that the new presidency will mark a change in the common extractivist policies that the plurinational regime has embraced despite the constitutional amendment that recognises the right of all to live in a healthy environment and the duty of all to care for it. Nonetheless, the violent attacks against Indigenous peoples’ symbols that followed the instauration of the *de facto* government have once again demonstrated the crucial role of different materials in activating the political field of indigeneity, which remains crystallised in the state-led policy of decolonisation boosted by Morales’ governments.

communities as a structuring component of the investigation. Meetings and material encounters occurred while wandering around Bolivian cultural heritage in La Paz contrast with those held with the indigenous authorities of the Municipality of Tiahuanaco. In the process, the crucial political role of Tiwanaku in engineering social consensus is unwrapped, as well as the overlaps and disjunctures between contrasting values about what is “indigenous heritage” and who is entitled to take care of it and for whom.

Chapter 7 showcases an integrated analysis of interview, spatial, and material data gathered in fieldwork conducted in the Ayllu Originario Huancollo. The results are presented in three analytical nodes at the crossroads between State and Indigenous temporalities. These assemblages shed light on the marginalization of Andean *ayllus*’ political subjectivity through changing configurations of people and things in the territory of the community of Huancollo from the last quarter of the 19th century to the present. The outcome is a “story-track” of the Ayllu that complements and challenges the conciliatory policies of state-led decolonisation through the materialization of vernacular archives, sense of place, and cosmopolitical logics mining the ordinary understanding of heritage conservation and ownership.

Chapter 8 bridges the two locations of the multi-sited fieldwork and shows the steps of the consultation with the community authorities of Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes in the Calchaquí Valleys of Northwest Argentina. This strategy offers a nuanced and transparent account of the socio-political context in which data collection occurred, amplifying the voices that compose the fieldwork without locking them into a rigid multivocality. On the contrary, the chapters dedicated to reconstructing the stages of the process of seeking permission and consent from the community authorities to conduct my research in their territories altogether show “communicative disjuncture where the interlocutors are not talking about the same thing, and know this” (Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 9). This perspective leaves room for people and things to disagree.

Chapter 9 gives insight on the misrecognised entanglement between heritage and territory that supports community rights-based claims to take care of the Sacred City of Quilmes and identifies the cosmopolitics through which antagonist yet complementary logics regulating heritage/rights relationships in the Calchaquí Valleys become apparent in their material manifestations. Another way of

assembling “indigenous heritage” sparks at sight from that rubbed landscape left by national and international development cooperation projects aimed to the communities of Amaicha and Quilmes. The final section of the ninth chapter will bring another example by relating a community-led initiative to which I was invited to collaborate during my stay in Amaicha del Valle. The trigger for this spontaneous collaborative engagement was the finding of an archaeological feature, a petroglyph with a noteworthy image engraved on it, which also happened to be a discarded thing of a failed development intervention, and which was inscribed into the bespoke category of “community heritage” appositely created within the legislation of the province of Tucumán.

The conclusive Chapter 10 puts the results of the multi-sited fieldwork in conversation among them and with current debates in archaeology and critical heritage studies. Three thematic essays draw attention to as many significant aspects that the prism of the heritage/rights system allows to visualise. Firstly, the *ruination of multiculturalism* focuses on the contribution that this dissertation brings to the research on the contemporary past of the southcentral Andes region, by stressing the non-discursive materials that shape, control, and exceed the policies of multiculturalism implemented by the modern nation-states. Second, my investigation proposes *to unpack the archive of indigenous heritage* by taking free, prior, informed consent (FPIC) as an ethical and regulatory protocol and a field of practices potentially disruptive of the past/present and nature/culture divides that are pervasive in the heritage field, as decisions are made on what matters as “indigenous heritage”. The third essay foregrounds the impact of bringing the framework of heritage cosmopolitics on symmetrical, object-oriented, and relational ontology approaches in archaeology by highlighting its relevance as a form of *cosmopolitical diplomacy*, which is required to navigate across conflictive heritage assemblages.

A final short essay on future-making orientations stemming from this doctoral research stresses the convergence between the heritage cosmopolitics formulated throughout the dissertation with the proposal for a critical indigeneity, as discussed in the second section of the next chapter. I have found the core of this intersection in the con-textual reading and non-verbal knowledge that shape paths of articulation inwards or outwards the unfolding of modernity in the south-central Andes. These do not end up merging and finding any dialectical synthesis

within the heterogenous hybrid world of (post)modernity, rather they stain each other and take charge of carrying on the historical and political contradictions of a colonial order of things.

This thesis shows the “traumatic juxtapositions” (González-Ruibal, 2009: 119; quoting Bhabha, 2001: 48) inherent in the modern/colonial entanglement between heritage and rights: recognising and being attentive to this uneven sedimentation discloses pathways to “a form of knowledge that knows by creating solidarity both in nature and society” (Santos 2001: 269–270). Other beings are thus recognised as equals whenever their difference relegates them as inferior, and as different whenever enforced equality (through homogenisation) threatens their identity. Difference, for better or worse, is the first thing everyone has in common with everyone else. This thesis is an attempt to make this commonality in difference perceptible.

Chapter 2. The State of Things: cultural heritage, human rights, and those other things called ‘indigenous’

2.1 Introduction

This thesis connects cultural heritage and human rights and assesses the role of Indigenous peoples’ identity and politics within this relationship by paying attention to the spaces and material configurations in which local, national, and global imaginations converge and diverge. As everything that is culturally embedded, such a frictional space is made of “awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnections across difference” (Tsing, 2005: 4). I propose the heritage/rights system as an empirical object laying at the intersection between the fields of cultural heritage and human rights and in which the Indigenous is the difference that intervenes to create new spaces of possibilities. This argument intends contributing to the discussion about multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, and to enrich them with an archaeological understanding of the present.

Firstly, the social fields and global flows crafting the normative and disciplinary space of encounters between cultural heritage and human rights are considered. Subsequently, I will look at the conundrums related to the definition of indigenous heritage at the core of this dissertation, and the cosmopolitical approach will be unravelled. Finally, the chapter concludes by charting the interconnected threads of three archaeological engagements that contributes towards the understanding of Indigenous peoples’ struggles for cultural and natural resources within the framework of critical heritage studies and archaeologies of the contemporary past: (a) the acknowledgement of the place of archaeology *in* present society; (b) the consequent collaborative effort *with* present local communities; and (c) the emergence and affirmation of the archaeology *of* the present. These three approaches are not mutually exclusive, they rather configurate archaeological thought as an “ecology of practice” (cfr. Olsen et al., 2012: 14; sensu Stengers, 2005b) imbued with the circumstances of the present to which I will refer as *disruption, ethics, and cosmopolitics*.

2.2 Fields and flows: heritage/rights in the multicultural forking paths

In the last decades, heritage scholarship has widened its scope by looking at the social practices through which people mobilise cultural and natural resources and shape political action across global and local scales. Prompted by the intertwined agendas of cultural diversity and sustainable development, the focus on heritage-making processes sparked a burgeoning attention within the realm of human rights. This thriving field of inquiry reflects the relevance of the subject to contemporary society and cosmopolitan imagination.

2.2.1 Introducing the heritage/rights system

Time, materiality, and identity are at the centre of these debates. Relying on a material-discursive strategy deployed to open up new interstices of analysis in the study of gender identity (Butler, 1990: 6–7) and temporality (Lazzari, 2011: 175; 2012: 4), the heritage/rights system points out the lived and performative space that cannot exist if the separation of the terms occurs and where there is no pre-eminence or hierarchy, but “frictions” (see Tsing, 2005: 2). This approach looks at the intersections of the fields of human right and cultural heritage to highlight the enduring colonial violence of their articulation, as well as the emergence of alternative pathways to emancipation in line with a “counter-hegemonic history of human rights” (Santos, 2009: 104). This analytical instrument is intended to highlight and remind that “the non-discursive order of reality, the materiality of human violation is just important, if not more so, from the standpoint of the violated” (Baxi, 2008: 24).

Following Bourdieu (1993: 29–31), the “field” is the structured political space peopled by the social agents and their positionings. Every field is striven by inner “*rappports de force*”:

“the network of objective relations between positions [that] subtends and orients the strategies which the occupants of different positions implement in their struggle to defend or improve their positions (i.e. their position-takings), strategies which depend for their force and form on the position each agents occupy in the power relations” (Bourdieu, 1993: 30).

Bourdieu (1977: 169) referred to “the universe of possible discourses” to point at the limits of those positioning strategies. The ability of being in relation across the structured space of the field tends to be constitutively problematic, and ultimately

defined in the face of the dominant/dominated positioning. The disposition to conserve or transform – that is, to defend or improve each positioning – depends on the system of classification that produces objectivity as “*doxa*”, through which each agent experiments “the natural and social worlds [...] as self-evident and undisputed” (Bourdieu, 1977: 164). In contrast with the conservative *orthodox* or the reformist *heterodox* positionings, the *doxa* structures “the ordinary acceptance of the usual order which goes without saying and therefore usually goes unsaid” (Bourdieu, 1984: 426).

The structural composition of each field therefore affects its discursivity and limits the possibility of political articulation. Rancière (2004: 89) pointed at the “distribution of the sensible” to indicate the assemblage of what can be apprehended and mobilised according to “a system of self-evident facts of perception based on the set horizons and modalities of what is visible and audible as well as what can be said, thought, made, or done of”. He placed the core of political activity in the confrontation between “the police... the law, generally implicit, that defines a party’s share or lack of it” and “the politics [that] makes visible what had no business being seen, and makes heard a discourse where once there was only place for noise” (Rancière, 1999: 29–30). Politics understood this way entails a process of subjectification driven by “disagreements” – i.e. “a dispute over the object of the discussion and over the capacity of those who are making an object of it” (Rancière, 1999: xii). As Rancière (1999: 43) warned:

“To lose sight of the double specificity of political *dialogue* is to lock oneself into false alternatives requiring a choice between the enlightenment of rational communication and the murkiness of inherent violence or irreducible difference”.

The constitutive disjuncture structuring the relationship between the production of social fields and the circulation of cultural things plays a crucial role in the generation of localities and in shaping an object of research enquiry (Appadurai, 1986: 56; 1996: 178; Stengers, 2005b: 186; 2011: 59); they configure “ecologies of practice... tool for thinking through what is happening, and a tool is never neutral” (Stengers, 2005b: 185). The interconnected fields of cultural heritage, human rights, and the Indigenous all partake in modern ecologies structured around policies of inclusion/exclusion (see Santos, 2014: 175). The category of “cultural heritage” shapes a public space where inherited things can

be controlled and used for the benefits of the present. The modern realm of “human rights” is the expression of the undisputed universality of the nation-state model, which is their guarantor, and the individual conception of the person, which is their subject. The people and things that are named as “indigenous” embody the tradition whose legitimacy modernity wants to discredit, the primitive technology from which it wants to develop, and the locales at the expense of which the global can be built.

The graphic in Figure 2.1 is like those signposts in crowded locations, indicating that “You are here”. It centres the reader’s attention on the main themes of this doctoral research by highlighting the interdependent and performative dimensions of heritage/rights, their braided histories and practices, and the movements that keep them together. The black lines connecting the three fields in a triangle show the permitted discursivity leading to the “possessive individualism” (Handler, 1991: 64) that blockades the configuration of heritage/rights according to modern dualisms. Conversely, the red lines converging toward the centre of the graphic stem from the spiralling movements of people, places, and things that challenge taken-for-granted classifications. The resulting point of view simultaneously indicates synchronic and diachronic configurations, brought together by the researcher’s own movements and encounters *with/in* the field (see Chapter 3).

Such alternatives arrangements produce a difference where an agreement is supposed to be. Following Hall (1990: 225), “[f]ar from being grounded in a mere *recovery* of the past... identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past”. If an Indigenous – capitalised - perspective on heritage/rights is seriously taken into consideration as “the self-determination of the other is the other-determination of the self” (Holbraad et al., 2014: n.d.), the meanings of the cultural attached to heritage, or the human attached to rights need to be problematised and transformed by a new composition.

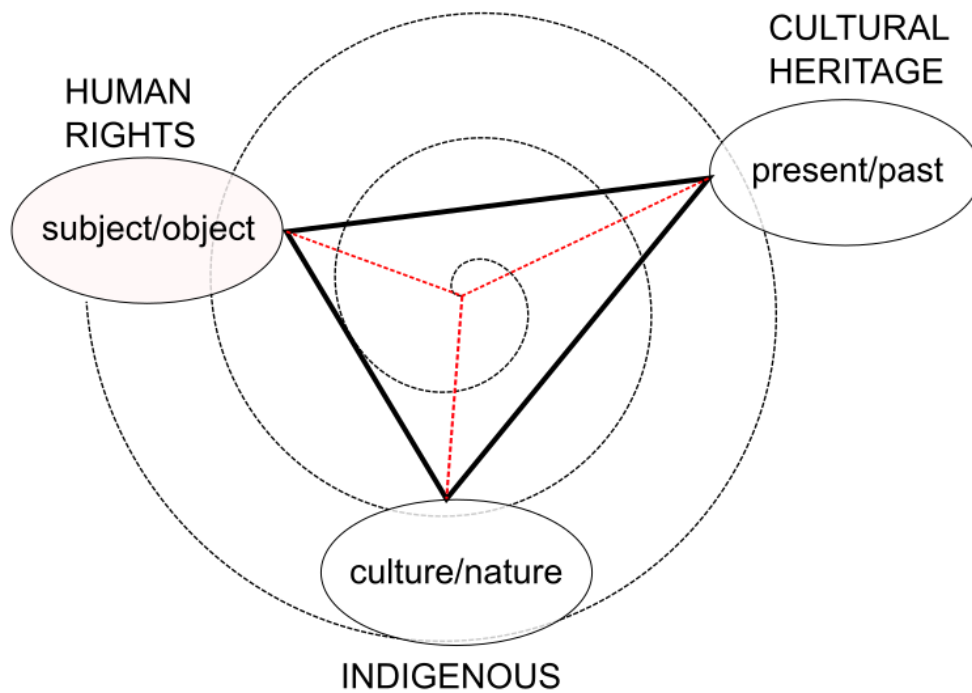


Figure 2.1: Graphic showing the three ecologies of practices composing the heritage/rights system and its structural disjunctures.

2.2.2 Disciplinary and legal history

The concern over the socio-political dimensions of cultural heritage first became popular among historians and anthropologists as a framework to understand the spread of nationalist and colonialist agendas (e.g. Anderson, 1991; García Canclini, 1995; Handler, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1983; Lowenthal, 1985; 1998; Prats, 1997). Cultural heritage emerged as a common resource to standardise public space and time within a narrative consistent with the dominant positivism and social evolutionism. These policies became key to “governmentality” (Foucault, 1991: 103) – that is, disciplining devices deployed to shape citizenship and regulate their habits (see Hall, 1999: 3; Smith, 2004: 68; 2006: 50–51). The outcome is what Smith (2006: 29) has called the “authorised heritage discourse” whereby certain universal values are attributed to specific cultural objects in such a way that the principles and technical practices of research and conservation become naturalised in the national common sense to the detriment of locals, which end up being undervalued, ignored, and eventually forgotten.

This process was pivotal for the alleged civilising mission of European colonialism (see Falser, 2015: 15; Lowenthal, 1998: 240–241; Smith, 2006: 17–18; Vrdoljak, 2006). The creation of colonial otherness affirmed the exotic appropriation and

primitivist devaluation of subjugated nations and people: through exoticism, some goods are considered worthy of protection because of qualities external to the Indigenous logics that created them; while primitivism provides a frame of reference to demonstrate the supposed civil and technological superiority of western modernity. The destruction or appropriation of cultural property became indicative of the transfer of Indigenous sovereignty to European imperial rule or Europeanised local elites.

In line with the reflections of Fanon (1963: 149) and Said (1993: 273), the power to silence, erase, and assimilate local histories is as much a feature of centralised nation-states as it is of colonial empires. That is in fact what most identifies them with a univocal modernity founded on the knowledge and racial classification of the Other, the dark side of the emancipatory drive of modernity that has become known as “coloniality” (see Maldonado-Torres, 2017; Mignolo, 2000; Quijano, 2007; see Chapter 4).

Within the consensus endorsed by the United Nations in the aftermath of the Second World War, UNESCO has been set up to promote respect for education, science, and culture in the pursue of international dialogue and peace across sovereign countries. Its action has been oriented towards the definition of common principles and practices among States to coordinate protection, conservation, and management, especially for those properties whose monumentality or uniqueness were valued as being of interest to humanity (see Logan et al., 2010: 6; Vrdoljak and Meskell, 2020: 25–26). Nonetheless, heritage-making remained deeply rooted in national imagination and identification, all the more so at a time when many countries of the world were approaching independence from colonial rule.

These postcolonial states needed a source of national unification that transcended the ethnic heterogeneity inherited from imperial partitions (see Anghie, 2006: 457; Chatterjee, 1993). They found it both in appropriating the pre-colonial past and claiming the restitution of those objects of cultural value that had been plundered from their territories during the colonial occupation. However, the global developmentalist discourse imagined over the trope of the “war on poverty” (see Escobar, 1995: 21), while promoting national homogenisation as an equality principle, also reinstated threads of economic and political dependence on self-proclaimed developed countries.

Post-colonial governments relied on a favourable interpretation of the right of everyone to take part in cultural life of the community – stemming from the art. 27 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and codified by the art. 15(a) of the 1966 Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (see Figure 2.2) – and could rightfully implement homogenising policies that placed the national collective as the only cultural community of reference (Hodder, 2010: 866; Silverman and Ruggles, 2007: 4; UNESCO, 1970). As a result, customary laws and uses of tenancy of the land were outlawed and target of disarticulation pursuing their integration into the global market, which materialised in cultural assimilation and cleansing of ethnic particularities.

The 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention represented the culmination of the intersections between economic development and national assimilation, through a set of guiding principles pursuing the standardisation of environmental and cultural heritage conservation policies. Beyond ecological or humanistic purposes, the inscription of a national property into the World Heritage List makes this Convention palatable to governments for it unfolds prospects that are strategically political and economic in nature (Labadi, 2007; Meskell, 2013; Meskell and Brumann, 2015: 28). The status granted by UNESCO has become a brand to attract tourism and foreign inversion, and a symbol of the prestige acquired by a country on the stage of regional and transnational alliances.

UNESCO's subsequent normative activity sought to correct its bias by enhancing community participation and a closer link with cultural rights in the 2003 and 2005 Conventions respectively, on the safeguarded of intangible heritage and cultural expressions (see Blake, 2015: 156; Francioni and Lixinski, 2017: 13–14). Triggered by the effervescent framework of “sustainable development”, these normative innovations do not seem to have solved the problems arising from a genealogical understanding of culture and the tension between collective and individual rights (see Lenzerini, 2011: 119; Lixinski, 2019: 247; Logan, 2007; Meskell, 2010b: 849). The spasmodic pursuit of authenticity leads to a static representation of the very living cultures these legal instruments are supposed to protect. Turning vernacular heritage values into competitive resources under the stewardship of nation-states and inter-governmental organisations showcases the limits of a rights-based approach to heritage within the modern mercantilist system.



Figure 2.2: Graphic showing the interpretative evolution of the human right to take part in the cultural life of the community.

It is the intergovernmental nature of UNESCO that prevents from effectively achieving the universal purpose of promoting and protecting cultural diversity; following international legal scholar Blake (2015: 21–22):

“[C]ultural heritage means many things to many people (and group of people) and the challenge facing international law in this field is to try to satisfy as many of the legitimate interests in heritage as possible, while, at the same time, operating within a system established by and for sovereign and equal States”.

Enhancing cultural relativism has come to represent an ambiguous source of renovation of the theory and practice human rights system, yet in terms of legal adjudication it shows similar pitfalls as the development of international heritage law (Dembour, 2001: 59; Hafstein, 2014: 30; Xanthaki, 2017: 10). The General Comment n° 21 of the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR) offered a reinterpretation of the right to take part in the cultural life of the community stemming from a definition of culture intended as a “a broad, inclusive concept encompassing all manifestations of human existence” (CESCR, 2009: 11). It fosters a broad interdependence among political, social, economic, and cultural rights as well as indicates the duties of the nation-states to guarantee the right to take part in cultural life not only concerning individuals’ relations with the national community, but as “an interactive process whereby individuals and communities, while preserving their specificities and purposes, give expression to the culture of humanity” (CESCR, 2009: 12).

This development paved the way for the establishment of the first Independent Expert in the field of Cultural Rights of the UN Council of Human Rights, Farida Shaheed (2011: 2), who stated that:

“[c]onsidering access to and enjoyment of cultural heritage as a human right is a necessary and complementary approach to the preservation/safeguard of cultural heritage [...] Cultural heritage is linked to human dignity and identity. Accessing and enjoying cultural heritage is an important feature of being a member of a community, a citizen and, more widely, a member of society”.

The report further underlines that “[i]ndividuals and communities cannot be seen as mere beneficiaries or users of cultural heritage. Access and enjoyment also imply contributing to the identification, interpretation and development of cultural heritage [...] Effective participation in decision-making processes relating to cultural heritage is a key element of these concepts” (Shaheed, 2011: 58). This approach defines the cultural dimension of human dignity on the basis of the fundamental social capacity to remember and be remembered as an individual and as a member of a society. The same tenet is taken up by Shaheed (2014: 13) in a successive report when she indicates that: “Memorialization processes can promote a culture of democratic engagement by stimulating discussion regarding the representation of the past and contemporary challenges of exclusion and violence”.

This evolutive interpretation of law stresses the cultural and interdependent dimension of all human rights, for the sufferings caused by the violation of rights can acquire different specificities depending on the socio-cultural context of reference (Barreto, 2012: 25; Lenzerini, 2014: 187). Since appropriation, devaluation and destruction of the material and spiritual referents that make up the living landscape of people lead to the erosion of their memory, the Independent Expert recommended culturally appropriate and participatory heritage-making and memorialisation processes that “can help to conceive new landscapes that embrace and reflect the plurality of cultural perspectives” (Shaheed, 2014: 47).

The call for pluralism that is inherent in formulating the category of “heritage rights” situates the “indigenization”, i.e. the “symbolic dimension” (Merry, 2006: 39) through which the universal language of human rights is accommodated to vernacular institutions and meanings, within the framework of the recognition of

cultural diversity so long as it remains contingent upon the needs of classifying and commodifying other people's cultures. Since the last quarter of the 20th century, the political logic of "recognition" (see Benhabib, 2002; Fraser, 2000; Taylor, 1994) has become the guiding concept of liberal multiculturalism, which seeks to provide a response to the culturalization of rights-based claims made by minority groups by granting them special collective rights on the condition that the fundamental individual rights of every citizen, regardless of their group affiliation, are protected.

This understanding of "recognition" according to bounded sets of cultural values collectively owned and reflected in tangible or intangible manifestations seems to be the only conceivable way to establish a rights-based approach to heritage, in which economic, academic, and political arguments converge (see Harrison, 2013a: 160; Lafrenz Samuels, 2018: 148–149). Nonetheless, as Stavenhagen (2013: 32) put it, when referring to the proliferation of multicultural policies in the 1990s: "It is often assumed that there exists a consensus on what 'cultural development' is about. This is, however, a doubtful proposition".

The emerging links between heritage and rights became apparent at the crossroad between globalization and decolonization. In such a framework, according to Appiah (2006: 118–121), cultural heritage conveys two different and powerful imagination processes: the inter-generational aspect enabling people to feel themselves as owners of sites and objects according to inherited frames of collective values; and an issue of shared responsibilities concerning all mankind as it is the manifestation of "what is human in humanity" (Appiah, 2006: 134), which is the starting point for a "rooted" cosmopolitan approach.

However, agreements on what means to be "human" may not be so unequivocally asserted (cfr. Latour, 2004; Maldonado-Torres, 2017; Mignolo, 2002; 2013); nor the freedom to choose "patriotic" sentiments despite cultural difference advanced by the liberal arguments (Appiah, 1997: 633; Nussbaum, 1994) is the only political drive enabling people to connect each other although they don't know each other. As a matter of fact, there is also the heterogenous resistance exercised against those same feelings that has to be considered as a valuable source for a "vernacular cosmopolitanism" (after Bhabha, 2001; González-Ruibal, 2009) embodied by those who still are obstinately discontent with the colonial flows of global and national interests.

The policies of multiculturalism have emerged as a response to globalisation, yet they did not assume decolonisation as a guiding principle; quite on the contrary, they served to pacify the neoliberal order and criminalise emancipatory pathways to self-determination that do not take capitalist accumulation as the grounding block (see De La Cadena, 2000; Hale, 2004; Povinelli, 2002; Žižek, 1997). The logic of “recognition” fatally leads to “misrecognition” (sensu Fraser, 2000: 113), i.e. the reification of cultural specificities against the claim for political and economic redistribution, which provokes the concealment of the insurgent and innovative politics formulated on the standpoint of difference.

Taking up García Canclini’s (1995: 108) reflection on cultural heritage as a differentially appropriated social capital, if with multiculturalism ethnic and political minorities have had access to a greater share of the pie, the nature of such a piece within the field of heritage production remains defined by those who hold political and academic power (see Gnecco, 2013; 2015; Smith, 2004). In the meantime, the words spoken in the mid-1990s by the Native American attorney Walter Echo-Hawk (quoted in Kuprecht, 2014: 9) remain valid: “If you desecrate a white grave, you go to jail. If you desecrate an Indian grave, you get a PhD”.

2.3 Indigeneity

The intersections between cultural heritage and human rights are therefore at the core of contemporary socio-political issues, such as multicultural citizenship, sustainable development, and international relations. Although these concerns are commonly discussed on inter-governmental levels, since the end of the past century, new transnational, non-state actors have emerged in the global arena: Indigenous peoples step forward, structured as grass-roots organisations, actively participating in the social debates of their countries, and elevating their claims at an international scale.

“Indigeneity” turned into a polysemic category, which conflates heterogenous processes of articulation, translation, and conflict within local/global dynamics (Clifford, 2013; De la Cadena and Starn, 2007; Graham and Penny, 2014; Li, 2010). Crucial is how material and discursive resources, which were deployed to obliterate native histories for the benefit of national sovereignty or international prestige, are now conceived in terms of “indigenous heritage” and merged with

other collective rights, most importantly the entitlement to community lands and the self-determination of their resources.

It has been argued that legal claims advanced on the base of “indigenous heritage” rely on essentialist views, which are at odds with the anthropological understanding of “indigeneity” as an historical and dynamic field of performance and contention (see Brown, 2007; Gosden, 2012; Holtorf, 2009), as well as with cosmopolitan responsibilities and obligations of stewardship for the common heritage of humankind (cfr. Appiah, 2006: 128–130; Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2009). This section explores this conundrum and offers insight into moving beyond the sterile constructivist-essentialist debates by presenting a “cosmopolitical approach” to weave the study of Indigenous people’s struggles and collective exercise of rights with the things, practices, and performances they embody.

2.3.1 Indigenous heritage and the perils of (strategic) essentialism

Claims to indigenous heritage stand out for their importance and the impact that they have had at national and international scales. In terms of heritage governance, this emergence fostered the links between natural and cultural conservation, the interdependence of tangible and intangible values, and community participation within the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (e.g. Byrne, 1991; Disko, 2017; Gfeller, 2015; Vrdoljak, 2018). Indigenous heritage simultaneously frames historical reparations and transitional justice with the crafting of pluralistic national agendas (Barkan, 2002: 18; Kuprecht, 2014: 75; Nicholas and Smith, 2020: 148; Strecker, 2017: 362). On the same token, conceiving of indigenous heritage puts into question the dichotomy between nationalist and internationalist “ways of thinking about cultural property” (Merryman, 1986: 831; cfr. Geismar, 2015: 75; Watkins, 2005a: 79) through a community perspective embodied by non-state actors and relying on different conceptualisations of property.

Introducing her mandate as the first UN Independent Expert in the Field of Cultural Rights, Farida Shaheed (2010: 19) acknowledged Indigenous peoples’ contribution in making manifest the relevance of a human rights-based approach to cultural heritage. Since the beginning of their participation in transnational arenas, Indigenous peoples and their allies have emphasised the relevance of

heritage issues for an encompassing right to community self-determination grounded on the living relationship with the territory (Daes, 1997: 4; Dalee Sambo and Wiessner, 2020: 409; Engle, 2010: 166; García Hierro, 2005: 265; Gilbert, 2017: 21; Surrallés, 2017: 223). The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP, 2007) has made such a holistic vision of heritage explicit. Along with compiling existing customary international law sanctioning the rights of Indigenous peoples to practice, revitalise, develop, and transmit to future generations the tangible and intangible manifestations of their traditions and customs – such as: archaeological and historical sites and artifacts (UNDRIP, 2007: art.11), ceremonial places and practices and repatriation of human remains (UNDRIP, 2007: art.12), and oral histories and philosophies (UNDRIP, 2007: art.13) – the UNDRIP is the first official declaration of the United Nations system that explicitly makes reference to a collective right to heritage, which incorporates both cultural and natural features, as well as traditional knowledges and intellectual property:

“Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expression” (UNDRIP, 2007: art.31).

Other human rights bodies have insisted on the relevance of the protection of Indigenous peoples’ heritage for self-determination and for the interpretative evolution of the right to “cultural integrity” (see e.g. Dalee Sambo and Wiessner, 2020: 422–423; Gilbert, 2017: 26–31; Lenzerini, 2014: 174–189). As extensively demonstrated by the jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR, 2009: 22–23), collective identity and social memory are closely linked to communal ownership of the land and to the physical and spiritual relationship with the territory. In this sense, the respect of Indigenous peoples’ “cultural integrity” includes not only the protection of the many interdependent aspects that configure indigenous heritage, but also the effective exercise of the rights to health, religious freedom, life, and development, all of which under the same category (IACHR, 2009: 70–71). The American Declaration on the Rights of

Indigenous Peoples (OAS Declaration, 2016: art.XIII) acknowledged this connection by proclaiming:

“1. Indigenous peoples have the right to their own cultural identity and integrity and to their cultural heritage, whether tangible or intangible, including historic and ancestral heritage; and to the protection, preservation, maintenance, and development of that cultural heritage for their collective continuity and that of their members and so as to transmit that heritage to future generations.

[...] 3. Indigenous people have the right to recognition and respect for all their ways of life, cosmovisions, spirituality, uses, customs, norms, traditions, forms of social, economic, and political organization; forms of transmission of knowledge, institutions, practices, beliefs, values, dress, and languages, recognizing their inter-relationship as established in this Declaration”.

Further recognition of the importance of protecting indigenous heritage for social justice recently came from UNESCO (2017: 72), which has systematised its policies and operational guidelines assuming that Indigenous peoples are both stakeholders and rights-holders in heritage-making processes. This acknowledgement arrived after three decades in which Indigenous politics of difference have overlapped with transnational efforts to include culture and ethnic diversity as assets of socio-political and economic development (e.g. Appadurai, 2004; Blaser et al., 2004: 6; Engle, 2010: 184; Lafrenz Samuels and Lilley, 2015; Radcliffe et al., 2009: 30–31; Ramos, 1994; Yúdice, 2003). The cornerstone of this rapprochement is the affirmation of Indigenous peoples’ right to consultation and free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC).

The corpus of Indigenous rights addresses the FPIC as the manifestation of “the historically continuous, if legally unrecognised, exercise of sovereignty” (Doyle, 2014: 116). This legal instrument was born out of the evolution of human rights advocacy since the 1970s, when cultural and environmental concerns gave way to the internationalisation of Indigenous claims, which culminated with the revision of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention C107, first drafted in 1957, and the sanctioning of Convention ILO C169 (1989) (Engle, 2010: 187–188; Niezen, 2003: 38–40). Even though the new Convention did not explicitly state the right of Indigenous peoples’ self-determination as it will be later formulated by the UN bodies, it is nonetheless the first and only piece of binding legislation that employs the term “Peoples” to refer to Indigenous collective subjects under international law.

This denomination would have been critical to the shift from the earlier focus on assimilation to the emphasis on collective decision-making, which the ILO C109 (1989: art.6) enshrined in the duty of “good faith” and “appropriate” consultation with Indigenous and tribal peoples and in

“The right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions and spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use, and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development” (ILO, 1989: art.7).

The FPIC renders manifest how “the right to culture”, following Engle’s (2010: 8) argument, “makes heritage, land, and economic development inseparable; the three constitute a rights package that promises to challenge the dominant distribution of wealth and resources”. Yet, the promises of political-economic redistribution stemming from strengthening decision-making capacity are often diluted into procedural adequacy and cultural appropriateness, not only by nation-state or intergovernmental organisations’ development agendas but also by Indigenous peoples’ political movements themselves (see Doyle, 2014: 174–176; Engle, 2010: 205; Goodale, 2016: 443; Hale, 2005: 17; Li, 2010: 399; Rodríguez-Garavito, 2011: 286). The institutionalisation of the prior consultation engendered the risk of Indigenous peoples’ demands for self-determination becoming depoliticised and reduced to a mechanism of taming authorised cultural identities and political participation, which Hale (2004: 18) notoriously labelled as “neoliberal multiculturalism”, while Povinelli (2011: 16) further defined as “governance of the prior”.

The tension inherent in the “minefield” (see Rodríguez-Garavito, 2011: 267) generated by the implementation of prior consultation and consent-seeking mechanisms is all the more evident when it comes to conflicts over indigenous heritage, as political-economic disagreements are assessed and heard based on the ability of claimants to prove the authenticity of “the chain of antecedent-descendent” (Povinelli, 2011: 22), which all too easily melted into the taxonomic recognition of cultural diversity.

Far from being a coincidence, according to Goodale (2016: 441) that points to a sort of “dark matter”: the ineluctable, constant, and veiled presence of transnational (primarily extractive) capital working not against, but with, policies

of indigenous rights”. When reviewing the contradictions unfolding in the juridification of Indigenous peoples’ demands, this author underlines that “the meaning and ‘great seriousness’ of spirit forests and ancestral burial grounds are often suppressed and go legally unrecognized precisely because of what they are - and even more troubling, what they are not” (Goodale, 2017: 162). Crucial is how Indigenous peoples’ claims for the respect of ancestral territories, institutions, and cosmovisions become part of the grammar of cultural rights through the translation of their standpoint into the strategic deployment of essentialist identity politics.

The discussion on the political use of subaltern identities – often wrapped up as “strategic essentialism” (after Spivak, 1988; 1990) – permeated the debate around the recognition of Indigenous rights. According to Spivak (1990: 51), “strategically you can look at essentialisms, not as descriptions of the way things are, but as something that one must adopt to produce a critique of anything”. As Clifford (1988: 289) pointedly remarked in his essay about the granting of the title of “Tribe” in a courtroom, the space of contention invests the terrain of epistemic authority for all the proceeding derived into a single question: “Who speaks for cultural authenticity?”.

This critical positioning advocates for the recognition of Indigenous peoples’ rights on the basis that constructivist-essentialist dichotomy cannot afford the complexity of the issue at stake from an activist research point of view (see Graham, 2002: 206; Hale, 2006: 112–115; Speed, 2008: 228–230). Nonetheless, when it comes to the field of law, strategic essentialism can be counterproductive for it conveys the obligation to align with the expectations and requirements of national and transnational bodies in order to be heard. This configures a form of governmentality that “works primarily by inspiring in the indigenous subject a desire to identify with a lost indeterminable object - indeed, to be the melancholic subject of traditions” (Povinelli, 1999: 23). It produces, as Goodale (2016: 442) remarked, “political and bureaucratic treadmills that are meant to keep claimants in constant motion but going nowhere [...] indigenous rights mobilization has become a *hyper-politics machine* that offers symbolic-political solutions to political-economic problems”.

To overcome the limits imposed by neoliberal governmentality, Engle (2010: 14) suggested an “anti-essentialist” positioning, which entails refusing to assume the

empowerment of Indigenous peoples' rights "only to the extent that they are carriers of a culture worth preserving for the good of humankind". In these terms, it is helpful to think with Li (2007: 15–16; 2010: 399) when she argued that the control of indigeneity through participation and collaboration is an instrument of capitalist displacement and dispossession, defining both colonial and (post)colonial multicultural societies. In either case, this is a form of governance driven by "the will to improve others" that operates through "the claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need" (Li, 2007: 4).

If conceiving indigeneity in terms of an essentialised, although strategically deployed, political concept is overall counterproductive, the same applies to the monolithic extractive power that shadows Indigenous peoples' political subjectivity (see Goodale, 2016: 452). On the contrary they are both faces of the same coin: "an assemblage of disparate elements, practices, and processes each with its own history of violence, law, hope, and struggle" – Li (2010: 400) suggested and then she added – "We cannot tame it by building walls or wishing it away. Rather, we need to understand how it works in all its dynamic specificity".

Amidst this tension lies the objective and the contribution that an "Indigenous critical theory" (see Povinelli, 2011: 14) can offer for visualising the living arrangements of people, land, and things in relation to the hegemonic configurations of heritage/rights: "to foreground the crisis of obligation and belonging in the narratives of freedom and constraint" (Povinelli, 2011: 26).

2.3.2 Chronotopes of critical indigeneities: A cosmopolitical approach

An investigation into the intertwined, authorised discourses of heritage and rights that takes the emergent political subjectivity of the "Indigenous" into account starts by considering that "[w]hen they are understood as part of a wider politics of self-determination, heritage projects are open ended in their significance" (Clifford, 2013: 259). In the interwoven fabric of global interconnections powered by the "frictions" (Tsing, 2005: 6) of contemporary world, Indigenous voices rise up in the grip of "promising contradictions" (Tsing, 2007: 33). Indigeneity should be therefore intended "as a bundle of generative possibilities, some of which will be activated or apparent at a given time and place while others will not" (Pratt, 2007: 402). In the political performance of indigeneity, as Graham and Penny

(2014: 2) have argued, “each new statement is a novel creative act, but one that contains echoes of past voices and opens up the possibility for future conversation and dialogue”.

These authors saw resemblances of indigeniety with the conception of generative utterance in Bakhtin’s (1981) *Dialogic Imagination*; in particular – I would add for the purpose of making an argument for a critical indigeneity explicit – with the Russian philosopher’s concept of the *chronotope*: “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature” (Bakhtin, 1981: 84).

In ethnographic practice, Bakhtin’s chronotope has been tackled by Basso (1996: 62) to articulate how for the Western Apache: “geographical features have served the people for centuries as indispensable mnemonic pegs on which to hang the moral teachings of their history”. In this way, the author describes the factual importance held by places in which “time takes on flesh and becomes visible [...] likewise, space becomes charged and responsive” inasmuch as they configure “landscape as repository of distilled wisdom” (Basso, 1996: 62–63).

“The inseparability of time and space” (Bakhtin, 1981: 84) that constitutes the chronotope has been also addressed by Clifford (2013: 184) as a trope to explain the changing realities of “Ishi’s story” – the last member of the Yahi people of modern California at the dawn of the 20th century – from being a living objectified specimen only worth of museum displaying, to his remains becoming a node of Indigenous political insurgence in which “[t]ime is experienced as looping, genealogical, spiral – the chronotope of endless homecoming”.

Chronotopes hold the reality of the worlds created by their authors; where the narratives take place and become palpable “in their living corporeality” (Bakhtin, 1981: 169). Ingold (2000: 205–206) resorted to the emergent materiality of the chronotope as an indispensable quality for his “dwelling perspective”. He argued that any feature in a landscape “are neither given in the world nor placed upon it, but emerge within the self-transforming processes of the world itself” (Ingold, 2000: 206). He opposed this sense of dwelling, which “encompassed the whole manner in which one lives one’s life on the earth” (2000: 185), to the separation of mind and nature that is inherent to the “building perspective” encapsulated in

scientific modernity and in which “the earth is presented to humanity as a surface to be occupied rather than a world to be inhabited” (2000: 155).

The author brought this opposition into the field of Indigenous peoples’ rights to explore a contradiction of postmodern transnational indigenism: “an identity that lies in people’s belonging to the land reappear as a property that belongs to them” (Ingold, 2000: 132). At the core of his argument lies the contrast between two distinct models of conceiving the relationships between people, land, and memory, with the aim of unpacking the underlying patterns of thought that compel Indigenous peoples to claim their “indigenous” status “in an idiom compatible with the dominant discourses of the state [...], in terms that nevertheless systematically invert their own understandings” (Ingold, 2000: 133). Inherent to state-driven classification of cultural diversity is the “genealogical model”, in which “persons are brought into being – that is, generated – independently and in advance of their entry into the lifeworld, through the bestowal of a set of ready-made attributes from their antecedents” (Ingold, 2000: 136). Against this misrepresentation of Indigenous identities, Ingold (2000: 133) described the “relational model” as “an ongoing engagement with the land and with the beings – human and non-human – that dwell therein”.

The ontological dimension that holds together concepts of time and space is once again crucial. Within the genealogical approach, “[t]he confinement of life to the present leaves the past lifeless or extinct” (Ingold, 2000: 136). According to Ingold (2000: 139), this perspective entails breaking land and history apart “as mutually exclusive alternatives”, for the recognition of Indigenous peoples’ rights either derives from presuming an historical ancestry that denies the transformative role played by the land in crafting people’s identity, or from assuming a deterministic connection to the land that denies people of their embodied historicity. By contrast, the relational model draws on interactive movements and memory practices, weaving people, land, and non-human beings in an animated exchange, for “the life of every being, as it unfolds, contributes at once to the progeneration of the future and to the regeneration of the past” (Ingold, 2000: 143). Following Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 11)’s rhizomatic “antigenealogy” proposition, Ingold (2000: 149) argued that: “It is not by their inner attributes that persons or organisms are identified, but by their positions vis-à-vis one another

[...] The relational model, in short, *renders difference not as diversity but as positionality.*”

Ingold (2000: 151) raised the issue of the “modern constitution”, which Latour (1993: 13–14) described as “the common text” defining the ontological separation between the natural world filled with non-human *things* and the social world peopled with human *beings*. As the French sociologist set forth, the conditions of possibility for the success of this divide relies on “the distribution of scientific and political power” (Latour, 1993: 15), which supports “a world in which the representation of things through the intermediary of the laboratory is forever dissociated from the representation of citizens through the intermediary of the social contract” (Latour, 1993: 27). Science and State are therefore complicit in a project of modernity that makes alternatives to its constitution “invisible, unthinkable, unrepresentable” (Latour, 1993: 34).

The performance of Indigenous politics may put into question the “invincibility” (Latour, 1993: 38) of such an ordinary understanding of things by revealing “the capacity of relating agencies with one another without passing every time through the obligatory passage point of the subject–object” (Latour, 2014: 306). However, the multicultural logic of recognition to be “legally productive”, as argued by Povinelli (1995: 506), must translate Indigenous peoples’ intellectual, political, and economic grounded arguments into “beliefs rather than a method for ascertaining the truth”. This translation reinstates Indigenous politics within the fixed boundaries of the modern constitution (cfr. de la CADENA, 2010: 365; Latour, 2014: 304). In the fractures of the enduring inconceivability of an “Indigenous modernity” lies what matters for the critical indigeneity’s “alter-notion of archive” (De La Cadena, 2015: 149).

Focusing on the colonial history of the Caribbean region, the Haitian historian Trouillot (2002: 224) advocated for the study of the structural plurality of modernity for it “requires an other, an alter, a native - indeed, an alter-native”. As he argued, contrasting Latour’s argument with an echo to Benjamin’s (1968: 255) “enemy that has not ceased to be victorious”:

“Modernity creates its others - multiple, multifaced, multilayered. It has done so from day one: *we have always been modern*, differently modern, contradictorily modern, otherwise modern - yet undoubtedly modern. [...] Latour sees the formulation of this divide (science/politics, object/subject,

nature/culture) as the impossible dream of modernity, since the world so neatly divided is actually made of hybrids. Nevertheless, Latour does admit, almost in passing, that blind faith in this divide also makes the moderns invincible. I am interested in this invincibility” (Trouillot, 2002: 233).

Trouillot (1995: 73) looked at how the official debates, press, and scholarship dealing with the struggle for liberation from slavery that led to the independence of Haiti in 1804 could not describe and comment this event as political “in its own term”: it was “unthinkable” because contemporary categories “were incompatible with the idea of a slave revolution”. Thus, he claimed that the international isolation suffered by the former French colony following its independence, and lasted during the most part of the 19th and 20th centuries, contributed to the country’s political and economic decline, at the same time as “the reality of the revolution seemed increasingly distant, an improbability which took place in an awkward past and for which no one had a rational explanation. The revolution that was unthinkable became a non-event” (Trouillot, 1995: 98).

Seemingly “unthinkable” mobilisations against the colonial order sprang during the early colonisation of the Americas and have re-emerged in the last decades alongside multicultural policies (see Allen, 1998: 25; Blaser, 2013: 555; Blaser and De La Cadena, 2018: 2; de la CADENA, 2010: 345): these political assemblages have always failed to be interpreted as events “in their own terms” because of the involvement of non-human beings and past things in the making of history, and they ended up translated either as “idolatries” to be extirpated in the face of a common God or, more recently, as stubborn “cultural beliefs” opposing the single course of global development.

Slaves and *indios* are the generative others of the “modern/colonial matrix of power” (e.g. Dussel, 1995: 29; Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 247; Mignolo, 2011: 8; Quijano, 2007: 171). They inhabited “the savage slot” (Trouillot, 1991: 25) holding logical continuity with the inanimate nature upon which the sovereign power of nation-states could be imagined, and the reifying outlook of science realised. At the interface of the recognition of otherness and its commodification lies “the relation between the geography of management and the geography of imagination that together spurred and underpinned the development of world capitalism” (Trouillot, 2002: 234).

Stressing the enduring effects of the earliest modern formulation of political sovereignty into contemporary, identity-based struggles, Shaw (2008: 207) argued that “Indigenous peoples - their subjectivities, forms of social and political organization, resources - are a constitutive element of modern politics, modern subjectivity, modern conceptions and expressions of political possibility”. Rather than seeking the inclusion of Indigenous peoples’ political movements into the pre-existing, undisputed categories that put them at “the ‘doomed’ margins of modernity” (Shaw, 2008: 208), she claimed that their performances should not be recast as “marginal”, on the contrary, they hit “the heart of modern political transformation [...] their struggles are at and with the limits of political possibility, limits that frame all other struggles as well” (Shaw, 2008: 210–211). Therefore, Shaw (2008: 212) suggested that the analysis of contemporary Indigenous movements should focus on “a reconstitution of the political that addresses the historical violences of sovereignty”.

The point thus is not only granting these Others of modernity the status of “subject”, but “to put into question *what a subject can be*” (see Clastres, 1987: 198–199; Viveiros de Castro, 2013: 479), self-critically asking, with Clastres (1987: 199): “must one again define the political in these societies in terms of an absence?”. Grounding his argument on ethnographic encounters with Amazonian societies, Viveiros de Castro (e.g. 1998; 2004; 2014: 56) proposed the “Amerindian perspectivism” to indicate a cosmological configuration that reverses modern generalisations: while in Western modernity “the form of the Other is the thing” (Viveiros de Castro, 2014: 60), i.e. in order to know it is necessary to objectify by assuming an external representation of the world that a subject claims to know, which leads to a multiplicity of “cultures” on the base of a common nature; on the contrary, the study of Amazonian ethnographies showed that among these societies “the form of the Other is the person” (2014: 61), i.e. the way of knowing depends on the relational positioning assumed by subjects which are always “people” – be they humans, animals, plants, things, or spirits. Perspectivism assumes that “*the point of view is in the body*” (Viveiros de Castro, 2014: 72, emphasis in the original).

Thinking through perspectival categories enabled Viveiros de Castro (2013: 498; 2014: 74) to mark a sharp ontological distinction between “multiculturalism” as the representation and ordering of the variety of cultures, and “multinaturalism”:

this is “an indigenous cosmopolitical theory” (Viveiros de Castro, 2014: 77) that does not mirror the former in establishing a “relativism of natures”, it rather foregrounds that “*the truth of the relative is the relation*” (2013: 489). A project for a critical indigeneity is therefore an operation of “*mise en égalité*, equalization” that Stengers (2005a: 995–996) framed in the terms of a “cosmopolitical proposal”:

“In the term cosmopolitical, cosmos refers to the unknown constituted by these multiple, divergent worlds and to the articulations of which they could eventually be capable [...] It is a matter of imbuing political voices with the feeling that they do not master the situation they discuss, that the political arena is peopled with shadows of that which does not have a political voice, cannot have or does not want to have one”.

Within this framework, “cosmopolitics” is conceptually alternative to “cosmopolitanism” (see also Blaser, 2016: 546; Latour, 2004: 453). While the latter seeks agreement on the rules and obligations for a common ground in which everyone can experience themselves as polite citizens of the world, the former frames a peculiar subject that is “the one who always slows the others down, who resists the consensual way in which the situation is presented and in which emergencies mobilize thought or action” (Stengers, 2005a: 994). As Stengers (2018: 94) more recently argued, “[t]he prefix *cosmo-* aims at making the disruption matter”. Commenting on her proposal, Latour (2004: 454) pointed out that:

“The presence of cosmos in cosmopolitics resists the tendency of politics to mean the give-and-take in an exclusive human club. The presence of politics in cosmopolitics resists the tendency of cosmos to mean a finite list of entities that must be taken into account. Cosmos protects against the premature closure of politics, and politics against the premature closure of cosmos”.

De la Cadena (2010: 346; 2015) and Blaser (2009; 2013; 2016: 548) have extensively drawn on and reformulated Latour’s and Stengers’ works in combination with the anthropological insights of the “ontological turn” (see Holbraad et al., 2014; Kohn, 2015) to ethnographically address the participation of “other-than-humans” in the shaping of political assemblages concerning Indigenous peoples’ rights, territories, and heritages (see also Blaser and De La Cadena, 2018: 12). In their joint introduction to an edited volume dealing with the conceptual and practical possibilities of the “pluriverse” – that is, following the

Zapatistas' invitation for "a world in which many worlds fit" (Blaser and De La Cadena, 2018: 1) – they proposed "political ontology" as a heuristic that:

"[S]imultaneously stands for reworking an imaginary of politics (the pluriverse), for a field of study and intervention (the power-charged terrain of entangled worldings and their dynamics), and for a modality of analysis and critique that is permanently concerned with its own effects as a worlding practice" (Blaser and De La Cadena, 2018: 6).

Crucial for this understanding is the concept of "divergence" (Blaser and De La Cadena, 2018: 9) as elaborated in Stengers' (2005b; 2011: 59) "ecologies of practices" and in communication with Strathern's (2004: 53) "partial connection". If worlding practices are in constant shuffling and becoming, they became apprehensible in their "endless kaleidoscopic permutations" (Strathern, 2004: xvii) rather than as the summatory of their parts. The analytical point lies in investigating "how they appear within each other and at the same time remain distinct" (De la Cadena 2015: 33). This is the site of "ontological conflicts" (Blaser, 2009: 879; 2013: 548), which arise from the coming together of partially connected practices revealing that a divergence exists, even if it goes unnoticed, "in what people take relations to be" (Strathern, 2018: 28).

According to Viveiros de Castro (2004: 9–12), these kinds of misunderstanding configure "the space of equivocation... a type of communicative disjuncture where the interlocutors are not talking about the same thing, and know this" (2004: 9). This is enacted when the interlocutors' positionings "exceed" each other, as he said, "not in relation to imaginary modes of perceiving the world but through their relations with real, perceived worlds" (Viveiros de Castro, 2014: 90). The "space of equivocation" brings to the fore the limits of translation between incommensurable Indigenous and non-indigenous things (see De La Cadena, 2015: 33; Hanks and Severi, 2014; Povinelli, 2001), and it is at the core of any anthropological inquiry: "To translate is to situate oneself in the space of the equivocation and to dwell there" (Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 10). Translation is therefore "a process of controlled equivocation" (Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 5), which enables acknowledging that relations do not only connect through similarities, for differences also connect (also see De La Cadena, 2015: 27; Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 10). As De la Cadena (2015: 116) summarised, "controlling the equivocation may produce awareness that something is lost in

translation and will not be recovered because its terms are not those of the translation”.

Coupling ethnographic informed insights with Rancière’s (1999: xii; 2004: 88) political philosophy helped De la Cadena (2010: 351–352; 2015: 278–279) to locate the space of equivocation in her ethnographic fieldwork among the “scandal” provoked by confronting “modern politics with that which is impossible under its conditions”. She formulated that “ontological disagreement emerges from practices that make worlds diverge even as they continue to make themselves connected to one another” (2015: 279). Archaeology can make visible the signatures of these unstable, often ephemeral relations through the documentation of their politically-laden, material and symbolic debris across space and time (see Green and Green, 2013: 143). How these ephemeral vestiges of unperceived chronotopes contribute to “un-disciplining” (Haber and Shepherd, 2015: 7) archaeological knowledge lies at the heart of this dissertation, and there is where I turn in the following section.

2.4 Archaeological circumstances

The late-modern “heritage boom” (Harrison, 2013a: 63; Harrison and Schofield, 2010: 133) that provided the background of transnational indigenism resonated into the theoretical, ethical, and methodological transformation of archaeology at the turn of the 21st century. This section wraps up the arguments advanced throughout the chapter by looking at the development of archaeological thought since Indigenous voices began raising, claiming control over the objects of archaeological inquiry and the resignification of heritage/rights relationships. I will do this by surveying the emergence of “indigenous archaeologies” as *disruption*, *ethics*, and *cosmopolitics*.

2.4.1 Archaeology *in* the present: Disruption

During the last two decades of the past century, archaeological theory was stirred by the debate between New Archaeology’s positivism and the proponents of post-modern approaches (see Johnson, 2006; Trigger, 1998; Wylie, 2002). The prevailing scientific objectivism was challenged through a body of interpretative tools ranging from hermeneutic, critical theory, and phenomenology, which foregrounded the contextually situated practice of archaeology, and the

relevance of socio-political arguments in the making of the discipline and its object of study (e.g. Funari et al., 2005; Gosden, 1993; Hodder, 1992; Lampeter Archaeology Workshop, 1997; Leone et al., 1987; Shanks and McGuire, 1996; Shanks and Tilley, 1987). In the pursuing of a balance between empirical evidence and subjective interpretations, feminist theories informed situated political positionings to highlight “[t]he split and contradictory self” (Haraway, 1988: 258) of the manifold social, gender, ethnic, or otherwise standpoints as they became visible in the fragmented materiality of the past (e.g. Conkey, 2005; Conkey and Gero, 1997; Wylie, 1997; 2000). These considerations impacted on the alleged neutrality of the archaeological record and derived into a greater awareness about the place of archaeology *in* the present.

A much deeper reflexive outlook conveyed a general interest in tracing the genealogy and complicity of archaeological knowledge within the structuring tenets of modernity (e.g. González-Ruibal, 2006; 2013; Hernando, 2017; Lucas, 2004; Thomas, 2004; Tilley, 1990). The development of archaeology as a modern discourse participates in making “divergent social imaginaries” (Taylor, 2003: 2, 11) undisputed, by keeping them aligned with the boundaries wherein the past can be sensed, studied and brought into the present’s political life.

Since Trigger’s (1980; 1984; 2006) ground-breaking works, a burgeoning attention turned towards the study of how archaeological imaginaries purify the past by making it a naturalised weapon supporting nationalist and colonialist designs (e.g. Díaz-Andreu, 2007; Kohl and Fawcett, 1996; Politis and Pérez Gollán, 2004). An historiographic outlook onto the discipline contributed to unveiling the imperialist logic beneath the spreading of a univocal spatial, temporal, and technological taxonomic order (e.g. Gosden, 1999; Layton, 1994; McNiven and Russell, 2005; Schmidt and Patterson, 1995; Ucko, 1995). Thriving intersections at the interface of archaeological thought with postcolonial critique (see Ferris et al., 2014; González-Ruibal, 2014; Gosden, 2012; Lydon and Rizvi, 2010; Patterson, 2008) brought to the fore the geopolitical differential of knowledge production, the reduction of the archaeological record to usable raw materials for community-building imagination, as well as its capacity to activate identity-based conflicts concerning the ownership and interpretation of archaeological sites, artefacts, and human remains.

Within these developments, “indigenous archaeologies” (e.g. Atalay, 2006; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al., 2010; Nicholas and Watkins, 2014; Smith and Wobst, 2005; Watkins, 2000; 2005) flourished in North America and Oceania to indicate an alternative standpoint in the crafting of shared narratives about the past in settler colonial countries. Pivotal for this strand of research is unveiling the legacy of “scientific colonialism” (Nicholas and Hollowell, 2007; Smith, 1999; Zimmerman, 2001: 169). This is achieved by engaging in the making of blended evidence-based archaeological accounts that incorporate indigenous heritage in both its material and intellectual dimensions, while being aware of the violence inflicted by the appropriation of local knowledge and cultural objects (Bruchac, 2014; Marshall, 2002; Nicholas and Markey, 2015; Nicholas and Wylie, 2013; Preucel and Cipolla, 2008; Wobst, 2005). This approach raised awareness about the multiple enactments of archaeological assemblages and informed about their emergence in contention with amendments including local stakes in heritage research and management (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al., 2010: 229; Watkins, 2004: 64; 2005: 334; Wylie, 1995), most notably in relation with the legal status of musealised human remains belonging to descendent communities as well as to the regulation of cultural heritage management professional practices.

2.4.2 Archaeology *with* the present: Ethics

“Indigenous archaeologies” as a theoretically informed collaborative practice aims at exploring patterns of inter-connection between local communities’ knowledges and the material references of the past so as to include other voices and ways of knowing in heritage-making practices (Atalay, 2012; Hollowell and Nicholas, 2009; Murray, 2011). These alternative relations are expected to transform dominant heritage values for the sake of providing disenfranchised people with the instruments and conceptual framework to take care of a shared past in the framework of global responsibilities (cfr. Atalay et al., 2014; Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2009; 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, 2006). They render manifest that other stakeholders, besides archaeologists, participate in “the inherent debatability of the past in the present” (Appadurai, 1981: 281), which configures contemporary narratives and politics of identity, and discloses the rapprochement of archaeology *with* the present.

An ethical appreciation of archaeology irrupted as an integral part of wider debates integrating a post-national understanding of heritage, the production of post-conflicts common memory, and the role of archaeologists in advocating for social change at different localities and scales of action (Gnecco and Ayala, 2011: 24; González-Ruibal, 2018: 346; Hamilakis, 2007: 36; McGuire, 2008: 8; Wylie, 2003: 6–7). Multiple, often competitive, publics claim for their right to define how the past should portrayed, by whom, and for which community of interests. The awareness of the manifold ways in which archaeological findings and representations make the past apparent in the present triggers the reassessment of the social terms of heritage significance. The “multivocality” (Fawcett et al., 2008; Hodder, 2003: 58; cfr. Gnecco, 2015: 8) of archaeology and cultural heritage practices mirrors the limits of multiculturalism in addressing the political concerns arising from the factual pluralism of contemporary societies.

Four aspects must be considered for assessing the imbrications between multiculturalism and archaeology:

- a) The revision or adoption of professional codes of conduct to ensure an international ethical standard on issues concerning repatriation of human remains, restitution of cultural properties, and community decision-making (Soderland and Lilley, 2015; Tarlow, 2001; Zimmerman et al., 2003);
- b) The deployment of community-based collaborative methodologies to share the space of knowledge production around archaeological sites and heritage-making practices (e.g. Atalay, 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, 2008; Hollowell and Nicholas, 2009);
- c) The growing importance of cultural heritage within the realm of human rights turned it into a valuable resource and archaeology into an asset for international development cooperation and intergovernmental agencies (Lafrenz Samuels, 2016; Lafrenz Samuels and Lilley, 2015; Pyburn, 2007).
- d) Cosmopolitanism is a constitutive aspect of community-based participation and multicultural archaeologies, because softening archaeologists’ authoritative expertise through the experiences and aspirations grounded in compartmentalised locales shows the “complex stewardship [which] stipulates that archaeologists must comprehend the

ways in which preservation can be both locally enacted and universally sought” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2009: 160).

The initial reactions to bringing a multivocal understanding of ethics into archaeological practice were pervaded by what Wylie (2019: 572) described as “a palpable sense of horror”. When they were first brought into public attention, Indigenous standpoints were addressed as destructive for the discipline inasmuch as they moved from the unconceivable positioning according to which “the past is the present” (see Zimmerman, 1997: 103). Wylie (2019: 570) summarised how critics have changed since seeking descendent communities’ participation became a well-accepted compromise:

“Rather than anxiety that community-based collaborations pose an existential threat to archaeology as a discipline, current critics object that they have failed to make any significant break with a conservative status quo and the extractive modes of inquiry it perpetuates”.

In line with contemporary critics of the multicultural turn in archaeology and heritage studies (e.g. Gnecco, 2015: 3–5; González-Ruibal, 2018: 347; Haber, 2012: 61–62; Harrison, 2013a: 202; Meskell, 2009: 5), the above statements highlights the decompression of a scandalous positioning into participatory codes of ethical accepted practices. The consensual space of participation regulates Indigenous politics, neutralising its transformative potential. Two kinds of essentialism govern this participatory impulse.

A first set of critical views brought the issue of cultural essentialism to the fore (e.g. Gosden, 2012: 260–263; Hillerdal et al., 2017: 9; McGhee, 2008: 579; Tarlow, 2006: 214–215). The representation of historical continuity between people and land prompted by the strategical standpoint of indigeneity was questioned because of its closeness with ethno-nationalisms and reactionary agendas against non-native minorities, such as gypsy and migrant people, in multicultural spaces like the European one (see Fernández, 2015: 65; Holtorf, 2009: 672; Nilsson Stutz, 2013: 178). The undisputed celebration of the democratic values attached to cosmopolitan “bottom-up” approaches has been recently addressed in terms of “epistemic populism” (see González-Ruibal et al., 2018: 508–509), a logic that manufactures idealised communities by concealing their internal struggles, and halting the development of a self-critical, evidence-

based and trustworthy archaeological authority to contrast “post-truth” society, and ultimately serving the homogenising interests of neoliberal governmentality:

“archaeologists have helped communities throughout the world to understand and generate their own linear views of time and to have a ‘past’; they have taught them that their past belongs to them as heritage, that heritage is an intrinsically valuable part of their identity, and more recently, that the universality of heritage makes it a good tourist product” (González-Ruibal et al., 2018: 508).

Another set of critics moved from the intellectual legacy of Indigenous peoples’ engagements with archaeology in South America (e.g. Angelo, 2018: 136; Ayala, 2020; Benavides, 2001; Curtoni, 2015; Gnecco and Ayala, 2011: 13–14; Gnecco and Hernández, 2008; Haber, 2016b: 470; Politis, 2001: 97). It is emphasised that the boundaries between Indigenous and non-indigenous things are malleable, even porous, and historically associated with the legitimation of domestic colonial orders within the frame of nation-states homogeneity (see Mamani Condori, 1994: 58; Politis, 1995: 195). Neoliberal multiculturalism disguises Indigenous politics through multilateral vectors that promise strengthening community decision-making abilities and development, while maintaining as a legitimate reality the destruction generated by extractive capitalism in Indigenous territories.

Counterpointing academic and native voices for the “common interest” of unveiling the past (cfr. Acuto and Corimayo, 2018: 33; Flores and Acuto, 2015: 179) can obscure from view the reshuffling of colonial borders through “the good intentions of helping others” (Grosso, 2015: 81). The time delay of transferring archaeological concepts to political circuits of legal recognition and land dispossession makes interpretative categories that have become obsolete in academic debates likely to remain stuck in common language, objects, and practices of heritage: the gravity-laden semantic and material landscapes in which “the concepts slowly pile up one on top of the other, blending solidly, to the point that sometimes they even become stagnant” (Lazzari and Korstanje, 2018: 215).

The naturalisation of the constitutive modernist tropes of archaeology, such as those of “digging” and “discovery”, results in the essentialisation of the discipline before that of the “indigenous” community or heritage: “the reified location and operation that permit finding a reified past” (Gnecco, 2013: 69). Indigenous

archaeologies structurally adjust community interventions to those aspects that better fit interpellation and gremial self-defence, in such a way as they “solidify archaeology by making it more democratic” (Gnecco, 2013: 71), while keeping unchanged the field in which the past can be legitimately pronounced, practiced, and experienced.

2.4.3 Archaeology of the present: Cosmopolitics

The double essentialisms of community and discipline reinstate the enduring colonial process of negotiating the limits of subaltern participation. As it becomes manifest when the “indigenous” exceeds the parameters of transnational etiquettes and “hospitality” (see González-Ruibal, 2019b: 38–39; Grosso, 2015: 84), cosmopolitan heritage ethics paternalistically celebrate cultural diversity, while eluding or criminalising political difference, then “just papering over the cracks of global disorder” (González-Ruibal, 2009: 115–116). Community-based participatory approaches turn political-economic issues into cultural ones, contributing to the long-standing concealment and misreading of native labour in post-colonial contexts (see Baird, 2017: 177; Breglia, 2006: 101; La Salle and Hutchings, 2016: 168; Shepherd, 2003: 347). Yet the signature of the translation into subaltern subjects remains, as Shepherd (2003: 335) emphasised, although “‘co-workers’ are textually absent... they are present in another and more unnerving fashion”.

Rather than expanding the frame of the picture to include others that have always been there unnoticed, it would be convenient and critical to find and make public the *punctum* (sensu Barthes, 1982: 27), i.e. the focal point of the image around which they have been distorted by modern representations that make them absent or in the way out of existence (cfr. González-Ruibal, 2019a: 136; McFadyen and Hicks, 2020: 6; Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 53; Shepherd, 2003: 337); such is the space of cosmopolitical disagreements, where lies the archaeology of the present.

Exploring the voices, experiences, and knowledges gravitating around creative archaeological engagements with the past according to a typology of interactions (see Atalay, 2012: 30; Stump, 2013: 273) can be counter-productive if it maintains the separation between Indigenous and non-indigenous things unchallenged, as well as the exploitative assumption that the past is a resource that can be

strategically used for the individual interests of compacted localities (cfr. Niezen, 2017: 20). This tension becomes incendiary when Indigenous voices raise up to radically oppose research and development agendas involving heritage and natural resources extraction (see Jofré, 2015: 74; La Salle, 2010: 416). A deeper commitment with the common tenets of archaeology, namely time and materiality (cfr. González-Ruibal, 2014: 11; 2016: 158; Lazzari and Korstanje, 2013: 399; McNiven, 2016: 30), requires considering the implications disclosed by the participation of Indigenous peoples in the definition and management of their own territory and resources, as it propels the disruption of modernist representation of heritage and rights. Codified participatory approaches may have taken for granted, and contribute to naturalise, the main community of interest on, and on behalf of which, archaeologists gather evidence to create collaborative knowledge about the past that can rightly inform public spaces; that is, the things themselves.

Another departure would be rendering manifest the contextual and material forces that prompt people to claim their rights “by appealing to past different worlds” (Van Dyke and Bernbeck, 2015: 20). To take what counts as evidence in assembling the “archaeological” as the real matter of concern enables archaeology to inform “the double specificity of political ‘dialogue’” (Rancière, 1999: 43) and enrich the understanding of contemporaneity. In their introduction to the “archaeologies of the contemporary past”, Buchli and Lucas (2001b: 13) argued that this approach “rather than ‘discovery’ it can be characterised as an opening up, occupying an ‘intermediate’ space or an iterative time”.

According to Harrison (see 2011b; 2013b: 47), this entails surveying and assembling people, objects, and places as they become visible at “the surface” of their contemporary interconnections, “a space in which the past, present and future are combined and which is still in the process of becoming”. Olivier (2011: 53) remarked as well that “what we need to be studying, with an archaeologist’s eye, is the way the material remains that compose the heterogeneous mass of our present are interwoven”. Changing the texture of time reflects into how entities come to appear discernible in the archaeological record: “by invoking the concept of materialization instead of materiality, we immediately switch our attention to this other aspect of the object – how it comes or ceases to be a singular entity” (Lucas, 2012: 170).

A commonality between discussions intertwining place-based knowledge production, decolonial ethics, and the contemporary value of archaeological evidence is the epistemic and ontological status of dead bodies and other inanimate entities (cfr. Haber, 2013: 84; Harrison and Schofield, 2010: 74; Rizvi, 2015: 158; Shepherd, 2015: 12). The identification of human remains within the framework of the investigations of crimes against humanity is a well-defined field of interactions between forensic sciences and the legal regime of human rights, and in which the public role of archaeology is acknowledged as probatory, therapeutic, and conciliatory (e.g. Crossland, 2013; Doretti and Fondebrider, 2001; Funari et al., 2009; Zarankin and Funari, 2008). Human remains are objects holding the traces of what is past into the substances and the circumstances composing them, they are also powerful witnesses of a missing subject and the evidence that an injustice has been committed.

It is the political contention of things that weights in the gathering of archaeological evidence, their capacity to conciliate worlds as much as to provoke disagreements and redistribute the sensible through their appearances, which can also be “uncanny” (Moshenska, 2006: 92) and “uncomfortable” (Lazzari, 2011: 172). Following contemporary archaeology assemblages, one comes across the “non-absent past [...] that haunts like a phantom and therefore cannot be so easily controlled or subject to a finite interpretation” (Domanska, 2006: 346). In parallel to the admission of material evidence as a third form of “archive” of the international human rights regime, after written documents and oral testimony (see Rizvi, 2015: 160; Vadi, 2018; Weiss, 2010: 187–188), anthropologists and archaeologists were also interpellated in assessing the “authenticity” of rights-based claims for culture, land, and resources (Engle, 2010: 10; Hale, 2006; Meskell and Scheermeyer, 2008: 168). Conversely to forensic sciences, while facing “the uncertainty of real-world dynamics” (Soderland and Lilley, 2015: 508), the development of archaeology’s evidentiary reasoning towards multiple temporalities, material agencies, and post-human ethics (e.g. Alberti et al., 2011; Hamilakis, 2017a; Hodder, 2012; Olsen et al., 2012) despite being theoretically exciting and prolific, struggles to efficaciously inform the site of contemporary contention created by assembling “indigenous” things, and the discipline shelters itself in the safe space of ethical duty or political indifference.

This thesis is an attempt to unravel this deadlock. Weiss (2010: 194) foregrounded that the use of material culture as evidence in criminal trials acknowledges that “the landscape of the survivor is a very different place, a place that, in no small sense, becomes a perpetuation of the dialogue between the perpetrator of the crime and the victims”. Working as a critical, non-representational archive of what is left behind (cfr. Hamilakis, 2017b: 134; Hicks, 2016: 18), archaeological knowledge found itself committed to record the material excesses of the destructive time of modernity (see González-Ruibal, 2008: 248; González-Ruibal and Hernando, 2010), and eliciting the agency nested in waste and ruin matter (see DeSilvey, 2006: 318; Edensor, 2005: 328; Pétursdóttir and Olsen, 2014: 3). However, the evocative, haunting power held by persistently discarded things and places is also of importance for making re-emergent affective connections (cfr. Gordillo, 2014: 185; Lazzari and Korstanje, 2013: 399; Navaro-Yashin, 2009: 14).

González-Ruibal (2016: 157–158) commented that in the “regime of spectrality” that characterises both archaeology and jurisdiction “[a]s long as people consider that an unjust situation is reproduced in the present, [...] the past will never be regarded as such, but always as contemporary”. Such an approach enables the manifestation of “an archaeological poetics”, as González-Ruibal (2019a: 109) put it following Rancière (1999; 2004), when he argued that:

“Redistributing the sensible means abolishing the distinction between what deserves and does not deserve to be part of our collective memory [...] It is the performative act of archaeology that enables visualisation, more than its conventional storytelling qualities, that makes the difference. [...] We force people to see what many would prefer to be concealed forever, for the sake of social consensus and peace or to keep a good conscience” (González-Ruibal, 2019a: 100).

Rather than sharply demarcating the boundaries between what is either past or present, contemporary archaeology looks at what makes them diverge. This theoretical approach is useful to investigate the heritage/rights system, as it focuses on the intermediate space “underscoring the semantic and material practices that constitute them, enabling the hegemonic discourse that artificially segregates what cannot exist on its own” (Lazzari, 2011: 175). According to Ingold (2010: 160), the cross-disciplinarity between archaeology and anthropology might further converge in “a science of life whose overriding

argument is to follow what is going on". In this vein, engaging with an archaeology of the present is to deal *with* and dwell *in* the circumstance, acting *with/in* the field while documenting the cosmopolitical sociality of people, places, and things that entangles heritage and rights through a recurrent, selective, and material process of recalling memories and crafting aspirations.

2.5 Conclusions

The chapter outlines the historical and theoretical framework that informs this dissertation. By looking at the discursive juxtapositions of "heritage" and "rights", it has emphasised a significant role in making this convergence visible in the "misrecognition" (Fraser, 2000: 113) of political voices and performances embodied by social movements and people that self-recognised as Indigenous. The heritage/rights system describes this space of contention by facilitating the identification of the diverging representations and practices that keep these divergent ecologies of practice together. This is also aimed at underlining how they exceed each other, leaving the debris of their imperfect communing behind, so to disclose the possibility for an archaeological intervention.

This approach follows pathways for a social archaeology attentive to the contemporary past and the cosmopolitical assemblage of people, lands, and things. The detection of these multi-scalar and multi-temporal webs of relations reveals the historical and sensual attributes of the otherwise abstract discourses linking cultural heritage human rights. These attributes become apparent when following the material engagements of grassroots social movements that have been unrecognised participants in the making of domestic and international laws. They are equally visible in the contrast between Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination and the regulatory logic of recognising them as bearers of cultural rights.

In summary, the chapter addressed the three major themes that have been explored throughout this doctoral research, namely: a) the social space in which the universal enunciation of human rights is translated into cultural practices; b) the long-lasting history of dispossession and structural violence against Indigenous peoples' bodies, territories, and institutions; c) the key role of archaeological remains and narratives in harbouring and fostering the multi-temporal encounters that shape a cosmopolitical field of action.

This cosmopolitical approach to heritage/rights and the contemporary past constitutes the keystone of the methodological strategy of this investigation. Drawing from these premises, the next chapter will systemise the research design and methods that were employed during the fieldwork, the multimodal way of data collection and interpretation, bringing to light the pathways walked to chart the material emergence and juxtaposition of diverse political actors, interacting one with another through space and time.

Chapter 3. Methodological Strategy: approaching heritage cosmopolitics through archaeological ethnography and counter-mapping

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter addressed cultural heritage and human rights as a complex system encompassing different sensibilities and responsibilities, which concretises in the multi-scalar relationships between Indigenous peoples' self-identification, nation-state interests, and global frameworks. While current debates around the human right to cultural heritage are caught in a double bind with multicultural recognition and cosmopolitan responsibilities, the question of whether it is possible to implement a truly symmetrical approach to heritage/rights remains open. This chapter presents a methodology for developing an interdisciplinary approach encompassing both ethnographic and archaeological sensibilities, as their combined force enables a detailed, even if never complete, outline of the contours, elements, and fault lines around and within heritage/rights systems.

This methodological strategy aims at tracking the ways in which the limits of representation and visibility set out by multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism reformulate the spatial and temporal relations between people and things. It draws on and expands the set of theories and methods which have been proposed for heritage studies (e.g. Carman and Sørensen, 2009; Harrison, 2013a; 2018; Lafrenz Samuels, 2018; Waterton et al., 2006; 2017), archaeology of the contemporary past (e.g. Buchli and Lucas, 2001b; González-Ruibal, 2019a; Graves-Brown et al., 2013; Harrison and Breithoff, 2017; Harrison and Schofield, 2010), and anthropology of human rights (e.g. Cowan et al., 2001; Goodale and Merry, 2007; Kapchan, 2014). I contend that by challenging what matters in heritage rights and politics, the relationship between human rights and cultural heritage is revealed within the analytical framework of heritage cosmopolitics.

This approach builds on cross-disciplinary perspectives that emphasise situated knowledge through practical encounters *with/in* the field (Green and Green, 2013: 54; Rival, 2014). The importance of incorporating ethics within the research design should not let behind the political assumptions underlying a contemporary

gaze into contested issues over heritage and rights (e.g. Coombe, 2010; Hamilakis, 2007; Meskell and Pels, 2005; Nicholas and Smith, 2020). Following Jackson (2012: 123), “[t]his means placing both oneself and the other on the same existential footing, and seeing all worldviews not as theories of knowledge *about* the world but as existential means of achieving viable ways of living *in and with* the world”.

The procedure of achieving an agreement to collaborate through the legal instrument of free, prior, and informed consultation (FPIC) established by the ILO C169 both ritualises and materialises the moment in which national or global recognition of cultural diversity and Indigenous politics converge (see Chapter 2.3). The divergence between the claims for Indigenous self-determination and its regularisation into codes of conduct makes the field of consultation a privileged scenario for the constitutive “equivocations” (Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 9) of the heritage/rights system. Following Stengers’ (2005a: 994; 2018: 94–95) call to “slow down reasoning”, Green (2015: 240–241) suggested to look at the uncertainties surrounding what matters in collaborative heritage discussions as “moments of partial connection, in which the divide between scholarship and what we have termed ‘the indigenous’ begins to break down and one begins to comprehend the incomprehensible.”

In what follows, I will firstly expand on the ethical and political dimensions of the FPIC as they are relevant to the crafting of the research design. Subsequently, I discuss archaeological ethnography and counter-mapping as the methodological framework of the investigation. Finally, the methods of data collection and post-fieldwork analysis are outlined for both case studies.

3.2 Ethic-methodological notes: finding ontological politics in the field of consultation

Following discussions on multivocality and public archaeology and grounded on a cosmopolitan framework of shared responsibilities, seeking community consent has increasingly become an institutionally regulated requirement in archaeological field practice (McAnany and Rowe, 2015: 505; Soderland and Lilley, 2015: 516). The conditions of possibility and implementation of this legitimate “collaborative continuum” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, 2008: 9) rely on consulting practices, which are however “a physical

representation of the deeper structures present” (Lippert, 2008: 126). Sheenan and Lilley (2008: 88–89) remarked that “the trick” for archaeologists engaging with local communities is “learning to see what is there” by articulating Indigenous knowledge encoded in an animated territory with phenomenological approaches to cultural landscapes.

This is a task that “can only be dealt with coherently at an ontological level” (Sheenan and Lilley, 2008: 93). The authors indicated how this process resembles the strengths and weaknesses of the “vernacularisation” (see Merry, 2006: 39) of the universal framework of human rights into local structures of knowledge and values: the two may resonate in each other, but this resonance is achieved at the cost of framing “who can and cannot speak and what can and cannot be said” (Sheenan and Lilley, 2008: 91). The co-option of community decision-making into ethical requirements makes Indigenous self-determination fade away and contributes to the regulation of the accepted cultural diversity and land appropriation for extractivist purposes (Coombe and Baird, 2016; la Salle, 2013). Ethic-participatory demeanour can impose an uncritical alignment with procedural codes when they ignore “the continual contestation over meanings, their ambiguity, and their susceptibility to change” (Merry, 2006: 41). In these terms, Meskell and Pels (2005: 23) argued that ethics is “always embedded in specific social, cultural, and historical relationships of powers”.

This resonates with Strathern (2000: 2) when she stated that “audit practices often seem mundane, inevitable parts of a bureaucratic process. It is when one starts putting together a larger picture that they take on the contours of a distinct cultural artefact”. She reminded that this is a process crisscrossed by numbers of performative practices channelled through human and nonhuman actors, which constitute “a field of institutionalized expectations and instruments” (Strathern, 2000: 4). Looking at the consultation as a performative and ongoing field of relationships between local communities and outsiders sheds light on its layered social composition: the diverse temporalities and materialities attached to it and the sedimentation of those practical encounters with their burden of memories and aspirations, which become crucial for assessing the effective autonomy of community decision-making.

Examining the interplay between community consultation and extractivist development in Indigenous territories, La Salle (2013: 83) argued that the field of

consultation configures a relational space whose dynamics reinstate “a long legacy of outsiders coming in, making promises and asking for something, and then, more often than not, leaving with whatever they wanted without fulfilling their promises”. This point is further stressed by Gnecco and Piñacué (2016: 155), who also argued that “establishing the legitimacy of subalternized perspectives provokes a confrontation of legalities/legitimacies grounded in worldview”.

With a case study involving the Nasa Indigenous people in Colombia opposing the management plan for the World Heritage site “Tierradentro Archaeological Park”, these authors claimed that “Nasa interest in the archaeological is basically coincidental in some locations and objects” (Gnecco and Piñacué, 2016: 162). This accidental commonality with established national and transnational heritage discourses points at the “conflicting worldviews and divergent conceptions of history” (Gnecco and Piñacué, 2016: 163) beneath which an agreement is negotiated to define a “common” legal framework for the protection of things and places.

Echoing Blaser (2009: 879), Gnecco and Piñacué (2016: 160) considered that “what is at stake in these conflicts is precisely the differing things that are at stake” – that is, Sheenan and Lilley’s (2008: 202) insight that “things are not always what they seem”. Disregarding the foundational disagreement underpinning Western modernity’s “undisputable certainty of superiority” (Blaser and De La Cadena, 2018: 18) entails recasting unbalanced power relations over the separation between Indigenous politics and beliefs. On the contrary, “taking equivocation seriously” (Gnecco and Piñacué, 2016: 163; after Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 9) brings to light the transformative potential inherent to the field of consultation.

3.3 Tracking heritage cosmopolitics

To visualise the complexity of the heritage/rights system, I rely on a methodological framework inspired by recent developments in archaeological ethnography and counter-mapping. As I aim to show in this section, the combination of these two emerging disciplines enables tracing constantly moving people and things, whose sedimented encounters and layered articulations unfold the cosmopolitics shaping authorised and non-authorised heritage assemblages.

3.3.1 Archaeological Ethnography

Introducing archaeological ethnography, Meskell (2005; 2010a; 2012) set it forth as a hybrid, ethical-embedded, and collaborative methodology designed to take seriously into account the way in which archaeologists deal with local communities. Drawing on interviews and practical interactions around heritage sites, the aim is “to understand how the value of the past is calibrated across a wide social spectrum, to track its interventions in the present and see how the state [...] is reinventing itself through its optimistic embracing of multiple pasts for a unitary future” (Meskell, 2005: 82–83).

This approach borrows from the burgeoning scholarship that challenged the traditional boundaries of the “field” of anthropological inquiries and moved beyond the analysis of compacted locales to focus on the multi-sited intersections between global and local settings (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Marcus, 1995). This development has led to looking at heritage sites as transcultural “contact zones” (Appadurai, 2001; Castañeda, 1996; Clifford, 1997: 188; Herzfeld, 2012; after Pratt, 1992), which in turn has encouraged investigating what lays behind and at the margins of formalised ethical-collaborative agreements and disciplinary requirements structuring archaeological practice and heritage-making processes (e.g. Breglia, 2006; Castañeda, 2008; Hollowell and Mortensen, 2009; Meskell, 2011): to what extent the memories of past encounters affect the legitimacy of the aspirations of the actors involved; whether these memories materialise in official or unorthodox archival productions; and how these encounters may have prompted the emergence of ethnic identities by the means of the convergent or divergent interpretations about the value attributed to objects and places by professionals, institutions, and locals.

According to Meskell (2012: 140), archaeological ethnography aims at “identifying competing conceptions of the common goods, and the practices by which new and emergent realities come into being”. For that, she advocates framing cross-disciplinary practice within the cosmopolitan ethos to redress social justice in multicultural contexts (Meskell, 2009: 9; 2010a: 249; Meskell and Scheermeyer, 2008). I find this approach the best situated for spotting the disjunctures arising from contested, multi-scalar issues over heritage and rights practices.

However, my purpose is to overcome the logocentric narratives that traditionally characterise ethnography-based methodologies (González-Ruibal, 2019a: 106; Lazzari, 2011: 185) by considering the temporal persistence and spatial scattering of the “sticky materiality” (Tsing, 2005: 1) left by heritage/rights debris as the main prompter of rearticulated social assemblages.

In addition to the ethnographies of heritage sites, Hamilakis (2011: 405–406) has drawn on the conceptual and methodological development of the archaeology of the contemporary past to argue that “archaeological ethnography should be multitemporal, attuned both to durational and multitemporal properties of matter and to the various social-vernacular modes of temporal perception and historicization”. The focus on the intersections of materiality and temporality is what characterises archaeological ethnography as:

“a trans-disciplinary or even a post-disciplinary and transcultural space for engagement, dialogue and critique, centred upon the material traces of various times and involving researchers as well as various other participants. It is a space that brings into sharp focus the poetics and politics of the present, being at the same time multi-temporal, rather than presentist. It does not so much aim at combining and mixing archaeological and ethnographic-anthropological practices, as at producing instead the ontological and epistemological possibilities for new practices — ethnographic, archaeological, ethnohistorical, educational, artistic or other — to emerge” (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009: 73).

By positioning itself in the dialectical space between the experiences and aspirations of living communities and the enduring memory of things and places, archaeological ethnography self-critically looks at the recasting of a colonial disciplinarity that leverages modernist arrangements of heritage and rights.

Pivotal for this endeavour is the reframing of the use of photography from an allegedly neutral visual support for documenting material culture and sites into a proper research space with its own power relations (e.g. Castañeda, 2009; Hamilakis et al., 2009; McFadyen and Hicks, 2020; Shanks, 1997; Shepherd, 2003; Svabo and Shanks, 2013). Photo-work, photographic installations and archival images are evocative material objects that shed light on the lines of rupture and juxtaposition of hegemonic narratives of heritage and rights, and through montage and *mise-en-scène* let alternative socio-material assemblages disrupt the surface in the living landscape of the contemporary past.

3.3.2 Counter-mapping

Along with archaeological ethnography my methodological strategy hinges upon “counter-mapping” (Peluso, 1995) to grasp the performative-cum-political flows of heritage/rights aesthetics and my own detour across them. Counter-mapping is the denomination given to concerted efforts at participatory map-making that emerged since the 1990s to stand against and complement the official mapping of Indigenous lands (Orlove, 1991; Peluso, 1995: 384). As cultural geographer Peluso (1995: 400–402) set forth, this approach aims at making readable the alternative territorialities embodied by Indigenous customary laws to enable local communities making claims for the definition and control of resources from a perspective grounded on local epistemology and sense of place.

The radical tenets of counter-mapping can be useful for the purposes of making manifest those absent knowledges, agents, and places which lay outside the line of visibility drawn by colonial research practices and representations (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2006; Santos, 2014: 142; Smith, 1999: 55). In so doing it works as an empowering tool to self-determination as long as those mapping efforts do not end up “freezing” (Peluso, 1995: 400) dynamic social processes without really challenging the dominant articulations that caused their marginalisation in first instance.

As a matter of fact, the proliferation of participatory mapping in the last decades within the policies of multicultural recognition revealed ambiguous outcomes. The strategy has been increasingly used by nation-state and transnational agencies to legitimise participatory efforts to delimit native territories, which ended up facilitating both exploitable and preservationist uses of natural areas (see Anthias, 2019: 226), while boosting the inventory and appropriation of Indigenous peoples’ intellectual and material heritage (see Byrne, 2008: 165; 2018: 3).

The uncritical deployment of participatory mapping can have the effect of naturalising the predominance of an abstract knowledge of the territory over the grounded ones, rather than prompting the hoped changes within unbalanced power relations. This could be a consequence of considering maps as neutral representational vehicles enabling either empowerment or dispossession, rather than focusing on the processes that sustain their creation. Such a consideration should include the political roles of maps *qua things* (cfr. Witmore, 2013: 125) in

gathering and making visible certain features thus limiting the range of available interpretations over natural or cultural resources. My approach to counter-mapping is therefore exploratory and reflexive, rather than oriented to redefining heritage management in a more culturally appropriate fashion.

Following Harrison (2011a: 91), I am more concerned about the ability of counter-mapping “to challenge some of the ‘taken for granted’ [sic] of heritage management”. For instance, the author relied on mapping and “story-tracking” (also see Green and Green, 2013: 56) developed in collaboration with Indigenous peoples in Australia to highlight the counter-narratives produced by walking tours organised in Brixton, South London, which have had the effect of shedding light on the multicultural community histories and differentiated senses of place through everyday interactions with heritage places and objects (Harrison, 2011a: 92–95). Such a perspective resounds in Kiddey’s (2014; 2016) work with homeless people in Bristol and York, in which she combined ethnographic interviews, surface mapping, and excavations to show outcasts’ non-orthodox heritage relationships emerging from the hidden, often outlawed, experiences attached to ephemeral traces or abandoned spaces of urban landscapes.

The triangulation of material and spatial data with ethnographic sources and photography finds a paramount application within the archaeology of the contemporary past in De León and colleagues’ (De León, 2015; Stewart et al., 2016) investigation into the trails of undocumented migrants across the USA-Mexico border. The migrants’ experience and material traces while crossing the desert in the hope of eluding the border control is related with the surveillance technology and infrastructure to show how the desert itself has been weaponised as a tool of police, by pushing the crossings towards the most dangerous and difficult to reach areas, which resulted in the increasing number of deaths and disappeared bodies (Stewart et al., 2016: 168). By counter-mapping the borderland, the Undocumented Migration Project (Stewart et al., 2016: 172) not only aimed at showing the physical violence of the security apparatus and the harshness of the landscape, but also at disrupting the main conceptual tenet of borderland security, which relies on the dangerous naturalness of the desert border and its detachment from human activities.

In the same vein, while aiming at unveiling the implicit governmentality of the “authorised heritage discourse” (Smith, 2006: 52; Waterton and Smith, 2010), my

methodological strategy focused on the recognition of politically charged material arrangements of people, lands, and things. This is achieved by identifying, surveying, and mapping the different temporalities and material engagements accountable for some places and artefacts acquiring, or not, a heritage value capable of supporting rights-based claims. In so doing, this research further explores the contours of the Foucauldian relationship between utopias and heterotopias: “the *curious property* of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect” (Foucault, 1986: 24).

3.4 Weaving the fieldwork: A discussion on methods of data collection, analysis, and translation

The multi-sited fieldwork conducted in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco and the Calchaquí Valleys aimed at showing the variety of Indigenous experiences concerning heritage and rights articulations in South America. My original research question foresaw a comparative outlook towards the two case studies given the difference in terms of weight and visibility of Indigenous politics within the national contexts of Bolivia and Argentina². However, as the fieldwork unfolded, the comparative approach gave way to a more in-depth account for each case study taking their internal difference in scale and experience as the main object of study.

This change in the research perspective was motivated by the relevance of Tiwanaku and the broader Indigenous heritage politics in Bolivia to understand the effervescent heritage/rights system of the region (see Chapter 5). While the Calchaquí Valleys case study is unique in terms of historical circumstances and contemporary engagements with Indigenous peoples' heritage and rights issues (see Chapter 4.3), the interest gradually shifted towards the understanding of how these two areas are in “conversation” (see Haber, 2013: 86) between each other and with me as field worker.

That does not entail looking at the Argentinean case with an interpretative eye stemming from the Bolivian one, neither the other way round; on the contrary, the

² Census data from Bolivia (2012) reported 41% of the population self-identifying as belonging to an Indigenous people. By contrast, 2,4% was the percentage of Indigenous population in Argentina according to the last national census (2010), which was the first one to include the possibility of Indigenous self-identification in the history of the country.

task has been that of drawing and mapping the “nomadic” and “rhizomatic” connections (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 24; see Ingold, 2000: 140–142; Mueller, 2016: 111) within each case study and among them as I started walking the field and being attentive to their living socio-material relationships.

Research data for the case studies were the outcome of twelve months of fieldwork organised as described below:

- Preliminary fieldwork in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco during September 2016: As indicated in the thesis Introduction (see Chapter 1), an offspring of my master dissertation brought me to collaborate with the UNESCO team in charge of the restructuring of the management plan of Tiwanaku (CIAAAT, 2016 see Chapter 6.3); information disclosed by this research period are provided by referencing to the report of activities delivered to the CIAAAT (Orlandi, 2016).
- Preliminary fieldwork in the Calchaquí Valleys during July-August 2017: this was an exploratory research stay dedicated to discussions with local colleagues and field supervisor Prof Alejandra Korstanje (IAM-UNT), as well as heritage professionals and Indigenous rights advocates and institutions in Tucumán capital city. It also served for becoming acquainted with the territory of the Calchaquí Valleys and initiating the process of seeking community informed consent (see Chapter 8).
- Fieldwork in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco during March-June 2018: the first two months in Bolivia were dedicated to find institutional accreditation and community consent along with getting a basic knowledge of the Aymara language (see Chapter 6); field research in the community Huancollo was conducted during May and June (see Chapter 7).
- Fieldwork in the Calchaquí Valleys during July-November 2018: the first month was dedicated to review research and field plans while conducting literature survey and archival research at the Institute of Archaeology and Museum of the University of Tucumán, as well as reconnecting contacts in the field; field research took place between

August and September in Amaicha del Valle, the outstanding two months in the community of Quilmes (see Chapter 9).

The next sections discuss in detail the array of qualitative methods of data gathering and analysis deployed during these research periods within the conceptual framework of archaeological ethnography and counter-mapping. The bulk of data came from ethnographic interviews, jointly with archival research and reflexive or descriptive fieldnotes about my encounters with people, places, and things, with particular attention to what concerns participant observation of the process of consultation and consent-seeking with the communities involved. These findings coupled with surface surveying of heritage sites, storyplaces, and abandoned spaces, which I recorded through video, photography, and mapping. Post-fieldwork analysis included organisation and coding of the interviews and systematisation of spatial data. This triangulation of data collection and analysis enabled the emergence of the multiple living memories and heterogenous material affordances of places where the past barges into the present.

Compliance with the certificate of ethical approval granted by the College of Humanities Ethics Committee (Appendix A.1) was ensured for all the stages included in the doctoral research period. The data gathered in the fieldwork were returned to the participant communities in the form of reports of activities and maps. The restitution of the results was made in accordance with international and national legal requirements and following the explicit terms of participation stipulated with the communities' authorities for both research contexts. This devolution was made in acknowledgement of the work conducted in the territory as well as of the possibility unfolding through these materials to have a life beyond my own academic purpose.

3.4.1 Fieldnotes and reflexivity

Participant observation is the defining “way of working” (see Ingold, 2014: 390) of any ethnographic research, or of anthropology tout-court and “life itself” as Ingold (2014: 390) would rather argue:

“For the steps of participant observation, like those of life itself, are contingent on the circumstances, and advance towards no end. They rather tread ways of carrying on and of being carried, of living life with others — humans and non-humans all — that is cognizant of the past, attuned to the

conditions of the present and speculatively open to the possibilities of the future”.

Being in the field entails hope and companionship as much as deception and loneliness. For that, it is not so different from everyday life with its load of intermitted excitements and deadlocks. What makes the field relevant to the purpose of gathering evidence for academic inquiring is the possibility it unfolds for making significant “ethnographic” encounters. Yet, the significance of those encounters is not inherently given by the field itself, it is rather crafted as “a judgment that is cast upon them through a retrospective conversion of the learning, remembering and note-taking which they call forth into pretexts for something else altogether” (Ingold, 2014: 386). In this sense, participant observation is a way of learning to educate ourselves to be aware of “the skills of perception and capacities of judgment that develop in the course of direct, practical, and sensuous engagements with our surroundings” (Ingold, 2014: 387).

Taking fieldnotes is thus a method to gather evidence about participant observation through which “inquirers base claims about meaning and understanding” (Schwandt, 2007: 115), and in so doing finding the “correspondence” (Ingold, 2014: 389) that makes the field as it goes by (Figure 3.1). During the research periods in Bolivia and Argentina, I have developed a non-structured way of taking notes of my ethnographic encounters that juxtaposed different techniques: handwriting, computer writing, photography, audio and video recording. I sought to document everything that called my attention while seeking community permits, approaching research participants, attending assemblies and public gatherings, engaging in informal conversations, or just strolling around. On some occasions, important insights about local senses of time, space and materiality came from fieldnotes produced by research participants, such as hand-drawing of maps or annotations taken on satellite images (cfr. De Nardi, 2014; Harrison, 2011a; Lillehammer, 2009), which helped me navigate the field.

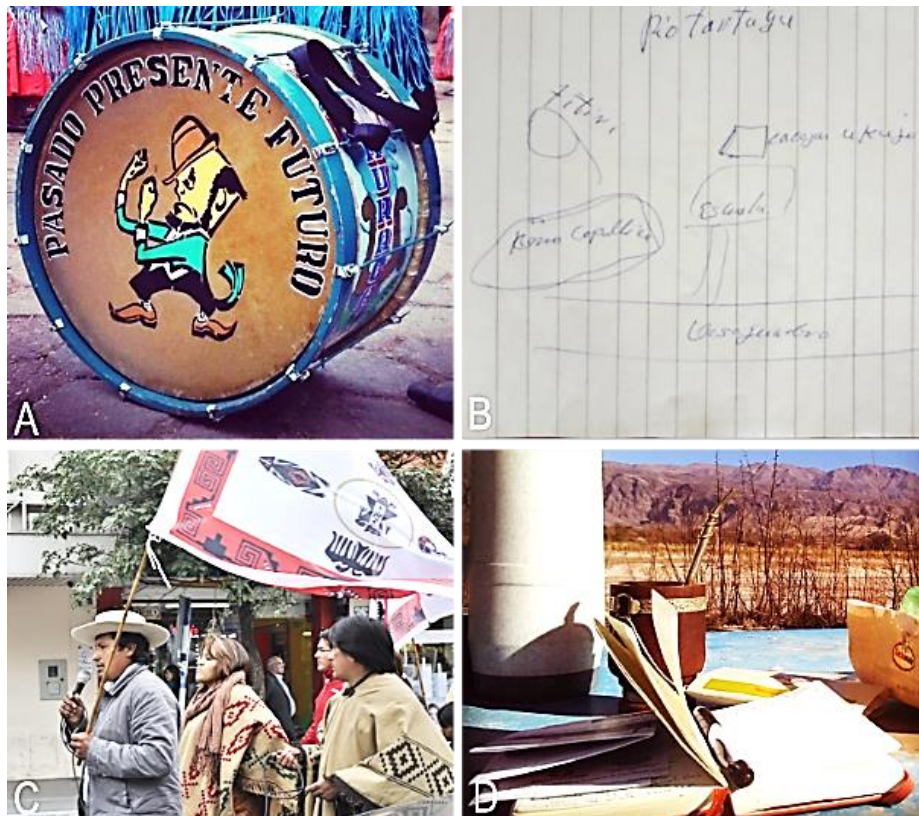


Figure 3.1: Ways of taking fieldnotes: a) A drum of a brass band during the festivity of the Lord of Exaltation, on 14th September, in the village of Tiahuanaco. September 2016; b) Hand-drawn map produced by a research participant during the fieldwork in Huancollo, Tiahuanaco. May 2018; c) Snapshot of a video filmed during a march of the UPNDT in San Miguel de Tucumán. July 2017; d) Journaling on the shore of the dry Santa María river in the Calchaquí Valleys. August 2017.

Such a multimodal way of collecting fieldnotes responded to the circumstances and settings in which those encounters occurred (see Castañeda, 2008: 44; Dicks et al., 2006): video and photography were extremely useful to document public gathering and fieldwalking; audio recording in the case of community assembly and informal conversations as well as to make brief personal note of the impressions stirred up by those encounters or formal interviews; handwriting and computer writing provided the space for journaling events and experiences and structuring observations as the fieldwork moved forward. Video film and photographs were also employed to trigger elicitation by research participants during the interviews (cfr. Castañeda, 2009: 271; De Leon and Cohen, 2005: 201; Schwartz, 1989; Sørensen, 2009: 174), in such a way as to enhance the multisensorial process of memory recollection. In so doing, the objects of the investigation became themselves participants of the archaeological ethnography, and through their sensory and sensuous qualities enhance and extend researcher's reflexivity beyond individual subjectivity.

In these terms, I have been prompted to document and reflect upon *curious assemblages* (Figure 3.2), whereby with “curious perspective” Santos (2014: 161) indicates that is “the search for a different angle from which the proportions and hierarchies established by normal perspective are destabilized and their claim of a natural, orderly, and faithful representation of reality accordingly subverted”. Engaging with the “radical curiosity” (Haraway, 2016: 131; Tsing, 2015: 21) provoked by different beings, temporalities, and materialities, showed how to think through the transformative and generative potential of intersubjective encounters harboured in material and non-material inheritances.



Figure 3.2: On the chimney of a house in El Sauzal, CIAV, fragments of a curious assemblage. July 2018.

3.4.2 Research participants and interviewing

Along the research period I have conducted a total of eighty-five interviews for the two case studies (Appendix B). Sampling of research participants were different according to the context of study and the terms of engagement agreed with the Indigenous communities involved. In either case, the sample was purposively tailored on the research topic and relied either on recognised key subjects or on a snowballing technique by which individual references and recommendations opened up during earlier interactions. A balanced proportion of male and female respondents was maintained, while the numbers of elderly participants are significantly higher than those of young people.

In approaching research participants, I respected formal ethics guidelines and local customs as those both are necessary for ensuring the needed space of trust

required by the ethnographic setting (Castañeda, 2009: 265; Pels, 2018). Participants were informed about the terms and purposes of the investigation, clarifying the non-compulsory, voluntary, and unremunerated basis of their collaboration. They were invited to sign a consent form stating their compliance with the audio/video recording of the interview and they were reminded of their right to anonymity and the possibility to withdraw their consent at any stage of the research. All interviews and interactions were in Spanish, unless otherwise indicated. In cases in which linguistic barriers arose preventing mutual comprehension, an interpreter was sought to read, explain, and translate the consent form, and to carry out the interview; in those cases, the interpreter was also asked to sign the dedicated space of the consent form.

For the Tiwanaku case study (Appendix B.1), a starting list including nine people among elders and key individuals identified for their knowledge about community history was provided by the authorities of Huancollo (see Chapter 6.3). I could reach all of them out, except for one elder who refused to participate. The list of participants expanded as information unfolded by these starting interviews enabled identifying people and places linked to Huancollo's recent history in the frictional space of Tiwanaku's heritage-making process (see Chapter 7). Having presented myself during a community assembly helped the emergence of significant encounters while fieldwalking. As people knew that I was the *gringo* doing some kind of research work in the community, they spontaneously approached me or were relatively confident in being approached with questions.

Interviewing was mainly based on oral history technique, through which participants are asked open-ended and experience-centred question to elicit their point of view on specific historical events and the way they lived in the past (Given, 2008: 584). All interviews were video recorded, for a time range spanning from twenty to sixty minutes. In three occasions, it was necessary to ask a relative of the participant to act as an interpreter from Aymara. Apart from one sole case, in which the participants asked to meet in the house I was renting in Tiahuanaco, the interview setting was the participant's own house or their place of work (Figure 3.3). The recording of the locations in which the interviews occurred proved to be of fundamental importance to figure out the role of places as prompters of memories recollection.

The wide extension of the research area in the Calchaquí Valleys case study, which included several locations comprised within the territories of the communities of Quilmes and Amaicha (Figure 3.4), resulted in a change of the research participants sampling and interviewing techniques. In both communities, the consent to undertake the fieldwork was granted by the delegated authorities rather than during a community assembly, which made my presence in the territory less eye-catching than in the case of Huancollo and prevented the emergence of spontaneous fieldwalking encounters as a reliable sampling method: I was still a *gringo* in the eyes of the local population, but not so different from the hundreds of backpackers and hikers who venture out alone or in group to explore the Calchaquí Valleys.

During the preliminary fieldwork (Appendix B.2), I could meet and interview key Indigenous authorities of the region while seeking community consent (see Chapter 8). In these cases, the interviewing technique was semi-structured (Given, 2008: 811) on the basis of predetermined but open-ended questions revolving around the main topics of the doctoral research: the context of “indigenous re-emergence” in Argentina and the Argentinean Northwest in particular; the role of cultural heritage as a medium for right-based claims; and the relationships between archaeologists and heritage practitioners with Indigenous communities. These broader enquiries let the topic of the free, prior, and informed consent appear as the unifying thread of research.

These interviews were complemented with others conducted with individuals active in tourism networks across the two community settings, which led to further explore participants’ personal involvement in the heritage politics of the region. In this case, life stories interviewing (Given, 2008: 484–485) was useful to determine how people made sense of their individual lived experiences in the context of the re-emergence of Indigenous identities and political activism in the region. Personal recollection of participation in heritage and archaeological projects unveiled awareness of whether archaeologists gained the permission to work in the territory of their community, and whether any problems arose while working in archaeological projects; whether the results of investigations had been made available to the community; what kinds of benefits they received from the project individually and communally; and what remained of those interventions in the territory, both in terms of knowledge production and material leftovers.

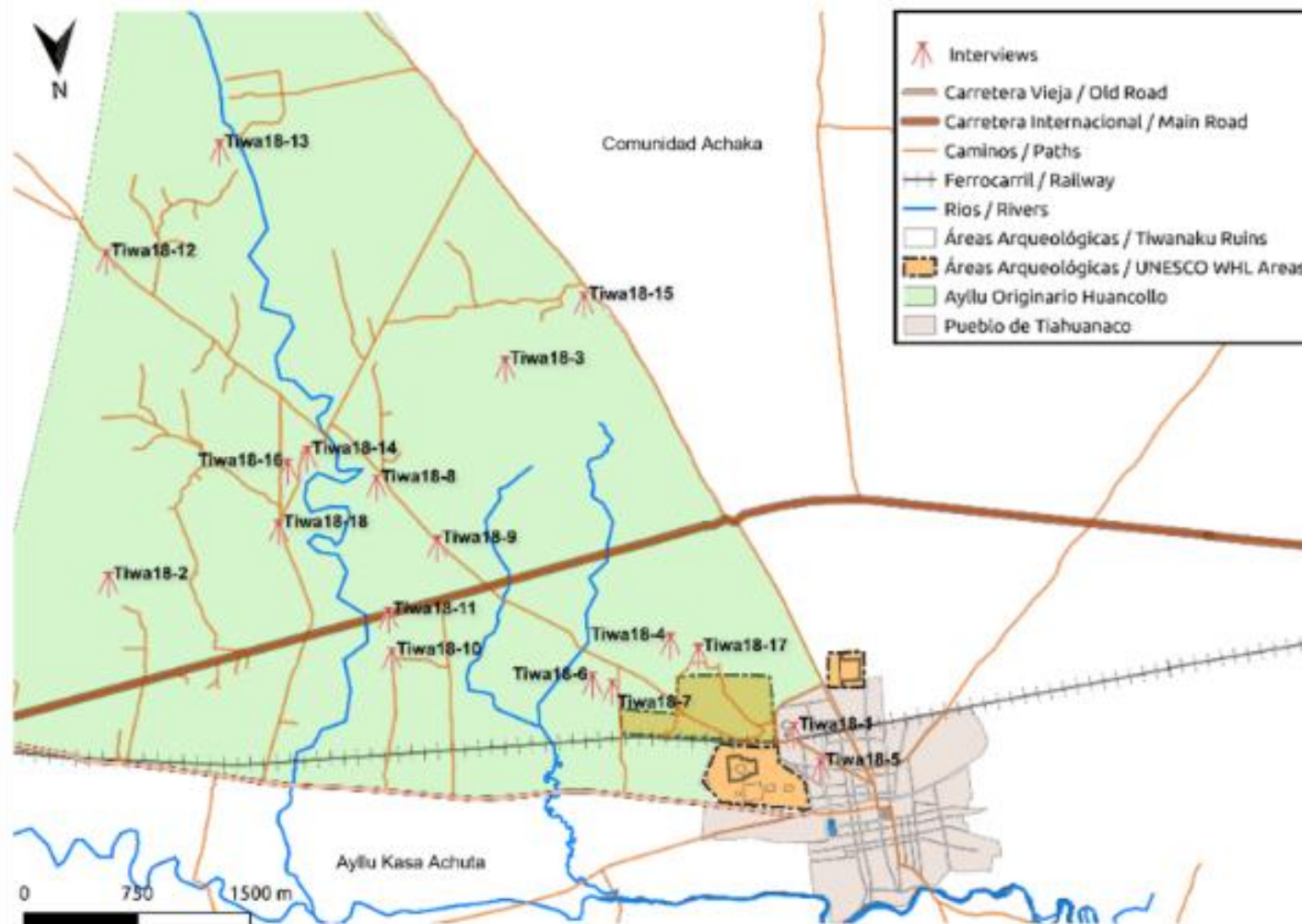


Figure 3.3: Map showing the locations of the interviews conducted for the first case study in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco, Bolivia.

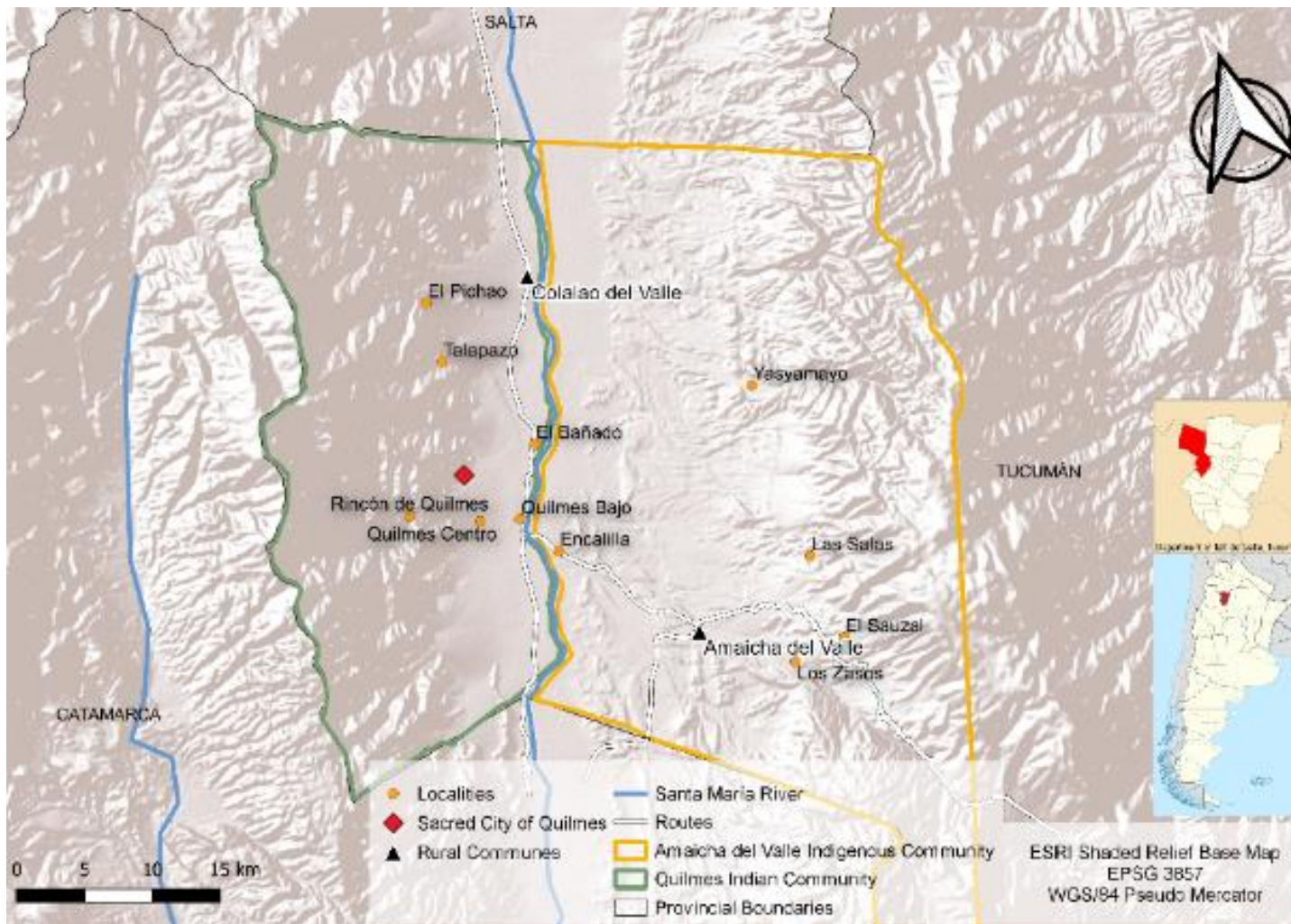


Figure 3.4: Map of the localities visited during the fieldwork in the Calchaquí Valleys, Tucumán, Argentina.

Following this interviewing pattern during the main fieldwork season in Northwest Argentina (Appendix B.3) led to considerably expanding the range of research participants and covered topics. Apart from continuing inquiring about the relationships between archaeologists and communities, also resorting to meetings and informal conversation with professionals involved in recent investigations in the territory, my attention was increasingly drawn to the practices of caring for the community's territory. Key oral history interviews with elders of both Amaicha and Quilmes allowed deepening on this subject in relation to specific events of the recent history of the Calchaquí Valleys. Combining ongoing interviews findings with archival research and literature review of ethnohistorical studies (cfr. Boullosa-Joly and Rodríguez, 2014; Rodríguez and Boullosa-Joly, 2013) prompted the interest towards the enduring oral and material memories of past development projects that have affected the territory (see Chapter 9).

Once narrowed this object of study, sampling of the research participants pursued identifying and reaching out those individuals who had played a role in those development projects. That was achieved by resorting to local contacts in the field and then expanded through a snowballing technique and accidental encounters with people and development rubble left in the territory. On some occasions, to track the material traces of development projects was employed a walking interview technique (Evans and Jones, 2011; Pink, 2007), which consisted in visiting specific locations and exchanging information while being attentive to the sensorial experience of the physical surroundings as "material probe" (De Leon and Cohen, 2005: 202–203) to correlate participants' verbal narratives with the places in which this information has been taken, or the paths along which it has been revealed.

Due to the breakdown of the video camera, most of the interviews of the second part of the fieldwork season could only be audio recorded. Despite the loss of important non-verbal information captured by the video (cfr. Sørensen, 2009: 174), the abandonment of the camera actually resulted in participants feeling more comfortable while interviewed, and conversations expanding in length and wealth of detail and became more informal within the confines of the ethnographic survey. Overall, interviewing was an opening tool to the field, it provided the ground for data gathering later complemented with other methods and disclosed the opportunity to narrow the research object.

3.4.3 Fieldwalking and mapping

Non-systematic surveys provided a material dimension to conflicting narratives over rights and heritage in both case studies. The principal aim was to identify significant community places bearing memory of earlier interventions in the territory and the materiality of these interactions surviving in the landscape. Apart from inventorying spatial coordinates, the very process of moving around allowed gaining knowledge about the living relations of the communities in which I worked: “walking is a profoundly social activity: that in their timings, rhythms and inflections, the feet respond as much as does the voice to the presence and activity of others” (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008: 1).

Again, the deployment of this method responded to the diverse conceptual and logistic circumstances characterising the field either in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco or the Calchaquí Valleys (Figure 3.5). In the first case, the relatively small dimensions of the study area - coincident with the extension of the Ayllu Huancollo - enabled surveying the territory by foot in its entirety. Conversely, in the second case study, I relied on more eclectic strategies in addition to fieldwalking, which included private or public transport along with car or motorbike rides given by the research participants themselves to visit specific localities whose relevance was emerging as the fieldwork unwrapped. In both cases, however, the unifying thread was to consider surface surveying as the materialisation of multiple temporalities unfolding in the present all on the same ontological level.

Fieldwalking technique consisted in approaching research areas either by foot or other means and creating geo-referenced datasets of places identified as important for community memory or in relation to past development projects. On some occasions, I was joined in the survey by research participants giving way to “walking interviews” (see above), which enabled enriching spatial data collection with narratives about the visited places. In so doing, and following Green and Green’s (2013: 65) suggestion, “story track” became a radical cartographic exercise that:

“constantly reconstellates memory in relation to one’s presence in a place [...] Story tracks are a way of being present, a way of knowing how to move through a landscape by responding, remembering, and anticipating all at

once. Story tracks recall ways of knowing and enable ways of being. They are about presence in a landscape. They teach you how to move.”

This approach entails the physical and sensory qualities of the visited landscapes contributing to boost spatial data gathering in addition to the oral accounts. Tracing and counter-mapping these assemblages gives way to a “grounded visualisation” (Knigge and Cope, 2014: 95) enabling iterative, reflexive engagements with different forms of data.

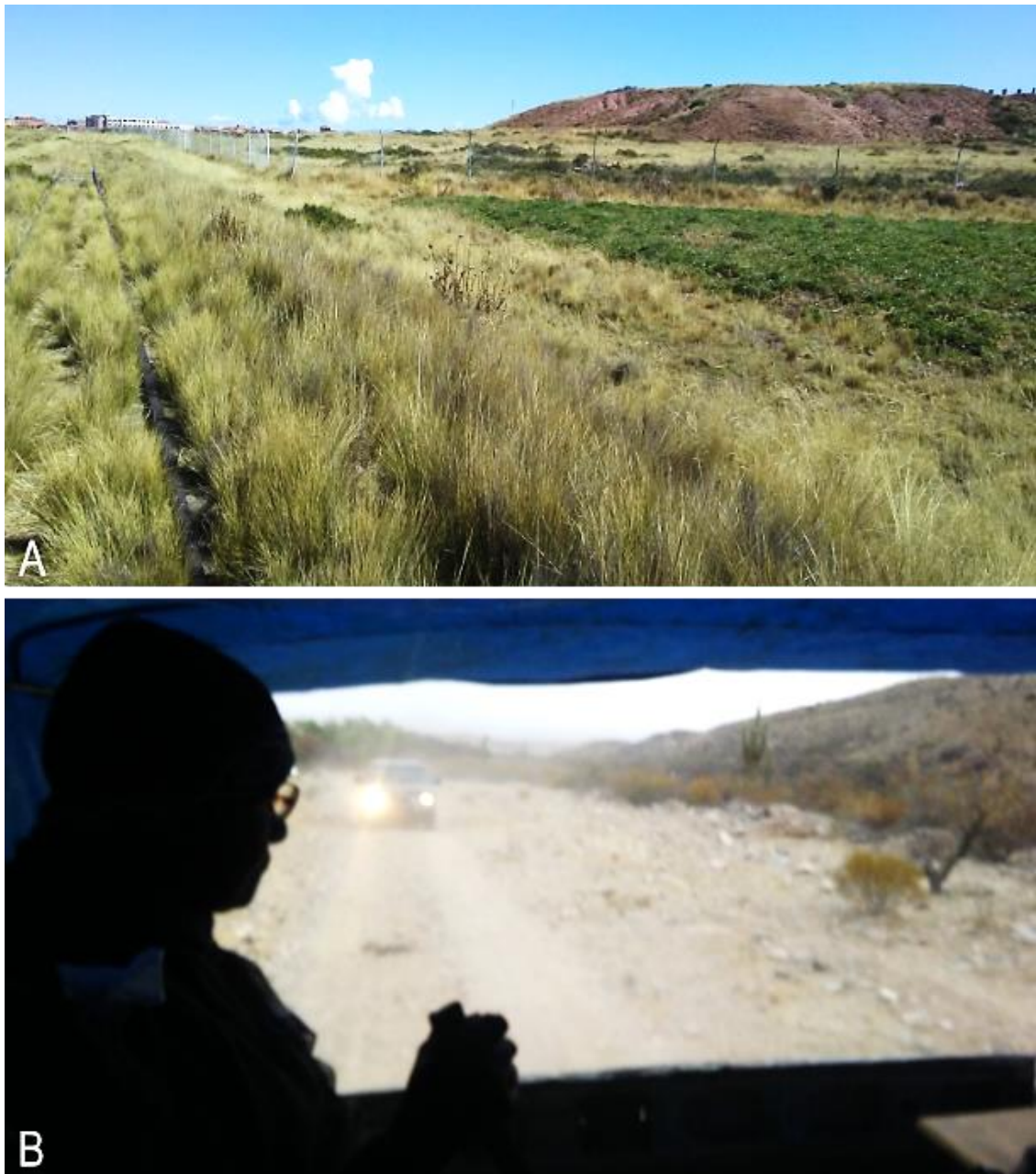


Figure 3.5: a) Following multi-temporal assemblages on the train tracks just outside the fenced area of Tiwanaku, with Akapana in the background, in the territory of the community of Huancollo. May 2018; b) In the back of a van with other passengers on the road to Yasyamayo, CIAV, to visit the site of a World Bank development project. September 2018.

The heterogeneous mass of data collected through fieldwalking converged into a geographical information system software for its storage, systematisation, and visualisation (Figure 3.6, Figure 3.7). The QGIS-based data integration thus includes a disparate array of information proceeding from interviews, observations, and surveys, which enable comprehending local senses of place and attitudes towards heritage sites, as well as palimpsests of participants' experiences, feelings, and webs of relations mediated by objects, stories, and songs (see De Nardi, 2014: 17; Fitzjohn, 2009: 240). The descriptive thickness so achieved makes this cartographic exercise akin to what Pearson and Shanks (2001: 64–65) referred to as “deep mapping”:

“to record and represent the grain and patina of place through juxtapositions and interpenetrations of the historical and the contemporary, the political and the poetic, the factual and the fictional, the discursive and the sensual; the conflation of oral testimony, anthology, memoir, biography, natural history and everything you might want to say about a place”.

Mapping in this way is primarily a means for translation of histories and places, which are comprehensive of “the myriad causes — of ownership, authority and interpretation — clustering around their appearance and disappearance” (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 162). Assuming a resolution of analysis that takes the temporal and spatial affordances of things and places into account, the investigative effort rather than aiming at classification and ordering, is instead a mean of drawing solidarities and inscribing rights in a shared landscape.

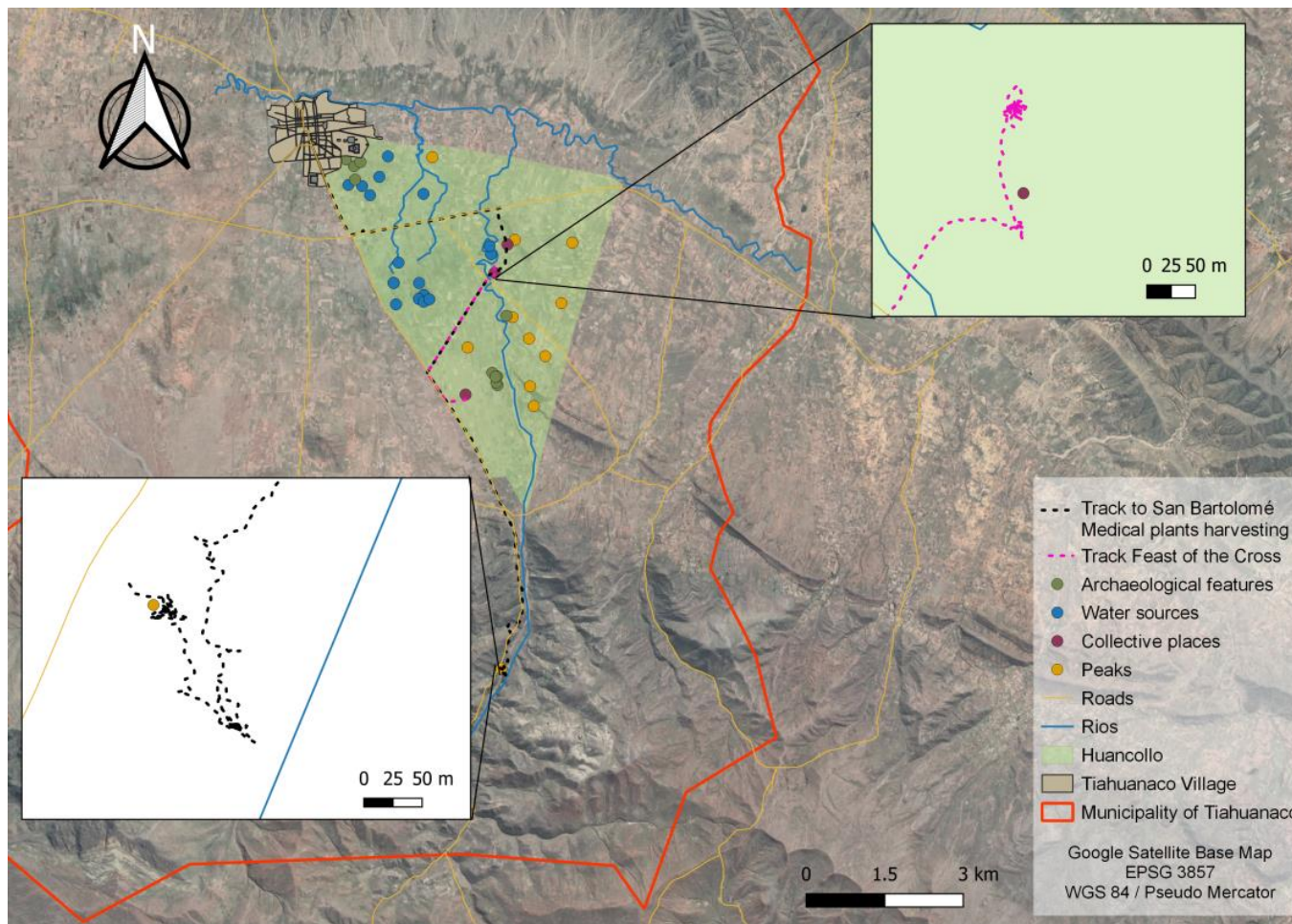


Figure 3.6: Map showing the surveyed area in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco with key recorded features and tracks integrated through QGIS software.

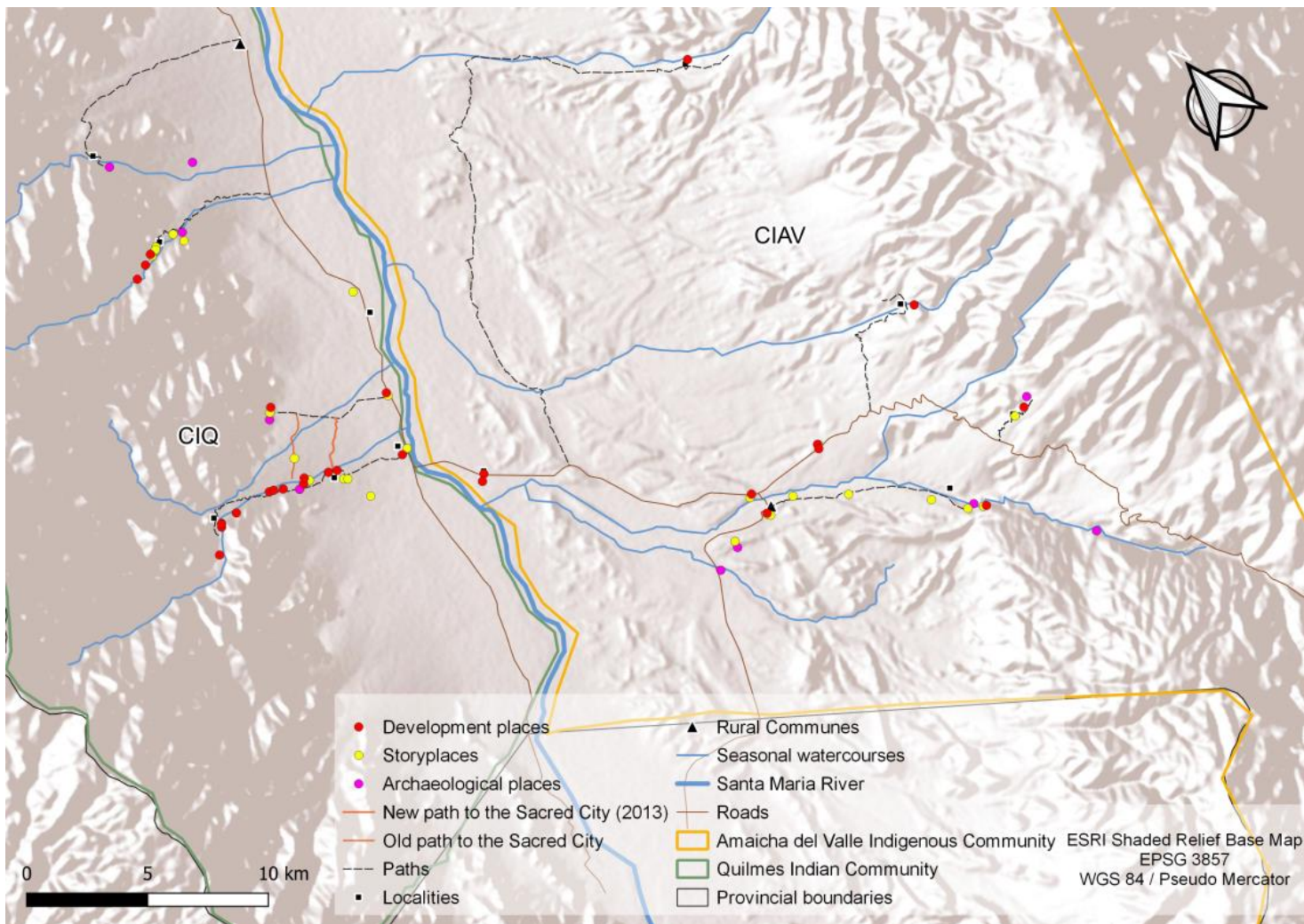


Figure 3.7: Map showing spatial data recorded during the fieldwork in the Calchaquí Valley, Tucumán.

3.4.4 Transcription, analysis, and translation

Students with whom I got in contact in both field locations were hired to transcribe the most part of the interviews, thus enhancing the speed and quality of the transcription as Spanish mother-tongue people from those regions took charge of the task (Appendix C). For three of those interviews, which were recorded in Aymara with the help of an interpreter, professional translation and transcription was made possible thanks to the late world-renowned linguist Professor Juan de Dios Yapita of the Institute of Aymara Language and Culture, La Paz. Anonymised literary transcripts of the recorded conversations were stored and managed through the qualitative data analysis software NVivo.

The computer-assisted data management enabled constant and iterative interactions with the sources to ground empirical analysis and trigger creative insights (see e.g. Bringer et al., 2004: 250; Maher et al., 2018). Two distinct digital datasets (Figure 3.8, Figure 3.9) were generated for the case studies to grant integrity, robustness, and trustworthiness of the narrative analysis process (cfr. Given, 2008: 539). This was based on an in-depth scrutiny of the transcripts based on “coding”, i.e., “the inductive process of searching for concepts, ideas, themes, and categories that help the researcher to organize and interpret data” (Given, 2008: 58). Firstly, an open coding through the software automatic function facilitated the identification of structuring recurrent themes, which were subsequently refined through a detailed coding on each item of the dataset and the information merged into emergent thematic nodes according to similarity, frequency, and intuitive connections (cfr. Hutchison et al., 2010: 289–291; Thompson and Adams, 2013: 352–353). NVivo helped the analysis process by providing an easy-to-read environment that allowed systematising the interviews references. These could be simply retrieved and sharpened by performing coding or word frequency queries, and the resulting interactive charts and maps (Figure 3.10) enabled an easy access to the query results thus streamlining the emergence of interpretative inferences.

During the coding process, particular attention was paid to the pattern of “memory talk”, which is defined as “a discourse in which social memories become lodged in places (both present and erased) and people (both alive and deceased) outside of intentionally commemorative and ritual contexts” (Degnen, 2005: 736). The triangulation of textual and spatial data with archival research led to highlight the

impact of selective remembering and forgetting in the making of “textured social milieu” (Degnen, 2005: 742), and to consider the way in which “individuals insert themselves and others into a network of relationship between people and places, past and present” (Hawke, 2012: 240). Another aspect that held special importance and enhanced contextual reflexivity for both case studies has been the identification of jokes and misunderstandings occurred during formal and informal interactions and recorded either in fieldnotes or interviews. In line with the methodological strategy outlined throughout this chapter, the integrated analysis of transcripts, fieldnotes, and mapping focused on showing *cosmopolitical activators*: people, places, things, and other-than-human beings that expanded the understanding of the research themes through their simultaneous juxtaposition and divergence.

The NVivo coded references could be easily accessed, enabling a fluent conversation with visual and spatial data. Fieldwork findings arrangement was tailored on the necessity to visualise and answer the research question set up by this dissertation, which implies not having exhausted the capacity of the data to produce further outcomes if the focus were to change. In these terms, the final stage of writing up the results of the fieldwork has entailed a twofold process of translation.

On a narrower level, pieces of textual information recorded in Spanish had to be translated into English, and the most significant segments integrated in the text: I have opted for maintaining a close adherence to the references in such a way that meaningful nuances are not lost, as far as possible; yet in some cases little syntactic adjustments were needed to fully render the meaning of the original source, or it was considered important to leave a word in its original tongue for mere textual translation is not sufficient to channel the breadth of its meaning. This entails a second and wider level of translation, in which the mass of fieldwork findings was rendered into identifiable units, including segments of interview transcripts, photos, maps, archival materials, and fieldnotes, all bound together by thematic proximity and radical curiosity across multimodal ways of data collection and recording.

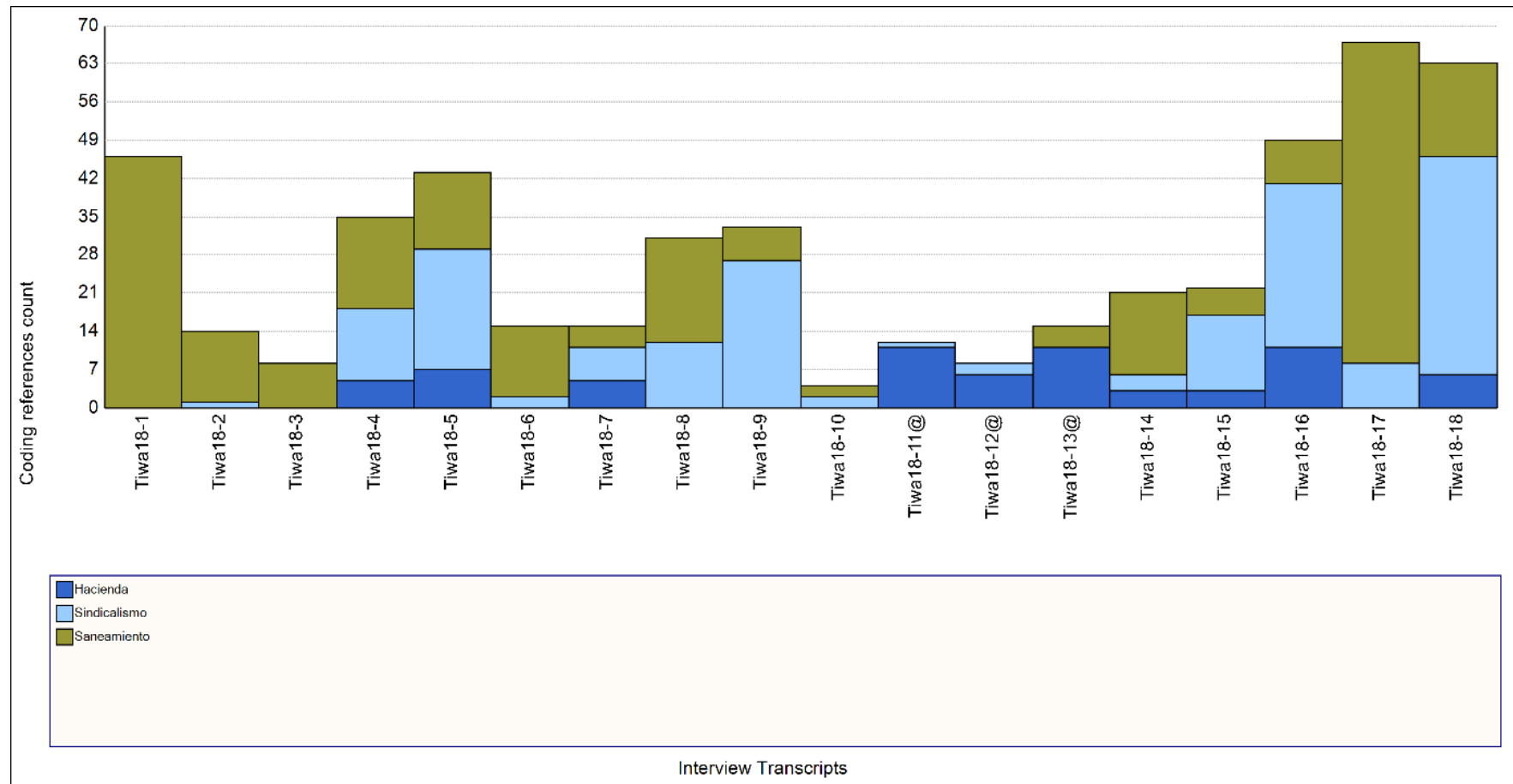


Figure 3.8: NVivo chart showing the first case study dataset according to the coding references count for the three temporal nodes emerged from the analysis of the interviews collected in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco.

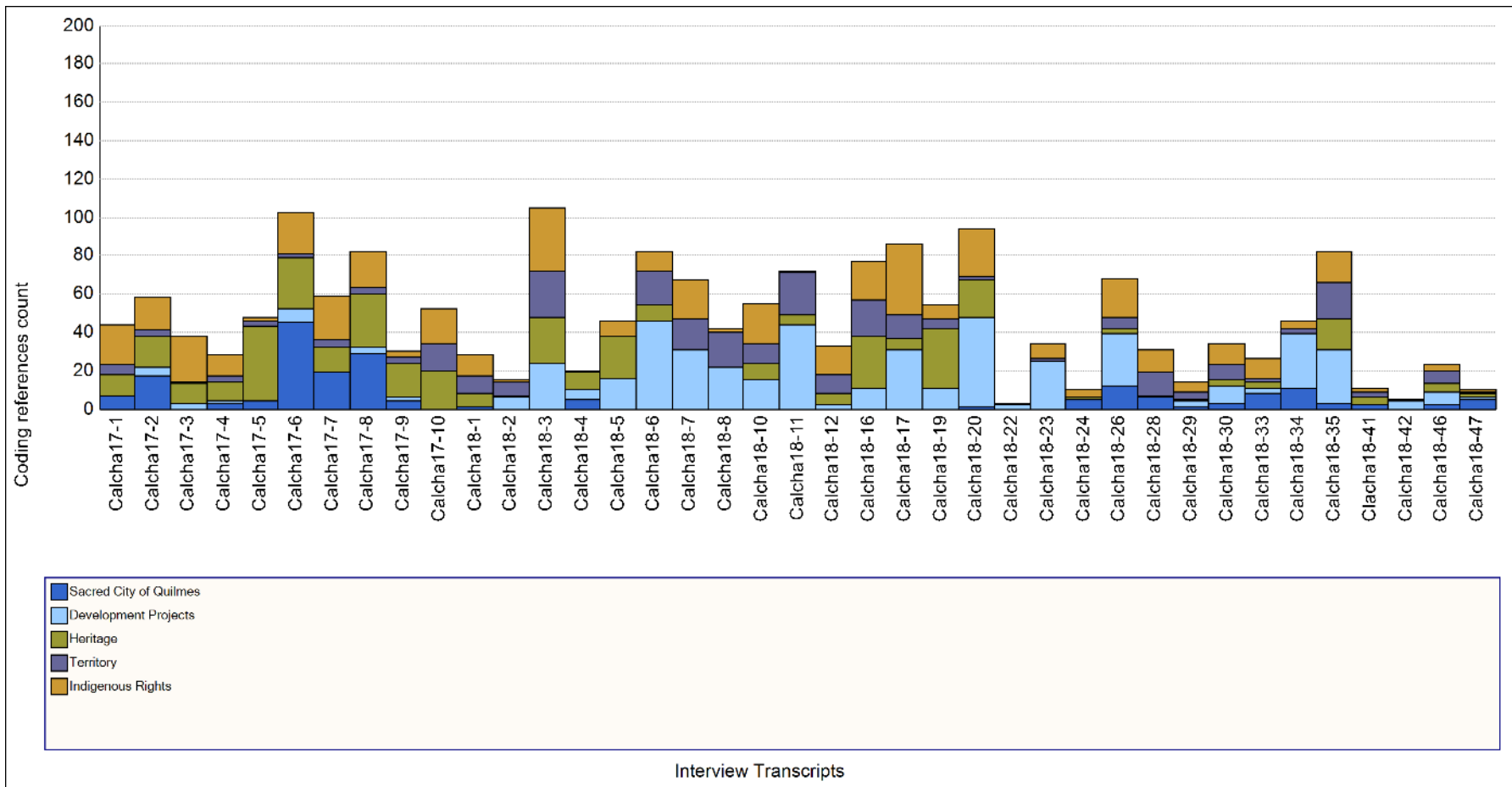


Figure 3.9: NVivo chart showing selected items of the dataset for the second case study according to the coding references count for the main thematic nodes organising the analysis of the interviews collected in the Calchaquí Valleys.

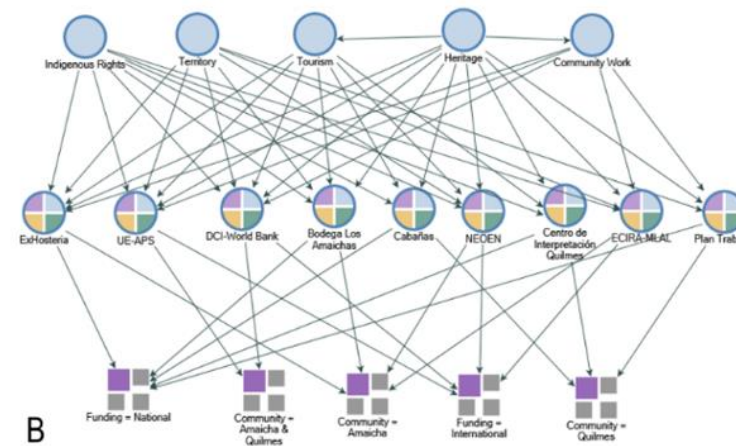
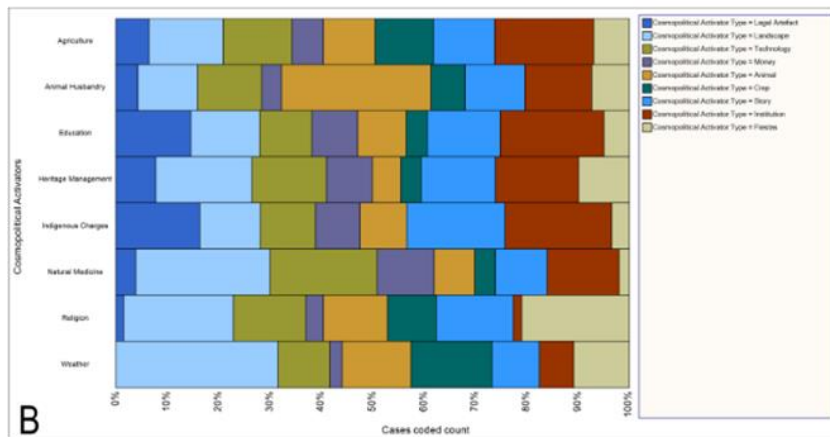
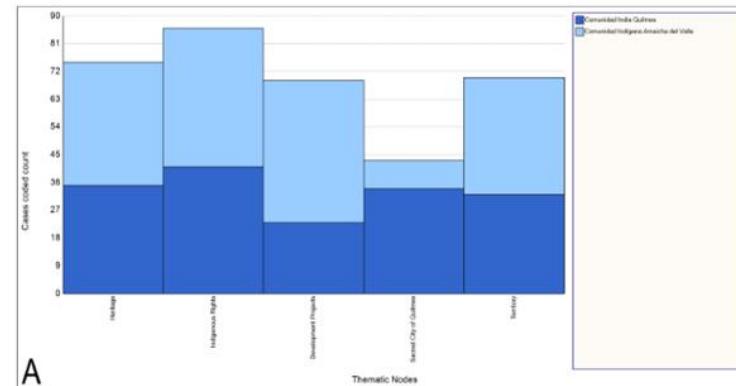
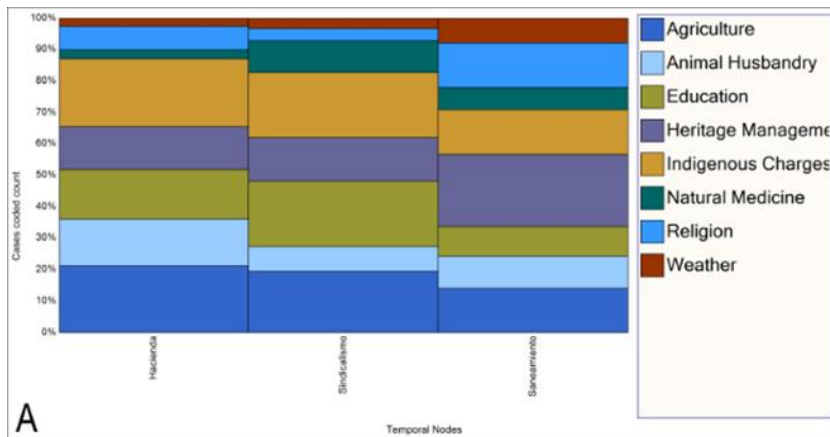


Figure 3.10: On the left: Examples of coding queries for the first case studies performed with NVivo. a) The three temporal nodes cross-referenced with “cases” agglutinating the cosmopolitical activators according to sphere of practices. b) The sphere of practices dissected by cosmopolitical activator type. On the right: a) Thematic nodes for the second case study displayed according to their emergence in cases associated with the CIAV or the CIQ. b) NVivo offers the possibility to render conceptual maps of the cross-coded connections between nodes, cases, and attributes: this map shows the elements associated with national or international funded development projects that have affected the two communities in the recent past, some of which are discussed in Chapter 9.

3.5 Conclusions

The methodological strategy outlined throughout the chapter is the building block upon which an interdisciplinary approach to the heritage/rights system can be developed. It allows to look at the interplay of human rights and cultural heritage as these fields of systematised concepts and practices become apparent in vernacular contexts, while also enriching the analytical description with an archaeological eye centred on materiality and multi-temporality. The visualisation and materialisation of these assemblages is therefore part of an “intercultural translation” (see Santos, 2014: 212) aimed at exploring encounters grounded on peoples’ rights and mutual responsibilities.

Stressing the importance of the process of consultation gives way to consider the performative and developing relationships between local communities and outsiders and the juxtaposed arrangements of people, places, and things, which these encounters have left in the landscape. The articulation of different methods of data collection and analysis aims at showing the partiality of the agreements achieved within the heritage/rights system, that is, politically negotiated and asymmetric. The approach is particularly well suited for visualising and assessing the political ontology underlying the encounters between heritage and rights: archaeological ethnography can help to investigate into the heterogenous materiality and the multiple temporalities of objects and landscapes, and how these articulate local, national, and supra-national contexts.

If I had to find a single word for describing such a methodological strategy, that word would be “hitch-hiking” (Figure 3.11): this is comprehensive of the complementarity between improvisation and performance, the interplay between memories and aspirations, the contemporaneity of solitude and sociality; it aptly describes the footprints left by the “*twists and turns* of the investigation” (see Chapter 8.1), the patience of waiting and the prudence of remaining still. Hitch-hiking is an ethical orientated methodology “in which self and other are always co-present, even though the other is reduced to an object, or momentarily disappears from sights and mind” (Jackson, 2012: 122; commenting on Merleau-Ponty, 1962).

Having unpacked the theoretical and methodological foundations of the doctoral research in the first part of the thesis, the next chapter moves on by introducing the

two case studies in Bolivia and Argentina in depth, exploring their relationships with the historical development of archaeological practice, heritage/rights struggles, and grassroots politics in South America.



Figure 3.11: Hitch-hiking in the Calchaquí Valleys. November 2018.

Chapter 4. Introduction to case studies: the coloniality of heritage and the gravitational power of Tiwanaku and the Calchaquí Valleys

4.1 On the coloniality of heritage

The chapter deals with the historical background of South America as a region where it is possible to track the interdependence of the heritage/rights system since the very beginning of its modern/colonial articulation. The structure of the chapter consists of two parts, which are also introductory sections for the case study chapters. The insights lent by the selected fieldwork locations are crucial to explore divergent understandings and practices revolving around what heritage is and who and how should take care of it. Tiwanaku and the Calchaquí Valleys are meaningful examples of the enduring “coloniality” – understood as the logic of violence and racial discrimination that is structural to the universalisation of modernity (e.g. Mignolo, 2000; Quijano, 2007) – concretising in tangible palimpsests and long-term rearrangements of people and territory, as well as bearing memory of the power held by socio-material and multi-temporal iterations in the shaping of disagreements and conflicts over heritage sites and resources.

A colonial link between heritage and rights can be found in a project of modernity that is rooted in the encounter between the European world and the Indigenous worlds: that is, when the particular logics, systems of thought, and ways of life of the latter served as the ground from which the former was able to define its universalistic and market-oriented vision of rights (Barreto, 2014; Maldonado-Torres, 2017). Due to the violence produced by the expansion of European modernity, the relationships of Indigenous peoples with their lands and histories were forcibly changed by considering their bodies as demoniac, or as mere receptacles of an infantile soul docilely open to the teachings of the colonizers. In an attempt to call things by their name, Santos (2014: 92) designates this phenomenon as “epistemicide [...] the death of the knowledge of the subordinated culture, hence the death of the social group that possessed it”.

Exactly as happened in the case of successive colonialist drives, the conquest of the continent that would come to be named America was structured around a “denial of coevalness” (Fabian, 1983) supporting the imperial designs of classification and

freezing the representations of otherness into that which best matched with the recurrent “will to improve others” (Li, 2007). Modern academic disciplines, such as anthropology and archaeology, developed out of the pulse for sizing, classifying, and plundering sovereign Indigenous lands, cultural artefacts, and human bodies once the utopic algorithm of the common universal Christianity gave way to the blinding optimisms of Reason and Progress (Smith, 1999: 42–72). The resulting picture figured a distorted colonial reality that fed into the naturalisation of the modern nation-state as the only collective body capable of guaranteeing the freedom and rights of its citizens, and the sole bearer of international subjectivity before other States.

The chapter explores the way in which dominant conceptions of archaeology and heritage developed as tools for delegitimising Indigenous histories, socio-material affects, and ways of knowing. It takes a long-term perspective that emphasises the continuity between colonial and republican regimes, rather than limiting the analysis to the period in which archaeology was formalised as a discipline, or heritage regulated as a national property.

The introduction to the two selected locations conveys the “deep alterity” that Shepherd, Gnecco and Haber (2016: 15–16) have associated with Indigenous grassroots politics performed through “a desperate defence of the territory”. The irreducibility of certain objects and places to a single classificatory category makes them retain an uncomfortable gravitational power (Lazzari, 2011: 275; 2012: 7). This disquietude brings “destabilizing subjectivities” (Santos, 2014: 97) to engage in renewed poetics and politics of emancipation.

4.2 Introducing Tiwanaku

The Municipality of Tiahuanaco³ (Department of La Paz, Province of Ingavi) is home of the “Spiritual and Political Centre of the Tiwanaku Culture”, a World Heritage listed site since 2000 (Figure 4.1). A few months before the UNESCO designation, the twenty-three communities that compose the municipality with the three villages decided to take the control of the administration of the site. Since then, the management of the UNESCO property is shared by the local Indigenous and civil

³ According to a customary use, “Tiahuanaco” is used to refer to the modern village and municipality, while “Tiwanaku” refers to the archaeological site and its socio-material relations, either codified as heritage or not.

authorities, and governmental offices deputed to heritage conservation and research. In these introductory sections to the case study, I review the history of the research interest in the ruins of Tiwanaku, especially focusing on the socio-political contexts leading to the emergence of the idea to protect them as heritage.

4.2.1 *Taypi*: Unravelling the multi-temporal legacy of a meeting place

The ancient city of Tiwanaku is located about 70 kms from the Bolivian capital La Paz. It is the most important archaeological site of the country, and that which most clearly affected the development of the modern nation-states and the politics of resistance exercised by Indigenous peoples throughout the Andes. The ruins covers a surface of four square kilometres, including large areas of pottery dispersion on the surface, megalithic blocks, human-shaped monoliths, and the monumental core constituted by the most iconic architectural features, which have been popularised via tourism and pseudo-scientific theories about their extra-terrestrial origins: the temple of *Kalასasaya*, the Gate of the Sun, the pyramid of *Akapana*, and the enigmatic pile of rubbles that has been named *Puma Punku*. A few meters from the main entrance to the fenced heritage area is the colonial *pueblo* [village] of Tiahuanaco, which was built thanks to the wide availability of construction materials from the ruins and nowadays it is the seat of both the local government and the indigenous-peasant organization involving the twenty-three rural communities of the Municipality.

Archaeological evidence put the flourishing period of Tiwanaku between the 5th and the 11th centuries CE, when it arrived to exercise an influence on a vast region spanning from the current Bolivian territorial boundaries thorough Southern Peru, Northern Chile, and Northwest Argentina (e.g. Albarracin-Jordan, 1999; Vranich, 2013). There is less agreement about the nature of the site in its heyday: whether it was an economic-political centre based on the centralised control of natural resources, or a source of spiritual-religious irradiation mediated by a model of segmental influence and domination over other territories (Janusek, 2006; Stanish, 2002: 188–191). What is certain is that the ruins did not stop nurturing the imagination of the people who kept meeting there (Kojan and Angelo, 2005: 385), starting from the Incas that expanded their domination to the area of the Lake Titicaca in the 15th century.

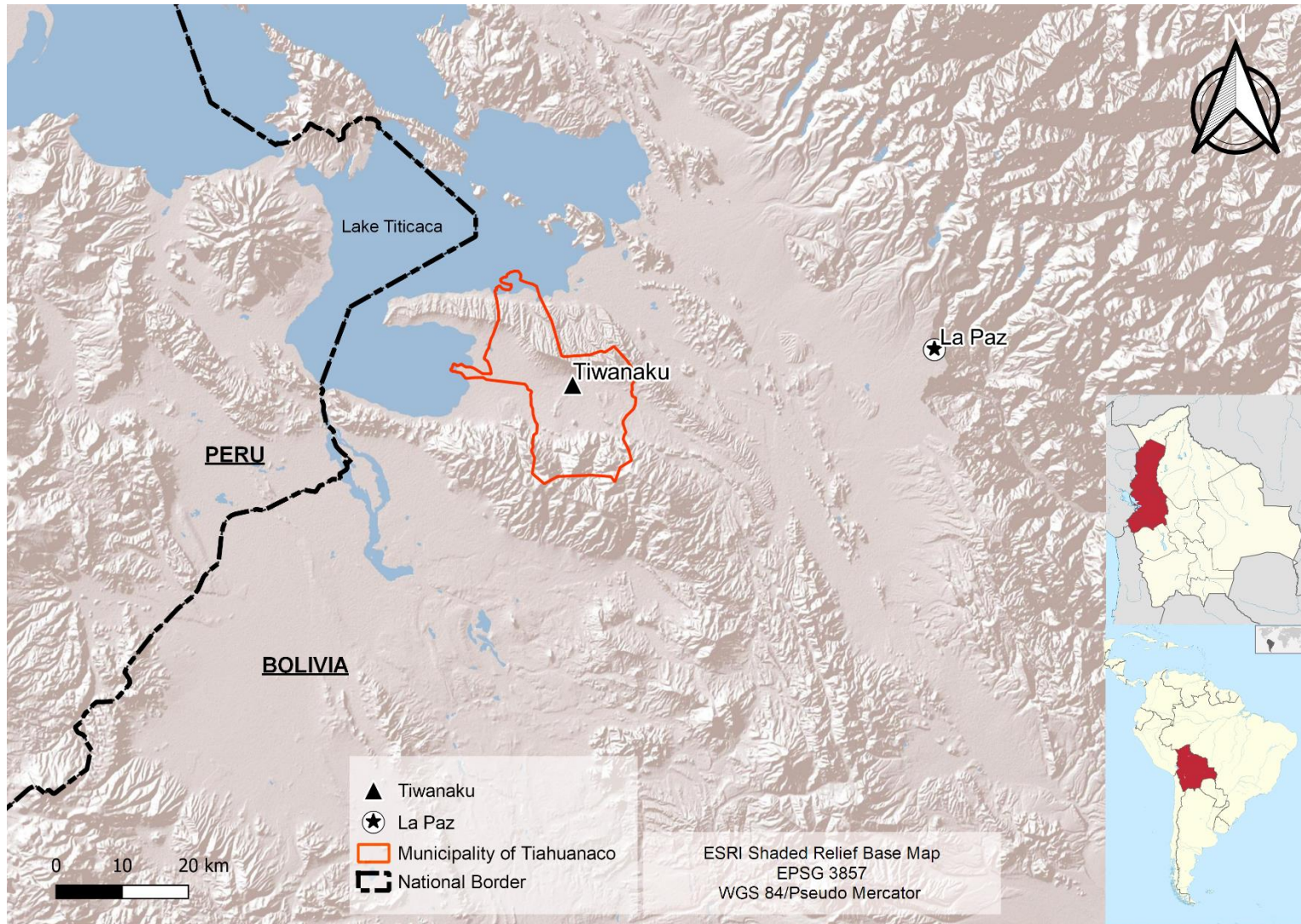


Figure 4.1: Map showing the location of the fieldwork in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco, La Paz, Bolivia.

The ruins of the abandoned monumental settlement were related to Andean cosmogonies and acted as a mythical source of legitimation for the imperial power: the birth of Viracocha in the Lake Titicaca, the creation of the sun, the moon, and the stars in the place known as Tiwanaku, the wrath of the god because of the misbehaviour of the first inhabitants, and the fatal conversion of those first people into stone (Abercrombie, 1998: 200–212). This is, at least, what has arrived to us channelled by the Spanish chronicles: Juan de Betanzos' *Suma y Narración de los Incas* (1551), Cieza de León's *Crónicas del Perú* (1553), Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Historia de los Incas* (1572) offered the earliest, fascinating descriptions of the monumental ruins (Kosiba, 2017: 75–79; Vranich, 2013: 3). Still in the 17th century Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas* (1609: 211) reported the mythical origin of Tiwanaku and quoting the words of the priest Diego de Alcobaça, the celebre *mestizo* writer said: "In Tiahuanaco, in the province of Collao, among other things, there are some ancient ruins worthy of immortal memory".

Either for administrative offices or for research curiosity, those first explorers subsumed the ruins of Tiwanaku into a set of univocal, established interpretations and practices. Such an approach is indicative of a broader regime of interpretation that "obscured from view many of the ways in which things signify" (Abercrombie, 2016: 86). The tension toward "immortal memory" conveyed by the ruined city of Tiwanaku onto European educated travellers is haunted by a foundational disagreement, which can be traced back to the unintended laughter recounted by Cieza de León (1553: 379) in the following passage:

"I asked the natives, in the presence of Juan de Vargas (who holds them in encomienda), whether these edifices were built in the time of the Yncas, and they laughed at the question, affirming that they could not say who made them. [...] Seeing that all these things are hidden from us, we may well say, Blessed be the invention of letters! by virtue of which the memory of events endures for many ages, and their fame flies through the universe. We are not ignorant of what we desire to know when we hold letters in our hands. But in this new world of the Indies, as they knew nothing of letters, we are in a state of blindness concerning many things".

The quote sparks the attention for the Spanish chronicler inscribed the ruins with a temporality in which things are better known and remembered through written words. Yet, the laughter provoked by Cieza's interrogation pointed to a way of relating with the materials of the past that is not necessarily mediated by the deployment of writing

(see Fernández-Osco, 2011: 337; Mamani Condori, 1994: 50; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1987). In fact, a contemporary author of Garcilaso de la Vega, Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamyhua (1613: 234), resorted to his mixed Andean and European legacies when he gave the following account at the beginning of his chronicle: “As a kid, I listened to very old tales and fables, barbarisms from the time of paganism, which are as it follows: among the Indians, the things from the times past always speak to people”.

The tension between alternative ways of bearing witness of the ruins of Tiwanaku persisted through the centuries and is still part of the social dynamics gravitating around the site (Figure 4.2). Nowadays it assumes a paradoxical form: on one side, the Plurinational Constitution of 2009 enshrines the right to self-determination of the thirty-six Indigenous nationalities recognised in the territory of the country; on the other, Tiwanaku is the preferred scenario for displaying the central power of the State. Despite the theatrical discourse of ancestral legacy surrounded the site and encouraged participatory management policies and promises of interculturality, the official conservation of the UNESCO property is still inclined to exclude vernacular memories and affections unleashed by the heritage site (Ticona Alejo, 2017). Those divergent movements of inscribing memory in the territory concretise in the expansion of the buffer zone for the adequate conservation of Tiwanaku’s “outstanding value”.

In my preliminary fieldwork (Orlandi, 2016), the heritage significance in the surroundings of the protected area of Tiwanaku appeared as a complex mosaic of contrasting sentiments expressed through a diverse range of activities, such as: livestock breeding; potato harvesting; souvenir crafting; restoration and accommodation services; rotation of *cargos* [Indigenous authorities]; touristic guidance; locals’ participation in labours of restoration, maintenance or excavation; institutionalised and familiar rituals; Andean mysticism mixed with new age spiritualism and pseudo-archaeological confidence in the extra-terrestrial origins of the ruins. These arguments seemed to take part in constantly renewing the gravitational power of the site, without contradicting each other, for all of them stem from the strong relationships bounding together people, things, and places living and visiting Tiwanaku.

These activities are part of the local engagement with the archaeological ruins, coexisting in a way that complicates any attempt of attributing one vision or another to any specific group. Tiwanaku – among other things – is the major tourist attraction of the country; the stage of the invented traditions giving legitimacy to the project of an Indigenous State; a field of power relations animated by different temporalities and animated personifications. In this sense, the classificatory logics that have followed one another across the centuries have reinforced its attribution as the *Taypi Qala* [the stone in-between] of the Andean world (Bouysse Cassagne, 1987: 174–178; Kolata, 1993: 8–10). The Aymara concept of *taypi* refers to “a place where differences coexist” (Bouysse Cassagne, 1987: 195), and crafts, as Rivera Cusicanqui (2014: n.d.) puts it, “an intermediate interwoven fabric [...] an arena of antagonism and seduction”.



Figure 4.2: A view of the archaeological site of Tiwanaku from the top of the Akapana pyramid, on the right the reconstructed stone enclosure of the temple of Kalasasaya; the modern village of Tiahuanaco is on the background. September 2016.

In her ethnographic investigation into the tourist-driven exploitation of the ruins of Tiwanaku, Sammells (2009: 13) unravelled this fabric describing the socio-material networks by which “the archaeological site was both the locus of knowledge production, and an actor who could interact directly with Tiwanakeños”. Her research followed a hybrid network that included a range of participants each one having an effect on each other: the residents of the village of Tiahuanaco; members and authorities of the rural communities of the municipality; archaeologists and other heritage experts; and also other-than-human actors, such as, the monoliths and temples of the archaeological site, money circulating in the tourism-related activities, the knowledge produced by communities’ involvement in archaeological works, and

the kiosks built by the government with the support of an international development funding to provide a more comfortable experience to the visitors. She concluded that Tiwanaku's "cultural gravity" (Sammells, 2009: 250–252) is born out of the differentiated engagement with the materiality of the site that each participant in the network has and provokes on the others.

Tiwanaku's networks are constantly changing in time and space, yet their "purification" (sensu Latour, 1993: 34) discloses the disciplining nature of heritage-making as an "anti-history machine" (Sammells, 2009: 378; after Ferguson, 1990). This increases the surveillance power of the State and intergovernmental organisations and forecloses not-allowed actors from taking part in the definition of the political. However, it also provides material for the creative ability of dealing with things from the time past, constantly reshaping what matters in Tiwanaku's heritage relationships.

4.2.2 On the recognition of an "outstanding universal value": detaching Tiwanaku from its living landscape in laws, words, and images

The World Heritage Committee inscribed the site in the UNESCO World Heritage List according to the following criteria: "The ruins of Tiwanaku bear striking witness to the power of the empire that played a leading role in the development of the Andean prehispanic civilization"; "The buildings of Tiwanaku are exceptional examples of the ceremonial and public architecture and art of one of the most important manifestations of the civilizations of the Andean region" (WHC, 2000). The way in which countries define the "outstanding universal value", which is required to inscribe a state property in the UNESCO prestigious list, is indicative of the self-representation of those States on the international arena (Labadi, 2013: 20–22). Accordingly, the nomination proposal of Tiwanaku gives insights on what kind of heritage relationships were at stake at that moment of its inscription.

The "Justification" section of the document showcased Tiwanaku as "a symbol of Bolivian Nationality" holding an "implicit importance" for having been at the centre of the socio-political development of the State in the Andean region as much as for its "contributions to humankind", which are found in the earliest cultivation of the potato and in the "ecological agricultural system" of the raised fields (Bolivian Vice Ministry of Culture, 1999: 27–28). The monumentality of the site is emphasised for it has never stopped attracting researchers from all over the world and throughout centuries,

supplying a source of comparison and imagination, from Atlantis to Stonehenge (1999: 29). The document concludes attesting that “[t]he enormous rural population of La Paz department as well as the urbanistic [*sic*] populations of the cities La Paz and El Alto, together with the people of the country agree that Bolivia is a testimony and Tiwanaku is the living example of the millenarian origin of this nation” (1999: 30).

The related management plan attached to the nomination document set the general goal “the investigation, conservation, and diffusion of the cultural patrimony, left to us by the Tiwanakuan [*sic*] citizens, and also fortifying cultural conscience”, which entails achieving “greater and better tourist services”, and introducing “the dynamic of investigation, conservation, and tourism to the local inhabitants” (Bolivian Vice Ministry of Culture, 1999: 107).

The UNESCO nomination proposal reflects the ambiguity of the multicultural logic from which it originated (see Chapter 5). Tiwanaku’s multi-layered memories and ability to affect the public were misrecognised as the deep roots of national imagination to show the legitimacy and the capacity of the Bolivian nation-state to preserve Tiwanaku’s heritage in accordance with international standards and requirements. Yet, local inhabitants were not passive spectators, nor simply beneficiaries of heritage-making dynamics. They engaged with the archaeological works at the site and learnt to take advantage of the benefits that came along.

Archaeological practice and legislation became entangled in the early years of the 20th century with the first laws concerning the protection of national cultural heritage (Yates, 2011: 293). Tiwanaku and the archaeological remains of the Lake Titicaca islands were declared State property in 1906, while the Supreme Decree 144/09 established the mandatory governmental authorisation for any excavations to be undertaken in the country, prohibited the exportation of archaeological materials, and dictated measures to prevent the *huaqueo* – the illegal excavations conducted mainly by the local population to gain some money from the exploitation of the economic value attributed to those material remains.

Writing in those years about the state of conservation of the ruins of Tiwanaku, the North American archaeologist, Adolph Bandelier (1911: 218), complained about the prohibition of undertaking excavation, which implied collecting materials “by way of contraband; through purchase from Indians, who mostly come out at night to avoid the

vigilance of the authorities". Yet, he rejoiced in the existence of a museum that he considered "a fair beginning, if one takes in consideration the character of the people and the difficulties in the way of gathering and preserving relics of the past" (Bandelier, 1911: 219). With respect to the locals, he insisted that:

"In mode of living and degree of uncleanness they are like others, they are as unfriendly towards the whites, as hostile to progress as any others of the stock. Their respect for relics of the past is slight, but whenever a foreigner attempts to touch these, they oppose it while still eager to sell what they can gather of the antiquities themselves, and not at all backwards in defacing or even destroying monuments" (Bandelier, 1911: 234)

Another source of anxiety for the archaeologist is the fact that natives resorted to the top of the pyramid of Akapana to celebrate the festivity of the village of Tiahuanaco, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on 14th September. Bandelier (1911: 238) worried for the preservation of the monument and noticed that "they played after the fashion of children, buying fruit of each other, building toy-houses, and, above all, drinking hard".

In Bandelier's commentaries, the racial attitude of the archaeological thought in South America at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries is summarised (Curtoni and Politis, 2006: 97; Gnecco, 2011: 14): the materiality of the past no longer lives within the present; it has to be sanitised and put in the service of the colonial project of the nation-state. Like four centuries before, the fresh writing of archaeology must collaborate to discipline the relationship with the things from times past.

Detaching the ruins from their lived social landscape affected the nature of what matters in Tiwanaku's heritage relations. This process unfolds through the changes of the visual representation of the archaeological features (Baird, 2017; Balm, 2015: 62–68; Pillsbury, 2014). In the look of the early romantic visitors, the ruins were still part of the livelihood activities conducted in the surroundings (Figure 4.3). With the passing of time the romantic exoticism provoked by the ruins on the visitors gave way to draw daring comparison with possible European references, or imaginative reconstructions of what Tiwanaku might have looked like. The gaze gradually became more clinical with the intervention of photography (Figure 4.4): in the pictures taken by the German archaeologists Alfonse Stübel and Max Uhle at the end of the 19th century, as well as in those of the French Scientific Mission in South America at the dawn of the next century, the fixed focus of the camera manifests the willing to present the site isolated in space and frozen in time.

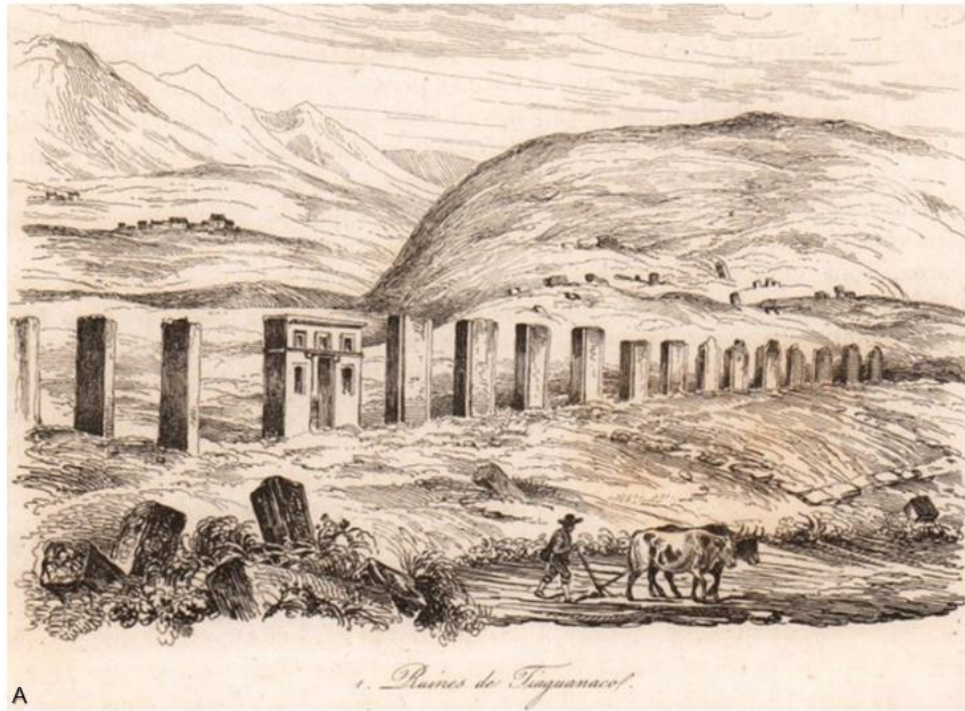


Figure 4.3: Visions of Tiwanaku in the nineteenth century: a) The ruins still part of the living landscape as drawn by the French naturalist Alcide d'Orbigny (1836: 360); b) The engraving of Tiwanaku branded "the American Stonehenge" in the work of E. G. Squier (1877: 277); c) Fanciful reconstruction of the ancient city from Inwards (1884: 19 plate IV).



Figure 4.4: Photographic perspective on Tiwanaku ruins at the turn of the twentieth century: a) View from the Akapana to the village of Tiahuanaco in Stübel and Uhle (1892: 3.1); b) The staircase to the entrance gate of the Kalasasaya temple documented by the French expedition (de Créqui-Montfort, 1903: 20).

State and heritage practices became more intertwined with each other in the first half of the past century given the coincidence of the war against Paraguay, social agitation, and a growing esoteric interest in the site (Loza, 2008: 98; Qayum, 2011: 169). In 1932 a special permit to undertake excavations in Tiwanaku was granted to the North American archaeologist, Wendell Bennett, under the “surveillance” of the Bolivian naturalised engineer and entrepreneur, Arthur Posnanski (Bennett, 1934: 361). The mapping of the ruins became the privileged instrument to breach Tiwanaku’s social continuity with the contemporary social landscape (Figure 4.5) Within this framework, the government introduced more restrictive norms for the protection of national patrimony, which the Constitution of 1938 (art. 163) defined “the cultural treasure of the Nation”.

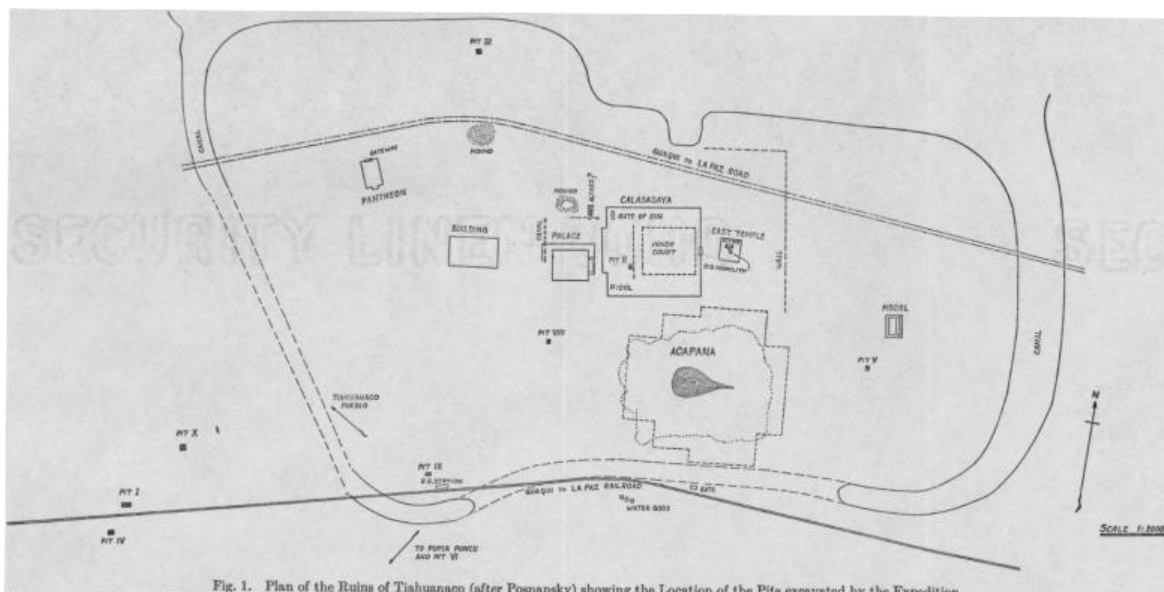


Fig. 1. Plan of the Ruins of Tiwanaco (after Posnanski) showing the Location of the Pits excavated by the Expedition.

Figure 4.5: Posnanski’s topographic survey and map of Tiwanaku’s main features, in Bennett (1934: 1)

Yet, the citizenship was not so confident in embracing that common source of national identification. The translation to La Paz of the biggest and most decorated stela ever found in Tiwanaku (Figure 4.6a), which was named after its discoverer (Bennett, 1934: 432), alimented bitter discussions about the venue and the opportunity to destinate the monument for the modern configuration of the city, and by extension about the role of the prehispanic past in the development of the nation.

These debates anticipated the fundamental turning point in the history of Bolivian archaeology in the aftermath of the nationalistic revolution of 1952 (Capriles Flores, 2003: 348; Kojan and Angelo, 2005: 387; Mamani Condori, 1994: 42). The assimilation

policies deployed to dilute heterogeneous ethnic identities and Indigenous socio-economic institutions into docile groups of smallholder farmers found a prominent executor in the figure of Carlos Ponce Sanginés (Figure 4.6b). He was a member of the ruling party *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* [MNR, National Revolutionary Movement], appointed secretary of the newly constituted *Instituto Indigenista Boliviano* [Bolivian Institute of Indigenous Affairs], and from 1958 at the head of the *Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Tiwanaku* [CIAT, Centre for Archaeological Investigation of Tiwanaku]. Since then, Tiwanaku became inexorably tangled with Bolivia nationalistic discourse.

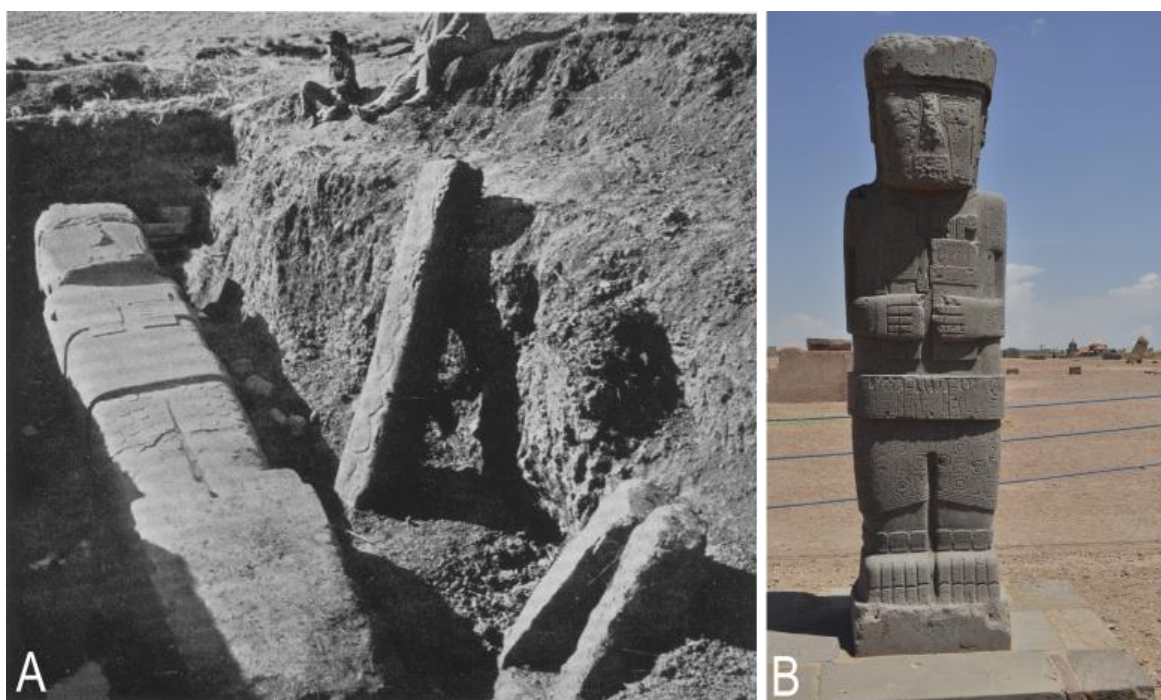


Figure 4.6: a) The Bennett Monolith at the moment of its unearthing (Bennett, 1934: 20). It was later translated to La Paz and emplaced in the central Prado avenue. Yet, the opposition of the neighbours caused it to be removed and destined to the marginal Miraflores neighbourhood, next to the stadium where Posnanski recreated a copy of the semi-subterranean temple where the monolith was originally found; b) The Ponce Monolith in its current emplacement at the centre of the reconstructed Kalasasaya temple. September 2016.

The CIAT is the governmental institution that supplied the heritage alphabetisation to the people who took part in the various campaigns of excavation and reconstruction promoted under Ponce's direction. During those years, UNESCO's experts conducted a preliminary survey of Tiwanaku's state of conservation, which posited the site among the world heritage under threat (Daifuku, 1968: 10). In the 1970s, significant efforts aimed at recovering the splendour of the ancient city led to the highly criticised

reconstruction of the monumental area of the site for the purpose of creating a modern tourist-driven heritage complex (Ponce Sanginés, 1995: 222).

Heritage-making processes glorifying the past for nationalistic purposes seldom consider the price of such endeavours in the present. However, memories and the sufferings of people forced to work can provide insight into the reformulation of structural violence against Indigenous peoples. This is perpetrated through legal and scientific practices that create a space of imagination for the homogeneous, common national heritage as much as for the 'outstanding universal value' beneath the aspiration to bear witness of all humankind.

Strolling in the craft market outside the main area of the site at the time of my first visit to Tiwanaku, I had the chance to speak with a former worker in Ponce's excavations (see Chapter 1.1). He painfully recalled that:

"I used to work in the ruins. Here in Kalasasaya, we excavated the Ponce Monolith. We pulled it out. The monolith was inside, and we put it out. It is staying up there now. [...] The master forced us to work at that time. They cudgelled us to work by lashing. It used to be by lashing! That was so bad, the master was so bad. I saw a soldier coming here, forcing us to go to work. He was so bad that soldier. [...] We had to lift this stone up with our hands... very big stones! Someone dies... dies! The stone falls and squashes them! It was so hard" (Orlandi, 2016: 26).

A fence was built around the perimeter of the reconstructed monumental core of Tiwanaku to follow the international standards of conservation and tourism industry. The barrier physically separates the ruins from the modern village of Tiahuanaco and the surrounding communities, but it also serves "to keep the monoliths inside" (Sammells, 2009: 118), foreclosing them the possibility to freely interact with people.

4.2.3 "Before they fenced it in": finding alternative heritage relationships with/in Tiwanaku

The relationship between the archaeological site, the modern village, and the surrounding communities changed after the fencing of Tiwanaku. A craftswoman whom I met while she was weaving in the designated kiosks area outside the main entrance to the site remembered that:

"It wasn't fenced before. We could take our cattle, our sheep inside. They fenced it in because they want to gain more money, because of the tourists. We had

caretakers of the ruins, there were eight of them, and they did well. Are they taking care of it now? You must not move even a pebble” (Orlandi, 2016: 29).

The fencing perimeter materialised the beginning of the official conservation of the ruins, as recalled by a woman who owns a family restaurant half-way from the archaeological site to the village of Tiahuanaco in the following quote:

“Before they fenced it in, enough people used to arrive at the village. I was a child between ten or twelve years old, but I remember that people arrived by taxi, they had a coca-cola, which was what my grandmother used to sell the most, and thereafter they went to visit the ruins. However, nobody hassled them, nor charged them for visiting the site. We had a caretaker of the ruins who only watched at them, and they walked quietly, and no one has ever bothered to say we will charge for that, not any of that. Yet, I can’t remember who came up with that idea anymore, but that’s when they started to fence the ruins; that is: let’s take care of it! [...] These stones speak, so they must be heard. Yet, since they’re archaeologists, they are not going to do so... What will the monolith tell you, so long as it’s clean! But what does it feel?” (Orlandi, 2016: 29).

There is a shared view that the fencing was only a matter of increasing the economic benefits through the sale of tickets, at the cost of breaking local relations with the place: either the selling of refreshments to visitors, or the possibility of taking animals to the pasture among the ruins. The building of the fence limited the possibilities for local people to engage with the ruins to two choices: either to be a worker, or to pay a ticket (Mamani Condori, 1994: 49). Provided that the main tourist target was not the local population, but national elites and international visitors, archaeology started to become a way of recreating links with Tiwanaku’s heritage by working with it.

The words of Don César Callisaya – who is one of the country’s most respected *yatiris* [wise people] – bear witness of the unexpected consequences enacted by local participation in archaeological works and illustrate the creative potential of intersubjective encounters. That was an informal conversation held during the time I spent in Tiahuanaco waiting to have the consent of the community in which I undertook my fieldwork (see Chapter 6.3). I met him for the first time during an event organised at the Andean Astronomic Complex ‘*La Chakana*’, a two-room exhibition and observatory close to Don César’s residence, right beside the administrative offices and the museum complex, few meters from the main entrance to the archaeological site. Don César accepted to meet me in the following days, so I visited him at his house. Having shared coca leaves [*akullico*] and asked the *achachilas* [animated

mountains/ancestors] to have a productive conversation, he told me about the importance of the archaeological site for his family.

His father, Don Andrés Callisaya, was the main caretaker of the ruins before and during the establishment of the CIAT. Following the Agrarian Reform of 1953 (see Chapter 5.1.2), Don César's father inherited the property of the hotel that stood in front of Tiahuanaco's train station. Our conversation brought up the memory of how Ponce Sanjinés – “*astuto, zorro, muy convencedor*” [clever, fox-like, very persuasive] – convinced his father to sell the property of the hotel to the State in exchange of “two suites and promises of work... this is how the CIAT was founded in 1958”⁴. That same place would have become the venue of the Museum and Administrative office of Tiwanaku heritage site.

However, the general consideration of archaeology in Don César's experience is far from negative. Because of his father's prominent position within the local workers employed in Ponce's projects⁵, he could learn by looking at the work of the national and international archaeologists that stopped by his family house. He also remembered when the CIAT contracted him to build the fence around the site in 1975 and how two years later he started his own archaeological career, first as a driver and eventually becoming an expert field surveyor and museum functionary. Archaeology enabled him to travel along the country, to forge contacts with other communities and with other contextual constituted social environments.

This experience, Don César proudly told, contributed to make him a *yatiri*. A coincidence materialising in the polysemy of the word *maestro* [teacher], which commonly designates those who know how to read coca leaves, i.e., *yatiri* or *amawt'a*, as well as who is a skilled archaeology worker (Leighton, 2016: 743). Don César is a *maestro* in both meanings of the word: according to his own definition⁶, being a *maestro* means being able “to talk about what we have in Tiwanaku” and acknowledging that “monoliths are also *Apus*, and the temples are also *Wak'as*” – that is, powerful ancestors, things, and places (see Allen, 2015: 23–24). This knowledge encourages him to teach about the *ayna qamaña*, an Aymara expression that roughly

⁴ Fieldnotes, April 2018.

⁵ In 1988 the deposit of archaeological materials used by Kolata's *Wila Jawira Project* was dedicated to the memory of Don Andrés Callisaya (Bolivian Vice Ministry of Culture, 1999: 58).

⁶ Fieldnotes, April 2018.

means “walking together”, and he explained to me in Spanish as “*apoyar a vivir*”, which I think can aptly translate “living in solidarity”.

The memories of Don César gave an example of the constitutive disagreements inherent in the socio-material fabric of Tiwanaku’s heritage. These conflicts challenge ordinary understandings of heritage-making practices, as well as contribute to acknowledge the continuous processes of negotiation and partial compromises that configure the frictional space between Indigenous and State temporalities.

4.3 Introducing the Calchaquí Valleys

The Calchaquí Valleys are an ensemble of canyons formed by the basins of the rivers Calchaquí and Santa María (or Yocavil), which flow for 520 kms across the provinces of Salta, Tucumán, and Catamarca in Northwest Argentina. The second part of the fieldwork drove me to the shores of the Santa María river, specifically, in the territories of the communities of Amaicha del Valle [*Comunidad Indígena Amaicha del Valle*, CIAV] and Quilmes [*Comunidad India Quilmes*, CIQ] (Figure 4.7). Both communities self-identify as belonging to the Diaguita people, and they played a leading role in the struggle to achieve entitlement to collective rights and lands by the provincial authorities of Tucumán and the federal government (Isla, 2009: 85). This concerted political action converged in 2005 into the creation of the Union of Diaguita Peoples [*Unión de los Pueblos de la Nación Diaguita*, UPND] (Arenas and Ataliva, 2017: 194).

Official heritage-making practices endeavoured to prove either the disappearance or the incorporation of indigenous identities into the volatile as much as racialised underclass of the “*criollo*” (de Jong, 2005: 412–413; Jofré, 2015: 57–58). This cultural matrix aimed at concealing diversity, accentuated by the impressive immigration from Europe, and served the hegemonic eagerness to whitening the nation while giving to the European-educated ruling classes the necessary temporal depth to legitimise an historical sovereignty over the territory (Gordillo, 2016: 243; Quijada, 2000: 383). The policies that governed such a pulsion toward cultural, economic, and political homogenisation have been characterised by Segato (2007: 31) as an “ethnic terror” that triggers the unification of “a nation perceived of menacingly multiple”.

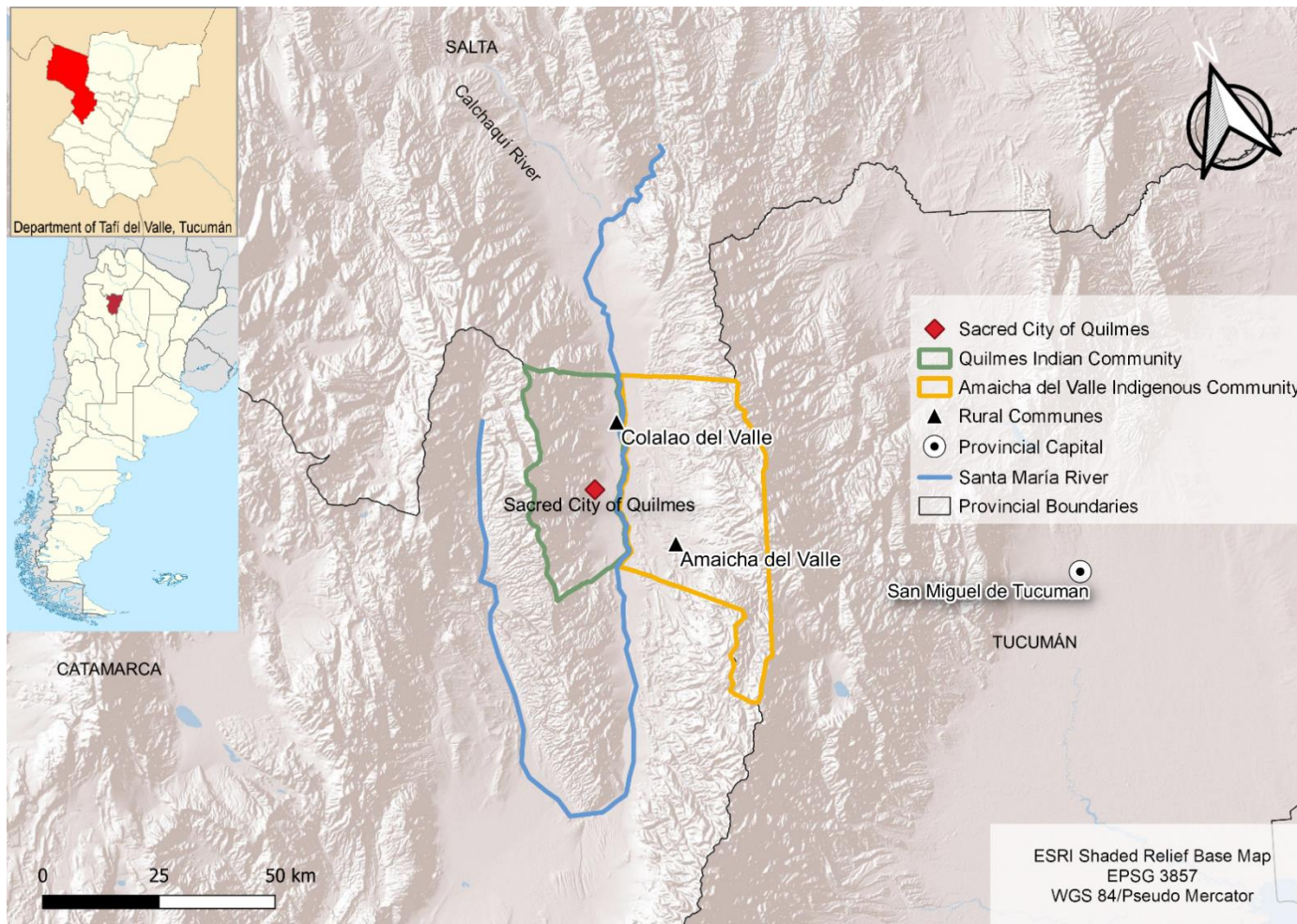


Figure 4.7: Map of the locations of the fieldwork in the Calchaquí Valleys, Tucumán, Argentina.

The circumstances began to change in the 1980s. In the wave of the wide Latin American “emergence” of Indigenous peoples’ political activism (Bengoa, 2000), also in Argentina the claims for cultural citizenship and collective land titles intercepted heritage-making practices that affected human remains, material culture, and landscapes associated with people who were deemed extinct from the hegemonic national consciousness due to acculturation or military aggression (e.g. Crespo, 2017; Curtoni et al., 2003; Endere, 2005; Gordillo and Hirsch, 2003). The grassroots political activism pushed the governmental agendas toward the adoption of legal reforms that recognised the pre-existence of Indigenous peoples in the sovereign territory of the State for the first time in the history of the Argentinean Republic⁷.

While these policies have finally recognised a space of visibility for Indigenous peoples, nonetheless such a recognition builds upon the very same logic that manufactured the internal alterity disheartening the existence and politics of Indigenous peoples in the very first instance (Briones, 2005: 35–37; Lazzari and Lenton, 2019: 682). Conflicts involving the definition and exploitation of indigenous heritage offer an interstice where the contradictions of multicultural recognition become evident (see Chapter 2.2). Focusing on the performance of indigeneity in the contemporary context of the Calchaquí Valleys, my fieldwork could not help but dive into the most significant archaeological site of the region, the Sacred City of Quilmes. The tangled histories of Amaicha del Valle and

⁷ The issue of the Law 23.302/85 creating the National Institute for Indigenous Affairs [*Instituto Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas*, INAI] inaugurated this period, then followed the reform of the national Constitution in 1994, whose art. 75.1 states “[The attributions of Congress are:] To recognize the ethnic and cultural pre-existence of the Argentinean indigenous peoples. Guarantee the respect of their identity and the right for a bilingual and intercultural education; recognize the *personería jurídica* (legal status) of their communities, the collective possession and ownership of the lands they traditionally occupy; regulate the granting of other [lands] apt and sufficient for human development; none of these [lands] will be alienable (*enajenable*), transferable (*transmisible*), or subject to taxes and embargoes. To guarantee their participation regarding their natural resources and other interests that affect them” (translation quoted in Gordillo and Hirsch, 2003: 19). Since the constitutional recognition, other normative have been added to the corpus of the rights of Indigenous peoples in Argentina, most notably: Law 24.071/92 approving the ILO Convention 169/89 (entered into force in 2000); Law 25.517/01 (regulated by the Decree 701/10) on restitution of human remains and free, prior, and informed consent in the context of scientific explorations affecting indigenous communities; Law 26.160/06 that regulates the inscription in a special register of the territory of indigenous communities legally recognised, and blocks legal proceedings over the lands traditionally occupied and juridical eviction until the completion of the process for a period of four years (consecutively extended for five times, the last of which in November 2021).

Quilmes unfold from a perspective centred in the capacity of things and territory to affect as much as be affected by human sociality and practices.

The archaeological site of Quilmes is located 180 km from the provincial capital San Miguel de Tucumán and is accessible from the National Route 40 through an unpaved path that leads to the slopes of the Cajón mountain range, which borders the Santa Maria River valley to the west. As soon as the visitor purchases the ticket from the community administration point situated half-way from the main road, they slowly become sensible to the wideness of the valley and the strategic emplacement of the ancient city in order to control and defend the territory against the invaders. Once reached an altitude of two thousand metres, one begins to appreciate the silhouette of the walls that were carelessly reconstructed with the specific purpose of showing the tourist's eye what one would expect to find when visiting archaeological ruins and to quench his thirst for curiosity about an ancient people condemned by history and the advance of civilisation.

The controversial reconstruction works at the end of the 1970s concerned 10% of the extension of the fortified citadel of Quilmes, estimated at around one square kilometre, while the area of archaeological interest around the most easily recognisable structures could reach three square kilometres (Sosa, 2008: 18–19). In the centre of this area an even more controversial tourist infrastructure was installed by a private entrepreneur-artist in the 1990s, which now lies abandoned after concerted action by the communities of Quilmes and Amaicha succeeded in regaining control of the administration of the site in order to continue defending the territory.

The astonishing history of dispossession and resistance of the Calchaquí Valleys erupts in contemporary manifestations and politics of indigeneity, shaping alliances, promises, and delusions in-between competitive configurations and jurisdictions over the land (Korstanje et al., 2013; Rodríguez and Lorandi, 2005). The following sections systematise the multi-temporal relationships gravitating around the archaeological site of Quilmes in order to introduce the complexity of the context in which the fieldwork in the Calchaquí Valleys took place. A core argument unfolds, which is that of the Indigenous territoriality that breeds life in the resignification of the ruins from an object of curiosity and academic delight into the Sacred City of the Diaguita people.

4.3.1 Resistance and emergence between prehispanic times and the Spanish conquest

Drawing on the similitudes between the iconographies and material culture of Tiwanaku and the “Aguada” culture spread through Northwest Argentina during the second half of the first millennium CE, archaeologists informed about the expansion from the Central Andes of a State hegemonic ideology leading to a process of cultural and political “integration” of the region (González, 2004; see Pérez Gollán, 2000). However, as suggested by Scattolin (2006: 193) with regard the Calchaquí Valleys, generalising the centrality of the “Aguada” complex to the linear development of social complexity during this phase is less indicative of the circulation of raw materials and imaginaries in the past (Lazzari, 2005; Lazzari and Sprovieri, 2020) than the reiteration of interpretative categories stuck in a dichotomic opposition between civilised and primitive, and eager to find a cultural irradiation centre (also see Arnold, 2018; Marconetto and Villanueva Criales, 2019).

The events unfolding towards the installation of the Spanish colonial domination in the Calchaquí Valleys display the extent to which the frictions between centralisation and circulation found in prehispanic times are still critical to the aim of tracking the contemporary political activism of Indigenous peoples.

During the Late Period (CE 1000-1436), the region was inhabited by highly competitive, loosely hierarchised groups sharing cultural traits and networks, characterised by large settlements based on agropastoral economy, mastery of the management of natural resources - notably the channelling and storage of water to irrigate large cultivated fields on the valley floor and agricultural terraces on the mountain slopes - and the diffusion of *pukaras*, i.e. fortresses built on the top of the mountains and enabling the control of wide portions of territory (Leoni and Acuto, 2008: 600; Tarragó, 2000: 259–263). Over the centuries, the “Santamariano” ceramic style became widespread across the settlements of the Calchaquí Valleys, giving cultural continuity to a region otherwise segmented into different political entities (D’Altroy et al., 2000: 5; Tarragó, 2000: 282–284).

Those people not only shared a common cosmological universe through material culture, but also a language – the Kakan – as ethnohistorical sources (see Lorandi, 1988: 100; Tarragó, 2000: 277) reported, they were generically known as Diaguitas when they entered in contact with the Spaniards in the 1530s, after

having been under the sphere of influence of the Incas for little less than a century.

The chronicles paid attention to the conflictive nature as well as the ability to forge territorial alliances among the groups of the Calchaquí Valleys, which reflected in the differentiated ways of engaging with outsiders (Lorandi and Boixadós, 1988: 279). Archaeological evidence based on changes and continuity in the settlement patterns and ceramic style proved that the response to the Inca occupation was not uniform: while there were groups that resisted the occupation and were marginalised from imperial networks, others negotiated the reciprocal commitments imposed by the new rulers (Acuto, 2008: 846; D'Altroy et al., 2000: 21; de Hoyos, 2011: 83). Accordingly, it is maintained that leveraging pre-existing situations of conflict allowed the Incas to get a foothold in the valleys and consolidate their presence by sending *mitmaqkuna* [settlers] from other provinces of the empire (Lorandi and Boixadós, 1988: 277), which introduced further elements of complexity to the already variously composited social landscape.

This complexity led scholars to interrogate the ethno-political composition and transformations of the Diaguita people during the 130 years that the Spaniards took to gain control of the Calchaquí Valleys: whether they were discrete entities, politically fragmented and interacting within a “multi-ethnic mosaic” (Lorandi, 1992: 149), or a multifaceted subject escaping the classificatory order imposed by the colonisers – and future scholarship – in terms of ethnic filiation or political capability (Giudicelli, 2007; 2019: 318–319).

The former approach stretches the continuity with the strategies of resistance adopted to face the Inca occupation (Boixadós, 2011: 114), bringing back to light the “voices of the native populations from the multi-semantic categories deployed in the documents” (Lorandi et al., 1997: 21); the latter moves from such a discursive categorisation to dig into the viscosity of the frontier of the early colonial Tucumán and show that it meant designating socio-political positioning in relation to a self-claimed central authority rather than the recognition of ethnicity and territorial boundaries (Giudicelli, 2007: 173). Crucial is the conceptualisation of Indigenous resistance unfolding from these interpretive models, as much as the relative weight given to the space of Indigenous autonomy in the context of colonial expansion.

As Giudicelli (2007: 205) polemically argued: “The Spanish-Creoles never bothered about granting an unlikely national document of ethnic identity to the Indians incorporated into their subjection dispositive. This concern emerged several centuries later”. He contended that the projected desire for conquest underpins the description and identification of ethnic groups, their alliances, and responses to occupation. The ethno-political segmentation firstly reveals the intention of the colonial apparatus to delegitimise Indigenous autonomy by remarking the absence of centralised power, then frustrated attempts to retain the control of the region. Thus, the complexity lays in finding the agency of the Indigenous subjects without keeping them trapped in the opposition between enmity or friendship, which limited their self-determination since the early colonial encounters, and fatally resulting either in the enslavement of the groups that were pacified, or the estrangement from their territories of those that refused to surrender.

Alternatively, Giudicelli (2007: 206) suggested “to follow the arrow” – that is, the vernacular system to call for an alliance⁸ – proving that “the colonial demarcation of the territory never completely replaced a different political logic, underlying but always operative, with its epicentre in the Calchaquí enclave” (Giudicelli, 2019: 326). The name Calchaquí turned into a category pointing at the spectre of the undisciplined Indian, who emerges from the resistance exercised against the central authority, as it is testified by the following textual source extracted from a letter of the Governor of the colonial Tucumán:

“Experience [...] has taught me how little faith should be given to their words, their dealings, and their peace for being false and of unwavering people, who surrender only to their fear, their idolatry, their tyranny, and their strength. They crave more their freedom among barbaric drunkenness than all comforts of the major police”⁹.

⁸ Spanish sources repeatedly indicate that the “acceptance of the arrow” was a common hint for the alliances established between different Indigenous groups in the Calchaquí Valleys and beyond. Lorandi and Boixadós (1988: 282) inferred that “this was the manifestation of the exercise of reciprocity, where begging plays a pivotal role”. Yet, they related this logic to the absence of a “permanent political structure”, which implied relying on the capacity of aggregation deposited in charismatic leaders in order to resist the colonial expansion. The authors concluded that “we have not been able to clearly figure whether these relationships were circumstantial responses to face a common enemy, or they were part of a more or less permanent structure, although lax in itself. The exercise of begging is not a valid indicator to discover the concrete political nature of this type of relationships” (Lorandi and Boixadós, 1988: 403).

⁹ Carta del Gobernador Luca de Figueroa y Mendoza sobre lo que obraron sus predecesores, 1662, p. 244 (quoted in Lorandi and Boixadós, 1988: 343).

This denomination became widespread after Juan Calchaquí, whom the sources attested as the *cacique* of the Diaguita village of Tolombón, and the leading promoter of the pan-Indigenous uprising that in 1562 shook the fundamentals of the colonial administration by razing the Spanish outposts in the inter-Andean valleys to the ground (Giudicelli, 2019: 322–323; Rodríguez, 2011: 12–13). The general bewilderment provoked by those events not only led the Spaniards to associate the name of Calchaquí with the people who joined the rebellion and by extension with the native valley of the *cacique* (Lorandi and Boixadós, 1988: 217, 312), but it also became a specific appellative to designate an unsubmissive space (Giudicelli, 2007: 181). In other words, Calchaquí points at “the black hole of the conquest, that is, literally a space where the sovereignty of the crown dissolved” (Giudicelli, 2007: 187).

The pressure of the colonial edge above the Diaguitas’ territories steadily increased through the foundation of new cities and missions, and the reduction of population in the slavery regime of the *encomiendas*. Nonetheless, the Calchaquí Valleys retained a “strength of attraction” (Giudicelli, 2019: 325) towards people seeking refuge from the imperial police or the missionary discipline. In fact, this alternative power concretised in large territorial alliances deflagrating in two periods of general uprisings between 1630 and 1643, and again between 1656 and 1664¹⁰.

The irreducibility of the Calchaquí space brought about the deployment of radical measures in the attempt of allaying the resistance: the policy of the *desnaturalizaciones* – that is, the coercive relocation of people from their native territory – was systematised in the first half of the seventeenth century and culminated with the capitulation of the last core of the Diaguitas’ insurgence in Quilmes in 1665 (Lorandi, 1988: 108; Palermo and Boixadós, 1991). The Quilmes people were forced to leave their territory, and the majority of them relocated near the harbour of the city of Buenos Aires, more than two thousand kilometres away, and constrained to live in the *Reducción de la Santa Cruz de los Quilmes*, the

¹⁰ The former ignited in the middle area of the Calchaquí Valleys and later moved to the South under the leadership of the *cacique* of Hualfín, Juan Chalemín; the latter started by initiative of Pedro Bohórquez, an Andalusian adventurer, self-proclaimed descendent of the Inca sovereign, who managed to mobilise another rebellion. After the arrest of the “fake Inca”, the resistance concentrated in the Santa María Valley following the guidance of Martín Iquín, the *cacique* of Quilmes.

colonial mission that will develop into the contemporary town of Quilmes in the outskirts of the capital city.

According to Quiroga (2010: 197), the design of the relocation strategy responded to the urgency of cutting the subsistence networks of Indigenous life, which were shaped and strengthened through the centuries by the seasonal use of all ecological levels of the valley. The colonial authorities were aware that the persistence of these circuits would have enabled the reproduction of social bonds beyond the police control, which is an indirect acknowledgement of the crucial role played by this peculiar way of dwelling as the “material basis of resistance” (Quiroga, 2010: 203).

As Rodríguez (2017: 610) and Giudicelli (2018b: 141) have argued, Quiroga’s approach allows to bring the well documented “pulse for the return” (Noli, 2003: 361) to the Calchaquí Valleys into a coherent logic driving the reconfiguration of political and affective engagements with the territory. Once again, the undisciplined Calchaquí political subjectivity succeeded to resist and cope with the unfavourable conditions of colonial servitude.

The disciplinary devices deployed to subjugate the Calchaquí Valleys certainly concealed but could not extirpate the ability to renew the reciprocal relations with the territory underlying Indigenous sovereignty (Figure 4.8). The focus on the sovereign Indigenous territoriality resisting beneath colonial classifications challenges the assertion of the complete disappearance of Indigenous populations of the future Republic because of the brutality of the Spanish colonial policies (Bartolomé, 2003: 165; Escolar and Rodríguez, 2019). The historical accounts of the Diaguita-Calchaquí’s stubborn resistance and fatal defeat channelled the authorised narratives of their vanishing in face of the inevitable advancement of Christian civilisation, which eventually gave way to the unifying horizon of socio-technological progress that marginalised the descendants of those people in the consolidation of the nation-state during the 19th century.



Figure 4.8: Mural in the community canteen of the hamlet of Talapazo (CIQ). It outlines the three main events of the Calchaquí Wars – “Resistance lasted 130 years” – and following the direction of the arrow it affirms “currently our community continues in the struggle for the recognition of our territories and rights”. October 2018.

Nowadays, Indigenous peoples’ relations with the territory are still crucial to understand contemporary conflicts involving the so-called “re-emergence” of the once-vanished Diaguita-Calchaquí people in the multicultural imagination of the nation, which often channels legal disputes and violent clashes over the ownership of the land and the “authenticity” of community-based claims (Castellanos et al., 2018; Lazzari and Korstanje, 2018; Manasse and Arenas, 2015). In the following sections, the entangled histories of the communities of Amaicha and Quilmes highlight how contending understandings of territory irremediably bring the past to breach the social ordering of the present.

4.3.2 “Although they didn’t show us, we have been here”: Indigenous politics and sovereignty between colonial times and nation-state

During a fundraising event organised at the worker-recovered factory “exIMPA” in Buenos Aires, now converted into a museum and cultural centre, Doña Eva Pastrana – a member of the Council of Elders of Amaicha – struck me with her words capable of condensing the struggle for the recognition of Indigenous peoples’ rights, while at the same time bridging ties of solidarity with the workers’ experience in the recovered factory. She pinpointed the issue of visibility as the unifying field of dispute and resorting to vernacular memory as the mean for

disrupting the veil of things taken for granted: “Although they didn’t show us, we have been here”¹¹.

Few weeks later in Amaicha del Valle, I asked her about what she considered an essential feature of this memory work, and she responded unhesitatingly:

“The most important thing we try to conserve is the territory, because other communities have lost the most part of their territory, but in Amaicha we always had it. That’s why we keep our political government, the property over the land, its titles, and rights... The values we have in the community, not only the land, but also everything within the territory” (Calcha18-1: §5).

As remarked by Doña Eva, the exceptional circumstance of Amaicha del Valle with respect to other communities of the region lays in the preservation of the autonomy of the local government and the collective ownership of the land, which are related to the encompassing understanding of the territory for both memory and politics. In fact, the CIAV is well known for being the unique case in Northern Argentina of a community that could retain control of its ancestral lands throughout the colonial and republican regimes. This situation is the result of a long jurisdictional history eventually leading to the inscription of the juridical personality of the CIAV at the national level (n. 3.276/97), which entailed the recognition of the indivisible and non-seizable nature of the community territory according to the reformed Constitution of 1994.

The fundamental piece of this history is the Royal Deed granted in 1716 to Francisco Chapurfe, “cacique of the people of El Bañado de Quilmes, San Francisco, Tio Punco, Encalilla and Amaicha”¹², by which the Spanish authorities recognised those people as “the legitimate owners of these lands, to be possessed by them and their descendants”. Thereafter, in 1892 the provincial authorities of Tucumán validated the decree and the titles therein inscribed under the republican legality, but only on behalf of the community of Amaicha (Isla, 2009: 71–72; Sosa, 2015; Sosa and Lenton, 2015: 62–63). Since the end of the Spanish occupation, through the early republican regime, until the recent multicultural framework, the persistence of the Royal Deed (Figure 4.9) in the

¹¹ Fieldnotes, June 2018.

¹² The direct quotes in Spanish from the Royal Deed are taken from Sosa (2015). The author transcribed the earliest known version of the document dated to 1753 and preserved in the protocolisation file of 1892 in the provincial archive of Tucumán. English translation is mine.

collective memory and political practices of the community has supported the defence of the territory against the continuous attempts at grabbing or selling.

The 1716 Royal Deed has turned into the foundational landmark of community identity and self-identification in a tight negotiation with the process of nation-state formation, as the following excerpt of an interview with a community member and former authority exemplifies:

“We were already a nation since before the proclamation of the independence of Argentina. That is to say, we are another nation within the Argentine nation because we own the land since long before. This is what gives us pride and strength to keep fighting. Thanks to those brave people who fought back our lands from the Spanish Viceroyalty, because [the Spaniards] had already taken everything from us. Yet, the Indigenous people of that time moved the fight to recover the land, and the Spaniards said: “We won’t be able to dominate them, let’s give them back the land so they can leave us alone”. And since they returned the land to us, the whole national territory was liberated, and today we are the Argentine Republic. The beloved Argentine Republic. And there we are” (Calcha17-4: §15-16).

The historian Rodolfo Cruz (1997), who is himself a community member from Amaicha, has advanced the hypothesis that the successful negotiation with the colonial power was due to the “ambiguous positioning” maintained by the group of people firstly displaced to the *pueblo de indios* of Amaicha del Llano, the administrative town in the Tucumán lowlands where people were confined to pay the colonial tribute. Taking advantage of quarrels among the Spanish landowners, the Amaicha people could restore circulation across ecological levels and maintain relationships with their traditional settlements in the highlands (Isla, 2009: 70; Rodríguez, 2017: 604–605). In the early decades of the nineteenth century when the payment of the tribute was abolished by the republican government advocating the liberal arguments of citizenship equality and individual property, the confidence generated during the colonial administration led to the strenuous defence of the titles acknowledged by the Royal Deed in 1716.



Figure 4.9: Diverse manifestation of the presence of the 1716 Royal Deed in Amaicha del Valle: a) a mural painted by the local schoolchildren for the tercentenary anniversary of the document in 2016 (August 2017); b) a locally made wine commercialised with the brand “1716” after the Royal Deed; c) a plot of land recovered by the CIAV according to national and community laws. August 2018.

Stretching continuity with the present, Don Beto Andrade, a community authority and “spiritual referent” of the indigenous community of Amaicha del Valle, told me that the Royal Deed proves that:

“Our ancestors want to tell us that they had wits to negotiate. They were not brutish at all, nor narrow-minded! Because to make a deal, and say I need 180,000 hectares, and I need the freedom to make them believe that they have indoctrinated us, that we have absorbed the culture that they brought us... So, our forebears were not brutish at all!” (Calcha18-12a: §14)

Negotiation capability characterises the continuity of the Indigenous sovereignty. Rodríguez and Boullosa Joly (2013: 37) highlighted that, the leaders of Amaicha travelled to claim the respect of the prerogatives enshrined in the Royal Deed at different historical moments, and they underscored the “ability to move within a variety of different universes [to] secur[e] the collective ownership of the land”. Similarly, Sosa and Lenton (2015: 78) stressed the importance of oral memory

for the legitimation of the land titles enshrined in the document according to “the actualisation of history through the account of its struggles”. Memory processes anchored the Royal Deed to the contemporary conflicts over land rights and provide the ground for the political performance of indigeneity in the modern nation-state.

More recently, Escolar (2020: 112) has pointed to another case of a royal decree granting collective land titles to the Huarpe people – between the provinces of Mendoza and San Juan – arguing that, notwithstanding the accusation of inauthenticity compromised the validation by the republican legal apparatus, the document played a crucial role in challenging the consensus about the universalisation of the individual property regime on the basis of pre-existing Indigenous rights being mobilised either through formal proceedings or informal memory processes. This case also displays the extent to which the attempts to conceal Indigenous sovereignty swayed from the military to the juridical field as the nation-state power consolidated.

It is important to bear this argument in mind to address the case of Quilmes. Until the mid-19th century, the lands of Amaicha and Quilmes were part of a unique and undivided territory according to the limits described in the Royal Deed of 1716 (Isla, 2009: 85). Yet, unlike Amaicha, the people of Quilmes did not receive any recognition of communal lands until the multicultural granting of the legal entity status as an Indigenous community (n. 441/01) allowed securing the entitlement of only a part of its ancestral territory (Arenas and Ataliva, 2017: 86). The extremely severe banishment suffered in 1666 made way for the expansion of large estate owners (Rodríguez, 2015: 57; Tolosa, 2014: 69–71), who claimed those lands as vacant and unexploited, forcing the local population into servitude¹³.

¹³ The *terratenientes* (landowners) deployed diverse coercive mechanisms to exercise their power: in first instance, just to have the permission to live in the territory claimed by the *terratenientes* as their own (*arriendo*), the families had to work for free in the landowner's crop fields, or be compulsory employed in other activities, such as domestic services (*obligaciones*), including the seasonal migration as workforce in the sugar cane plantations and mills (*zafra*); secondly, families' livelihood through cattle raising or cultivation (*derechos de pasto y yerbaje*) was conditioned to the annual payment of the third of the crop or cattle production (*tercio*); lastly but not least, the cooptation of the civil functions of the State in the territory entailed voting for the candidates expressing the landowners' interests, being subject to the local police control enforcing the law against loitering (*ley de conchabo*), and accessing schooling education and health system with the limits and conditions imposed by the landowners (CIQ, 2009: 20).

The grabbing of communal lands in the second half of the 19th century bore connections with the boosting of the sugar industry in Northwest Argentina. To foster the integration of the region in the government's modernisation plans, the local elites of European descent strengthened their dominant position in the Calchaquí Valleys by acting as middle-men between the owners of sugar cane plantations and mills, and by taking for themselves the administration of local justice and police (Chamosa, 2008: 89–90; Medina, 2015: 99–104). This conjuncture favoured the undue appropriation of Indigenous territories, which brought the restriction of access to land and water for local families, and the profound increasing of socio-economic inequality whose consequences reach down to our day.

However, the Royal Deed is constitutive of contemporary Quilmes' collective memory, territorial identity, and political strategy as much as it is for Amaicha (Isla, 2009: 148) (Figure 4.10). Eduardo "Lalo" Nieva, the former *cacique* of Amaicha and an indigenous rights lawyer who followed the process of land entitlement of the community of Quilmes, stated that the historical document not only expresses the mere concession of a collective property title from a higher authority according to the hierarchical system of the nation-state, but also and foremost the acknowledgement of another way of understanding sovereignty and rights, which stem from the intimate and political relationships that configure Indigenous territoriality (quoted in Arenas and Ataliva, 2017: 87).



Figure 4.10: Leaflet published by the Comunidad India Quilmes (ca. 1998) stating the Royal Deed as “the most ancient document”. Popular Library “Amado Juárez”, Amaicha del Valle.

There is a passage of the 1716 decree that brings clear attention to this point, for it is mentioned that the concession awarded to Chapurfe was preceded by an agreement made by his father and the former “cacique of the City of Quilmes and of all those people”, Diego Utibaitina, which was performed as it follows in the testimony of an attendee:

“a large carob tree was carved and sealed with our names [...] All the gathered had to embrace this carob tree and took water from a horn bowl; acts made by these people as a sign of land possession [...] and that no one shall ever take these lands away from you”.

The sealed carob tree (Figure 4.11) persisted in space and time as the fundamental landmark of administrative geography, as well as the mnemonic support to demarcate the space of Indigenous autonomy. This undeclared monument served to delimitate the boundary between the provinces of Catamarca and Tucumán until the end of the 19th century. During the first

recorded archaeological survey of the Calchaquí Valleys (Nastri and Catania, 2011: 67–68; Sosa and Lenton, 2015: 71–72), the explorers Liberani and Hernández (1877: 119) found it *in situ* close to the village of El Paso, which today belongs to the territory recognised to the Indian Community of Quilmes. They recorded the carob tree along with other curiosities of the landscape and took the carved inscription to San Miguel de Tucumán, as a colonial relic and material evidence of the Spanish occupation of the region.

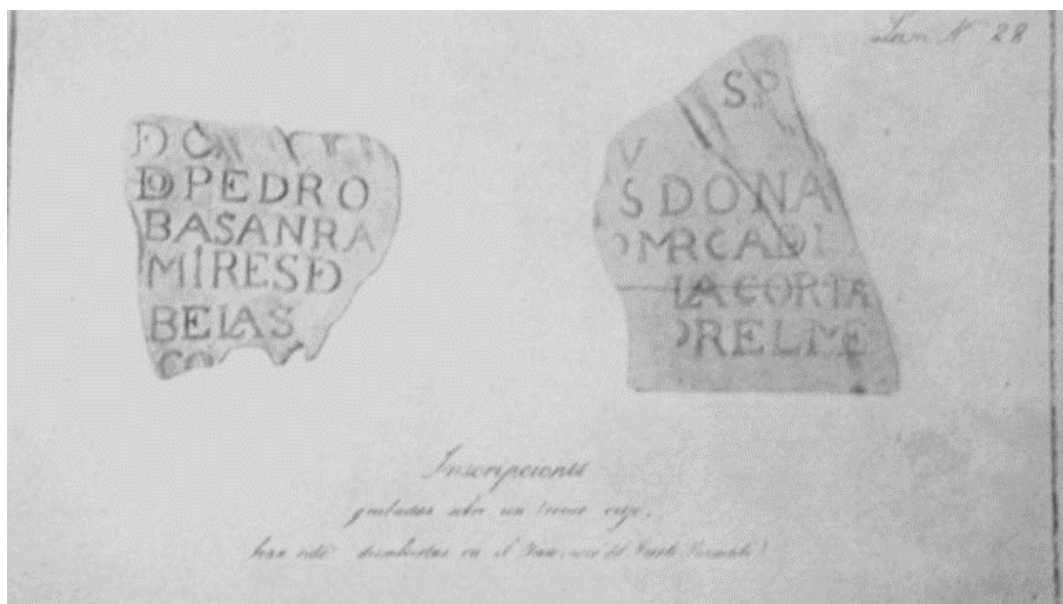


Figure 4.11: The pieces of the sealed carob tree of El Paso as documented by Liberani and Hernández and later deposited in a local museum of San Miguel de Tucumán.

The eradication of the carob tree did not make vanishing the significance of the Royal Deed as a material testimony of Indigenous politics and continuous sovereignty (see Chapter 9.2). Nonetheless, the action of removing the inscription to preserve it through the neutral care of a public museum exemplifies the delegitimization of Indigenous peoples' knowledges propitiated by the juridical and scientific positivism reigning in Argentina as elsewhere at that time (see Díaz-Andreu, 2007: 21; Giudicelli, 2018a: 31; Politis and Pérez Gollán, 2004: 355). This socio-political environment provided the legal justification for the genocidal practices committed against the sovereign Indigenous peoples of Patagonia, La Pampa, and Chaco in the so-called "conquest of the desert" (Bartolomé, 2003; Gordillo and Hirsch, 2003: 10–11) to spread the territorial sovereignty of the modern nation-state and the self-proclaimed moral superiority of being positioned along the inexorable arrow of progress.

The modern nation-state juxtaposed the colonial category of the “indigenous” to its own classificatory order, thus turning those disposable beings exploited as a cheap labour force into relinquishing curiosities of a vanishing past. As argued by Lenton (2010: 86), such a structural invisibilisation conveyed the “desensitisation that made the possibility of resistance lethargic until the emergence of new practices of Indigenous self-representation”. Doña Eva Pastrana’s words are again extremely helpful to think through to the recasting of colonial policies against Indigenous people, rights, and sovereignty:

“Look, they fooled our ancestors with mirrors. They showed them coloured mirrors and left; then they didn’t even have enough to look at themselves in the mirrors. And now it’s happening again to us with the coloured balloons, they have fooled us with the toy, right? And look how bad we are. Sometimes things repeat themselves. This must be why the world is round” (Calcha18-1: §37).

The next section deals with this conundrum as it unfolds the heritage-making history and dynamics that specifically affected the ruins of the ancient city of Quilmes: the last defensive bastion to surrender to the colonial conquest and an illustrative example of a “coloured balloon” that is thrown to mitigate the “vortex of regional activism” (Lazzari and Korstanje, 2013: 412) kindled by the “re-emergence” of Indigenous political activism in the Calchaquí Valleys.

4.3.3 The ruins of the Sacred City: Indigenous “re-emergence” between authorised heritage-making and political misrecognition

Liberani and Hernández’s (1877) exploration sparked an escalating interest in unravelling the perceived mystery of the monumental architecture and exquisitely decorated material culture of the Calchaquí Valleys (Giudicelli, 2018a: 38–44; Podgorny, 2000: 32). At the turn of the century, the excitement towards the archaeological vestiges extended beyond national borders, boosting the compulsive gathering of artefacts for private and public collections (Endere, 2007: 31; Tolosa, 2020b: 144). The regulation of the growing market of antiquities incentivised the first federal normative for the protection of cultural heritage, Law 9080/13, which sanctioned the national ownership of archaeological and paleoethological sites due to their scientific interest.

The newly constituted public museums, such as the Natural History Museum of La Plata and the Ethnography Museum of the University of Buenos Aires, played

the pivotal role of organising collections, incentivising the research, and attracting international scholars. At the same time, they contributed to crafting what Rodríguez (Rodríguez, 2008: 86–87) called “the Calchaquí dystopia”: the exaltation of the dead Indians to deny the contemporaneity of the living ones.

Whether those ruins belonged to an ancient, unknown civilisation swept out by the invasion of the brutish Calchaquí people, or they were the tangible expression of the presence of the Inca State in the region subsequently squatted by less socially developed groups (Brinton, 1899)¹⁴, what was certain for the pretentious prestige of the modern Republic was that the contemporary native inhabitants of the valleys could not be related with those “treasures” – comparable to the most refined achievement of Mediterranean classical civilisations, according to the Argentine minister of education at the time (Podgorny, 2000: 64).

Those earliest scientific explorations to the Calchaquí Valleys defined “the paradigm of the authorised indigenous past” (Giudicelli, 2018a: 46). Commenting on the paintings produced by the Swiss naturalist artist Adolf Methfessel (Figure 4.12) – who joined the exploration pioneered by Francisco Moreno, the first director of the Natural History Museum of La Plata, with the collaboration in the field of the mining entrepreneur and folklorist Samuel Lafone Quevedo, and the Dutch anthropologist Herman ten Kate (cfr. Arenas, 2003: 195–196; Nastri, 2004: 102–104) – Giudicelli (2018a: 47) argued that those work-arts complementing the reports of the collected antiquities provided a graphic depiction of the common-sense assumption according to which “the indigenous component seemed distant, extinct, disappeared”.

¹⁴ In a synthesis article on the archaeology of the Calchaquí region during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brinton (1899: 43–44) clearly showed to what extent the transnational development of archaeology bore the widespread of a specific colonial epistemology, which bridged racial evolutionary theory with the consolidation of nationalism (cfr. Díaz-Andreu, 2007: 369; Trigger, 2006: 185): “[Archaeologists] incline to believe that the civilized builders of these remains had been overcome and dispossessed by wild and savage tribes long before the whites reached the region, very much as the mound builders of the Ohio valley had also succumbed to the inroads of barbarians, and fled or were exterminated. [...] The Catamarcan culture was essentially Incaic, but that it had already passed to degeneration and destruction before the arrival of the whites, and that the nations these found in the picturesque valleys of Tucumán were not the builders but the destroyers of the ancient glory of the region”.



Figure 4.12: “El pueblo viejo de Quilmes. Catamarca”. 1889. Museum of La Plata (adapted from de Urgell, 1995: 76).

In the first article of a series of pieces written for the newspaper *La Nación* to inform the public opinion about the explorations in the remote regions of the northwest corner of the country, Lafone Quevedo (1888: 4) reported how he had run into the ruins of the ancient City of Quilmes:

“It would be impossible for me to describe the impression I felt seeing myself in that true centre of indigenous resistance in the so-called Calchaquí Valley: the silence of the tombs dominated where once had swarmed those bellicose nations that for more than a hundred years mocked all the efforts of the undefeated Spaniard”.

Praying for further funding to undertake investigations in the Calchaquí region, he appealed to the monumentality of the site as well as to its significance for the values of the nation: the settlement appeared to have been “as crowded as the honeycomb of hives”, which the author took as an allegory for what he considered the “outstanding republican equality of Quilmes” (Lafone Quevedo, 1888: 3–4). However, already few years later, he would have written that “it is not possible to credit the semi-civilised Diaguita and Kakkán tribes with the art objects which constantly turn up” (Lafone Quevedo, 1891: 370), thus inclining towards the possibility of the Inca origin of the ruins.

The archaeologist and future founder of the Ethnography Museum of Buenos Aires, Juan B. Ambrosetti (1897a) conducted the first comprehensive investigation of the site of Quilmes (Figure 4.13). He supplied detailed information on the pattern and functioning of the settlement, established connections with the material culture of similar large-scale fortified sites in the region, which were finally associated with the Diaguita people inhabiting the southern inter-Andean valleys at the time of the Spanish conquest, against the interpretations that continued to support a subordination to the central Andes (see Carrizo, 2010: 69–70; Nastri, 2004: 105). Yet, little academic and institutional interest followed this early excitement about the ruins of Quilmes, which remained unexplored until the last quarter of the 20th century, although continuously exploited in terms of looting for feeding the market of antiquities.

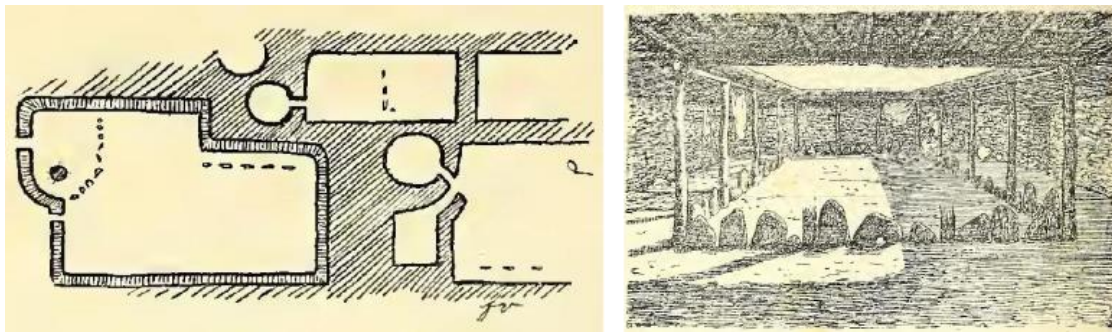


Figure 4.13: On the left, planimetry of residential units in the old town of Quilmes (Ambrosetti, 1897a: 21, fig. 20); On the right, sketch reconstruction of the interior of a house according to Ambrosetti (1897a: 10, fig.3).

The contributions to a more objectivist, evidence-based approach earned Ambrosetti the appellation of “the father of Argentine archaeology” (Carrizo, 2010: 69). This recognition shows the gradual willingness to institutionalise archaeology as a scientific discipline, then the necessity to define a recognisable field of expertise in which archaeologists could deploy a standardised research method, i.e. stratigraphic excavation, to enforce an authoritative voice on how to deal with materials from the past (Podgorny, 2004: 150–154). This also marked a shift in the relationships between scholars and local populations (Nastri, 2014: 260): while the first explorers were concerned with the issue of cultural continuity between the ancient and the present inhabitants of the valleys, relying for that on ethnographic comparisons to interpret the material record, through the regulation of archaeology and cultural heritage, the present matter became imperceptible to the eye of the archaeologists. However, scientific indifference is challenged by the practice and reality of the field (Karasik, 2009), and contradictory expressed

in the form of fieldnotes in which the discomfort of scientists targeted the little predisposition of local workers to digging the earth for their academic curiosity, and the fatalist care to consider their ways of relating with the material past as residual superstitions deemed to disappear.

The words of Salvador Debenedetti (1917: 248), a disciple of Ambrosetti at the Ethnography Museum, are eloquent in offering a clear synthesis of the perceived common sense regarding the social utility of science in the Argentine post-colonial context:

“What is dead is dead, and can only have a place in museums [...] That is why a part of the indigenous soul definitely left and the little that remains of it, will go, irremediably, down the slope that the new civilization has imposed on it [...] The present culture has no role but to assist [the indigenous] in its final hour, making its agony bearable and to piously prepare his funeral. There will be no contenders in the distribution of the indigenous heritage: science will be its only and universal heir”.

Haber (1999; 2007: 221) emphasised how this attitude was expression of the “metaphysical gap” that the colonial classificatory order had created between the present and the past, the subjects of knowledge and their objects, which archaeology contributed to naturalising as common sense; since then, he argued, the archaeologists’ aim has been “to answer in past perfect the question ‘Who is Indigenous?’”. Furthermore, Karasik’s (2009) remarkable study displayed how this colonial discursivity brought tension and inconvenience to the archaeologists in the field. Looking through the notes and comments left at the margins of archaeological reports, she showed the naturalisation of the established social inequality thanks to which archaeologists could carry their investigations out, pointing in the first place at the connivance with the large estate owners’ obligations to which the peasants were enslaved.

Both authors (Haber, 2007: 225; 2016a; Karasik, 2009: 208) coincided in situating the relationships of mutual caring and raising with the *antiguos* [beings from the time past], often manifested in opposing to archaeological excavations or in offering rituals to the earth before performing any work, as the locus of affirmation of social ties with the territory. As I have previously argued in the earlier sections, it is from this relationship that resistance and emergence flow in the face of always transforming colonial forces.

Such a negotiation appeared in the writing of Ambrosetti (1897b: 303–304; Figure 4.14), when the cherished father of Argentinean archaeology reported what happened in the background of an excavation in Quilmes:

“[T]here was a solemn moment, in the middle of that desolate landscape [...] Our scientific joy that drew us to desecration, contrasted with the visible anguish on the face of our pawns, who were repulsed to have to scramble the bones of their ancestors. In their movements and in their tanned faces, there was the cry of Calchaquí blood protesting. I ordered a distribution of coca, and they removed the first stones in the vault, with a ripping noise. [...] The first grave was left open, and then we witnessed a touching scene. One by one our pawns paraded before it, each one throwing his handful of coca leaves, and uttering in Quichua these naïve and heartfelt words, which I will never forget: *Taita antiguo, toma y coquea, no te enojas, á nosotros nos ordenan* [Old father, take it and chew it, don't get upset, we have been ordered]. This simple apology, this sincere confession, and this statement of resigned submission gave them encouragement”.



Figure 4.14: Picture of an excavation at a gravesite in Quilmes (Adapted from Ambrosetti, 1897b: 24).

Between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the Chico landowning family incorporated the ruins of Quilmes into its possessions (Tolosa, 2014: 71). The site was locally known as *Fuerte Viejo* [the Old Fort] and the surrounding land used to be a common pastoral area for local inhabitants' flocks, subject to the payment of a fee to the landowner (Becerra et al., 2012: 11; 2013: 70). Elderly community members recalled that the place had no other value for them at that time, except for the tiny amounts of money they could receive to escort visitors and dig ancient pottery. This aligns with the testimony offered by the renown pottery craftsman Simón Costilla in the quote below:

“It was abandoned, dumped. It was being destroyed by the mudslides, by the flocks, there was plenty of flock. [...] It meant nothing for us, only for those who came from other sides. They excavated and took away many pieces. Because we were kids, and often poor people, when someone came to buy, to search, for the museums, so many times they found vessels in those caves, under those stones, and, well, people sold them for nothing because of poverty. Well, this was going like that, it would have been like that until the governments became aware” (Calcha17-6: §12-20).

This context, ascribable to what Podgorny (2004: 176) named “uncontrolled antiquities”, slowly began to change because of the growing interest in transforming the north-western Argentina, its landscapes, folklore, and archaeological sites, into a paramount destination for domestic and international tourism (Chamosa, 2016: 54–55). By the Law 1.829/40 the provincial government of Tucumán declared areas of public utility and subject to expropriation the ruins of Quilmes and the access road from the recently inaugurated National Route 40, together with other localities in Amaicha and Tafí del Valle for which the repartitions of building plots for tourist infrastructure was planned¹⁵. Nonetheless, more than thirty years had to pass before the expropriation of the ruins of Quilmes due to their public utility eventually concretised in coincidence with the most tragic event of Argentina’s recent history¹⁶.

In the framework of the last civic-military dictatorship, the strategy to make the Northwest of the country a tourist attraction gained fresh momentum because of two intertwined factors. On the one hand, heritage policies directed to prehispanic ruins aligned with the conservative intentions of restoring a homogenising order in the fabric of the nation by underscoring the disappearance of any native roots (Becerra et al., 2013: 69–70; Endere, 2007: 81). On the other, and especially in coincidence with the Argentinean 1978 Football World Cup, conceiving of heritage as a resource for tourism provided the military junta with an easy-practicable economic alternative to the social crisis triggered by the

¹⁵ As Podgorny (2004: 175) and Endere (2007: 32) argued, during the first half of the 20th century the interest was on forging patriotic history through the glorification of decisive episodes of the Spanish Conquest, the Independence War, and the military annexation of the “Desert”.

¹⁶ In February 1975, the federal government issued the Secret and Reserved Decree 261/75 – the so-called “Independence Operative” – that enacted “the deployment of military operations as needed to neutralise and/or annihilate” the actions of the revolutionary guerrilla movement that had settled in the mountains of Tucumán because of the serious socio-economic situation unleashed by the forced closure of sugar mills in the earlier decade (Pierini, 2020: 276). This led to the establishment of a *de facto* government in the province that served as a dreadful model for nation-wide repression and human rights violations happened throughout the civic-military dictatorship, which took power one year later and lasted for seven more years (1976-1983).

dismantlement of the sugar industry (Manasse et al., 2010: 55–56; Tolosa, 2017: 60–61).

The designation of the “Indigenous Ruins of Quilmes” as an “Historical Monument of the Province” (Law 4.398/75) anticipated by one year the Law 4.593/76 that decreed the provincial ownership of heritage sites and objects. The normative framework gave way to an agreement between the *de facto* government of Tucumán and the Interdisciplinary Institute of Tilcara (University of Buenos Aires) for the enhancement of the site’s touristic value (Pelissero and Difrieri, 1981: 19). The reconstruction project of the Ruins of Quilmes started in 1977 and revolved around the main idea of making the site understandable to the visitors. The works were strongly criticised for their poor scientific accuracy (Endere, 2007: 83; Hernández-Llosa, 2016: 86) and for the systematic cooptation of local workers, which reinstated patronal power dynamics between the landowners and the local population (Becerra et al., 2013: 70–71; Crespo and Rodríguez, 2013: 162). These two criticisms condense in the dangerous materiality of the pieces of the *antiguos* (Becerra et al., 2012: 32, 36), which the workers unduly extracted during the reconstruction process, causing them became sick and even died, and whose whereabouts are largely unknown.

The Ruins of Quilmes were officially open to the public in 1980. Two years later, the Province of Tucumán expropriated the restored heritage complex (Law 5401/82), bestowed an unprecedented compensation to the Chico landowning family, which included the historical value of the ruins in addition to the original value of the land (Becerra et al., 2013: 70; Endere, 2007: 83). After the return to a democratic regime in 1983, the provincial administration showed little interest either in the maintenance of the site (Hernández-Llosa, 2016: 88), or in regularising the working position of the local workers who kept a job as groundskeeper and relied on the donations given by the visitors (Tolosa, 2017: 63).

The situation became hectic for the concurring frameworks of neoliberal outsourcing and multicultural recognition. The Province of Tucumán by Law 1.661/91 promoted “the role of private activity in the development of tourism infrastructure and services”. Consequently, in 1992 the local plastic artist and entrepreneur Héctor Cruz managed to lease the heritage complex of the Ruins of Quilmes for a concession period of ten years (Crespo and Rodríguez, 2013:

164; Tolosa, 2017: 64). Cruz took advantage of the extremely favourable terms provided by the legislation to build a boutique hotel with a swimming pool and a restaurant (Figure 4.15), without any concern about the impact caused by those construction works at the very core of the site.



Figure 4.15: a) A view of the reconstructed section of the archaeological site of Quilmes, just behind which is the touristic complex built in the 1990s. August 2017; b) A detail of the now abandoned hotel with an example of Cruz's artwork. November 2018.

Concurrently, the return to democracy prompted the recovery of the political organisation of the community of Quilmes, which was interrupted and outlawed by the dictatorship (Pierini, 2020; Tolosa, 2020a)¹⁷. Claims for the devolution of the site for being part of Quilmes' ancestral territory had been already advanced before the military junta come to power (Tolosa, 2020a: 31). For instance, Don Jesús Costilla, who was an iconic leader of the struggles against the landowners in those years (Boullosa-Joly, 2016: 112), recalled that:

“When we started the fight, we were also concerned about the ruins. But it wasn't reconstructed as it is now. It was abandoned, at that time. Ruins ruins, do you know? Everything was ruins. I knew the Ruins when they were ruined, we used to put the goats to pasture there. [...] Everything was like any other land before because the landowner said it belonged to him, and he didn't care. And when did he start caring? When we started to fight. We began to defend the ruins, and since then the landowner clung to the land” (Calcha18-41: §10-11).

¹⁷ In 1984 the Comunidad Indígena Quilmes (Co.In.Qui) was constituted, and in 1990 it achieved the recognition of the provincial juridical entity status (n. 41/90) as a civil association. After the promulgation of the 1994 Constitution, it could start the procedures for the recognition as an indigenous community through the INAI, which in 2001 finally registered the national juridical personality n. 441/01 with the name of *Comunidad India Quilmes* (CIQ, 2009: 28).

Don Jesús claimed that the political activation of the ruins arose from the inside of the Indigenous organisation rather than from other public or private actors. The above excerpt impressively documents how “ruins” hold the capacity to affect differently (Gordillo, 2014: 4–5): either those dispersed rubble participate in the daily practices of dwelling and become unsettling witnesses of a generalised landscape of injustice, or rather the monumentalised Ruins collaborate with the continuous attempts to conceal Indigenous politics through which “[t]he pastness of the past is crystallized in efforts to present ruins as objects separated from the present” (Gordillo, 2014: 8).

According to the historical cacique of the Indian Community of Quilmes, Francisco “Pancho” Chaile, the ruins helped:

“to become aware that we belong to an Indigenous people, that we have a past. We understood, we learnt a little more about the resistance to the invasion, then we began to value what belongs to our past people. We began to understand that we shall not allow anyone to come and tear this apart anymore. That’s where the organisation started (Calcha17-2: §37).

The first public appeal to the value of the ruins as a Sacred City associated with the struggle for territory and legal recognition appeared in 1999, one year after the formal constitution of the indigenous community with the election of Don Pancho Chaile as the first cacique (Figure 4.16). Nonetheless, the private entrepreneur Cruz kept the control of the management of the site despite the attempts of the community of Quilmes to resort to legal proceedings at the end of the ten-year concession period in 2002. The promulgation of the Law 7.484/04 establishing the Tucumán Tourism Autarchic Entity [*Ente Autárquico Tucumán Turismo*, EATT], the designation of the Ruins of Quilmes as cultural heritage of the Province (Law 7.535/05), and the progressive incorporation of Indigenous rights legislation in the provincial administration concurred to break the juridical deadlock.



Figure 4.16: Cover page of the magazine *Los Indios Kilmes* (n. 19, March 1999) published by a cultural association in the town of Quilmes, Buenos Aires, claiming for the restitution to the community of the “Sacred City”. Archive of the “Laura Manzo” Library, National University of Quilmes.

The Assembly of the Tucumán Province issued a new constitution in 2006, whose article 149 enshrines the rights of indigenous peoples to their traditional institutions, community ownership of the land, and self-determined development “bearing in mind the special relationship of these peoples with their Pachamama”. A letter of agreement signed by the EATT, the Quilmes indigenous community, and the Institute of Archaeology and Museum (IAM, National University of Tucumán) in 2004 led to the creation of a joint memorandum of participatory research and heritage management (Korstanje et al., 2013: 43–45). These antecedents paved the ground for the road cut of November 2007 through which the families of the fourteen hamlets of Quilmes, with the support of community members from Amaicha, claimed the implementation of the eviction order (Decree 2.731/1, 20 July 2007) issued by the Tucumán Executive against Cruz to restore the legitimate provincial ownership above the heritage site.

After fifteen days of pressure, on the 13th of December 2007, the Province acceded to dispatch the police force to evict Cruz on behalf of the EATT, which however refused to hand the administration over to the indigenous community. The 9th of January 2008, the community stood in a permanent assembly and decided to take the control of the ruins (Figure 4.17): “in exercise of our rights,

we made the spiritual taking of the Sacred City with a ceremony to the Pachamama” (CIQ, 2009: 46).



Figure 4.17: Welcoming sign at the entrance of the Sacred City of Quilmes resuming the legal and cultural legitimations for the claim to take the control of the “ancestral legacy”.

Tolosa (2014: 74) argued that “the recuperation of the Sacred City [...] transformed into action what was only a discursive argument about ancestral belonging until that point [...] it positioned the CIQ as a political subject in defence of its rights”. Yet, the portion of land in which the vestiges of the Sacred City are located still constitutes a “public-private island” (Korstanje et al., 2013: 58) within the recognised territory of the community. The provincial government, through the EATT, and the former private concessionary repeatedly tried to discredit either the capacity of heritage community management or the purity of community’s identity-based claims (Arenas and Ataliva, 2017: 185; Crespo and Rodríguez, 2013: 169–170; Tolosa, 2017: 69–74). This situation added further complexity to the already difficult efforts of co-management, which eventually led to the takeover of the site by a group of guides from the village of Quilmes in November 2013 with the backing of the EATT and the former private owner.

The splinter group self-denominated “Village of Quilmes Administration” went ahead with the completion of a new site museum with the support of the EATT. The new administration kept the denomination of Sacred City, yet this is empty of its political contents and subordinated to the tenets of the marketable

identification of the site in the tourist circuit of the region (Tolosa, 2017: 70). A fetishist past with little connections to the present overlays the long-term history of resistance conveyed by the materiality of the ruins as long as the living memories of these struggles do not fit within the permitted narrative of the reconstituted Ruins.

The current secretary of the UPND-Tucumán, Delfín Gerónimo, who was among the first leaders fighting for the restitution of the territory to the people of Quilmes, perhaps gave the clearest definition of what this process implied for Indigenous peoples:

“Archaeology has played a gloomy role, which is that of looting our ancient goods, our ancestors’ graves, and this is an unresolved issue yet. I think that heritage practitioners and science must apologise for their mistakes, which helped the concealment designed by the State. Nation States are the continuity of what happened during the colony, during the Spanish invasion, and science often has been instrumental to that, particularly archaeology, right? Archaeology has always spoken about the past in terms of objects, not only as regards as the human remains of our ancestors, but also as an object of study, something to be exposed, something to be sold, something having a symbolic or heritage value for the State; a dead thing, in sum, not a matter of law related to the rights of the peoples who we live today” (Calcha17-1: §13).

The continuity named by Don Delfín in this excerpt is not the essentialist search of genealogical origins, but the mechanisms of resistance against the ever-changing denying of Indigenous rights, politics, and ways of living. He insisted that “the State keeps doing what Roca did, or Columbus, or Pizarro did before; it’s the same with other methods, with other tools, with other weapons. The denial of territory, as the denial of life and livelihood, is also extermination; it’s genocide” (Calcha17-1: §42).

This perspective entails conceiving of heritage and territory as the intertwined fabric of a social body crisscrossed by the cooperation of human and other-than-human beings equally holders of inalienable rights (see Zaffaroni, 2011: 111). Separating heritage and territory, and giving them value as differentiated resources, means misrecognising the politics that weave them together as an indivisible whole (Korstanje et al., 2013: 62). It is in these terms that the revindication of the ruins of Quilmes as a Sacred City assumes the contours of a politics of life:

“The definition of Sacred City comes with the proposal for greater respect. They always were the Ruins of Quilmes, we proposed the definition of Sacred City because we understand that it is like that for the blood spilled, for the ceremonial places, for the remains of our elders who are there. Besides, we put it this way because of the issue of taking part in the economic benefits. How is it possible that only one family receives the benefit from the product of our past, while the community lacks drinking water, paths, health system, or acceptable schools? This is in synthesis our proposal” (Calcha17-1: §32).

4.4 Conclusions

The chapter showed how the interests in the ruins of Tiwanaku and in the material vestiges of the Calchaquí Valleys escalated into the imposition of authorised discourses and practices that forcibly excluded Indigenous subjectivities and non-western relatedness with the territory from the definition of what matters in heritage politics. The continuity of the colonial attitude becomes manifest in the purifying mechanisms that decide who can speak for the things becoming heritage, which are thus caught within and between national and international policies. Inscribing an artefact or a place into the homogenous time of national history not only denies alternative temporalities, but it also affects the living relations that sustain the longed objects of heritage desire. Such a process can be easily ignored by those who promote a univocal understanding of cultural heritage and the future of archaeology.

Focusing on the relationships between archaeologists and locals displays the disciplining character of taken for granted and institutionalised practices, as well as the creative responses to these regulatory interventions. As much in the case of the UNESCO site of Tiwanaku as in the Sacred City of Quilmes, the efforts of community management collide with an idea of heritage that is an inheritance of the long history of encounters with outsiders’ interests in exploiting the territory. The following chapters dealing with each case study will bring this legacy out to show its capacity to affect not only the community management of indigenous heritage sites, but also my own pursuing of the required permissions to undertake my fieldwork across both research areas.

In the next chapter, I will move the attention to the complex histories and networks of human and non-human agencies composing Tiwanaku heritage-making process. The twofold significance of the site for national homogenisation and Indigenous resistance is further explored through weaving together and

distinguishing the spreading of territorial sovereignty of the Bolivian nation-state and the struggle to visualise and perform the Indigenous subjectivity embodied in the maintenance and development of the elemental socio-political relationship of Andean communities, that is, the *ayllu*.

Chapter 5. Tiwanaku's becoming between State and *ayllus* histories

5.1 Introduction

This chapter digs into the historical and political context leading to the inscription of Tiwanaku into the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2000. This intends showing the reconfiguration of indigenous heritage classification and public role across the enduring transition from the homogenising *mestizo* national imagination to the collective aspiration of a Plurinational Indigenous State. Either at local, national, or international scales, the former president Evo Morales personified this movement, since its first inaugural ceremony held at the ruins of Tiwanaku in 2006 until the turbulent withdrawal following the general elections of November 2019.

The chapter aims at investigating the continuities, changes, and incomprehension underscoring the political role of cultural heritage in the public sphere. The previous chapter started to unpack the gravitational power held by Tiwanaku through the long memory of the encounters that crafted the contemporary recognition of its "outstanding universal value". I have illustrated the coincidental emergence of alternative assemblages of people, lands, and things, which challenged yet not rejected such an international consensus. These frictions alimeted the designation of the site as national heritage and generated the legitimacy by which the authorities of the local indigenous-peasant organisation took over the control of the administration a few months before the formal registration of Tiwanaku in the prestigious UNESCO List.

This event took place during the deflagration of Bolivian grassroots social movements at the same time as neoliberal and multicultural policies spread across Latin America (cfr. Albro, 2006; Canessa, 2007; Goodale and Postero, 2013: 3). In this chapter, I trace the emergence of "the possibilities for creative slippage" (Goodale, 2016: 441) at the interplay of State and Indigenous temporalities. The genealogy of contemporary conflicts produced by politics invoking the preservation of indigenous heritage is thus explained and helps contextualising the archaeological ethnography undertaken in a community adjacent to the ruins, in both spatial and temporal dimensions, and which self-identify as *Ayllu Originario* [Native Ayllu] before the Plurinational State.

Although this chapter's primary focus is delving more deeply into the historical and political context in which the fieldwork in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco took place, the importance of Tiwanaku for the discussions on heritage, rights, and indigeneity in Latin America and beyond (Kaltmeier, 2017: 29; Niezen, 2017: 26) provides the opportunity to address important conceptual coordinates for thinking of the two case studies as a whole.

5.2 Pathways for alternative histories: the horizons of post-colonialism and internal colonialism in Bolivia

This section sheds light on the imbricated history of Indigenous and State political legitimacies in the postcolonial development of the Bolivian Republic. It firstly tackles the coordinated responses of Aymara and Quechua communities to the grabbing of their territories through military and juridical means. This resistance was organised according to the terms and tenants of the *ayllu*: the political collective body constituted by an assemblage of people, lands, and other-than-human beings (see Allen, 2002: 18; De La Cadena, 2015: 97; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1990: 99). The mobilization for the defence of the collective tenure of community territories stemmed from the experience of negotiations accumulated during three centuries of colonial administration (cfr. Abercrombie, 1998). This opposition brought about the deployment of assimilation policies aimed at denying the existence of Indigenous subjects as such and shaped the contours of the ideology of *mestizaje* on which the nationalist revolution of 1952 found its own legitimacy.

5.2.1 The misrecognition of the traditional pact between State and ayllus

Between the last quarter of the 19th and the first three decades of the 20th, the oligarchic regime that had affirmed its power in the aftermath of Bolivia independence was able to deploy policies explicitly aimed at dismantling the collective property of the lands traditionally inhabited by Indigenous communities (Gotkowitz, 2007: 18–19; Platt, 1984). The reformative effort to dissolve the Indigenous legal space of autonomy was the condition for turning native territories, natural resources, and labour force into goods to be exchanged through the expanding railway system (Rivera Cusicanqui, 1990: 102–103; 2010b: 84–91). Such an aggressive liberalism prompted “the link between legality and coercion” (Gotkowitz, 2007: 41) and boosted a monopolistic concentration of

power and land at the expense of Indigenous peoples' autonomy and sustainability.

The most effective legal framework for that purpose was the 1874 *Ley de Exvinculación* [Disentailment Law], which granted individual property title to the land, while decreeing the transfer to the State of the *sobrantes* – i.e. “common lands considered vacant because cultivated on rotating cycles” (Gotkowitz, 2007: 26). Conversely to prior efforts to establish private property, the Disentailment Law formally abolished the “indigenous tribute” in favour of a taxation system conceived on the equality of all citizens of the Republic (Gotkowitz, 2007: 29; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 84). The reform dissolved the juridical personality of the community before the State and disposed that: “no individual or group of individuals may take the name of community or *ayllu*, nor appear for such an entity before any authority” (Disentailment Law 1874: art.7, quoted in Gotkowitz, 2007: 35)).

After the Pacific War, in 1881, a liberal-influenced government found the soil ready to redesign the periodic and contextual instrument of the *revisitas* [land survey] into “an army of bureaucrats” whose mission was “to penetrate, interrogate, and literally divide up the land of Indian communities” (Gotkowitz, 2007: 30). According to Rivera Cusicanqui (2010b: 99), the Disentailment Law became “the *juridical wrap* to convert community lands into large estates, and community members into free labour force ascribed to the *hacienda*”. As if it was a secular idolatry, the legality of the *ayllus* needed to be to extirpate from the legitimate boundaries of the State.

Yet for being a citizen the requirement was to be able to read and write, and Indigenous people found themselves excluded from this definition and resorted to their acquired colonial condition to justify another path of participation in the making of the modern State (Canessa, 2017: 75; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1991: 20). Far from acting on empty subjects, “the State found itself bound by previous agreements with the majority of its proposed *citizens*” (Platt, 1984: 8). According to Platt (1984: 6) through the Spanish domination and the early republican period a “traditional pact” was established between the *ayllus* and the State, which concretised in the act of paying and collecting the tribute as a guarantee for “the rights of ethnic groups to retain their lands as corporative organizations with a limited, but none the less real, margin of autonomy”.

The joint reform of land and tributary system were attacking this “margin of autonomy”. The legislators “wished to abolish at the stroke of a pen [...] a social and cultural order in which the Andean ecology, production and marketing calendars, residence patterns, and tributation to the State are all meshed into a rhythm of social activity punctuated by Catholic religious festivals” (Platt, 1984: 12). The tribute developed into a complex system of memories and expectations ordering *ayllus*’ social life and showing “two contrasted models of *legitimate behaviour* between State and people” (Platt, 1984: 6). To reaffirm collective subjectivity, the *ayllus* reacted to the implementation of the *revisitas* by enhancing their political action within the framework generated by the breach of this established coexistence.

Platt (1984: 13–14) observed that the Indigenous uprisings in the *ayllus* of North Potosí against the implementation of the Disentailment Law happened in coincidence with specific occurrences, such as the *cabildos* – the six-months ceremonies celebrated to pay the colonial tribute. In those festivals the *tinku* was celebrated. This was a ritual in which “two elements coming from two different directions meet” (Bouysse Cassagne, 1987: 196) that culminated with the fight confronting the two moieties of the *ayllu*. According to Bouysse Cassagne (1987: 199), through the *tinku* “territorial boundaries are reaffirmed [...] identity can be physically expressed, changed, and transformed through the opposition with the contrary, and in which each moiety provides the other with a kind of mirror of self”. The *tinku* makes the *ayllu* converge in a meeting place and unhides the partiality of common kinship adscriptions and corresponding land rights (Platt, 1984: 14).

In the province of Chayanta (North Potosí) the local sub-prefect left notices about his diligence in preventing a large Indian revolt planned for the 3rd of May 1889, “because during the festival of the Cross [...] the Indians all come together in their respective towns and, in the midst of their accustomed alcohol, they commit serious crimes with impunity” (Platt, 1984: 13). This is still the day in which peasant communities celebrate the Feast of the Crosses (Figure 5.1; see Chapter 7.4.2), a crucial date for agriculture cycles and social life, for it marks the end of the harvest and the beginning of the dry and cold season. It is also the day in which the wooden crosses that function as “the patrons of the surrounding cultivable lands” (Platt, 1984: 13–14) are taken out from their mounds and carried “to hear Mass at the church and preside over the ritual battle (*tinku*) [...] For both

symbolic and practical reason, then, the Cross was an appropriate patron for Andean attempts to recover the legitimate order of things”.



Figure 5.1: The Feast of the Cross in Huancollo, Tiahuanaco. May 2018.

According to this “order of things”, government inspectors *must accept the tribute* - in the modern form of *collective* property-tax – because that partakes of a history of mutual acknowledgement between State’s and *ayllus’* legitimacy. The misrecognition of those customary obligations triggered the claim to restore the violated balance between two subjects participating of a broad territorial unity. In warning about the “ethnocidal” character of Bolivia’s national building project and related nationalistic historiography, Platt (1984: 15) argued that the alternative arrangement of a State epitomised by *ayllus* relationships should be appreciated to the extent that it allows visualising “the possibility of alternative histories”.

The members of the Taller de Historia Oral Andina [THOA, Andean Oral History Workshop] (Choque Canqui, 2010; e.g. Choque and Mamani Condori, 2001; Condori Chura and Ticona Alejo, 1992; Mamani Condori, 1994; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1987) have thoroughly collected, investigated and socialised the memories of the movement of Indigenous leaders that resisted the implementation of the *revisitass*, and the imposition of a citizenship founded on the primacy of private property. The THOA collective work demonstrated the active role of Indigenous movement in the development of the State. An agency either

ignored by official history or relegated to episodic manifestations of violence and ignorance.

The network known as *caciques apoderados* [authorised chiefs] was composed by Indigenous individuals who unexpectedly arrived to stand for *ayllus* interests before the State. According to Rivera Cusicanqui (2010b: 99), “the legislators in 1874 did not think that communities could hold titles to land property issued centuries ago to their chiefs and authorities”. In the very same article that outlawed Indigenous community legitimacy, the Disentailment Law sanctioned the possibility to community representatives “to take care of their own affairs or be represented by authorized agents [*apoderados*]” (Gotkowitz, 2007: 35). This provision enabled community leaders and their attorneys to investigate into colonial and national archive in search for those titles proving *ayllus* pre-existence to the Republican State.

This archival work activated “ever deeper horizons of collective memory” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 100) through which community members challenged the disarticulation of *ayllus*' political subjectivity. Whereas in the North of Potosí the coordinated military and diplomatic effort of the *caciques apoderados* achieved the definitive interruption of the governmental land survey inspections in 1902 (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 99–100), different was the context in the highlands where the resistance for the defence of community interests burst violently along with the expansion of the *hacienda* system.

The end of the Civil War (1898-1899) that opposed the mining oligarchy in Sucre against the Liberals elites based in La Paz paved the ground for the expansion of the *hacienda*'s frontier (Gotkowitz, 2007: 43–44). During the first phase of the war, the Liberals could benefit from the military support provided by the *Indian army* led by Pablo Zarate Willka; however, this fragile alliance quickly showed its shortcomings. Rivera Cusicanqui (2010b: 86) pointed out that Willka's revolution - “[i]n its coherence and amplitude, in its self-exclusion from any mediation mechanism” - marked the end of an époque in which Indigenous political agency resulted unintelligible to other segments of Bolivian society.

Only a decade after the final defeat and killing of Zarate Willka by the hands of his former allies, a new generation of *caciques apoderados* took the reins of the movement. Those leaders found themselves in an upside-down world in which

the monopolistic accumulation of lands and resources disrupted the territorial foundations of the *ayllu*. The railroad system built in the first decades of the 20th century boosted the dismantlement of *ayllu*'s vertical control of complementary inter-ecological zones maintained across networks of kinship and trade (cfr. Murra, 2018; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1990: 97–98). Dispossessed of the material and symbolic sources of the leadership, the *caciques apoderados* restored their joint communitarian project by appealing to the memory of the historical leaders who fought against the colonial domination.

By tracing genealogical affiliations with those figures, a new generation of leaders legitimated their authority before their people and in front of other segments of Bolivian society (Choque Canqui, 2010: 22–24; Condori Chura and Ticona Alejo, 1992: 107; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 102–103). The *caciques* leveraged on free market and school education – two classical civiliser arguments wielded by the liberal elites – to reformulate the basis of Indigenous movement and regain “a relative autonomous control of their relations with the whole of society” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 105)

During the first decades of the 20th century, writing became increasingly associated to Indigenous politics (Ari, 2014: 8; Choque and Mamani Condori, 2001: 217; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015: 97–101). Platt (1984: 7) concisely argued that it was not merely a point to gain access to that powerful tool, but to use it “as *Indians*”. Likewise, Canessa (2017: 71) insisted that “indigenous people were constantly probing, challenging the boundaries of the state – from its margins but also its very centre”.

As the centrality of Tiwanaku as the *Taypi* of the Aymara world shows (see Chapter 4.2.1), this entailed a combination of secular and religious practices within an alternative project of State based on the emergence of the long memories of the *ayllus*. In tracing this converging and diverging State-building movements, the *tinku* appeared as the “complementary encounter amongst contraries” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015: 334) that activates overlapping horizons of memory.

5.2.2 Governance of mestizaje and slippery horizons of memory

The defeat in the Chaco War (1932-1934) against Paraguay had the effect of dragging the liberal State project led by the liberal elites into a deep crisis and, in turn, reinvigorating the advocacy campaign for the recognition of *ayllus'* collective land titles by forging a strong network of political alliances for a renewed nationalism. One year after the end of the war, a group of military officers overtook the government and deployed a socialist-inspired programme to meet the demands coming from the urban and countryside exploited classes, which culminated in the adoption of a new Constitution in 1938 (Gotkowitz, 2007: 101–103). The new charter enshrined the “protection and guarantee of the legal existence of the indigenous communities” (art. 165), and supported “the education of the peasant, through indigenous educational unities that have a comprehensive nature embracing economic, social and pedagogical aspects” (art. 167).

Indigenous claims for the end of servitude conditions under the *hacienda* regime, restoration of community land titles, and adequate school education were echoed by the rising National Revolutionary Movement since the 1940s (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 117–118). A member of this political party, Gualberto Villarroel, was the constitutional president who inaugurated the First Indigenous Congress, which was held in 1945 in La Paz and marked the beginning of Bolivian *indigenismo*, in the wake of the agreement adopted by the ground-breaking Inter-American Congress of Pátzcuaro (Mexico) in 1940 to find a solution through cultural assimilation and poverty alleviation programs to the persistence of the “Indian question” in the modern nation-states (de la Peña, 2005: 723–728; Gotkowitz, 2007: 194). Quoting the politician and philosopher René Zavaleta Mercado, Rivera Cusicanqui (2010b: 121) suggested that the true significance of that assembly was the general indignation provoked by “the presence of the Indian in the human framework of the State”. In fact, just the year after the First Indigenous Congress, such a reactionary sentiment widespread among the urban population was monopolised by the oligarchic classes, which regained the executive power after the violent withdrawal and public hanging of the president Villarroel on a lamppost outside of the presidential palace (Gotkowitz, 2007: 233; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 120–122).

Coordinated uprisings constellated the six-year period of reactionary government that followed those tragic events, which strengthened the alliance between the centralised structures of the MNR party and the peasantry, mining workers, and exploited urban classes that ultimately overthrew the conservatory forces and established a new social pact, supposedly more equitable than the previous one. However, the fledgling citizenship affirmed through the democratic principle of the right to vote without any restrictions of literacy and gender failed to acknowledge the contributions of *ayllu* politics to the common struggles posited by nation-state reconstruction (Canessa, 2017: 76; Gotkowitz, 2007: 276). According to Gotkowitz (2007: 284–285) this overlooking is the product of the mutual misunderstanding about the way in which “the ideas of rights, participation, sovereignty, and equality” that configured the pre-revolutionary political and military alliances “could acquire specific meaning in practice”.

The establishment of the Institute of the Agrarian Reform [*Instituto Nacional de la Reforma Agraria*, INRA], granted the collective tenure of the land to the communities, yet the combined actions of centralised decision-making processes and developmentalist interventions turned the “community” into a clientelist machine, which progressively corrupted the shared fundamentals of democracy (Rivera Cusicanqui, 1990: 104–107). Looking at the development of post-revolutionary Bolivia, Canessa (2017: 77) argued that although “Indians were largely invisible [...] *the Indian* was at the heart of the Bolivian state since it expended so much energy in erasing it”.

Of particular importance for the modernising agenda of the post-52 State was the syndicate-based model of the *Central Agraria* – the centralised peasant union that arrived to play a crucial intermediary role between the State and the communities, overlapping with historical forms of exercise of community power through *ayllu*'s kinship relations and obligations (Choque and Mamani Condori, 2001: 215–216; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1990: 102). In her seminal work, *Oppressed but not defeated*, Rivera Cusicanqui (2010b: 164–166) distinguished between a first phase in which the *Sindicato* [Union] provided the structure for an “active subordination” of rural peasantry into nation-state mechanisms, in contrast to a second phase of “passive subordination” in which it turned into a coercive instrument. She associated these phases to the contraposition between two forms of power habiting, respectively, the “long memory” of anticolonial struggles

and the “short memory” of national consistency (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 212–215; 2018a: 495).

Rivera Cusicanqui (2015: 99–106) continued the analysis of the instruments that enabled the State to make the Indigenous invisible through the “constitutive ambiguities” of national health and education systems and shed light onto the impact of the governance of *mestizaje* on disciplined indigenous bodies. Through the pictures of the *Album de la Revolución* – a propagandistic volume that illustrated the milestones of the 1952 Revolution until the year of its release in 1954 (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015: 107–109) – she pointed at the recurrent rhetoric of poverty and dispossession attached to rural communities, which tautologically justified the salvific intervention of the central State through the ruling MNR party (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015: 151–161).

Rivera Cusicanqui (2015: 142) draws the attention to the stratified traces of “the pendular movement of recognition-misrecognition of Indigenous peoples’ insurgent power in history” and traces the horizons of “internal colonialism” back to the visual insights of Guaman Puma de Ayala’s *New Chronicle and Good Government* (1615 see Figure 5.1), which graphically transposed “the belittling of Andean culture for the sake of development projects” (2015: 218).

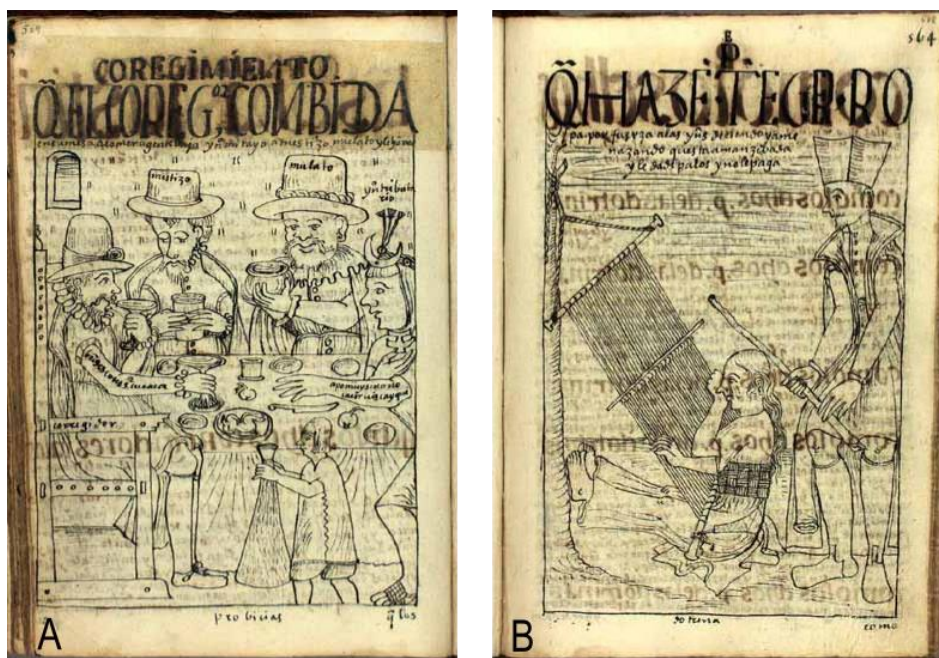


Figure 5.2: Two drawings from Guaman Poma’s chronicle that channel the colonial condition imposed to Indigenous peoples in the Andes: A: the belittling (*jisk’achaña*) of the Indian who serves at the table of the *encomendero* (1615: folio 505[509]); B: A native woman weaver threatened by the priest and compelled to work at his command (1615: folio 564[578]).

The contextual synthesis between those poles of memory and forgetfulness produced autonomous experiences of Indigenous politics, which conveyed in the *Indian Political Movement Tupak Katari* during the 1970s and in the social engaged intellectual work of the THOA collective in the 1980s (Albó, 2002: 76–77; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 178–179). These experiences favoured the emergence of ethnic-based rights claims for the re-establishment of *ayllus* political legitimacy as part of a much wider history of resistance to the forcible reassessing of Indigenous aspirations to those of the State and in negotiation with the growing transnational indigenism (Albro, 2006: 398; Canessa, 2007: 202–205; Choque and Mamani Condori, 2001: 217–219). In such a dispute, Tiwanaku’s gravitational power was crucial for both State and *ayllus* performances of power.

Following the over-exposition of Tiwanaku in the first half of the century and the exploitation of both archaeological remains and symbolic capital (Mamani Condori, 1994: 48–49; Qayum, 2011: 166–169), the ruins were lethargically in custody of the CIAT chaired by the MNR party member Ponce Sanginés (see Chapter 4.2.3). Yet, the imprinting of nationalism into the heritage assemblage reverberated in the reclamation for an alternate model of State grounded on *ayllu* sovereignty (Arnold, 2018: 35). The promulgation and dissemination of the *Manifesto of Tiwanaku* in 1973 (Aymara and Quechua Peasant Organizations, 2018) wished to lay the foundations anew for the “traditional pact” (Platt, 1984: 7) of coexistence between the State and the *ayllus*. The *Manifesto* (Aymara and Quechua Peasant Organizations, 2018: 494; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010b: 182) solemnly opened recalling the words of the Inka Yupanqui, “A people that oppresses another people cannot be free”.

At the dawn of the 21st century, the Aymara legacy of Tiwanaku was reclaimed by the signatories of the *Manifesto of Jach’aka’chi* in the context of the exacerbation of the conflict between State and Indigenous sovereignties in the departments of Potosí and Oruro in April 2001, which became known as “War of the *ayllus*” (Arnold, 2018: 33; Arnold and Yapita, 2005: 144; Zibechi, 2004: 154–155). Few days before the proclamation of the *Manifesto*, the *ayllus* reunited in Achakachi and issued the *Act of Reconstitution of the Aymara-Quichwa Nations* in which they advanced the proposal of reconstitution of “an autonomous government of *Mallkus, Jilaqatas, and Amawt’as*” grounded on the economy and

institutions of the *ayllus*" (quoted in Zibechi, 2004: 156). The political philosopher Zibechi (2004: 149–150) invites to read these public proclaims starting from their last page, in which over eighty entities among communities, peasant unions, and regional union confederations affixed their institutional stamps in "a non-hierarchical and non-synthetic way", and he emphasised "the horizontal articulation of powers not separated from their communities" that makes evident "the Aymara society on the move".

It is through this lens that the reference to the restoration of an Indigenous State acquires its full significance as the evocation of the historical ability of the *ayllus* to negotiate the coexistence of their economic and political institutions along with, but in autonomy from, the entwined systems of nation-state and capitalist development (Zibechi, 2004: 188). Along the three decades that separate those revindications of belonging to the undefeated Aymara and Quechua nations, the ruins of Tiwanaku became the source of renewed configuration for pathways to memory and imagination that make the nation-state and the *ayllus* coincidentally converge and diverge.

5.3 Paradoxes of indigeneity in-between the multicultural and the pluri-national regimes

The intertwined actions of collective memories and aspirations played a crucial role in the two consecutive Constitutional Reforms (1994, 2009) that changed the political, economic, and cultural representation of the country in less than twenty years (Farthing and Kohl, 2013: 361). The strategic decision of the MNR president Gonzálo "Goni" Sánchez de Losada to appoint the moderate *katarista* leader Víctor Hugo Cárdenas as his vice-president boosted the promulgation of the 1994 Constitution through which the "multicultural" and "pluri-ethnic" character of the Bolivian Republic was recognised for the first time (Albó, 2002: 78–80)¹⁸. The constitutional adjustment of the State translated and betrayed the aspirations of Indigenous peoples' grassroots organisations into a set of reforms promoting political decentralisation and economic deregulation.

¹⁸ The Constitution committed to guarantee "[t]he social, economic, and cultural rights of indigenous peoples that live in the national territory are recognized, respected, and protected within the framework of the law, especially those rights regarding their lands of communal origin, guaranteeing the use and sustainable development of the natural resources, their identity, values, languages, customs, and institutions" (Republic of Bolivia 1994, art. 171).

A political project whose aim was “to humanise the neoliberal model without, however, questioning its basic precepts” (Albó, 2002: 78) could not help stumbling into crisis. This legal framework promotes native culture as an individual asset belonging to concrete territorial entities competing for the control of resources, benefits, and the ability to negotiate with NGOs and other intermediaries across transnational ethno-development networks (Albro, 2010a: 146–148; Canessa, 2016: 78; Postero, 2007: 164–168; Radcliffe et al., 2009: 30). Despite having permeated national discourses and development strategies with convenient buzzwords, the effects of legal recognition were more visible in terms of filling the slot of ethnic participation rather than of achieving an equal redistribution of economic and political powers¹⁹.

Commenting on the multicultural adjustments of the Bolivian nation-state, Rivera Cusicanqui (2012: 98) argued that such a recognition – “truncated, conditional, and reluctant” – bears witness of “the theatricalization of the *originary* condition of a people rooted in the past and unable to make their own destiny”. In her opinion, the diverse political subjectivities of Indigenous peoples and the heterogeneity of the grassroots claims to a radical change of citizenship were reduced to a category among many others in the endangered list of minorities and other vulnerable groups in need of assistance; they were disparaged as a “multicultural adornment of neoliberalism” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012: 99). Indigenous political movements were deprived of “decolonial impulse” due to “the *origin* denies the contemporaneity of these populations and excludes them from the struggles of modernity” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012: 99).

While the “indigenous” within the policies of neoliberal multiculturalism is displaced “to a past imagined as quiet, static, and archaic” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012: 99), by contrast, the “*ayllu democracy*” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 1990; 2004: 21) finds its political legitimation in “the coexistence of past and present” (1990: 97). Rivera Cusicanqui (2012: 96) has elaborated further on this point arguing that “the present is the setting for simultaneously modernizing and archaic

¹⁹ This is what Postero (2007: 52-53) described as the “neoliberal multiculturalism” shaped through structural reforms, such as: the *Ley de Participación Popular* [Participation Law, Ley 1551/1994, LPP], which recognised local stakes in rural development and limited autonomy to territorial entities; the reform of the INRA [Ley 1715/1996 del *Instituto Nacional de la Reforma Agraria*, INRA Law] through the creation of the system of the Ancestral Community Lands [*Tierras Comunitarias de Origen*, TCO]; and the *Ley de Reforma Educativa* [Educational Reform Act, Ley 1565/1994] that introduced the principles of interculturality and bilingualism.

impulses, of strategies to preserve the status quo and of others that signify revolt and renewal of the world". She describes such a space of crisis as *ch'ixi*, where "*ch'ixi* combines the Indian world and its opposite without ever mixing them [but it] also alludes in turn to the idea of muddling, to a loss of sustenance and energy" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012: 105).

Previously unthinkable pathways to "reclaiming modernity" (cfr. Goodale, 2006; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2004: 22; 2012: 96) stemmed from the grey area of legal recognition, which spans from the Indigenous grassroots organisations' relinquishing of their dispersed political subjectivity to the classificatory multicultural ethos filled with policing tools.

This echoes Canessa's (2007: 217) point that indigeneity emanates from "a contemporary social relation articulated in terms of the past". He argued that among the Bolivian highland community in which he worked, the genealogical was just one among the many ways to express lines of descentance, for those can be as diversified as "people may feel they have inherited a way of life, a relationship to the gods, or a political position in terms of historical injustice" (Canessa, 2008: 355). The author highlighted the variety of historical consciousness associated with indigeneity, but also the inclusiveness and mellifluousness of a general sense of temporal as much as spatial proximity between the past and the present that resists the imposition of discrete categories of ancestral belonging.

According to Canessa (2008: 367), taking both temporal and spatial dimensions of indigeneity into account "complicates our understanding of political action" insofar as it shows how Indigenous identities, self-determined or otherwise, turned into "a claim to difference, a claim to rights, perhaps even a claim to moral authority in the face of encroaching globalisation" (Canessa, 2007: 130). This is an expanding multi-scalar field that agglutinates local and global webs of signification, representation, and social activism, and to which Goodale (2006: 635) referred as "indigenous cosmopolitanism".

In contrast with approaches to cosmopolitanism that draw on a specific European tradition of citizenship, in which rights and obligations (*politês*) define the membership to a restricted community (*kosmou*), Goodale (2006: 642) argued that in the emergence of Bolivian indigenous cosmopolitanism "the *kosmou* is

much more important than the *politês*”, which means that “the political and instrumental (and even the legal) merely mediate what can be more usefully understood as a radical exercise of the moral imagination”.

Indigeneity was enacted through various semantic and performative supports during the massive mobilisations that shook the country in the aftermath of the neoliberal adjustments paving the ground to the victory of Evo Morales’ party Movement Toward Socialism in the 2005 presidential elections [*Movimiento al Socialismo*, MAS] (Albro, 2006: 393–394; Arnold and Yapita, 2005: 144–145; Howard, 2010: 185). The general identification with Indigenous heritage overcame the normative restrictions prescribed by the regulated framework of the rights of minority populations and supplied a new grammar for reclaiming a revolutionary, albeit paradoxical nation-building proposal in the shape of an Indigenous State.

The *wiphala* – the multicolour chequered flag that had appeared in the national stage with the Katarista Movement in the 1970s and in mythical continuity with the anticolonial mobilisations at the end of the 18th century – slightly became the key symbol capable of shedding light onto nodes of political action (Goodale, 2006: 636–638; Howard, 2010: 185; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2004: 21) (Figure 5.3). The massive protests at the dawn of the third millennium brought together dispersed urban and rural sentiments of indignation towards political corruption, privatisation of natural resources, or eradication of coca leaf supply circuits, at the same time as being capable of attracting transnational solidarity and alliances across networks of Indigenous peoples’ rights and anti-globalisation advocates.

The same as the *pollera* [multi-layered skirt]: an iconic attribute of *Pachamama* [the Mother Earth] (Abercrombie, 2016: 94), traditionally worn by urban or rural *cholas* [mestizo women] and turned into a frozen-in-time folkloric addition of the multicultural landscape (Albro, 2010a: 158–159). The invocation of Pachamama, in turn, became a force capable of unifying the heterogenous urban-mestizo and rural-peasant fronts into “the language of indigeneity” (Canessa, 2006: 249).



Figure 5.3: The *wiphala* waving along with the Bolivian flag during the protests in Cochabamba against water privatisation in 2000. Picture credit: Tom Kruse. Retrieved and adapted from <https://blogdelagua.com/actualidad/internacional/cronologia-de-la-lucha-por-el-agua-publica/>

During the Cochabamba Water War, making public the Pachamama in political discourses served the social movements' interest to reach a wide transnational consensus on the collective rights to ancestral territories, and the primacy of the free, prior, and informed consultation with local communities on development projects affecting the commons. The inscription of Pachamama in the political made room for increasing in value the public role of the *cholas* by making visible Indigenous women's practices to generate and take care of "pacts of reciprocity and coexistence among different groups" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012: 107).

The protection, valorisation, and mobilisation of coca leaves as both a national patrimony and an indigenous heritage is perhaps the most critical element of Evo Morales coming to power (Albro, 2005: 443–444; Canessa, 2006: 253; Postero, 2007: 198–199)²⁰. It shows his ability in crafting an inclusive rhetoric, which could

²⁰ Morales began his political activism in the coca growers' union in the 1980s and became elected leader in 1988, which was the year that marked the beginning of the US programme of eradication of coca plantations. By denouncing the "imperialistic" interference of the north American country in the political, economic, and cultural affairs of Bolivian sovereignty, Morales and the coca growers' movement could participate in the greater international network against neoliberal globalisation that grew during the 1990s, also benefiting from the international attention and advocacy for Indigenous peoples' rights sparked in coincidence with the commemoration of the five-hundred years of the Conquest in 1992.

capitalise popular dissatisfaction and global resonance into a hegemonic political project for the refoundation of the Bolivian State (Albro, 2010b: 71; Canessa, 2016: 80–85; Postero, 2017: 2–3). This process culminated in the 2009 Constitution that declares Bolivia to be a “Unitary Social State under Plurinational Community Law” (art. 1) and ensures the right to self-determination of “the indigenous peasant originary peoples and nations” (art. 2), which consists in the recognition of their cultures and institutions, territorial autonomy, and self-government. The new Constitution (arts. 8.1, 9.1) set “decolonisation” and “living well” as the political, ethical, and moral principles to ensure the plurality of the State and in harmony with everyone’s “right to a healthy, protected and balanced environment (art. 33).

The strenuous defence of coca leaf appeared in those years of struggle for a new form of State and citizenship as an “indigenous modernity rooted in the past” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2004: 22). In perceiving the paradoxical of this assertion lies the materialisation of those actors that are not conceived of being political, but which nonetheless expand the understandings of both the *politics* and the *cosmos*.

Acknowledging the coexistence of divergent, while complementary, pathways to modernity and power means visualising indigeneity “as a matter of ambiguity and contention” (Abercrombie 2016: 103). This reverberates in the political capacities of slippery, juxtaposed configurations of people, places, and things, which found their plastic expression in the many marches of protest and self-assertion that marked three decades of neoliberal multiculturalism in Bolivia since the watershed 1990 *Marcha por el Territorio y la Dignidad* [March for Territory and Dignity] (Albro, 2005: 443; Canessa, 2006: 246; Goodale, 2006: 636; Postero, 2007: 125; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1991).

The activation of simultaneous and competing interests around the definition of what matters in Tiwanaku’s heritage therefore turned into a privileged location to look at the transition towards Evo Morales’ personification of the “Indigenous State” (Arnold, 2018: 37; Canessa, 2016: 80; Postero, 2017: 35–37). It is also the site to assess the “politics and policing” (Postero, 2017: 4; after Rancière, 1999: 28–30) of an institutionalised indigeneity leading to the transformation of the decolonial rhetoric that filled the political imaginary and action of the MAS government into a force of social ordering and exclusionary citizenship.

5.3.1 Heritage interventions: from the Aymara New Year to the UNESCO declaration

The current management of Tiwanaku is the outcome of the event collectively remembered as the *intervención* [intervention] (see Sammells, 2013: 315). In the aftermath of the annual municipal parade for the Bolivian Independence Day on August 6th 2000 – and only a few months before UNESCO officialised the inscription in the World Heritage List – the *mallkus* [indigenous authorities] of the twenty-three communities of the Municipality, the representatives of the Council of Ayllus and Native Communities of Tiahuanaco [*Consejo de Ayllu y Comunidades Originarias de Tiwanaku*, CACOT]²¹, the *Junta de Vecinos* [Tiahuanaco Neighbourhood Board], and the *Alcalde* [Mayor of the Municipality of Tiahuanaco] jointly took part in taking over the administration of the heritage site and demanding the State to repay the debts contracted with the territory.

During my preliminary fieldwork, I could collect information from experienced site guides who told me that it was not the first time this sort of demand was made: in May 1983, another *intervención* took place when the site was administrated through the National Office of Archaeology and Anthropology [*Dirección Nacional de Arqueología y Antropología*, DINAAR], which replaced the CIAT in the institutional conservation of the heritage site (Orlandi, 2016: 9; see Yates, 2011: 303). Since that moment, local stakes in archaeological research and heritage management were mediated through the Association of Archaeology Workers in Tiwanaku [*Asociación de Trabajadores en Arqueología de Tiwanaku*, ASTAT], which followed the established model of peasant syndicalism (Leighton, 2016: 745; Vranich, 2013: 6), as well as through negotiating the restitution of the 15% and 25% of the overall revenues generated by the touristic exploitation of the site to the *Central Agraria* and the *Alcalde*, respectively (Sammells, 2013: 326). The breach of this agreement due to the lack of payment of the agreed amount subsequently led to the successful intervention in August 2000 (see Chapter 6.3).

In-between the almost two decades separating those events, the confidence generated around heritage claims made in the grammar of indigeneity raised

²¹ The CACOT is the indigenous-peasantry juridical institution that substituted the former *Central Agraria* after the implementation of the Participatory Law in 1994. The change in the juridical personality was formalised in 1998, and since 2007 it has become a “no profit organisation of the millennial aymara culture with customary uses, costumes and rights” (CACOT, 2014: 17).

across the country and reached international stages. Concerted grassroots and institutional interests converged toward the depenalisation and concurrent heritagisation of the medical practices of the Kallawaya people, for being part of an integrated socio-economic system and the manifestation of the living transmission of ancestral knowledge about medicinal plants and techniques in the Andean region (cfr. Alderman, 2016: 118–122; Loza, 2004). In 1990 the Government of Paz Zamora passed a decree (D.S. 22546/1990) stating its “approbation and support” for the restitution of a collection of prehispanic textiles [q’ipi] privately owned by several subjects in the USA requested by the authorities of the community of Coroma (Department of Potosí) (Yates, 2011: 295). Significantly, the decree affirmed the “exceptional right” of the Indigenous community of Coroma to conserve the q’ipi in its territory for these ancient textiles conserve “a predominant role in the social, political and religious organisation of the community” (D.S. 22546/1990: art. 2).

The shifting attention toward Indigenous peoples’ physical and spiritual relationships with their ancestral territories and prehispanic artefacts found its most effective expression at Tiwanaku in the emergence and public affirmation of the *Willka Kuti* [the return of the sun]: the celebration of the Aymara New Year in coincidence with the austral winter solstice on the 21st of June (e.g. Andia Fagalde, 2012; Arnold, 2018: 35–36; Canessa, 2007: 211; Sammells, 2012: 118; Vranich, 2013: 7–8). In her study on the origins of this celebration, Andia Fagalde (2012: 22–34) recognised four chronological steps tied to the socio-political development of Bolivia:

- 1) At the time of Posnanski’s ambitious Great Bolivian Archaeology Project in the 1930s (see Chapter 3.2.2), the site was frequented by urban elites in search of intellectual and esoteric delight, and in particular the inscriptions of the Gateway of the Sun (Figure 5.4) became the focal point of attention.

- 2) During the 1970s, and especially after the proclamation of the Manifesto of Tiwanaku, the legacy and symbolic capital of the ruins was revendedicated as the political and spiritual centre of an ancestral Indigenous nation by urban Aymara intellectuals, who started to pilgrimage from the Bennett Monolith displaced in front of the Miraflores Stadium in La Paz to the Kalasasaya temple in Tiwanaku every June for the day of the Solstice.

3) From 1978 to 1989, the celebration of the Aymara New Year, called during this period *Mara T'aqa* [the partition of the years], adopted its current ritualistic form thanks to the initiative of a group of senior *yatiris* from diverse communities of the Municipality of Tiahuanaco; Andia Fagalde recognises Rufino Phaxsi and Policarpio Flores as the main proponents of the celebration in close connections with their knowledge of natural medicine (see Chapter 7.3.2).

4) Since the 1990, the event, now branded *Willka Kuti*, started to be organised by the appositely constituted Council of *Amaw'tas*, with the support of Tiahuanaco Peasants' Union, and under the drive of a younger generation of *yatiris* who formed themselves outside of their native communities, among them Valentín Mejillones, Don Lucas Choque, and Don César Callisaya (see Chapter 4.2.3).



Figure 5.4: The iconic Gateway of the Sun in the temple of Kalasasaya. September 2016.

An important aspect of Andia Fagalde's (2012: 290–293) investigation is the detailed outlook she provided into the fissures of indigeneity, through the documentation of the internal struggles for the leadership of the *Council of Amaw'tas of Tiwanaku*, at the beginning of the 1990s, between the senior and younger generations of *yatiris*. This is a vivid illustration of the extent to which indigeneity is always a contextual relationship that happens in the present, but also in contiguity with the living landscape of the past. The *Willka Kuti* shows the

participation of the ruins of Tiwanaku in the complex power forces agitating both the Bolivian and the international political arena in those years.

Sammells (2011: 256) pointed this out by arguing that the celebration of the Aymara New Year became part of a wider “politics that invoke the past” that concurrently affirms an “alternative modernity of the Bolivian State”. Through the annual pilgrimage to the ruins, “Tiwanaku is transformed back into a city” (Sammells, 2012: 118), that is, a political and spiritual centre attracting visitors from the major Bolivian capitals, and increasingly from all over the world, and by doing so it acted for “reversing decades of rural migration to the city” (2012: 127). Therefore, Sammells (2013: 326) convincingly argued that shifting temporal and spatial conceptions at play in the celebration of the Solstice are critical to the changing political significance of indigeneity.

The ritualised offering at the temple of Kalasasaya (Figure 5.5) became an iconic stop along the electoral trail of presidential candidates or a privileged scenario for international meetings, at the same time that the celebration of the Aymara New Year spread to other rural communities as a tangible expression of the political affirmation of Indigenous politics within the space of autonomy granted by the multicultural framework (Canessa, 2007: 213–214; 2012: 41–44). Both the multifaceted Indigenous movement and the government agreed that affirming the State ownership and stewardship of the “cultural treasures of the Nation” (Constitution of Bolivia 1994: art. 191) was a political matter, however, there was less agreement on the significance of this definition in practice.

During the 1990s, Tiwanaku started its journey toward the UNESCO World Heritage List (Figure 5.6) prompted by such a twofold tension for recognition: on the one hand, the Indigenous communities and organisations struggling for being recognised juridical entities and political actors in the multicultural configuration of the nation, on the other, the nation-state’s eagerness for being legitimated as the rightful keeper of its “cultural treasures” before UNESCO surveillance bodies and the international community.



Figure 5.5: Two moments of the celebration of the *Willka Kuti* / Aymara New Year 5.526. At the top, a *wax'ta* (offering) held at midnight in the Kalasasaya temple for the Indigenous authorities and few tourists, who were mainly concentrated in the plaza of Tiahuanaco where a big stage was set for the show of popular local and national bands. After the ceremony, which included the burning of a llama foetus, the community authorities went to the CACOT's seat, located at the entrance of the village, for the overnight vigil in expectation of returning to the archaeological site in time for the sunrise. The morning ceremony is "pre-announced" by the arrival of the presidential helicopter, while the area of the Kalasasaya temple is strictly divided with a cordon of police forces that separates the space reserved for local and national authorities, and where the main *wax'ta* takes place, from the space dedicated to visitors, and where a large wiphala was raised after the ceremony was over (at the bottom). June 2018.

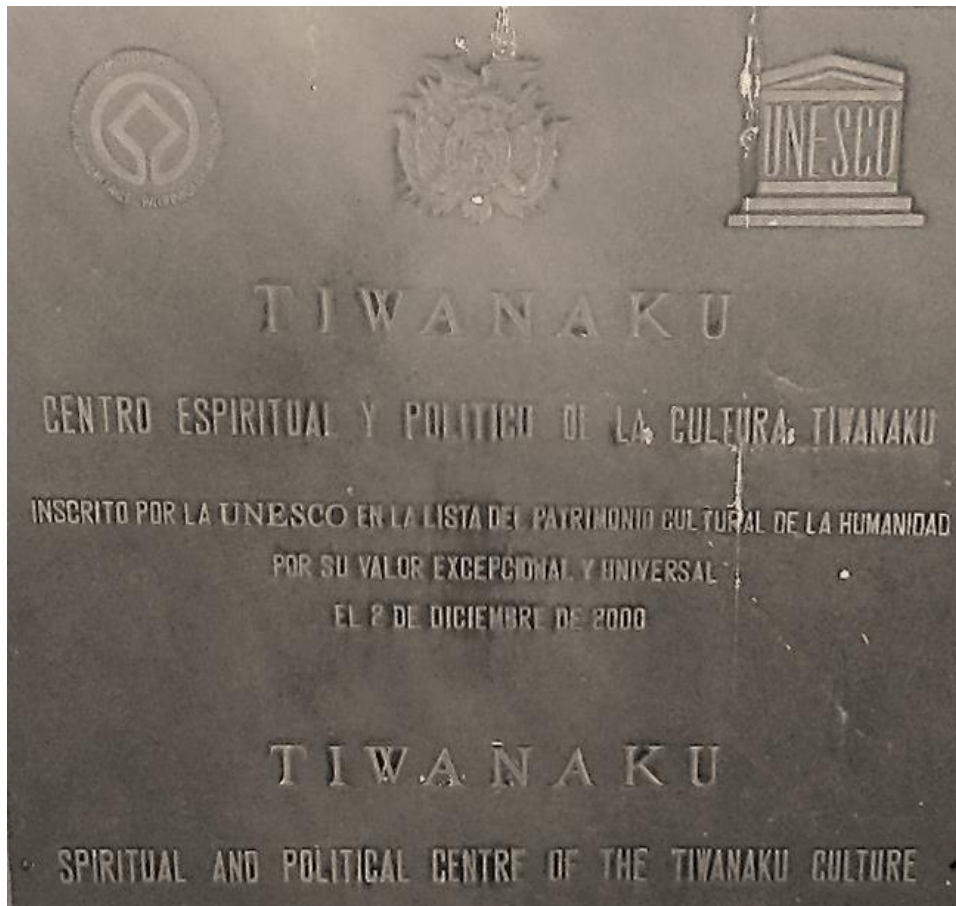


Figure 5.6: Commemorative plaque of the WHL inscription at the entrance of the site of Tiwanaku. April 2018.

The *intervención* of August 2000 therefore took place amidst the material and discursive struggles over the place and role of Indigenous peoples in the State. The renewed importance of Tiwanaku's heritage had already surfaced in March 2000 when the CACOT successfully impeded the transfer of archaeological pieces for a traveling exhibition in Italy (Sammells, 2013: 327). Two years later the political power of the fragmented pieces of Tiwanaku became truly palpable through the great enthusiasm and popular participation that surrounded the return journey of the Bennett Monolith from its marginal location near the Miraflores stadium in La Paz to its newly dedicated space at the Lithic Museum of Tiwanaku, which was inaugurated in 2002 (Arnold and Yapita, 2005: 147; Scarborough, 2008: 1099; Vranich, 2013: 7).

Indigenous heritage, from being the expression of the misery and backwardness embodied by the rural population, turned into an active participant in the reconfiguration of State and citizenship. The institutionalisation of the Aymara New Year provided the ritual stage to enact the cultural and political economy dimensions of indigeneity. This resignification, mediated by the gravitational

power of the ruins of Tiwanaku, as well as other archaeological sites and objects, and the traditional knowledge of medicinal plants and techniques, set the stage for the coming to power of Evo Morales, who was able to synthesise such a “frictional movement” (cfr. Fabricant, 2010: 103) into a credible, although non-uncontradictory, aspiration to an Indigenous State.

5.3.2 Thinking on the edge of the fence: Tiwanaku’s participatory politics and the policing of the Indigenous State

It might be right that Tiwanaku experienced some attritions in management after the intervention of August 2000 as for the unclear ownership status of the ruins (Yates, 2011: 299–301). A look at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee’s decisions illustrates how the priority of the intergovernmental organisation was to regulate which institution oversaw the official conservation of the site. The power relationships created in the aftermath of the *intervención* were formalised in 2001 (D.S 26274/2001) through the creation of the Interinstitutional Committee for the Administration and Management of the Archaeological Site of Tiwanaku [*Comité Interinstitucional de Administración y Gestión del Sitio Arqueológico de Tiwanaku*, CIAGSAT], which included for the first time the CACOT in addition to the national and departmental cultural heritage offices, the governmental archaeology unit [*Unidad Nacional de Arqueología*, UNAR], and the *Alcalde* of the Municipality.

An inflection point happened in the year 2009 due to the “Project for the preservation and conservation of Tiwanaku and the Akapana Pyramid” funded by the Japanese Funds-in-Trust [JFIT]. The implementation of the project brought conflicts among the interinstitutional committee out into the open (Vranich, 2013: 7; Yates, 2011: 300). While UNAR considered that local stakes were limited to the tourism revenues titles, the *Alcalde* and the CACOT promulgated a municipal resolution (311/2009) stating that all decisions affecting Tiwanaku had to be approved by them and urged the UNAR archaeologists working on the site to leave.

In the light of this conflict, the World Heritage Committee (34 COM 7B.105) addressed the lack of governance over the site, pointing at the necessity “to designate a site manager and official counterpart at national level”. The UNESCO office also prompted “to halt any archaeological intervention on the Akapana

Pyramid” and “to establish a moratorium on any archaeological excavation until a national authority has been established for the property”. Furthermore, the WHC underscored the need for a more nuanced delimitation of the buffer zone around the property, which had been repeatedly recalled since the inscription process and in several subsequent decisions.

The Centre of Archaeological and Anthropological Investigations and Administration of Tiwanaku [*Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, Antropológicas y Administración de Tiwanaku*, CIAAAT] created by Supreme Decree 1004/2011 was intended to showcase the newly configured Plurinational State on the transnational heritage stage. The CIAAAT did not present any change as for the composition of local and national institutions, yet the weight of local decision-making resulted enhanced because of the Framework Law on Autonomy and Administrative Decentralisation [*Ley 031/2010 Marco de Autonomías y Descentralización Administrativa*] (Yates, 2011: 298). Nevertheless, the State with its new Plurinational foundations continues to be the highest responsible authority on heritage issues and the exclusive owner of the patrimony on behalf of its citizens²².

The CIAAAT entered in force with the designation of the archaeologist Ludwig Cayo as the first Executive Director after the provisory management assumed by the highest authority of the CACOT (Hoy Bolivia, 2011). The main concern was the expansion and hierarchisation of the buffer zone, along with ensuring the participation in the Akapana project of the twenty-three communities of the Municipality. Both issues were the focus of the new management plan required by the UNESCO and significantly entitled *El Compromiso de todos para su preservación y conservación* [The commitment of everyone for its preservation and conversation] (CIAAAT, 2015).

The “plurinational” foundations of the new management plan were highlighted by remarking the distance with the previous one, which is judged “insufficient and

²² The Plurinational Constitution (2009: arts. 98, 99) enshrines the responsibility of the State to protect and develop the cultural heritage of Bolivian people within the framework of interculturality. The exclusive competence of the central State on cultural heritage issues is stated at the art. 294.II.25 of the Constitution and reasserted at the art. 86 of the Law 031/2010 on Autonomies and Decentralisation. The more recent Law 530/2014 on Cultural Heritage specifies that the ownership of archaeological, paleontological and underwater heritage is a collective property owned by the State toward “all the Bolivian men and women of the present and of future generations” (art. 13), while it is acknowledged separately (art.12) the communitarian ownership of the intangible, ethnographic and indigenous worldviews.

unsuitable to meet the needs of the site and its social context” (CIAAAT, 2015: 3). While the justifications section of the document remains anchored to the flat grammar of the “outstanding universal value” (see Chapter 4.2.2), the guiding institutional principles referred to the complementarity of tangible and intangible heritage expressions, and to many buzzwords of the new regime: interculturality, local participation, ecological sustainability, and decolonisation (CIAAAT, 2015: 9). The shortcomings of the previous management are reasserted in the evaluation of the relationships between the site and the local population, so to consider that “heritage is not fully performing its social role” (CIAAAT, 2015: 117–119).

The acknowledgement of Tiwanaku’s economic and social functions points at its role within the broader territorial relationships of the *ayllu*. Yet, the decolonial principle, according to which “the policies on the site and its heritage should be designed on the basis of the values, principles, knowledge and practices of local stakeholders” (CIAAAT, 2015: 9), does not preclude the administration from defining in advance what the site should look like – by expanding the buffer zone around the monumental area – and where should lead to – that is, the conservation of the site for its touristic exploitation.

The contradictions underlying the policies labelled as “decolonisation” in the Plurinational State become plain in the aspiration to guarantee the social, economic, and cultural development of the thirty-six ethno-linguistic groups that are recognised within the territorial borders, while retaining the centralising prerogatives and even expanding the control over natural and cultural resources for the sake of a State-led extractivist development agenda.

These contradictions exploded when the grassroots protests invoking the memory of the 1990 March for Territory and Dignity against the construction of the highway crossing the Isiboro Sécore National Park and Indigenous Territory [*Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro Sécore*, TIPNIS] were harshly repressed. Many commentators (e.g. Canessa, 2016: 91; Fabricant and Postero, 2019: 270; McNeish, 2013: 230–232; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015: 272–279; Schilling-Vacaflor, 2013: 202) pointed at this turning point of Morales’ administration for it revealed the flaws of the discretionary deployment of prior consultation in spite of the participatory rhetoric and the right to self-determination of Indigenous peoples enshrined in the Constitution. The conflicts engendered by

the decision of building the highway across the TIPNIS ultimately proved the strenuous persistence of an “Andean-centric skewing” (Arnold, 2018: 38) behind State building processes, which in turn lay on the predominance of Tiwanaku’s archaeological narratives over those stemming from the lowlands (cfr. Kojan and Angelo, 2005: 385–392), and on regulatory policies aimed at defining who and how should be an acceptable citizen of the nation.

The commonalities between the multicultural and the plurinational projects have been pointed out by Canessa (2016: 78–82), who argued that the latter is far more a homogenising project than the former because it assumes indigeneity as the common grammar of citizenship. Bigenho and Stobart (2016: 142; 2018: 1337) emphasised the “heritage fever” characterising the first decade of the Plurinational State both at local and international scales. The authors argued that when it comes to heritage matters “neoliberalism is alive and well in Bolivia” (Bigenho and Stobart, 2018: 1352); however, they also proposed “a heritage otherwise perspective” to look into the mesh of “cacophonous relations” (2018: 1349–1350) underpinning those heritage-making practices as strategies to create and recreate social bonds, in the same vein as the *tinku* does between the complementary opposites of the *ayllu*, for the purpose of eschewing the regulatory bounds of a domesticated indigeneity.

Following this aesthetics of cacophonous encounters, my understanding of Tiwanaku as a fragmented political body retaining a gravitational power in the territory aims at reframing the conception of the site as a simple scenario for strategic consensus-building performances. Another point of view would be considering that the politicians’ use of the ruins in pursuing of political affirmation happens for they find themselves enmeshed in Tiwanaku’s own participatory politics.

In my preliminary fieldwork (Orlandi, 2016: 14), an experienced museum guard from a peasant community communed the practices of livestock farming and heritage conservation with the “reciprocal breeding” (Haber, 2016a: 169) between territory and communities. He suggested that the ruins need to be nurtured as they use to do with the dairy cattle in the field to have good milk – that is, to receive something that feeds people in exchange.

Another juxtaposition appeared in the way in which a craftswoman of the village recalled the twofold importance of offering a *wax'ta* within the framework of the conservation of Tiwanaku's heritage: she acknowledged that the archaeological site is a dangerous, animated place, where “*stones walk, cry, speak*” and people can get lost, or harmed, or even die (Orlandi, 2016: 32). Then, a *wax'ta* can protect both the locals who know about the hazardousness of the place and the visitors who ignore, plus, since tourists do not know about this practice, they can “*take a souvenir away*”: as it was a meal to be served with the right ingredients, they can learn to appreciate another way to relate with the ruins in which they are active participants of fluid social interactions.

The equivocation between the politics and the policies happening with/in Tiwanaku emerged when I had the opportunity to meet with Don Lucas Choque – the renown *yatiri* and appointed Vice-minister of natural medicine during the last Morales government (Bolivian Health Ministry, 2018). We talked over a quick breakfast in a restaurant outside the main entrance of the archaeological site. I was intrigued to know his opinion about the use of Tiwanaku as the stage for the celebration of Evo Morales' political power because of his fresh governmental role, but also because the conversation took place few days after his participation as one of the *yatiri* invited to oversee the lightening of the Olympic torch of the South American Sport Organisation Games [*Juegos de la Organización Deportiva Suramericana, ODESUR*], whose journey toward Cochabamba, venue of the 2018 edition, started from Tiwanaku in the presence of the president and other authorities (Figure 5.7).

He suddenly stopped me saying that one should distinguish between *la política* [the politics] and *los políticos* [the politicians] in so far as Tiwanaku is concerned, the former being something that somehow escapes the control of the latter. He was recognizing a twofold activity in approaching the politics of heritage at Tiwanaku, along with the politicians' performance, there is also the concretisation of the excesses characterising the encounters between State and Ayllu, which I have traced throughout this chapter. We could not get further on this point, regrettably, he had to leave, a car was waiting just outside the restaurant to take him back to La Paz, and I stood there with my cup of coca tea, dwelling on a distinction that I could not see at that stage.



Figure 5.7: South American Games inauguration at the gateway of the Kalasasaya temple. May 2018.

People referred to Don Lucas not only as *maestro* (see Chapter 4.2.3), but also as *señor viceministro* [Mr Vice-minister]. Because of this appointment that obliged him to stay in the city, he told me how much he enjoys returning to Huancollo – his native community in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco – to fulfil the obligation to participate in the “social and economic functions of the community”. This is a common expression derived from the Participatory Law in the 1990s and integrated in the Plurinational Constitution (2009: art. 393), which in practice means to take care of the piece of land that one has allocated for being a community member, and to attend the monthly general assembly in which all decision concerning the *ayllu* are taken. In fact, we first met a couple of days before the ODESUR inaugural ceremony at Tiwanaku, during the general assembly of the *Ayllu Originario Huancollo* that granted the final permission for my fieldwork (see Chapter 6.4).

Don Lucas is both a *maestro* – recognition of *ayllu* power – and *señor viceministro* – recognition of State power – and neither are mutually exclusive. Yet, what is telling is his insistence in differentiating those roles. Although I could not fully understand what kind of *política* involving Tiwanaku he was speaking about, for sure he wanted to mark a clear distance from his governmental role: while standing in front of the temple of Kalasasaya he was not another politician using

the stage for his personal purposes, nor merely in support of the leader of his country; rather he was performing his role of *maestro* engaging in a negotiation between Tiwanaku, the State and other international delegates. The kinds of politics at work were different, one exceeding the other and partially connecting so to generate “ontological disagreements” (De La Cadena, 2015: 279) thanks to Don Lucas’ ability to expand the limits of a common *cosmos*.

Now that I am recalling these fieldnotes, I wonder again why Don Lucas asked me to take a picture of the three *yatiris* in front of the Kalasasaya (Figure 5.8), as soon as the ceremony had finished and the politicians were already posing for the ritualistic interviews, and I found that a possible explanation could be to force me, and the other photographers, to acknowledge *la política* that the three of them were embodying on the same ground as the more visible *políticos* who flocked into the site.



Figure 5.8: The three *yatiris* that ministered the offering for the inauguration of the ODESUR Games. Don Lucas stands on the right, Don César Callisaya in the middle. May 2018.

Facing the paradox inherent to the craft of indigeneity within the plurinational citizenship, Postero (2017: 17–20) draws on Rancière’s (1999) argument to

address the constant shifting between politics of emancipation and policing efforts to regulate who can take part in public life. She affirms that:

“decolonization discourse linked to a generic form of indigeneity acts to consolidate state power. By silencing the heterogeneity and disagreement about indigenous life and throwing the weight of the state behind a particular vision of indigeneity, the state acts as if there were a consensus about what decolonization is and who counts as the subjects of it”. (Postero, 2017: 19)

The performance of decolonisation enacted by the plurinational regime at both national and international scales (Figure 5.9) works on the edge of the politics aimed at visualising and disrupting enduring colonial relations, and the police sterilising further possibilities of emancipation through the displacement of cosmopolitical disagreements in the neutral realm of folklore – such as the case of the Aymara collective wedding held at Tiwanaku (Postero, 2017: 88–90). According to Postero (2017: 83), the Indigenous State crafted a new type of citizen, which she called the “*descolonizado permitido*”: the acceptable decolonised subject supporting State authorised indigeneity.



Figure 5.9: The front page of the governmental newspaper *Cambio* on the 21st of June 2019. The title proudly highlights that the ONU (A/RES/73/300) recognised the “International Day of the Celebration of the Solstice” upon Bolivia’s request, while the cover picture shows “Evo” leading the International Qhapaq Ñan Walk organised to celebrate the beginning of the Bolivian ruling term of the South American flagship WHL property, also known as Andean Road System.

The same form of contradictory State-led decolonisation as tool for consensus building can be appreciated in the policies aiming at regulating what Tiwanaku’s

heritage should look like, and who should be more entitled to own it. The survey carried out in September 2016 might take me to agree with Sammells (2013: 329) that the *intervención* of August 2000 and the following vicissitudes affecting the management of the heritage site led to exacerbate the conflict between *vecinos* [residents of the village of Tiahuanaco] and *comuneros* [members of the rural communities] over the control of the site. Yet, to take local politics into account as a reflection of the broader reformulation of an authorised type of indigeneity may lead to disregard the underlying disagreement between the long-standing heritage policies affecting the archaeological site and the vernacular arrangements of people, land, and things, in which the ruins of Tiwanaku are just one among many human and non-human political actors crossing different scales of participation and imagination.

5.4 Conclusions

The chapter supplied historical references to approach the fieldwork in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco and to lay down important conceptual coordinates at the core of the doctoral investigation. I have followed Bolivian postcolonial history in articulation with the politics of the *ayllus* to preserve the collective ownership of the land, their traditional institutions, and socio-economic networks. I have traced the development of indigeneity in Bolivia as an antagonist yet complementary State-building power, from its concealment under the *hacienda* regime and the *mestizaje* model of democratic citizenship to its deployment as a hegemonic force triggering the foundation of the Plurinational State.

The analysis of the recent participatory management plan required by the UNESCO showed that heritage-making practices in Tiwanaku are still tainted by colonial representations, in spite of the decolonisation rhetoric that permeated governmental actions. What Bigenho and Stobart (2018: 1353–1354) have termed an “aesthetics of cacophonous relations”, drawing on the coming together of competing brass bands in rural celebrations, helps visualising the politics of indigenous heritage as an open-process of self-determination in contrast with the policing effects implicit in taking for granted what heritage should look like and who should take care of it.

This perspective contributes to assess the limits of participatory research or collaborative cultural heritage management; following Kojan and Angelo (2005: 397):

“To ask the Aymara, for example, for their story of Tiwanaku as an exercise in multi-vocality, while ignoring the wider social, political and economic environment in which archaeological research takes place, is ultimately an empty and cynical gesture”.

The following chapter is dedicated to unpacking, systematising, and visualising the encounters related to the quest for institutional accreditation and community permit for my own investigation in the field. As this chapter showed, the cosmopolitics gravitating around Tiwanaku’s heritage relationships can be a matter of acknowledging disagreements that go unnoticed yet happen amidst unexpected articulations of people, things, and lands; for instance, the one with the Tiahuanaco’s municipal brass band playing loudly Europe’s *The Final Countdown*, while I was engaging in one of the many meetings with the *mallkus* of Huancollo to start the work *in* the field, without even recognising that the field had already started its work *with* me.

Chapter 6. Mapping and translating Tiwanaku's bureaucratic conundrums and community consent-seeking

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the shifting historical contexts marked by the constant tension between global, national, and local stakes and the precarious balance on what relationships really matter in the definition and conservation of Tiwanaku's heritage reached in the aftermath of the "plurinational" refoundation of the country. This led to deepen into the ambiguities inherent in the configuration of indigenous heritage propitiated by the regulatory policies of multiculturalism. This chapter unpacks the heterogenous mass that constitutes the stakeholders of indigenous heritage in Tiwanaku as they affected the pursue of an agreement to undertake my fieldwork in a community of the Municipality of Tiahuanaco.

The General Assembly of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo eventually granted the permit to undertake the fieldwork, but that was the last of a series of meetings and official requests needed to gain access to the field. The map (Figure 6.1) shows the locations of the meetings held to introduce my doctoral investigation before State and Indigenous authorities.

I will first discuss my quest for institutional accreditation at La Paz (Figure 6.1, top section), where the national authorities in charge of cultural heritage are located; subsequently, I will turn to detailing the meetings with the Indigenous authorities of Tiahuanaco (Figure 6.1, bottom section). Beyond documenting the process of consultation and consent-seeking, the chapter provides further information about the current management of the ruins of Tiwanaku through the interviews with the former director of the CIAAAT and with a community member of Huancollo who played a crucial role at the time of the 2000 *intervención* as he was the highest authority of the Tiwanaku indigenous-peasant organisation, CACOT.

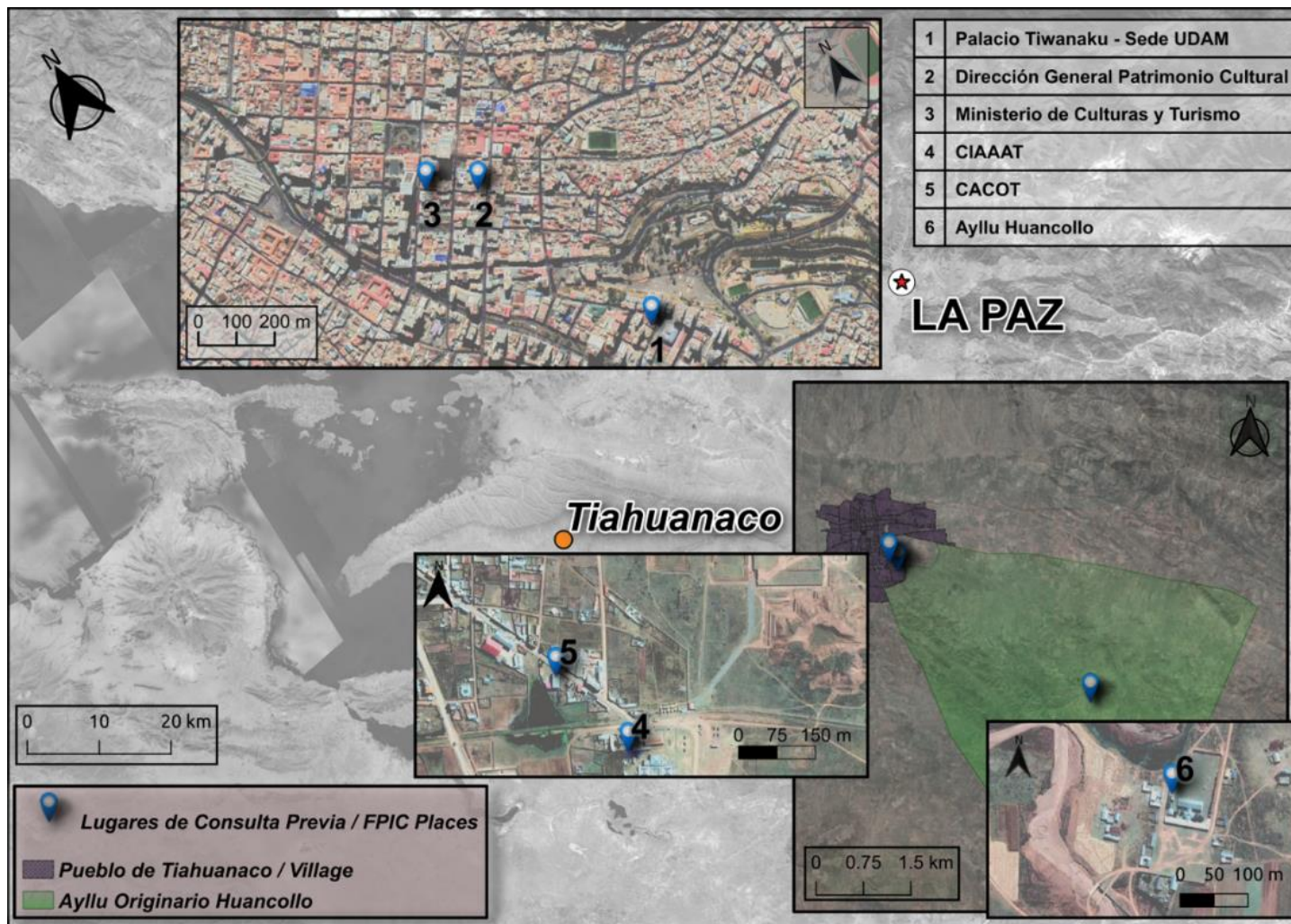


Figure 6.1: Map showing the spatial distribution of FPIC places for gaining access to the field. On the top of the map is the detail of the meetings in La Paz (March 2018). On the bottom of the map is the detail of the meetings in Tiahuanaco (April 2018). Google Satellite imagery.

The chapter displays the excesses of communication and the miscomprehensions that constellated the bureaucratic processes of negotiation with governmental and community authorities. These often-frustrating experiences turned out to be an excellent opportunity for a self-reflective account of the inevitable partiality of any reached consensus, for the acknowledgement of a “space to disagree” is the testimony of a truly intersubjective encounter (Rancière, 1999; see Chapter 2.1). This communing difference can either foreclose or propitiate further conversations and material iterations in the territory. Taking attentive note of the steps needed to gain access to the field became itself a case study that aptly translates the coincidental meeting of State and Indigenous temporalities from which stems the forgotten political subjectivity of the *ayllu*.

6.2 Strolling for a permit: Tiwanaku’s endless iteration in La Paz

The first office to inform about my investigation was the Unit of Archaeology and Museum [*Unidad de Arqueología y Museo*, UDAM]. The legacy of the overwhelming presence of Tiwanaku in the Bolivian State cannot be overlooked by anyone approaching the UDAM headquarters: these are in the central Tiwanaku street, at the second floor of the Palace Tiwanaku (Figure 6.1(1)) also hosting the National Archaeological Museum on its ground floor.

The palace is a material reminder of an époque in which archaeology was not yet an institutionalised scientific enterprise, but a source of modernist imagery (*fig* 6.2). Originally built in 1916 on design by Arthur Posnanski as his own private residence, the *Palacio Tiwanaku* is an early example of the Neo-Tiwanakota style that flourished at the beginning of the 20th century (Marsh, 2019: 5). The State purchased it in 1922 to house the Public Museum, which was later refurbished as National Museum of Archaeology in 1960 when Carlos Ponce Sanginés was at the head of the CIAT (see Chapter 4.2.2).

The Director of the UDAM received me there and listened gently to the reason for the visit and the purposes of the research fieldwork. However, he uncertainly replied with a question to my request for an institutional permit: “Does the fieldwork involve excavation, survey, or object manipulation?”²³. According to

²³ Fieldnotes, March 2018.

him, only research involving one of these activities could legitimately be accredited as *proper* archaeology by the Bolivian authority.

My reply was that the project was methodologically designed on archaeological ethnography and cultural mapping, which are the best situated strategies for the purpose of identifying the material signatures left by competitive relations between people, places and things. This clarification illuminated the director, who confidently exclaimed: “But that is intangible heritage! You should request the permit from the Intangible Heritage Office!”²⁴.



Figure 6.2: Two views of the Neo-tiwanakota modernist façade of the Palacio Tiwanaku from Tiwanaku Street in La Paz. March 2018.

The existence of this office was new to me. I asked for more information and the director explained that the Intangible Heritage Directorate [IHD] (Figure 6.1(2)) was a new governmental bureau, dependent on the General Direction of Cultural Heritage under the Ministry of Cultures and Tourism, likewise the UDAM. Both the General Director of Cultural Heritage and the Intangible Heritage Office are at the third floor of an anonymous building of La Paz's colonial-era checkerboard downtown. This satellite office stands only few blocks from the *Palacio Chico*, which is the historic building seat of the Ministry of Cultures and Tourism (Figure 6.1(3)).

The late Bolivian historian Carmen Beatríz Loza was the head of the Intangible Heritage Directorate at that time, and she agreed to meet me and discuss further

²⁴ Fieldnotes, March 2018.

on the project. She expressed interest in my project based on her earlier work on the heritage-making at Tiwanaku, both as a scholar (cfr. Loza, 2008) and as an external consultant for the UNESCO management plan (CIAAAT, 2015). Unfortunately, she felt she was unable to grant me the accreditation I was asking for, since she thought it would fall within the authority of the General Director of Cultural Heritage. This complicated matters further. Despite being located a few desks behind the corner in the same room, in order to request an appointment with the General Director an official written note should be submitted to the Ministry of Cultures and Tourism's mailbox at the *Palacio Chico*.

Walking down Potosí Street in direction to the Ministry, one cannot help but be stunned by the impressive shadow of the *Casa Grande del Pueblo* [The Great House of the People] (*Figure 6.3*). The building rises 120 metres above the ground, and it shadows the nineteenth-century Cathedral, and the historic *Palacio Quemado* [The Burnt Palace]. The latter had been the seat of the executive power of the Republic until the *Casa Grande* replaced it in this function by. On the day of the inauguration, Evo Morales (DW, 2018: n.d.) stated that the *Palacio Quemado* was a symbolic reminder of the structural oppression suffered by the Indigenous peoples of Bolivia and considered that in the old palace “everything was European, then it will become a museum”. The *Casa Grande del Pueblo*, on the contrary, magnifies the Plurinational State (Paz Moscoso, 2019): an impressive monument to the glory of the governmental “decolonisation”, inspired, once again, by the architectural reconfiguration of Tiwanaku's iconography.

After leaving the written note through the correspondence window of the Ministry, my attention was caught by loads of TV cameras pointing at a crowd gathered in the patio of the building and holding a long blue flag. This was the flag that had been released to support Bolivia's maritime access revindication in the international court case against Chile. Among the crowd there was also an elder woman, an Indigenous authority who was earlier queuing with me at the correspondence window to sort out some issues for her community. The performance of State's indigeneity works both at internal and international scales: presenting itself as the champion of Indigenous peoples' rights, the government aims at playing this card also in eminently nationalistic geopolitical disputes.



Figure 6.3: The *Casa Grande del Pueblo*, seat of the Plurinational State's executive power. A: a view from Potosí Street, with the *Palacio Chico* on the foreground, when the building was not yet finished. March 2018. B: a view of the building from Plaza Murillo after the inauguration in August 2018, with the *Palacio Quemado* at the bottom and the cathedral on the right. Picture credit: DW 2018.

Having duly waited the required forty-eight hours needed to send the written request through the five hundred meters separating the Ministry to the General Direction of Cultural Heritage, I hoped the General Director could finally receive me. Her secretary soon dashed my hopes. After having explained my intentions and the steps I had followed until then, she eventually told me that the UDAM would have been the proper office to provide me with an accreditation because the research, no matter how conceived, was about Tiwanaku and it is an archaeological thus tangible heritage!

Tiwanaku's presence in La Paz is constant: from the stones plundered from the ruins of the ancient city at the time of the conquest and used to build the Cathedral of San Francisco and the presidential palace, centres of the colonial and republican powers (see Fernández-Osco, 2011: 337; Mamani Condori, 1994: 48), through a graffiti in a narrow street of the city centre reproducing the most iconic and popular element of Tiwanaku's Gateway of the Sun (Figure 6.4), until the new-neo-tiwanakota style of the Casa Grande del Pueblo, centre of the plurinational aspirations. This building reverses the modernist assumption at the fundament of the resurgence of Tiwanakota style in the first decades of the 20th century, but it does so without changing the colonising principle of univocally defining what is the "indigenous" in contemporary Bolivia. While 20th century style proclaimed the disappearance of the residual indigenous part of the nation, the contemporary style appears the material exacerbation of the plurinational regime

deploying its policies to reduce Indigenous people to a decolonial yet domesticated subject.

The meetings held in La Paz resemble this architectural symbolism because of their tension toward the purification of the materials composing the significance of Tiwanaku for the contemporary articulation of heritage, indigeneity, and rights. Abercrombie (2016: 87) referred to this process as the “semiotic ideology” of modernity, that is, “an explicit theory of signification”, in which “things are *dead* objects available to rational explanation and technical manipulation via the minds of subjects”. Looking into the material iterations of the Cerro Rico of Potosí as a sacred mountain, a mining site, a national property, and a UNESCO heritage venue, he concludes that “these things, through the perceptible qualities of their very materiality, themselves become material sign vehicles embodying properties of social being such as intentionality and agency” (Abercrombie, 2016: 102).



Figure 6.4: A graffiti in a street of downtown La Paz representing the “Staff God”, as it is known the central figure of the lintel of Tiwanaku’s Gateway of the Sun. March 2018.

In the same vein, the endless iteration of Tiwanaku in the urban texture of La Paz can be conceived as the sedimented configurations of “interacting persons and things” (Abercrombie, 2016: 102). Drawing on Pierce’s semiotics, Abercrombie’s (2016: 88) model helps me to understand consultation as a composite,

heterogenous field crisscrossed by communicative channels always in tension between what to show and what to hide – that is, in-between what to remember and what to forget. Although unable to get the yearned institutional accreditation from any of the Cultural Heritage Ministry’s administrative offices, strolling around La Paz made me aware of the excesses of Tiwanaku in heritage policies – “its reverberations in human affairs and world history” (Abercrombie, 2016: 88). These excesses, although different in nature, played a crucial role also in the consultation with the local authorities of Tiahuanaco.

6.3 Learning how to greet and control the equivocation

The overall process in La Paz took me more time and energy than what I had originally scheduled or expected, and the monthly visa I had been granted entering the country was about to end. I decided to take a break and cross the border to visit Puno, a Peruvian town on the shores of the Lake Titicaca from where it is possible to arrange guided visits to the Uros people’s floating islands. I thought it could be the best way to train the few Aymara language that I learnt during the course taken with Juan de Dios Yapita and enter back to Bolivia with a new visa.

The excursion to the Titicaca Lake offered the opportunity to visit a territory that was interested by a long conflict involving the Peruvian State and the Uros communities over the legitimate spaces of exploitation and conservation of the *titora*, the reed beds growing in the lake following the decision to establish the Titicaca National Reserve (Orlove, 1991). The contentious perspectives reflected in the maps presented to support each point of view: while the governmental map drew attention to the effective delimitation of diverse zones ranked on the base of a rational utilisation of natural and social resources, the community map emphasised the closeness of the *titora* beds and of other natural features to the social life (Orlove, 1991: 19–20). Commenting on the two maps, Orlove (1991: 29) asserted that disagreements existed although “the features of the peasant maps that propose a view different from that of the state are transformed into inaccuracies or irrelevancies, and the state sees peasant assent where it does not exist”.

The *titora* beds dispute prompts reflection onto what extent differences in map-making entail acknowledging the juxtaposition of regimes of legality stemming

from divergent histories and conceptualisations of territorial sovereignty (cfr. Anthias, 2019). In that sense, one can see through the signals of the totora island at the entrance of the Uros' territory (Figure 6.5) the performance of a collective political subjectivity. A fictional – but nonetheless material – point of contact between “incommensurable” (Orlove, 1991: 24) modes of relatedness with the territory is unexpectedly mediated by a significant rule of courtesy: *you should know how to greet properly*.



Figure 6.5: Accessing Uros' water-territory. *Kamisaraki, Waliky*. Learning how to greet. March 2018.

The word/signal “*Waliki*” can be related to the “sphere of commensuration” (Stasch, 2015: 104) between perspectives in which different expectations over one’s relevant other overlap and configurate distinctive patterns of behaviour and material culture. As Stasch (2015: 96) set forth, this is a kind of “new convention” where “all participants share a loosely aligned understanding of what the convention expresses and what it can be used for”. Knowing how to correctly extend a greeting in Aymara – *Kamisaraki* [Hi, how are you?], *Waliki. Jumasti* [I’m fine, thanks. And you?] – was surely a sociability factor that increased my chances to gain access to the field, as much as acknowledging the importance of sharing coca leaves before undertaking any task. Yet, that hardly implies our mutual comprehension was perfect: rather than being able to reply “*Waliki, Jumasti*” to whoever was greeting me, what really matters in the consent-seeking process with local authorities, as well as along the whole fieldwork in Tiahuanaco, was the laughter provoked when the obliged switch to Spanish openly manifested my incapacity to hold even a basic conversation in Aymara.

To learn how to greet appears as important as it becomes a translation tool to “control the equivocation” (Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 4–5): to acknowledge the

founding disagreement at the hearth of the intersubjective encounter so to show the multiple openings stemming from the inevitable partiality of the reached agreement (Figure 6.6). Being able to extend the greeting helped the acceptance of my proposal, but it did so without jeopardising the ability of other equivocations to rise and be noticed. The laughter materialises the incomprehension and creates the potential for the cultivation of ongoing trusting relationship between subjects in constant movement and acknowledging their mutual differences.



Figure 6.6: A mural painted by children of the Tiahuanaco primary school. The writing reads: "Greetings on entering, goodbyes on leaving". The graphic references to the *wiphala* and the Gateway of the Sun, as well as the traditional clothes of the two characters, encode the pedagogical meaning of the mural within the sphere of Indigenous morality. April 2018.

6.3.1 Meeting the Tiwanakota Contemporáneo: heritage property between State and Indigenous authorities

On my arrival in the village of Tiahuanaco I firstly went to the CIAAAT building (Figure 6.1(4)). Even though I knew that was still not the proper institution to release a permit to collaborate with a community, I thought that the Executive Director, Julio Condori, whom I had met during my first stay, could provide both the institutional backing and useful information on how to rightfully approach a community to propose my investigation. As I was told at once, in terms of repartition of competencies the CACOT is the local authority to consult on achieving the informed consent of an indigenous community.

However, as anticipated in the previous chapter (see Chapter 5.3.2), the CIAAAT itself is an expression of Tiwanaku's history of juxtaposed interpretative registers

underlying its “legal-bureaucratic regulation as property” (Abercrombie, 2016: 86). The administrative offices are still found in the place that used to belong to Don César Callisaya’s father and acquired by the State through the cunning intermediation of Ponce Sanginés (see Chapter 4.2.3). The building stands just in front of the old train station, whose loosely reformed building hosts the ticket shop for the museums and the archaeological areas as well as the local association of tourist guides.

The institution, with the old train station, the museums, and the kiosks selling craftworks, snacks, and drinks in the surroundings of the archaeological area plastically show the layered interactions between the normative regulation of Tiwanaku and the social dynamics of the territory. Like the iterations of Tiwanaku in the urban landscape of La Paz, the sedimented memory brought up by this scattered materiality encodes the variety of semantic registers operating within the “heritage-scape” (see Di Giovine, 2015: 212) in which the ruins take part, both as thing and material sign.

The same interplay surfaces in the structures of the abandoned ticket shop and craft market located on the old road to La Paz (Figure 6.7). I showed the picture to Don Julio Condori with the aim of helping him eliciting the changes occurred to the territory since the institutionalisation of Tiwanaku’s heritage-making. According to him, “this reflects a part of the history of the institutional management of the site” (Tiwa18-1: §33) , because the decision to move the main entrance to its current position next to the train station was due to the necessity of preserving the archaeological area from the construction of the La Paz-Desaguadero highway to the international border with Peru. This happened in the mid-1990s when also the museum and the administrative offices were being refurbished in view of the UNESCO World Heritage List nomination.



Figure 6.7: The ruined ticket shop and craft market of Tiwanaku. April 2018.

The interview with the Executive Director of the CIAAAT introduces the semiotic disjuncture triggered by the “pointing finger” (Abercrombie, 2016: 88) embodied in the practices and philosophy of a collective social actor, who Don Julio identified with the *Tiwanakota Contemporáneo* [the contemporary Tiwanakota], an expression of being *jaqi*, i.e. an Andean social subject (see Canessa, 2007: 212–213). This subject emerges from the engagements with the materiality of Tiwanaku as these are inserted in a wide array of interactions performed in social continuity with the territory and contrasting with authorised heritage-making practices.

For instance, commenting on Ponce Sanginés’ reconstruction at the site and the nationalistic exploitation of the symbolic capital of the ruins, Don Julio emphasised:

“It’s not the same when someone who is not from Tiahuanaco comes and builds you up and says, ‘this is the history of Tiwanaku’, whereas the contemporary Tiwanakota has lived and has inherited this knowledge from generation to generation, it’s very different. For example, in the Republican State, Ponce Sanginés makes excavations, reconstructs the site, but at no time is the contemporary Tiwanakota, or the Andean *jaqi*, part of this reconstruction. They have never been consulted, they have never been asked, isn’t it? However, certainly their iconographies, some heritage features are exploited at the national level, for a nationalist perspective” (Tiwa18-1: §54).

The subaltern condition of the *Tiwanakota Contemporáneo* in relation to national heritage policies is stressed through the “alienation” and “prohibition” provoked by “not having alternatives to relate this patrimony with the living heritage” (Tiwa18-1: §58). In claiming that “fencing Tiwanaku off was a big mistake” (Tiwa18-1: §58), Don Julio made a deeper disagreement explicit, which concerned the crafting of heritage through everyday social interactions with the materiality of the past.

Significantly, my interlocutor elicited this point through another picture (Figure 6.8), depicting a public activity promoted in April by the CIAAAT for the *Día del Niño* [the Day of the Child], which happened a few days before we met to record the interview. On this day, children of the communities of Tiahuanaco performed the role of tourist guides for schoolchildren visiting from La Paz. This prompted him underscoring how the current participatory policies aim at reversing the breach opened by nationalist heritage-making practices in the textured social life of Tiwanaku, as if people and heritage were tied in a constant process of mutual learning and intergenerational development:

“If the current generation of actors, who are in their 40s or 50s and today take part in the CACOT, had had this opportunity to interact with their heritage, the present destiny and vision would be different [...] We are confident that when [the children] will become professionals, they will be directors, alcaldes, authorities, and, for sure, they will have a much broader, perhaps more technical view in deciding on the management and administration of this heritage” (Tiwa18-1: §58).

The *intervención* of August 2000 made visible the hidden participation of local actors in the definition of what matters in taking care of Tiwanaku’s heritage: “it was an inflection point because the contemporary Tiwanakota reclaimed not only the participation in the management of their heritage, but also defining the fate and the living together with heritage on a day-by-day basis” (Tiwa18-1: §2). The event marked the future administration of the heritage site as well as the Director’s own career:

“from that moment on, the Tiwanaku communities indicated that young people should be sent to study in La Paz [...] And one of those people they sent, I am here, taking on what they had started, always within the framework of a collective vision and the ethics of contemporary Tiwanaku, of its parameters and values and principles that are there in the social sphere” (Tiwa18-1: §29, 31).



Figure 6.8: A little girl in traditional clothes giving an explanation about the Bennett Monolith in the Lithic Museum of Tiwanaku. Picture credit: CIAAAT (Facebook post 16 April 2018).

Throughout our conversation, Don Julio emphasised the role of CACOT in channelling the claims of local actors and in supporting his own appointment as head of the CIAAAT after the dissatisfaction of local institutions with the previous director (Los Tiempos, 2015). He highlighted how the process leading to the enforcement of Supreme Decree 1004/2011 establishing the CIAAAT successfully articulated the requirements of UNESCO urging the Bolivian state to provide a professional management plan with the claim for an adequate representation of the interests of local stakeholders in Tiwanaku.

The decree takes on the contours of a legal artefact grounded in a change of perspective toward the archaeological site, and which is expressed by the coming to power of Evo Morales:

“The Supreme Decree 1004 is not based on a technical assessment, no! It’s a state policy for the participation of social actors that is reflected on a specific ground: that the contemporary Tiwanakota has built its own destiny and the perspective of Decree 1004 is part and parcel of a national policy embodied, in this case, by our president” (Tiwa18-1: §54).

The restored vernacular affection with the ruins sinks its roots in the imagination of the Indigenous State, enshrined by the Plurinational Constitution: “Now the contemporary Tiwanakota participates, decides, and witnesses to what happens to their heritage, and I think this is the major difference between the Republican and the Plurinational State” (Tiwa18-1: §54).

Don Julio expressed both confidence and concern for the revision of management plan presented to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in 2016 (CIAAAT, 2016). The new document pursues a more balanced compromise between the cultural, social, and economic factors affecting the prosperous development of the territory and the technical requirements dictated by the international standard of heritage conservation. This is a critical negotiation since the CIAAAT financially depends on the revenues generated by the sale of the tickets, which is also a major source of income for both the CACOT and the *Junta de Vecinos* (CIAAAT, 2016: 368). In this framework, the support of UNESCO was crucial in securing international funding and cooperation (CIAAAT, 2016: 403)²⁵.

The revised management plan stands for “the dream and contour of where we want to go in the future, which basically is our social actor, the contemporary Tiwanakota” (Tiwa18-1: §25). While local participation was restricted to cultural aspects in the earlier administration, the new plan focuses on more structural adjustments: “Now we have an autonomous technical decision, we are those who fix our North” (Tiwa18-1: §25).

The Executive Director’s academic background as an archaeologist allows contrasting his thoughts about the relationships between discipline and local knowledge:

“Although academic institutions give us training as technicians, we learn new concepts, we learn new strategies about possible management based on concrete experiences in other contexts, which are very important and

²⁵ The director mentioned the UNESCO support for the equipment of the laboratories of archaeology and restoration as well as the recent remote-sensing mapping as an example of fruitful collaboration between experts’ knowledge and Tiahuanaco indigenous communities (see Chapter 7.4.3).

must be valued. However, I think, the difference we make is being from Tiahuanaco. I had the chance to talk about all these issues at home, and that has played a fundamental role for me, right? Talking... that a Tiwanakota can give them a comment, make technical observations, not so much, let's say, in the technical terms that I have learnt at the university, but in terms, which I would call technical as well, but stemming from my context, from the philosophy of the Andean *jaqi* who live day-by-day with their heritage. So, I think, this has really influenced the authorities and they have supported a change of direction" (Tiwa18-1: §25).

Tiahuanaco's locals and communities are "the inheritors of this heritage, like it or not" (Tiwa18-1: §41). Don Julio is stressing a pivotal quality of the *Tiwanakota Contemporáneo* in the persistence of vernacular memories and attachments with Tiwanaku according to their worldview. Speaking about the intercultural dynamics enacted in and by Tiwanaku, I showed him a third picture: a signpost outside the Lithic Museum that called my attention because the inscription "*Complejo Turístico Arqueológico*" [Touristic-Archaeological Complex] had been removed, leaving only the trace left by each letter visible (Figure 6.9). I asked Don Julio whether the absence of those letters could also mean a change in the conceptualisation of Tiwanaku.

While ignoring the specific reason behind the removal of the inscription, he replied that "Tiwanaku isn't a ruin or a complex, it is a living, dynamic space that interacted in the past, interacts today, and will interact in the future" (Tiwa18-1: §39). He insisted that Tiwanaku is "a stage, it's a place that brings together, that interacts, that conflates diversity" (Tiwa18-1: §39). Technicians should learn from their working with/in Tiwanaku as much as locals can sharpen insights about themselves through getting acquainted with foreigners, therefore contributing "not only to the heritage of Tiwanaku, but to the heritage of the country" (Tiwa18-1: §50).

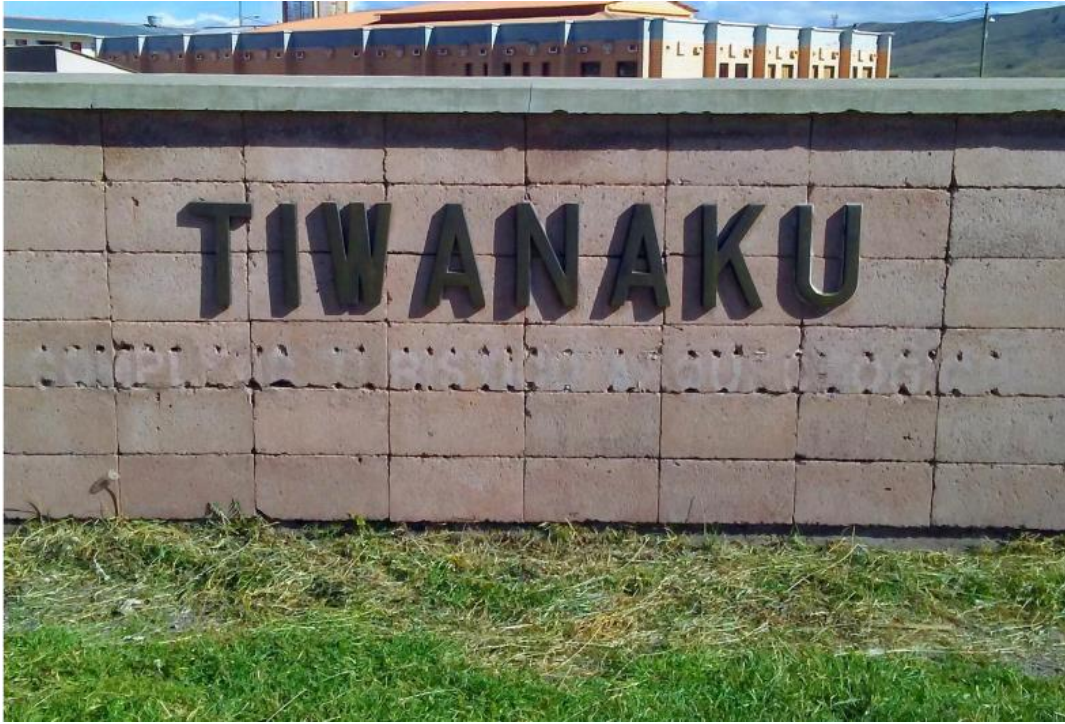


Figure. 6.9: The signpost outside the Lithic Museum whose inscription “Complejo Turístico Arqueológico” was removed. April 2018.

Don Julio kept on explaining how he conceives his position at the head of the CIAAAT within the context of the customary *cargos originarios*, i.e. the system of Indigenous authorities of the territory:

“Perhaps the results would have been different if someone else had been in charge of this entity. And there I also believe, we as individuals, but also always framed within the framework of the collective philosophy, I say, as Julio and as a contemporary Tiwanakota, there’s no room for mistake, it’s like a sheepfold where you partake with them, you change position – one day we are authority, the other we are bases. But there are many times in our, we call it the *thakhi* and the *sarawi*, which would be like a kind of path and milestone: the positions that you assume, you demonstrate with responsibility, you are a person that can become capable of taking on much bigger positions, but if you make a mistake on that path, I would say, the most tremendous punishment, in this philosophy, is, I don’t know if I should call it social death, right? In which you are cut off but you do not have the possibility of aspiring to much bigger positions” (Tiwa18-1: §25).

The complementary ethical/political framework of the *thakhi* [culture-as-knowledge] and the *sarawi* [culture-as-doing]²⁶ stresses the emphasis of the new management plan on participatory and interactional activities. In first instance,

²⁶ Here I follow Burman (2016: 173–175) who highlights that while both concepts translate into “culture”, the way in which they are used denotes different meanings: *sarawi* is more related to “contextualised practices”, whereas *thakhi* relates to “something established and more akin to a tradition of knowledge”. Both terms, moreover, relate to verbs linking with movement: *thaqaña* [to get, search, obtain], and *saraña* [to go, walk], then, where *thakhi* defines an “established path”, *sarawi* conveys the meaning of “making the path by walking”.

the Director considered the monthly assembly celebrated with the representatives of the twenty-three communities and three villages of the Municipality of Tiahuanaco, which openly manifests the engagement of local actors with Tiwanaku, mattering “not only heritage, but also governance, development, and other projects” (Tiwa18-1: §41). Secondly, the annual rotation of workers selected by the rural communities indicates the iterative fundament of caring for heritage overlapping with and integrating the technical conservation of Tiwanaku’s heritage.

Yet the Director insisted that governmental recognition of the legality of such a rotative system of participatory heritage management was still missing. Don Julio clearly recalled the *intervención* as the watershed event in which diverging paths collided, manifesting an Indigenous legality stemming from an history of interactions with Tiwanaku beyond State normative regulation or disciplinary heritage conservation. This applies also in relation with the contemporary relations with the Plurinational State. Yet, this concern resonates little in the conversation with the Director of the CIAAAT for his position of authority lays in-between State and Indigenous legitimacies.

By contrast, a main protagonist of the *intervención*, to whom I had the lucky chance to talk during my fieldwork in Huancollo, distinctively addressed the vanishing expectations in relation to the current administration of Tiwanaku: “*I myself am not satisfied looking at our ancestors, it’s all coming to an end*” (Tiwa18-6: §30).

During the austral winter of the year 2000 in which that event took place, he was the *Jach’a Mallku* [*Mallku Cantonal*] – the highest authority of the CACOT accountable for all the Municipality of Tiahuanaco. The afternoon we met he was busy harvesting barley in the *chakra* [farming plot] just behind the courtyard where I was chatting with his wife. I approached him trying to make myself audible over the noise of the electric reaping machine. When he eventually noticed me, agreed on taking a break and *akullikar* [to share and chew coca leaves] while exchanging some words.

The former *Mallku Cantonal* recalled that the main source of conflict at the time of the intervention was the debt contracted by the State before the Municipality

of Tiahuanaco and the CACOT about the repartition of revenues generated by the administration of the archaeological site (see Chapter 5.3.1):

“As they have not been able to deposit, we had to contribute with ideas to change it, because it has never improved the ruins of Tiwanaku, it is totally abandoned. The more they squeeze it, the more they get money out of it, but there is no... how can I say... there is no conservation in this Tiwanaku. So in that way, we have said that the municipal government can administer, so we, all the native authorities, can make a peaceful occupation. So we spoke with the Alcalde and with the president of the [neighbourhood] Council [...] so we met and well they also supported us. And so that’s how the intervention took place, on the 6th, if I’m not mistaken, on the 6th of August. So it was a peaceful intervention at 17.30 or 17.00, at that time we intervened with a march, we took the ruins of Tiwanaku, we told the functionaries that we were taking the ruins of Tiwanaku because of a debt. So that is how we intervened to improve it” (Tiwa18-6: §11-12).

He confirmed that part of the income generated after taking control of the administration of the site was allocated to sponsor young community members, among them Julio Condori, in pursuing studies in archaeology and anthropology, “so that they could educate themselves and manage our people” (Tiwa18-6: §68). Yet, the former *Mallku* held accountable those who replaced his administration for abandoning this path: “that was the aim, but we could not reach it. We don’t all think the same, right?” (Tiwa18-6: §68).

According to him, the State could gradually regain the control of the site because of the authorities who followed him in the post did not go along with the plan he had envisioned²⁷, nor there was fulfilment of the obligations to respect the economic and social functions attached to taking care of a property, which are enshrined in the legitimacy of Indigenous governance as much as in that of the Plurinational Constitution: “If one were to follow our ancestors under their customs, how would the Indigenous peoples be improving! (Tiwa18-6: §18). However, he complained that “there is no improvement here, and I say that there will not be, because there are young people who are entering into the administration part, and they are forgetting” (Tiwa18-6: §44).

The disagreement around the conservation of Tiwanaku involves the sphere of heritage sustainability as a web of socio-material relationships and practices,

²⁷ He commented that the plan was structured into three steps: the first three years the 70% of the revenues should have been destined uniquely to the conservation of the archaeological site; after that, the 40% to the valorisation of the village of Tiahuanaco; finally, the communities could have gradually benefited (Tiwa18-6: §14).

which is eclipsed by bureaucratisation. The former *Jach'a Mallku* considered that “the site will run out” if they continue destinating the 30% of the revenues to the communities, thus addressing the lack of visible conservation through the imaginary of the non-renewability of common resources: “It’s like they say, if the gas runs out in Chuquisaca, there are no more royalties. So, the same thing can happen here” (Tiwa18-6: §30).

The power of defining what heritage should look like and naming who should take care of it stays appanage of national and international interests in which corruptive practices occur (cfr. Herzfeld, 2015). Embezzling funds is the main reason for the lack of decision-making autonomy and the vanishing aspiration to weave significant heritage relations. Commenting on the impact of the inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage List, the former authority argued:

“It did not make things easy for us because they said, ‘it always has to be controlled by the central government’. [...] That’s how the central government always doesn’t want to let us have it. Sometimes it also happens because of embezzlement, people are not the same, there is one person who has a good aim, but there are others who have bad intentions to embezzle the funds. Surely that must be the reason why they don’t make it easy for us to manage it” (Tiwa18-6: §60).

This lends insights into the differing premises and consequences concerning the definition of Tiwanaku as a shared property-thing, and the crucial role played by “money” – in the form of debt or revenue – either to challenge technical and state-led conservation, or to align local demands to it. As we shall see below, the power of money also played a significant role in generating significant equivocations in the next stages of consultation with the Indigenous authorities.

6.3.2 Blurring consensus: money and other activators of trusting relationships

The CACOT is the principal grassroots organisation of the Municipality of Tiahuanaco and is divided into four zones for administrative purposes, each of which is led by a Directorate – called *Subcentral* after the precedent *Central Agraria*. The Directorate consists of sixteen members of the communities belonging to each zone and is chaired by an elected main authority [*Jilir Mallku*]. The village of Tiahuanaco and the heritage areas correspond to the *Zona Centro* [Centre Zone], then it was the *Jilir Mallku* of the *Subcentral Centro* who could authorise me to rightfully approach a community in that zone.

Thanks to the contacts provided by the Executive Director of the CIAAAT, I could arrange a first meeting at the headquarters of the CACOT in the village of Tiahuanaco (Figure 6.1(5); Figure 6.10). I walked in the room where the *Jilir Mallku* and the other members of the Directorate were waiting. We started sharing coca leaves and tobacco, while I was impatient to finally expose my proposal. The *Jilir* had informed that they would have been busy with other commitments, so the time was short to make myself clear about the motivations that guided me until that point.

After introducing me as an “archaeologist” interested in “discovering” and “valorising” the heritage of the territory, the *Jilir* stood out the Centre Zone for its “touristic potential”. The idea of heritage that the *Jilir Mallku* was managing derived from the experiences and expectations he passed through, and those were inevitably linked to his previous encounters with archaeologists and scholars who worked in Tiwanaku. Thus, being myself recognised as an “archaeologist”, it was somehow an automatic reaction that of asking, in the first instance, “Where do you want to dig?”, and straight after, “How many people will be contracted for the excavation?”²⁸.



Figure 6.10: *Mallkus* and *mallku taykas* [woman authorities] outside the CACOT headquarter in Tiahuanaco waiting for an assembly. April 2018.

Having made clear that my funding availability prevented me from contracting anyone and that the investigation did not directly deal with the discovery and excavation of new sites, I underlined that the kind of field survey and collaborative

²⁸ Fieldnotes, April 2018.

mapping that I was proposing could have been considered as an earlier step to an excavation; that is, a complementary tool through which local decision-making bodies could have more control in deciding to accept future investigations.

We could eventually reach an agreement, which all *mallkus* made legal with the inscription of their stamps in the CACOT's letterhead (Annex A.2). However, the *Jilir Mallku* also wanted to stress the partiality of that agreement because he thought that me as researcher would have retained the 70% of the benefits of the investigation, while just the 30% would have remained in the territory, according to what it was presented. In any case, I was invited to the next monthly general assembly of the *Subcentral Zona Centro* to make contact with the authorities of a community that could be interested in taking part in the investigation.

My original idea was to conduct the fieldwork in the Ayllu Kasa Achuta for being a community limiting with the main archaeological site and where a rehabilitation project of ancient *suka kollus* [raised fields] was implemented at the time of Kolata's *Wila Jawira Project* for rural development purposes and with the funding of the Inter-American Foundation (Kolata et al., 1989; Swartley, 2002: 88–89). During my preliminary fieldwork, a young woman from that community, whom I met while she was having a break from her work at the archaeological site, struck me with her words when she mentioned that after the end of the funded period of the project her family had to give up from the production of crops in those raised fields, for it was not profitable anymore to keep working without funding; as she stated: “money rules, can't you see?” (Orlandi, 2016: 26).

The circulation of money has generated conflicts between rural communities and the village of Tiahuanaco since the first moments of the *intervención* (Sammells, 2013: 328), and the issue of the misappropriation of tourism revenues was often raised during my first survey (Orlandi, 2016: 11, 18). As a community authority told me on one occasion, money is inherent to “the way in which archaeology is ultimately managed in Tiwanaku” (Orlandi, 2016: 22). The corruption brought by the management was also associated to the development of clientelist practices. For instance, during a break from their job in the restoration works at the Akapana, two community workers from the northern zone of the Municipality told me that they had been contracted by the *mallku* of Kasa Achuta to work there, although that was not their “shift” according to the rotative system agreed in the revised management plan. One of them explained this point further:

“Sometimes you also need to work, and you meet the *mallku*, and you say, ‘I want to work’. And then sometimes the *mallku* finds you a job... that’s how it is! [...] The *mallkus* are those who put some peons... the *mallkus* place peons in their communities... well, that’s what they do. Well, that’s what we are... peons. Yes, that’s the only you can find here, can’t you see? Sometimes, you can’t even find ten cents... they bring us something and then they save us” (Orlandi, 2016: 25–26).

Eventually, Kasa Achuta could not be a workable option. A friend of mine, a local guide from that community, advised me that the *mallkus* of that year were not so favourable in embracing projects without visible financial involvement. Yet, I could still visit Kasa Achuta when the same friend invited me to join and help his family with the harvesting of potatoes (Figure 6.11). As he insisted during my first stay in Tiahuanaco, it has become every time more difficult for families to find time to help each other’s farming activities, which made him agree with the participatory politics deployed by the CIAAAT, since these made a source of income available for locals while keeping alive the “contradictions of a world enmeshed in this globalised world” (Orlandi, 2016: 15). Half kidding, half seriously, he told me that before anything, the tangible way to gain access to the field was to participate in and experimenting the pain of such a practice. That made me remember of a lesson learnt from his grandfather, which my friend recalled in our first conversation:

“The things that you are going to value are the things that you have struggled with. If there are things that you are not going to value, that’s because those have been given to you or have fallen from the sky. And that’s just the way it is, people must learn to value this heritage from different angles” (Orlandi, 2016: 7).



Figure 6.11: Harvesting potatoes with my friend's family in the Ayllu Kasa Achuta. With the excuse of documenting this ethnographic encounter, I could have a few minutes of rest from this activity. On the left of the picture, there is my friend running to call his aunt, who was working alone in a field nearby. After a long negotiation, the elder woman agreed in helping with my friend's field. The aunt started to work on the line next to mine, but in a few time the distance between us widened considerably since she was very much faster than me. Later in the afternoon, when I could not support the effort anymore, she made fun of me, saying that even a *wawa* [little kid] could work harder than the *gringo*. In the following days, the pain in my back and legs was a constant reminder about how much she was right. April 2018.

Money created a sphere of expectations around the implementation of the research project. This is intended in terms of available funding, but also in the way in which it provides a common, although blurring and partially connected ground in which divergent worlds meet. The possibility to undertake the fieldwork in Huancollo finally disclosed by a lucky chance, indirectly activated by the circulation of money in the territory. The case was that a friend in the village of Tiahuanaco was refurbishing the roof of her house, and it happened that the contractor for that work was the *Sullka Mallku* [minor authority] of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo during the year. An activity, the latter, which he insistently stressed to be detrimental to the former, since to be a *mallku* takes loads of time. We could talk a first time over a coffee in my friend's house, and again at the margins of the General Assembly of the *Zona Centro*.

The major difficulty for our mutual comprehension was the meanings of the words used to make us clear to each other. In this case, by defining my investigation as a "project", I was accidentally intercepting the categories employed to express a variety of interventions in that territory which have in common the accessibility to wage labour. The *Sullka Mallku* was genuinely concerned about the opposition to which the proposal might have incurred once presented to the other *mallkus* of the Ayllu, and later in front of the General Assembly. He suggested to be careful on that matter since it would have caused problems, both for the feasibility of my research and for his position within the community. He remarked on what other community members could have thought of his personal involvement in my "project", feeding jealousies, suspicion, and "*miramientos*" [bad looks] about hidden compensation. The *Sullka* also recommended that I should be clear about two issues, both of which were raised during the subsequent meeting with the Directorate of Mallkus and before the General Assembly of Huancollo: how my research was funded and by whom; and what plans I had for returning the results and data gathered in the field to the community.

These two observations make visible ethical relationships based on “the subjectivities of social interactions” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, 2006: 118); or the webs of trusting relationships among different participants in a collaborative heritage project (Colwell-Chanthamphonh and Ferguson (2006: 123). The agreement signed with the *Subcentral Zona Centro* likely activated the possibility for other trusting relationships to grow – in this case authorising me to rightfully approach the authorities of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo. However, all these activators of trusting relationships – “signed agreement”, “money”, “restitution of the results” – must not render disagreement in the consultation space imperceptible.

For trusting relationships to be efficiently cultivated and kept free from “coercion” and “concealment” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, 2006: 129), they need to be multivocal, even to the point of allowing absent perspectives and subjects to be visible and audible. Trusting relationships extend to the objects and knowledges of heritage (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, 2006: 126), which become themselves participants of their subjective social interactions: they also participate in the “comedy of equivocations” (De La Cadena, 2015: 214) that characterises “indigenous heritage” as a frictional space (sensu Tsing, 2005: 6) of the contemporary world.

That frictional space enacted by my own process of consultation is evoked by the picture (Figure 6.12) of what remained after the visit of the *Sullka Mallku* at my place to preliminary discuss some important points before officially approaching the Directorate of Mallkus of Huancollo. The *Sullka* arrived later than the agreed, and I was in hurry to show him the consent information sheet in which the purposes and methods of the research were summarised. He suddenly interrupted me – “*Che, I can't make it without coca*”²⁹; the haste made my good manners losing along the way and I had forgotten to take time for sharing coca leaves before starting the conversation.

Apologising for that, I took the characteristic green plastic bag in which coca leaves are sold in the shops of the village and invited my guest to take a handful. He accepted and asked me for three stones, which named after the three principal *Apus* [sacred mountains] of the territory and performed a *ch'alla*

²⁹ Fieldnotes, April 2018.

watering with alcohol onto the three *Apu*-stones and all around the corners of the table where we were going to become part of a conversation. Then, he took a generous sip for himself and offered me the little bottle of pure alcohol branded *Caimán*, which he was carrying under his red and black poncho. Accepted his invitation, I replied inviting him to accept one of my hand-rolled cigarettes. One of the few that we shared during the meeting, and which filled the bottom of a ceramic vessel found in the garden of the house I was renting and returned to a social life as an improvised ashtray.



Figure 6.12: After-meeting with the *Sullka Mallku* of Huancollo. April 2018

The *Sullka* gave me instructions on how to access the field. We wrote down together some questions that he thought could have made clear the purpose of the research I was proposing to the Ayllu:

- Where does the name Huancollo come from?
- When was the community founded?
- How many people lived in the Ayllu at that time, and how many are they now?
- Which touristic or cultural attractions are in the community?
- What kind of cultural and farming practices are associated to those places?

The day of the meeting with the Directorate of Mallkus we all shared an *apthapi* [lunch] in the garden between the House of the Community and the Natural Medicine Hospital. Those questions guided the adjustment of the research

proposal toward what the *Sullka* called a “*historial*”: this is a “track-record” of the history of the *Ayllu* that could be useful for the actualisation of the community’s juridical entity status. Such a specification informed the other *mallkus* that rather than a “project” the kind of intervention that I proposed was more akin to education and to enhancing the memory and visibility of names, places, and stories which were on their way to oblivion.

Few days after the meeting with the Directorate of *Mallkus*, the monthly General Assembly of the *Ayllu* reunited in the House of the Community (Figure 6.1(6)). While I was waiting for my turn to take the word and introduce myself and my research, the portraits of the 18th century anti-colonial leaders Julián Apaza “*Tupac Katari*” and Bartolina Sisa called my attention from the wall behind the community authorities (Figure 6.13). Jointly with those portraits, the fluidity of contemporary Aymara language and social institutions seemed to inscribe the political performance of the General Assembly — the collective exercise of the right to Indigenous self-determination — into “an apparently chaotic juxtaposition of footprints or debris belonging to diverse pasts, which are reflected in habitus and everyday actions... *a multitemporality made habitus*” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2018b: 76–77).

6.4 Conclusions

A dispute over the inheritance of a *sayaña* [family plot] was at the centre of a heated discussion of the General Assembly to which I was invited to take part and at the end of which the *mallkus* applied their official stamps on the community consent sheet (Appendix A.3). The land, as property-thing, takes part in the sociality of the *ayllu* more than in the sense of providing the basic unit for the subsistence of the households who legally own it. The *sayaña* refers to “a complex field of signification and convictions” (Isla, 2017: 591) that puts the interests of the community in connection with those of the singular households. This is a form of enforcing the right to property resulting from the relational caring between people and land (cfr. Haber, 2016a: 169). In the same way, the identification of Tiwanaku as indigenous heritage turned the site into a property-thing linking individual and collective stakes in a cosmopolitical movement.

This chapter unpacked the legal, social, and economic interplays at stake in approaching the archaeological ethnography conducted with/in the territory of the

Ayllu Originario Huancollo, which follows in the next chapter. Looking through the mirror glass of regulatory ethics and heritage-making practices affecting the tangible and intangible legacies activated by Tiwanaku's relationships in the landscape leads to tracking the entwined temporalities of State and *ayllus* pathways to sovereignty and self-determination.



Figure 6.13: Starting the Ordinary Assambly of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo with introductory address and oration by the Jilir Mallku. May 2018.

By contrasting the steps of my own consultation and consent-seeking process, the chapter showed diverging perspectives of heritage conservation that bring along a set of related practices framed in the legitimate order of property from which they stem. These overlapping affect the way in which governmental officers or local authorities decoded my research proposal on the moment of engaging in consultation. This is apparent in the way in which the bureaucratic apparatus pigeonholes heritage research and in how it laboriously failed to provide my project with the institutional support I requested. In fact, it was not possible to overcome the taxonomic repartition of competency between administrative unities: archaeology and tangible heritage, on one side; ethnography and intangible heritage, on the other.

Such a common-sense classification is challenged by a careful documentation and reading of the steps leading up to obtaining permission to carry out the fieldwork. Being attentive to one's own footprints as getting access in other's territory become not only an ethical obligation, but foremost an indispensable tool to decolonise research. The consent-seeking counter-mapping illustrated in this chapter offers a starting point for highlighting the disjunctures in definition and exploitation of Tiwanaku's indigenous heritage.

In addition to giving the necessary background of the themes, actors, and places that will be staged in the subsequent archaeological ethnography of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo, the chapter made the point of the irreducibility of heritage cosmopolitics to a singular ethics or disciplinary system. This approach further complicates the multivocal understanding of heritage as a well-defined property with many stakes on it. Echoing the emphasis placed by the Director of the CIAAAT on the complementarity between *thakhi* ["culture-as-knowledge] and *sarawi* [culture-as-doing]: the field of consultation becomes a continuing process of inheriting and crafting significant heritage relationships without ever subsuming them into a universal assumption of "conservation" or "property".

Chapter 7. “With the roots deeply rooted and a renewed vision to move forward”: story-tracking the Ayllu Originario Huancollo

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter illustrated the steps that led me to undertake the fieldwork in collaboration with the Ayllu Originario Huancollo. Unwrapping the dynamic field of consultation with government and community bodies made the constitutive disagreements inherent to heritage policies intelligible and traceable to the corresponding practices and locations of their agents. The visualisation of those intermediary spaces between State and Indigenous heritage-making processes contextually situates the subsequent research inquiries and activities within the archaeological ethnography performed in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco.

This chapter tracks the stories of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo that translate Indigenous politics into a common grammar of rights. It focuses on events of the recent past of the community that complicate interpretations of the relationship between people and land at the interface between divergent discourses and practices about indigenous heritage, cultural rights, and sustainable development. This angle approaches the wider interrogation on heritage cosmopolitics by looking in detail at an Indigenous project of modernity rooted in the evolving social continuity between community and territory.

The chapter follows the alternate paces of Indigenous and State historical pathways, looking at the spheres of practices, places, and materials that characterise the fragmented landscape of the contemporary past of the Ayllu Huancollo. The chapter presents the results of interviews, field surveys, and observations organised around three temporal nodes: (a) *Hacienda*, (b) *Sindicalismo*, and (c) *Saneamiento*, as they describe events occurred in the linear temporality of the State from the oligarchic regime of its early postcolonial foundations to the critical plurinational period of the present, passing through the nationalist Revolution in 1952 (see Chapter 5). The way in which those events resurfaced in the memory of my interlocutors illuminates the co-existence of divergent senses of heritage and legality channelled through the evolving rearrangement of people, lands, and things.

The preamble of the Statute of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo fully acknowledged the crucial importance of temporal and spatial bounds for community social life:

“the goal is to respond to the demands of the community, to the fundamental tenets of its history, today we face a new step of our history, but this time with new instruments in line with the current times to keep looking for new horizons, with the roots deeply rooted and with a renewed vision to move forward” (Ayllu Originario Huancollo, 2013: 5).

The survey of the land and history of Huancollo (Figure 7.1) expanded from the original list of community elders and topics according to the information disclosed from the interviews, informal conversations, and casual encounters in the field. The gathered data (video recordings, pictures, archival sources, and maps) were returned to the Ayllu during a public meeting (Figure 7.2). As every picture taken of a moving subject while the photographer is also moving, the resulting blurred image of the concluding moment of my fieldwork in Huancollo perfectly evokes the underlying equivocations of any intersubjective relation – with its burden of hope for future encounters in the back and the sensible past acting just in front of our eyes.



Figure 7.1: A view of the multitemporal landscape of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo from the top of Qupallika hill, looking at the Mount Quimsachata. On the foreground, the yellow building of the educational unit, which once was the Landowner Mansion; on the background, it is visible the church tower and the greenish silhouette of the Natural Medicine Hospital. May 2018.



Figure 7.2: Picture taken by a research participant after the meeting with the Directorate of Mallkus for the restitution of the report of activities. Despite the blurriness, it is recognisable the Jilir Mallku standing at my side, holding the cultural map enclosed with the report. June 2018.

7.2 The Time of *Hacienda*

During the exceptional assembly convened for the restitution of the results of the fieldwork, the *Sullka Mallku* – after having kindly thanked for the time spent researching in their community – pointed out to me that the enclosed map (Figure 7.3) was not very clear, and quite smaller than he imagined³⁰. Maps powerfully act in *ayllu* politics, but not every map speaks with/in *ayllu* (see Anthias, 2019; Orlove, 1991). The Statute of the Ayllu (2013: 11–12) includes two maps: one is the official geo-referenced map of each household *sayañas* according to the repartition agreed in the last land regulation (Figure 7.4a); the other is the “*mapa parlante*” [speaking map] that shows the main social, economic, and cultural features of Huancollo (Figure 7.4b).

³⁰ Fieldnotes, June 2018.

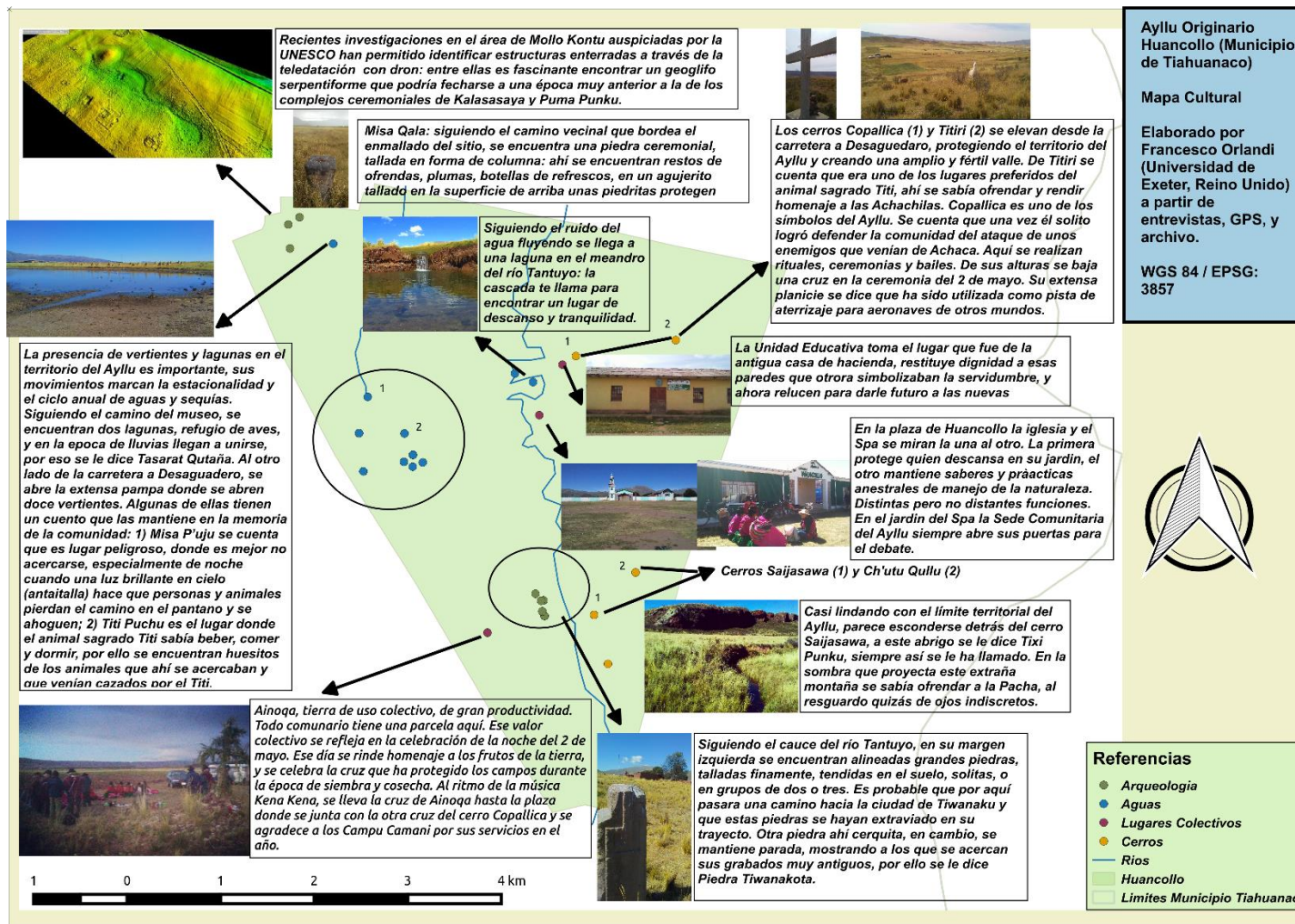


Figure 7.3: Copy of the cultural map returned to the Ayllu Originario Huancollo. June 2018

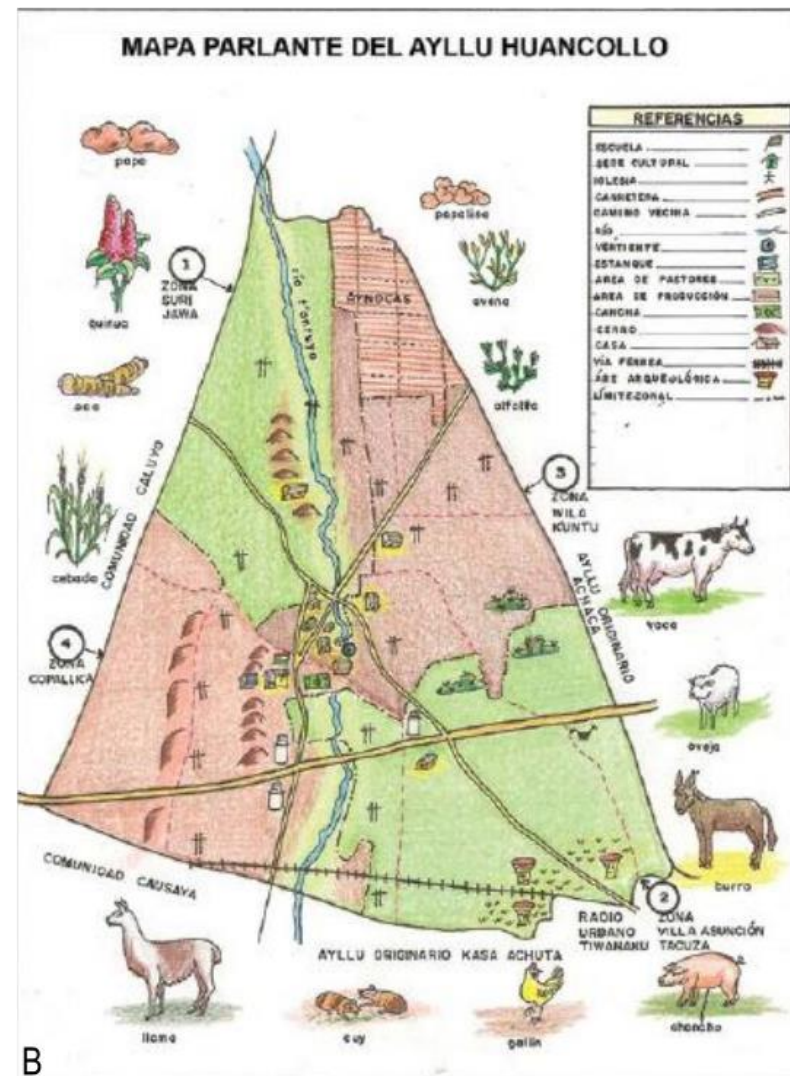


Figure 7.4: (a) The geo-referenced map of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo (2013: 12); (b) The “speaking map” of the community (2013: 11).

The two maps differ in the information they channel and the audience they intend to inform. On the one hand, the georeferenced map speaks on behalf of the Ayllu before the State. Through the accuracy of its resolution, it proves the legitimacy of the collective ownership of the land of the community and the internal repartition of the individual family plots. The “speaking map”, on the other hand, addresses a touristic-educative purpose by visualising the customary delimitation of the four zones composing the Ayllu, the uses of the land, and the archaeological sites. Given their discrepancies in content and intended audience, I wondered about the reasons behind their opposite orientations.

A fieldnote is useful in this case (Figure 7.5): this is a printed copy of the georeferenced map with annotations taken by the interpreter who helped me interview his old mother – one of the elders of the starting list provided by the Directorate of Mallkus (see Chapter 6.3.2). To orientate himself in the cartographic space of the map, so to appropriately make note of the places mentioned by his mother in the conversation, he turned the map upside down: the geographical North at the bottom, the South at the top.

This movement made the map coincide with the local sense of place, which locates *arriba* [the upper side] toward the mountains and *abajo* [the lower side] toward the river valley and the village of Tiahuanaco, at the same time as the fictional space of the map aligned with the two structural moieties in which the identity of the *ayllu* as a historical and collective political subject takes shape (cfr. Bouysse Cassagne, 1987: 213–225): *Urcu* [mountains, masculinity] and *Uma* [water, femininity].

The upside-down movement materialised by the light stroke of a pen made different temporalities coexist – the one of the State and the one of the *ayllus* – and with them that gesture made visible something absent in the map. Yet, that absence is crystallised in the way the Ayllu as a collective subject relates to the State: the legal North ignores the local sense of place; and for what it’s worth, that is the same as I did when handing back the cultural map to the community to show the partial results of the fieldwork.

This section shows that this form of exclusionary legality, in which we are all embedded, is a vestige of the time of the hacienda. It explores the historical context leading to the expansion of the landowners over community lands and

the socio-material configurations of those events through oral and material histories breeding contemporary *ayllu* politics.

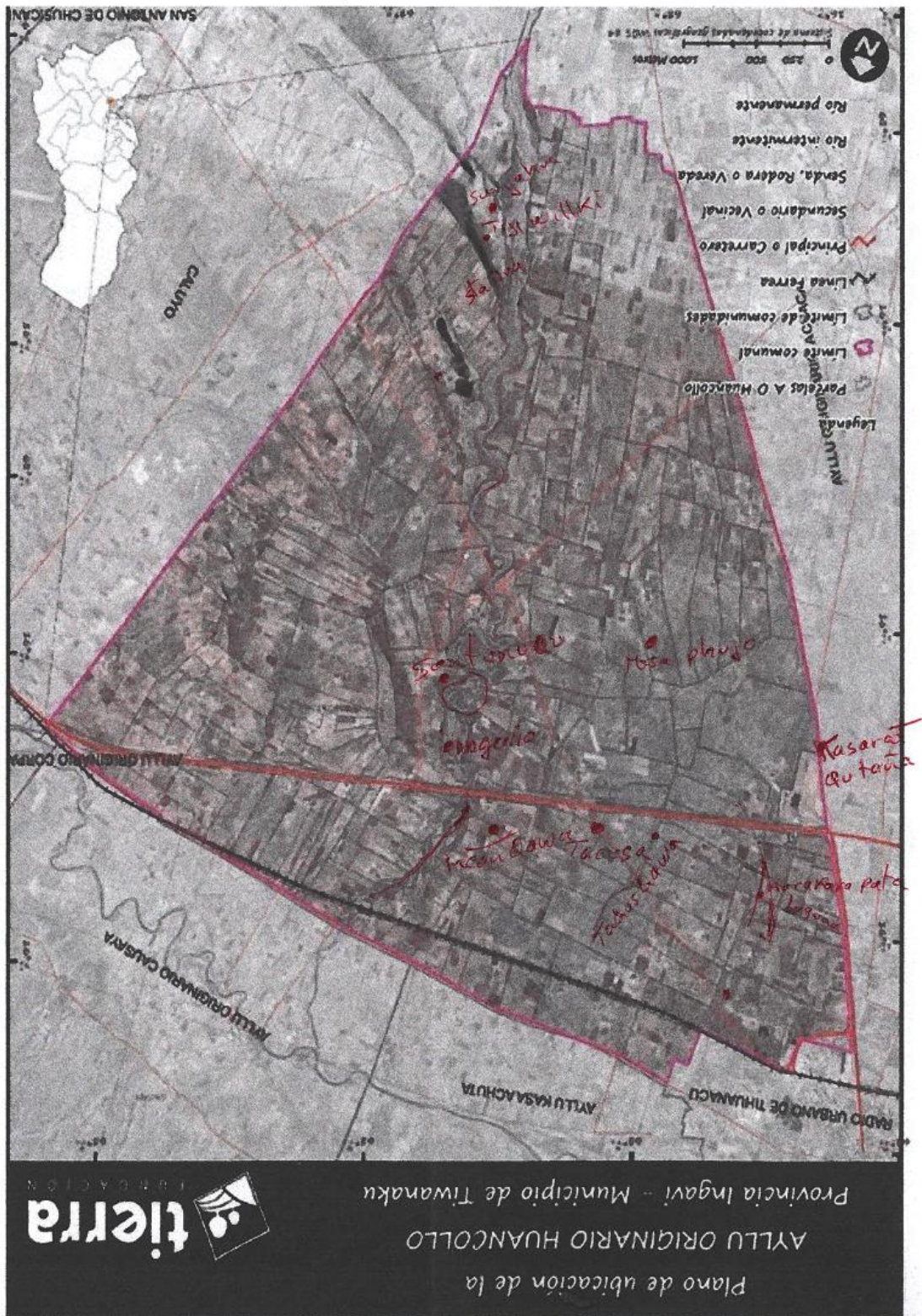


Figure 7.5: Upside-down hardcopy of the geo-referenced map of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo with annotations taken by a research participant and interpreter based on the places mentioned by his mother during our interview (Tiwa18-11@). May 2018.

7.2.1 “That’s a general dispossession”: people, lands, and things under the regime of *hacienda*

Nayax asint timputaya / Voy a contarle del tiempo de la hacienda. [I’m going to tell you about the time of the hacienda] (Tiwa18-11@: §9)

The hacienda expansion at the beginning of the 20th century provoked an intense mobilisation among the Aymara communities of the Department of La Paz, and especially in the Municipalities of Jesús de Machaca, Guaqui and Tiahuanaco (Choque Canqui, 2010: 31; see Chapter 5.1). The THOA member Ticona Alejo (1992) collected the testimony of Leandro Condori Chura, who was the *escribano* [scribe] of the *caciques apoderados* during the 1920s, working side by side with the leader Santos Marka T’ula in creating a support network for the concerted political action of the *ayllus*.

Condori Chura was born in Huancollo and forced to leave the community when the politician and mining entrepreneur Benedicto Goytia acquired the land of Huancollo in 1905. According to the information preserved in the departmental archive of the INRA in La Paz (Dossier 1090), the *hacienda* Huancollo was later bought by Hugo Zalles and again by Juan Perou, who held it from 1926 until the implementation of the Agrarian Reform in the 1950s. The former scribe efficaciously described what the hacienda system entailed: “The hacienda made disappear what was the community: ‘Now is mine’, he said. It was in the hands of the *patrón*, then he administrated the lands as he wished” (Condori Chura and Ticona Alejo, 1992: 27).

This situation stirred confrontation amongst communities as their lands split to gradually becoming part of the hacienda system. Leandro Condori Chura (1992: 25) reported a violent conflict that happened because of an issue over a property line between Huancollo and the neighbouring community of Achaca, when members of the latter, already dissolved into Goytia’s possession, attempted to access the land of Huancollo to put their animals to graze.

That resonated in the story that an elder woman wanted to share with me, with the help of her nephew, a member of the Directory of Mallkus, who acted as interpreter from Aymara during the interview. She referred to the people who used to live in territory of the Ayllu before its dissolution into the property of the landowners as *Q’upas*, which directly links with Qupallika, the long, flattened hill that is the most recognisable feature of the landscape of Huancollo and a

“powerful place” with many stories attached to it. The elder woman recalled that “an old couple lived there, a man and a woman” and that they successfully chased people from Achaca who had encroached on *ayllu* territory with “slings, stones, and fire”: “Quapllika is very powerful” – the elder woman concluded – “from there it made them back down, they say” (Tiwa18-12@: §70-72).

Complementing this account with the information provided by Condori Chura’s testimony suggests the relevance of the fight between two distinct factions of a broad territorial polity as the funding event for a shared memory. It affirms the pre-existence of the *ayllu* to the hacienda system through the persistence of the social bonds between people and places weaving the fabric of the community. This concern is rooted in the memories of suffering and resistance attached to the time of the hacienda:

“From before, it has always been Huancollo. When it was the time of the landowner, Huancollo was already known” (Tiwa18-16: §6).

“This community has always been a native community [...] Nobody was a slave, we can say. When the colonial conquest arrived, bit by bit they started buying lands, all the Tiahuanaco sector” (Tiwa18-5: §4).

The memory of the collective tenure of the land disrupts the homogeneous temporality that the hacienda system imposed through violence and legal means. The neocolonial regime of the hacienda affected distinct spheres of practices, which resurfaced in memory to describe the servitude conditions suffered by those who lived and worked for the landowners.

For instance, the elder woman whose son made the written annotations on the map, recalled:

“We worked with the bosses in the time of the hacienda, bumpy, stuck. We graze cattle from the farm as cows and sheep. In addition, we cultivate extensive farms, very extensive, we cultivate. We grazed five hundred cows, and the same with the sheep: hundred, two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, five hundred. There were dairy cows to milk. We milked for the landowner. We make cheese, and the landowner takes it. We raise big pigs, and the landowner also takes them. [...] We harvest potatoes, lots of them and we put them to freeze, also to make *t’unta* we put it, and the same, the landowner took it away” (Tiwa18-11@: §9-10).

The interviewee’s insistence in the concentration of farming products in the hands of the landowner is a marker for the material consequences driven by the expansion of the hacienda on the lands of the *Ayllu*. This situation triggered a

broaden situation of injustice: “the owner took everything for himself, we got nothing for ourselves, not even clothes [...] this is how we served the hacienda since we were child. That’s how it was” (Tiwa18-11@: §12).

In the memories of the elders, these products act to recall a subverted sphere of practices (Figure 7.6). Another witness of that period reaffirmed this argument by linking the fate of the people with that of the animals and the farming products: “In the time of the hacienda, everything was put aside for the hacienda. We didn’t grow for us, the potato yield was for the hacienda, even making *chuño* was only for the hacienda... That’s how it always was” (Tiwa18-13@: §55).



Figure 7.6: a) Freshly harvested potatoes left to freeze and dehydrate for processing *chuño* or *t'unta*; b) Community-members milking their cows; c) Harvesting barley in a household plot. May 2018.

Those farming and breeding products associated to the centripetal power of the *patrón* activate horizons of memory that weave the community together in time and space. These activators point to a complementary way of exercising ownership of the land, whose legitimacy resulted infringed. Suffering under the hacienda system affected equally people, animals and land, all of them reduced to servitude and exploited in a unique place, which materialised in the *casa de hacienda* [Landowner's Mansion].

The *casa de hacienda* is the concretisation of the oppression in the collective memory of the community. Community members who did not directly experience how life was under the hacienda still recalled the great quantity of livestock units and agricultural machinery kept in that place as the defining elements of a time in which the power of the landowners appeared invincible:

“Our grandparents, our parents, they suffered a lot because of the landowners took advantage of them in those times. They say there was cattle and sheep by flocks, cows equal, in a place no more they say they worked for the boss, not for them; that was the issue in those times” (Tiwa18-15: §80).

“The landowner's mansion was equipped with many things. According to our grandparents' stories, they milked cattle, sheep as well. Landowners exploited them, they were pongos of the earth, they compelled them to cultivate, there was a lot of agricultural machinery, tractors” (Tiwa18-5: §47).

The structural exploitation of the hacienda system distorted and accelerated well established paths of inter-*ayllus* relationship across the Municipality of Tiahuanaco (Choque and Mamani Condori, 2001: 208). For instance, an elder woman recalled when she moved from working in the hacienda of her birth community to working in the hacienda of Huancollo after she married:

“I used to live over there; my father-in-law brought me here. My husband brought me here, that's why I had to work the hacienda here. My land was over there, that man took it over. I worked the hacienda there. I grazed the cows, the pigs, the sheep and the horses of the hacienda” (Tiwa18-13@: §23).

A community member who investigated thoroughly into the history of the community when he was serving as community authority in the 1980s (see below) provided a detailed account of the expansion of the hacienda in relation to the acceleration of population mobility among the *ayllus* of Tiahuanaco:

“There is a big house that they built outside the village of Tiahuanaco, opposite Puma Punku, a hacienda house. They built another hacienda house in the community, on the hillside of Qupallika. From there they were dominant. They enslaved people. The work was so hard that people left. Then, people from other communities came to work in exchange for land. Well, other community members came from Chuchicani, Kausaya, from Yanarico, from other communities, and they provided services in the community of Huancollo. While the community members who left from Huancollo became a little hidden in the village of Tiahuanaco” (Tiwa18-5: §6-9).

As the passage states, two mansions were built in the land that belonged to Huancollo in order to control the territory (Figure 7.7). The people who settled in the hacienda were called *colonos* [settlers] or *pongos* [servants]; another denomination for the people who came to live and work in the hacienda was “*asintataki*”³¹, as the son of one of those farmers remembered in our conversation:

“The workers for the landowners, *asintataki* were called. [...] They called people to work in the hacienda. For example, my dad was from Caluyo. They arrived also from Causaya, Yanarico... That’s how they arrived. The others had already escaped from Huancollo, it is said that they left at night heavy loaded. All people left, that’s why the landowner needed and why people came to work for the landowner. He gave them some plots, saying ‘You’re going to live there’, and they stayed where the landowner said them to stay” (Tiwa18-16: §14, 58-64).

The acceleration of people mobility reshaped spatial patterns of dwelling. The river *Tantuyo Jawira* marked the physical demarcation between two distinct areas: facing away from the village of Tiahuanaco on the right side of the river, there were the lands uniquely devoted to breeding the livestock of the landowner and farming his fields. On the left side of the river between the hills of Qupallika and Titiri, there was the space where the *asintataki* households were allocated.

“Before, this side of the community was empty. Those who served the hacienda lived in the remote nooks of the community” (Tiwa18-15: §72);

“Before, they worked only on this side. From the river on this side, they worked for the hacienda; that side was only for the landowner” (Tiwa18-16: §10).

³¹ The original Aymara transcription of the above-mentioned passage of the interview Tiwa18-13@: §55 conveys the self-identification as *asintataki* instead of the exogenous designation of *colonos*, or *pongos*: “*Asint timpux asta asintatak luraskaña. Jä yapuchasipkiri’ktti. Asintataki ch’uqis llamayña. Asta asintataki asta ch’uñus ch’uñutaskaña*”.

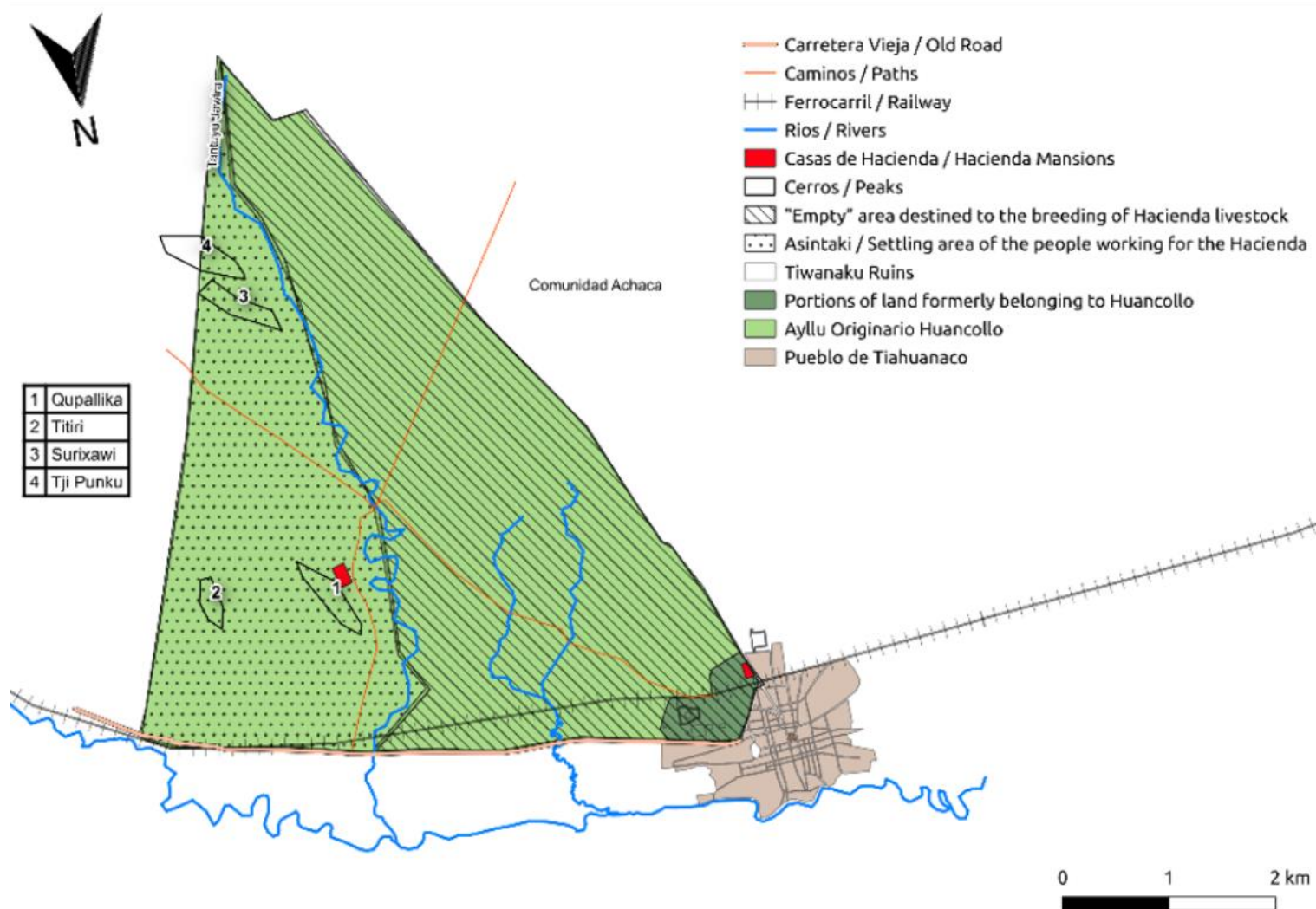


Figure 7.7: Map showing the spatial configuration of the population living in Huancollo under the landowner regime and the two Hacienda mansions built in the territory, along with the peaks mentioned in the text.

The implementation of the hacienda system enslaved people, animals, and land, yet it could not help but rely on community's layered articulations across different spheres of practices and extended sociality with the land. In the framework of the inclusive/exclusive model of universal citizenship, school education was the policy aimed at disarticulating local knowledges for the benefit of an alleged civil order based on racial and class discrimination (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015; Ticona Alejo, 2011). Schools tamed local aspirations, but they also paved the ground to alternative political configurations through the movement of the *caciques apoderados* [authorised chiefs].

This conundrum is well expressed in the life of Leandro Condori Chura. He had the opportunity to study in the hacienda house built in front of Puma Punku, which was designated as educational unit since 1920, under the sponsorship of the priest of Tiahuanaco (Condori Chura and Ticona Alejo, 1992: 23–26). As he admitted, that was an exceptional circumstance that gave him the ability to play a crucial role for the advancement of the Indigenous movement in the following years.

The exceptionality of accessing school education for a young community member of Huancollo during the 1920s has been powerfully expressed by an elderly lady (Figure 7.8). During our conversation she retold children were forbidden to go to school in the time of the hacienda. Various elements associated the lack of schooling education with the embodied suffering and the physical subordination to the single willing of the *patrón*, which gave way to the instillation of fear as the true source of power: the hat that must be taken off when making reverence to the master; the eyes gouged out to those who can write; the tongue cut out of those who dared to speak Spanish:

“I don't know anything about school. In front of the *patrón* one had to take the hat off and knelt to greet [...] If one doesn't greet by taking the hat off, then 'come here you Indian' and *q'ix q'ix!* That's how they used to beat me for not greeting them. [...] Since those years there's been a bit of fear. I suffered so much, since I was a child, I've suffered. We don't know anything about school, nor Spanish. Those who know school, the eyes will be gouged off to those who write, the tongue will be cut off to those who learn Spanish. They were like that, so we've never got anything. We don't know Spanish nor school since. It was a constant punishment, nothing more, since then I couldn't learn anything. This old woman knows nothing, we were nothing but the landowner's slaves” (Tiw18-11@: §17-22).

The time of the hacienda materialises the continuity of colonial relations in the Republican State (Choque and Mamani Condori, 2001: 204; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1990: 103; 2010b: 134). Fuelled with violence and ignorance, the land grabbed at the stroke of a pen is prevented to fully play its social and economic functions. Yet, even if corrupted, the practices that weave people and land together played a vital role to negotiate better living conditions. This overlapping between alternative models of ownership over the land concretised in the persistence of the system of authorities responsible for the physical and spiritual unity of the *ayllu*, and who oversaw the relationships with the State and other-than-human beings.



Figure 7.8: Snapshot sequence of the video interview Tiwa18-11@ displaying the moment in which the lady took her hat off to show how community members were supposed to behave in front of the landowner. May 2018.

An excerpt of the same interview is significant on this aspect, for I asked the elder woman about the importance of the places that she had mentioned as powerful for the community, and her reply gave an accurate picture of the corrupting relationships that also affected those other-than-human beings at the time of the hacienda:

F: “Why are these places important? Do they remind you of any story?”³²

³² The son of the interviewee, who was acting as interpreter, translated my question into “Kunats ukanakax ukham sutinix. Kuns ukanakax, kuna yächañanakas, siwa, ukaxa” / ¿Por qué

This has luck, it's necessary to offer up. You must offer up to the *achachilas* of Qupallika, to this other as well to the *achachilas*. Also, that Palasuyla used to be offered in the time of the hacienda. In the time of the hacienda, the landowners bought the offering to Surixäwi. After that, those *layqa* [sorcerers] used to take care of that.

The *yatiri* are those who are responsible of performing the ceremony. The landowners tell them to offer up to these places. Before, there were the *jilaqatas* and *mayordomos*. Both are at the head; they oversee the offering. They are designate for that. That's why they're instructed to give the offering: the *yatiris* take care of that under the indication of the *jilaqatas*, they buy the ingredients for the offering, alcohol, wine, all the necessary, but the landowner is who instructs." (Tiwa18-11@: §40-42).

Her reply gives a snapshot of the chain of authorities: the landowner's control was exercised through a local administrative intermediary (i.e. *mayordomo*), who lived permanently in the house of hacienda and interacted with the community authorities – i.e. *jilaqata* or *alcalde* (Choque and Mamani Condori, 2001: 211–214; Rivera Cusicanqui, 1990: 100–102). The first reference to *layqa* – the sorcerer who inflicts harm (cfr. Cuelenaere, 2017a: 538) – as the person in charge of materially preparing the ceremony by taking care of the presence of all required ingredients, informs about the scenario of corruption tainting the performance of the ritual.

In explaining the role of those powerful places for the social fabric of the community, she evoked that even this kind of interchange had been threatened by the landowner's centripetal aims. Despite the offerings to the "powerful places" took place within the customary framework of communication, these channelled the univocal benefit of the *patrón*, which translated into feeding the suffering of those forced working under his control.

Notwithstanding their corrupted nature, the motivations laying at the bottom of the social interaction taking place with an other-than-human member of the *ayllu* (i.e. the hill Surixäwi) is not questioned: people use to give an offering there because that place "has luck" and therefore partakes of the extended social life of the community:

se llama esos lugares... se llaman, así? ¿Qué ocurre, qué cosas se pone a esos?, dice." [Why are these places named like that? What happens, what things do you put on those? He says].

“The *yatiris* offer a *ch’alla* up to this so that there will be no hailstones, there will be good yield, and the cattle will breed well. For that they perform the *q’uwancha*. That’s how it is. We don’t know” (Tiwa18-11@: §42).

The section made an attempt to correlate the expansionist ambitions of the oligarchic Bolivian State since the end of the nineteenth century to the whole living practices of the Ayllu. It has been possible to show the traces of the exclusionary policies of the nation-state that have been preserved in the memory of elderly community members of Huancollo, but also the unsuccessful disappearance of the collective political agency of the *ayllus* that those policies primary targeted for the sake of the democratic, hierarchical equality. Quite on the contrary, the liberal elites could not help but take part in politics that exceeded the boundaries of their understanding and those of the authorised citizenship.

7.3 The Time of *Sindicalismo*

The time of *Sindicalismo* [Syndicalism] refers to the configurations of people, land, and things surrounding the consolidation of the Nationalist Revolution culminating with the establishment of the 1952 State (see Chapter 5.1.2). The activism of the network of caciques *apoderados* for the recognition of native titles intersected the ambiguous role of school education (see Arnold and Yapita, 2006). This convergence materialised in the spatial dynamics of Huancollo through the transformation into schools (Figure 7.9) of both hacienda houses built in the territory historically belonging to the Ayllu.

The one close to the railway and Puma Punku maintained its functions as Tiahuanaco’s educative unit established since the 1920s, but the administration of the land in which it stands has meanwhile passed to the village of Tiahuanaco. The other mansion built on the hillside of Qupallika became Huancollo’s own educative unit after the implementation of the Agrarian Reform in 1953. This reform formally sanctioned the end of the privileges of the large estate owners, but it also rendered visible the intricate dynamics surrounding national policies oriented toward the assimilation of peasantry into the tenets of a homogenous *mestizo* identity.

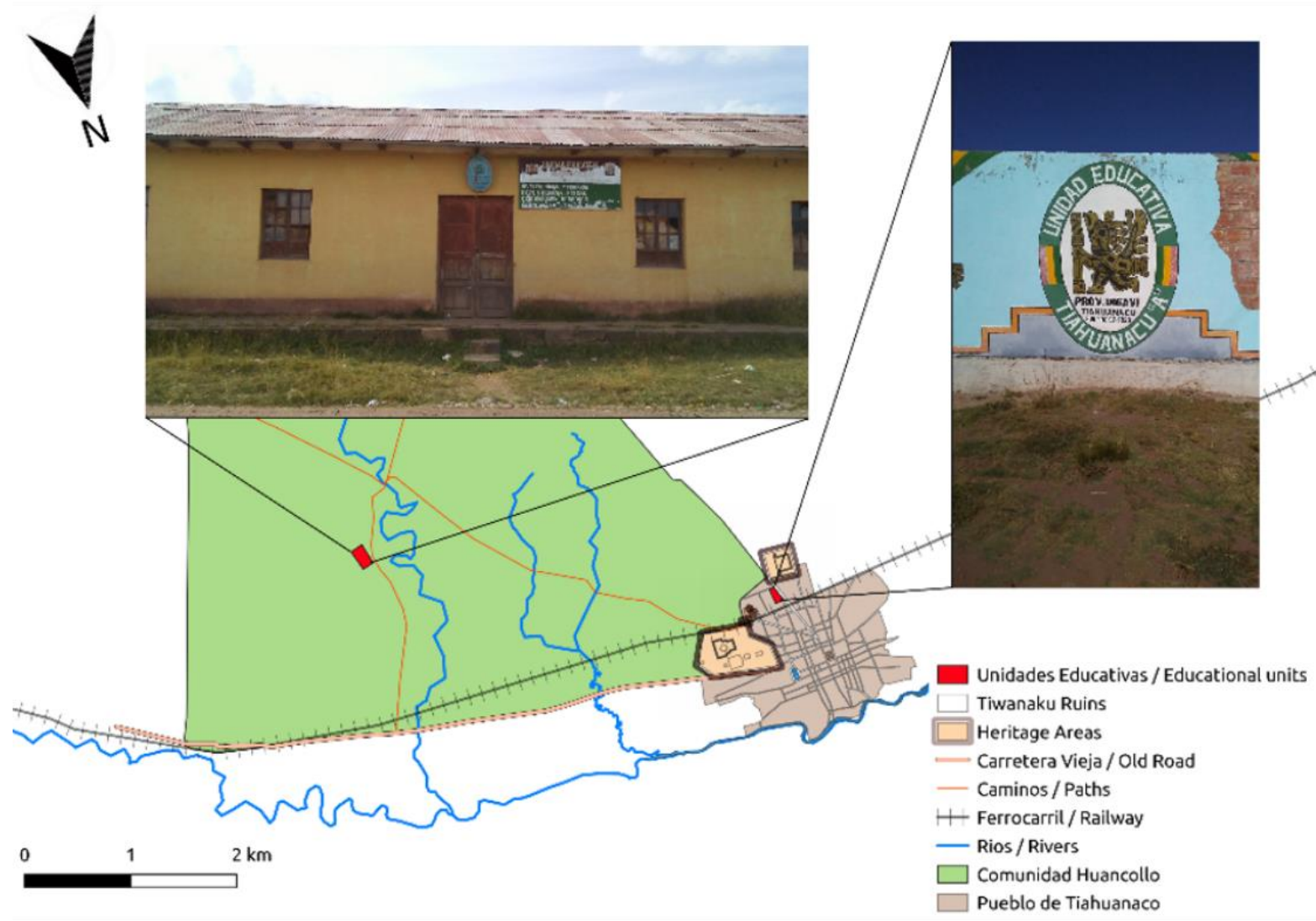


Figure 7.9: Illustrated map showing the transformation of the Hacienda Mansions into educational units.

This section will show that the time of *Sindicalismo* affected the social texture of the *Ayllu Originario Huancollo*, firstly, by considering the implementation of the Agrarian Reform and its fallout in the community of Huancollo, then by tracing the links between those events and the resurgence of Indigenous politics claiming the legitimacy of *ayllu* polity within domestic and international agendas advocating for sustainable development, cultural rights, and ethnohistory with the advent of neoliberal multiculturalism at the end of the twentieth century.

7.3.1 The implementation of the Agrarian Reform in Huancollo

The events that led to the success of the political programme of the nationalist forces overlapped with the deployment of the 1953 Agrarian Reform in the memories of the elders of the community, and foremost with the first post-revolutionary president Víctor Paz Estenssoro, who embodied the head of the State:

“Since Víctor Paz Estenssoro, since then we’ve recovered a little. [...] Since that time, we know the parcelling of the land, small plots that have been distributed to us. Since then, I’ve rested. In the time of Víctor Paz Estenssoro, he distributed us lands” (Tiwa18-11@: §24, 28).

“This plain was purely wetland, now it is populated with people. [...] The time of the hacienda is over because Víctor Paz Estenssoro made them stop, he took them away. He gave us the land. Since then, we have owned the land” (Tiwa18-13@: §15, 37).

The acknowledgement of the authority incarnated by the constitutional president comes along with another factor that stimulates the memory of the context in which the Agrarian Reform occurred: the repopulation of the plain at the right side of the river, specifically associated with the building of new houses (Figure 7.10):

“The land came with the Agrarian Reform [...] That happened when Paz Estenssoro was president. He gave us the land, there were no houses here before [...] It was empty land, there were no houses, it was bare” (Tiwa18-4: §16-20).

“Then, after the revolution came those whose parents and grandparents had left. They build their houses there. There were many of us” (Tiwa18-16: §20).



Figure 7.10: A house now abandoned built in the portion of the community that used to be empty and then repopled after the 1953 Agrarian Reform. May 2018.

The changing social dynamics propelled by the Agrarian Reform were accurately reconstructed by a research participant, the son of Fernando Laura, who was one of the *apoderados*, the authorities legally entitled to speak for the *ayllus* in those years. He was included in the list of community elders and key informants provided by the Directorate of Mallkus, and at the time of my visit he was serving on the school board of the Ayllu. There, in the school premises, we met in a couple of occasions, in which he recalled that his father, for being a veteran of the Chaco War, could gain “half of the community” (Tiwa18-18: §13). The reason for making this point explicit responds to the divergent demands advanced to restructure the political subjectivity of the *ayllu* by two groups claiming competitive titles to the land.

The accelerated mobility and decay of people and things generated by the implementation of the hacienda system is reflected in the subsequent process that concerned the community land entitlement. The *apoderado*'s son explained that after the Agrarian Reform was sanctioned in Huancollo, the community ended up splitting into two groups: “one half is the one my father won, those were the *ex-comunarios* [former community members]; the other part is the one of the *ex-colonos* [former settlers], those who came to work, those who had yielded [to the hacienda system]” (Tiwa18-18: §15). The *apoderado*'s son succinctly resumed what the division entailed for the living relationships of the community,

“there was a certain discrepancy, for they both said: ‘We are from this place!’; and sure, they both were” (Tiwa18-18: §94).

This “discrepancy” was also vividly pointed out by his sister, who I met while surveying the borders the UNESCO declared archaeological area in the *sayaña* that she bought after marrying the former Mallku Cantonal (see Chapter 6.3.1). The *apoderado*’s daughter remembered how the conflicts among the two groups marked the social life of the community:

“This community was split in two. Those who had fought with my father wanted to send the settler workers away, ‘Go to your places because the owners of these places have arrived!’ But it wasn’t possible, so they stayed, settled. [...] They were just fine, but there was always *miramientos* [suspicions, jinx] between them. That’s how it was, Mr. Francisco [*sic*]: since I was a child, there has always been a grudge towards the other side, but now we’re one. [...] This side belonged to the *ex-comunarios*, that side to the *ex-colonos*. They had different titles: those of the other side were gifted by the government, on this side it was a restitution” (Tiwa18-7: §8-9, 21).

The tension behind the implementation of the Agrarian Reform in Huancollo surfaced in the account given by the research participant and community historian who was *Secretario*, that is, the community authority during the time of Sindicalismo. He explained that the origins of the conflict must be traced back to the time of the hacienda when both factions began to organise to recuperate the land grabbed by the *patrón*: “there were discussions, there were authorities, the first general secretaries started to create a strong movement” (Tiwa18-05: §10). Discord arose because of the concession of larger allotments to the *ex-colonos* as a “gift” from the landowner, which the *ex-comunarios* contested when they could return to the community. Thus, the parties confronted each other advancing separate proceedings before the government to have recognition:

“According to the stories of our grandparents, it was a dramatic fight. There was even a clash: one side carried a red flag, the other side carried weapons; the clash was harsh. [...] That was the struggle for the land titles. In addition, the *ex-comunarios* wanted to dispossess those who came to work for the landowner [...] Then the struggle is for the land as much as it is for the land titles. The point was that the settlers had larger plots and the others wanted to fight them back” (Tiwa18-5: §17-23).

The two documents in the image (Figure 7.11) relate to each group’s demands advanced during the Agrarian Reform. On the left, the list of authorities standing for the stakes of those who had returned to Huancollo (the *ex-comunarios*) who

claimed the restitution of the lands grabbed by the landowner. On the right, the opponent claim of the group of those who moved from the nearby communities to serve in the hacienda Huancollo (the *ex-colonos*) who advocated for an inherited right to the land they had worked for the landowner.

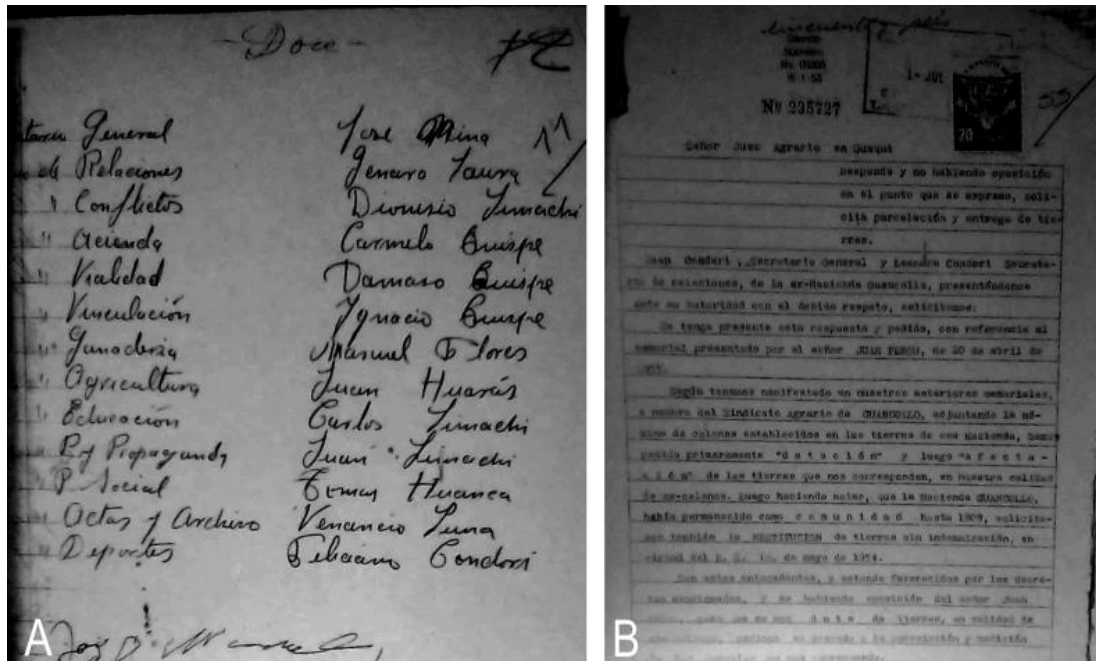


Figure 7.11: Archival documents concerning the Agrarian Reform: a) List of the *secretarios* of the *ex-comunarios* faction; b) Document concerning the demand of the *ex-colonos*. Source: INRA Departmental Archive La Paz, Exp. 1090.

Both groups could rightfully prove their title to the land but following different paths of legitimation. The *ex-comunarios* expressed the political and performative agency of the *caciques apoderados* built on the wider network of alliances with other segments of Bolivian society to restore *ayllu* political subjectivity. The *ex-colonos*, on the contrary, anchored their claims on the exploitation suffered under the hacienda system and were in favour of the restructuration of the community into a cooperative model. However, in both legal proceedings the persons who acted in representation of the collective stakes of each group before the State were named *secretarios* [secretaries].

The differentiated claims are projected onto the arrangements of people and lands as they are represented in two historical maps related to the implementation of the Agrarian Reform in Huancollo (Figure 7.12). The first (a) shows the repartition of the territory of the community proposed by the *ex-colonos*. The date of confection of the map is uncertain due its poor state of conservation in the INRA Departmental Archive, yet it is possible to appreciate the continuity of the spatial

distribution under the hacienda regime. The second map (b), jealously preserved by the *apoderado*'s son who showed it to me, illustrates the territory of the community according to the final allotments repartition following the completion of the reform in 1960, including the differentiate lists of land entitlement for the *ex-comunarios* and *ex-colonos*.

By contrasting the two maps, the peopling of the part of the community on the right shore of the River Tantuyu immediately stands out. The former map follows the vernacular *arriba/abajo* sense of place and presents many toponymic details delimiting the territory of the community (e.g., *Tiji Punku*, *Esquina estación*, *Esquina Achaca*, etc...), which enhance its rootedness in the place. By contrast, these details are absent in the latter map, which follows the legal North, and it is more technically accurate. Such an accuracy inscribed the latter map, and the Agrarian Reform for which it stands, within the modernizing imagination of the *mestizo* nation, by erasing those details from the legal and lived landscape of the community.

The fight between the opposite factions fuelled syndicate unionism as a mean to reach an agreement amongst contradictions. Following the former *Secretario* account, thanks to the intermediation of a prominent figure of the national government this agreement could materialise, and became the corner stone of a space of autonomy in which the State acts as guarantor for the “harmony” of the community:

“That’s why *the ex-comunarios* awarded the minister Ñuflo Chávez with a gold medal to express gratitude for the recuperation of their possessions. So, what do we mean by that? That the *ex-comunarios* returned to their lands for free without doing any work, while the *ex-colonos* stayed, gifted by the landowner for the sacrifice of their work. Since the entitlement, this agreement followed for many years, there’s harmony, the land has already been distributed. The community went forward, the community continued the farming activities. It keeps the name Huancollo, but there are two groups. Then, when they make the authorities, each group makes their authorities. There’s a sharing, there’s a mutual understanding” (Tiwa18-5: §33-41).

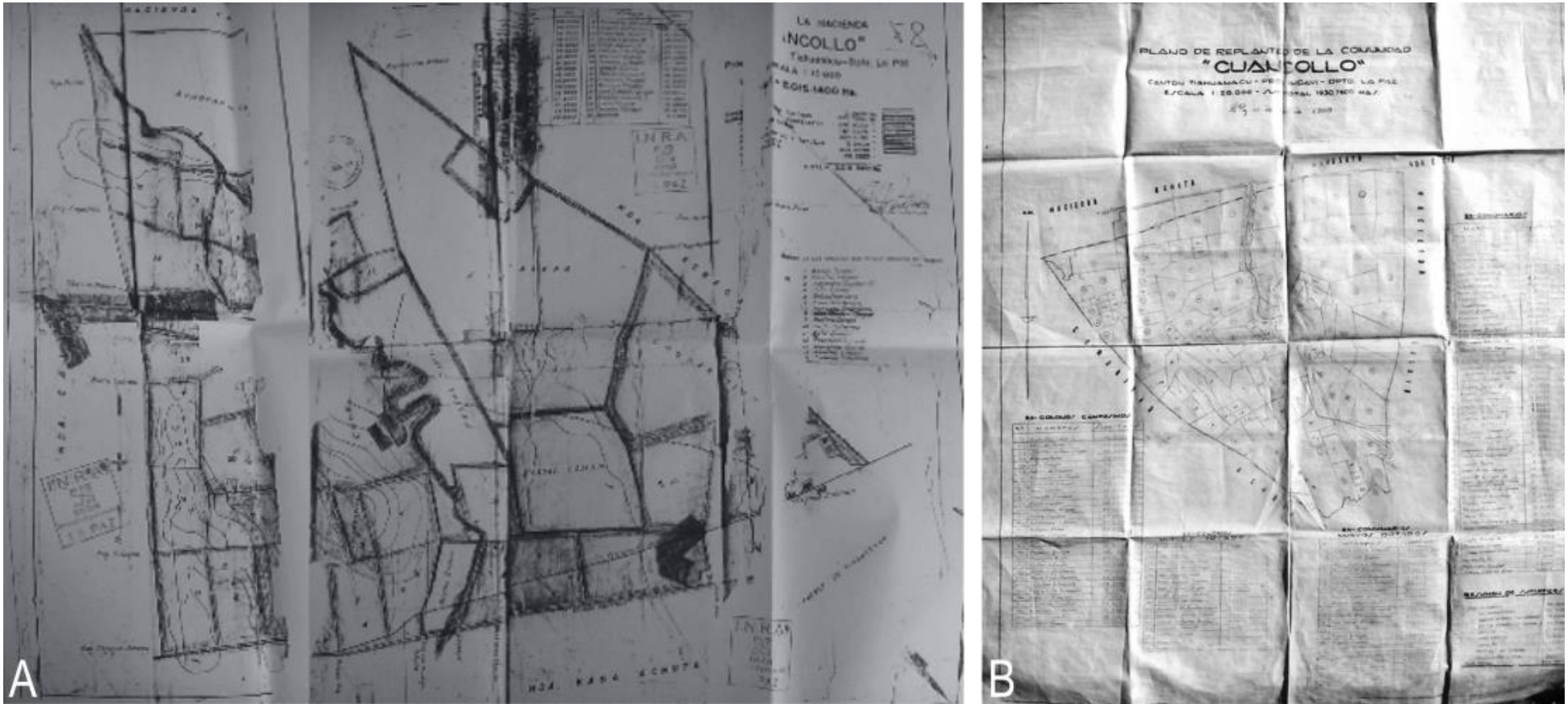


Figure 7.12: a) Archival map showing the proposal for the cooperative restructuring of the community (INRA La Paz/1093, ca. 1953); b) Map of the repartition of sayaña and differentiate "lists" of entitled households (Community archive, 1960).

Beneath the harsh struggles for achieving land entitlement one can grasp the role played by the *sayañas* between the individual interests of each family and the collective aspirations of the community within the context of the reformed 1952 State. The *apoderado*'s daughter with few words was able to convey the persisting importance of kinship relations within the extended sociality of the *ayllu* for the social development of the community as apolitical subject:

“Then, those from that side got married with these from this side; the women went to other side, and from the other side they came as well, so they could not hate each other, don't you see? Because they are already a family, this side with the other side... so the time passed and with the common *saneamiento*, we have become just one” (Tiwa18-7: §22-23).

The following subsection will show how the dynamic and intimate relationships between people and territory became a preferred target of “indigenous development” interventions (see Radcliffe et al., 2009: 30). The memories collected around the construction of the Natural Medicine Hospital bring the centralist form of power of the agrarian union into question, but they also let a major driving force appear toward the reconstruction of the juridical form of the *Ayllu Originario* at the turn of the century.

7.3.2 Equivocations about “working together” and “community work”: The Natural Medicine Hospital

The conversation with the *ex-colono* (Tiwa18-16) occurred in his house built in the communal land close to the *plaza* of Huancollo, where he moves during the dry season from his native *sayaña* located between the hills of Qupallika and Titiri. Once the harvest is done and the forage stockpiled, this seasonal movement enabled his dairy cattle to easy access the contiguous water sources near the river to survive the winter drought. Two milk collection points were built through funding of the Danish international cooperation on the side of the highway that cuts the territory of the *Ayllu* since the mid-1990s (Figure 7.13). At the time of my fieldwork, the *ex-colono* was the responsible for the milk collection point at the edge of Qupallika hill, so it was not unusual to find him there, either making note of the quantity of milk delivered by each member or overseeing the work of the milk company collectors.



Figure 7.13: a) The milk collection point at the foothill of Qupallika, it also works as improvisational bus stop on the highway for waiting or signalling to the drivers of the transport cooperative vehicles serving from Tiahuanaco and La Paz; b) the ex-colono peeks out from the left margin of the picture to control the milk collection; c) A research participant busy with his flock of sheep. May 2018.

Several times I was told that community's livelihood is all about subsistence breeding:

“We make a living just by grazing cattle, we don't work anything [...] Yes, we make a living thanks to the milk we give to the PIL company, then every fortnight they come to buy something, and that's how we live” (Tiwa18-16: §50-52)

“We just live here to subsist life, right? Mostly cattle grazing and we don't earn much money, just to survive, it isn't so much. At least, it's just enough to eat something, but there's nothing to save. This is the experience in countryside” (Tiwa18-15: §6).

“We just fight with the animals. [...] We have to put them to graze, they have to be tied and brought to take water. All day doing that... [...] Sure we fight with the animals here. We bring them, we tie them. Every year the same. We get a bit of milk and take it to the collection point in the mornings as the same as in the evenings. That’s everything we have. That’s my job... I don’t have any job!” (Tiwa18-17: §5-17).

Those breeding practices integrate community life, yet are different from actual “work”, which is defined by the intermediary action of money. This distinction is significant for the *ex-colono*, who insisted on the centrality of “working together” to express the unity of the community after the 1953 Agrarian Reform. For instance, he pointed at the buildings of the church standing in the near plaza: “we made that chapel by working together” (Tiwa18-16: §84). Then, I wondered whether he was somehow speaking about the *ayni* – i.e, the “reciprocal interchange of work or goods among two sides” (Bouysse Cassagne, 1987: 200).

My curiosity triggered the following exchange:

We are forgetting *ayni*, we used to do that for barley harvest. Nowadays we don’t do *ayni* anymore because we can do it by our own. There are reaping machines, we do it by our own. Before when it was by hand, we used to do *ayni*.

F: So now you don’t do it anymore because there are the machines?

That’s right, even to reap. One can finish by his own.

F: Why, is it quicker?

Yes, it’s quicker.

F: Do you think that such a value of the *ayni* is worth retrieving? Or is it useless because of the machines?

Well, we can still do it at times. Two machines work for him on one day, they work for me on the other day. But not so much, just two *ayni*, no more.

F: Is there any practice like *ayni* that helps the community to stay together?

Yes, like this... since there has been the school, there is work for the community, and of course we work together.

F: And what does it mean working together?

That’s the unity, work reunites us.

F: Sure, does it have any political value for you?

Yes, politicians come here. In the occasion of assemblies, they bring their refreshments, and then we support” (Tiwa18-16: §90-104).

The technological improvements in the sphere of agriculture made the work in the field easier but more inclined to sharpen individualism. Yet, the fragment offers a clue to consider farming machinery and *ayni* as not mutually exclusive. In this framework, “working together” conveys the idea of the “constant swaying” (Bouysse Cassagne, 1987: 199–200) igniting the seeking of equality among complementary opponents at the ethical fundament of the *ayni*. The perception of unity according to a dynamic system of reciprocities and obligations converging to a central point – materialised by the negotiating power of “the refreshments” in the final equivocation about the political value of working together – situates the core of the temporality of *Sindicalismo* in the frictional space caused by political movements following different, though connected, channels.

The school is an activator of a time of “working together” also in the former *Secretario*’s recalling of his involvement into the dynamics surrounding the Natural Medicine Hospital (Figure 7.14), partially funded through a development project of the Inter-American Foundation (IAF, 1986)³³: “Syndicalism moved forward, and we achieved a big project, in the 1980s, when I was the General Secretary, we started the work of the Natural Medicine Hospital in the community” (Tiwa18-05: §48). The Hospital became a node joining a diverse range of actors and at different scales, materialising at the intersection of the particular story-tracking of the Ayllu Huancollo with the global agenda of indigenous development: “we coordinated the scientific and natural parts. It’s a very demanding work, but the community could show that in our country, in Bolivia, there is a Natural Medicine Hospital” (Tiwa18-05: §67).

The former *Secretario* stressed the interdependence between different spheres of practice and networks mobilising the interest in enhancing traditional practices and natural medicine. The project took place within the process of revitalisation of local knowledge surrounding the celebrations of the Aymara New Year (Andia Fagalde, 2012: 133–137), and it was endorsed by the renown *yatiri* Rufino Paxhi, also counting with the aid of community members from Huancollo. The former *Secretario*, who integrated that team of “cultural promoters”, insisted that “since we were teaching in Tiahuanaco, it seemed wrong to teach anything else but our

³³ The 1985 IAF Annual Report (1986: 37) informed about a complementary grant for an amount of US\$ 76,210 to the community of Huancollo for “a system to deliver preventive and curative treatments through health education and the use of natural medicine”.

things, so we formed distinct groups: some of us were cultural promoters, others inclined to farming, others to natural medicine, others to train women” (Tiwa18-5: §73).



Figure 7.14: Signpost of the Natural Medicine Hospital, on the international highway La Paz – Desaguadero. May 2018.

However, the money that came from abroad ended triggering further domestic conflicts, which drove the community to split again into two distinct factions:

“There are people who wanted to work, others didn’t. At that time, when I was the General Secretary, those who worked earned a pay for their labour in the Hospital, and those who didn’t work didn’t earn a pay either. [...] Those who didn’t want to work split up because when a big project starts, it’s a commitment, and they didn’t want to work. Yet we did work, we did make the hospital. This costed us another division within the community” (Tiwa18-5: §65, 73).

The tangle of experiences and aspirations attached to the Hospital was brought to the fore also by the *ex-colono*, whose life history has crossed paths with those dynamics. His perspective is more attentive to address the contradictions underlying the project compared to the somewhat grandiloquent account of the former Secretary:

“Which year was that? 1982 or 1983, I think. My uncle [one of Rufino Paxhi closest collaborators] brought a tourist to the community, Melquiades Istori. He taught us courses on natural medicine, so we went up to the mountain looking for plants. He taught us about everything about plants, ‘This plant is called like that, this plant treats this disease. He showed us everything. He said, ‘Why don’t we do a Natural Medicine Hospital?’ We agreed, ‘Yes, let’s do it’ – we said – ‘We can work’. We started; he made a project that was

approved by the FIA [*sic* IFA]. That was North American, it helped us, but we made the building before the project's approval. Then we split-up again. Some people didn't want to work, others did, so that side separated saying, 'We belong to the village of Tiahuanaco!' That side Council of Neighbourhood, this side Syndicate, those who did work; so, we split-up into two. Few of us remained of all those who had started. I worked as a bricklayer; I made the concrete. We didn't even have enough to buy concrete, so we mixed pebble with mud, and we made the concrete. There it is, still standing until now! We made it!" (Tiwa18-16: §228).

As in the earlier version of the story, the community work to build the Hospital ignited another partition within the community, which is explained by addressing the self-identification with the village of Tiahuanaco of those community members who refused to take part in the construction work prompted by the international cooperation funding. However, in the opinion of the *ex-colono*, the funding channel that made possible the implementation of the project started thanks to the accidental arrival of a "tourist" in the community rather than the centralised initiative of the Syndicate.

The work at the Hospital implied a demanding and unpaid labour, a form of work for the collective wealth with nothing in return, if not the "elusive promise" (Engle, 2010) of improving the health system of the community and valorising traditional knowledge. Intrigued by the Macondian figure of a foreign man called Melquiades who comes to a small hamlet bringing with him promises of wonderful futures³⁴, I asked more about his connection with the project:

"He was a tourist, Melquiades Istorí, but he also wanted to take advantage of us. As soon as he arrived, he wanted us to work hard, saying 'If you don't want, I'm going to take [the project] to Oruro, I'm going to leave you. I'm going to bring the army and take it to Oruro'. He bought materials for the roof and motorcycles but took everything away. He lost his traces and we remained just with the roof. Then, they found Melquiades Istorí in Oruro, and he was imprisoned in San Pedro [the main prison of La Paz]. He must be out or dead, or old by now. After that, there was Father Paz Jiménez, who was the parish priest of this community; he is now dead, he oriented us. He said, 'You can do it, I'm going to help you'. They achieved sending the project to the FIA, so they... we have been... we achieved funding and finished with a fine work. There was even a... what is called? To pay for the sick, for patients. It's called *rimo*... remuneration for those who work" (Tiwa18-16: 234-236).

³⁴ In reference to a key character of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by Gabriel García Márquez, a gypsy trader and magician called Melquiades who recurrently visited the fictional village of Macondo, where the novel is set.

In addition to suggesting the coercive nature of Melquiades' intermediation, the excerpt points at the overall subordination in which such a model of "community work" was conceived. The reproducibility of the project in other areas of the country is leveraged as a threat to force people into the work at the service of the community. The salvific intervention of Father Paz Jménez actually reinforces subordination, for it makes manifest the struggles of community members to access the grammar needed to articulate community development aspirations with the requirements of the funding body.

A World Bank working paper on the impact of grassroots organisations in different Bolivian municipalities mentioned that the Natural Medicine Hospital of Huancollo was no longer in function by the date of the survey, lacking any governmental or non-governmental support, but still "maintained by popular health representatives" (World Bank, 1998: 119). It also noticed that the Syndicate model had the massive support of the population in the Municipality of Tiahuanaco, and that this was the only local organisation capable to mediate with NGOs and governmental bodies, yet with little power to mobilize community work or to oversee and control projects (World Bank, 1998: 121–124).

The Hospital is a brilliant node in the fabric of the Ayllu Huancollo inasmuch as it brings the equivocations around the idea of "community work" to the light as these are translated into an argument for indigenous development interventions. Rivera Cusicanqui (1990: 109–115) underscored that the top-down structure of the agrarian union model was functional to the introduction of NGOs-led development projects into community territories during the 1980s. She pointed out a "radical difference" between the mutual principles of exercising *ayllu* authority as a service to the community and the centralised and hierarchical model of the union, which led to an inevitable accumulation of power in the hands of a few. This disjuncture is traceable in the contrast between "community work" and "working together" that was highlighted in this section as distinct yet overlapping ecologies of practice: the former takes the unity of the community for granted and stuck it in a underdeveloped temporality, while the latter implies that such a unity is not a given but comes up through the movements of opposite sides coming together through reciprocity and redistribution.

Standing at the middle of the four territorial zones of the Ayllu, the *plaza* formed by the Hospital and the church is the meeting point where the great part of

community public activities converges (Figure 7.15). A former greenhouse built in the courtyard of the IAF-funded compound of the Natural Medicine Hospital has been refurbished to host the House of the Community, where the assemblies and other social events take place (Swartley, 2002: 110). The Hospital, just as the church and the school, became part of the community heritage, for they all were born out of the swinging tension between “working together” and “community work” that somehow replaced *ayni* in the cosmopolitical practices of the *ayllu*, and which the next section further contributes to unravelling.

7.4 The Time of *Saneamiento*

Thanks to the *saneamiento* [land regularisation], in 2008 the name of the community officially changed into *Ayllu Originario Huancollo*. While the process of land regularisation and decentralisation started with the Ley INRA/1996, its full implementation occurred within the framework of the politics of decolonisation and territorial autonomy driven by the coming to power of Evo Morales' government in 2005 (see Chapter 5.3).

The research participant who I have decided to pseudo-anonymise as *ex-colono* cleverly summarised a main point that this chapter is trying to grasp, namely the juxtaposition between the extended sociality of the *ayllu* and the changing legal frameworks, which he epitomised by the respective heads of State: “V́ctor Paz Estenssoro gave the land and reconciled *ex-comunarios* and *ex-colonos*. Now the last [land entitlement] was thanks to Evo. Now we are already together; we've become just one single community and we raised another title” (Tiwa18-16: §70).

Another main participant in the ethnographic work carried out in Huancollo, whom we came to know as the former *Secretario*, tidily addressed the interplay between Indigenous and State histories, making them converge into the meaningful action of “changing the community stamps” that followed the update of the list of community members entitled to a family plot [*sayaña*]: “Since then, we've become *originarios* [native] ... it's no longer the Community of Huancollo but the *Ayllu Originario Huancollo*” (Tiwa18-5: §61-63).

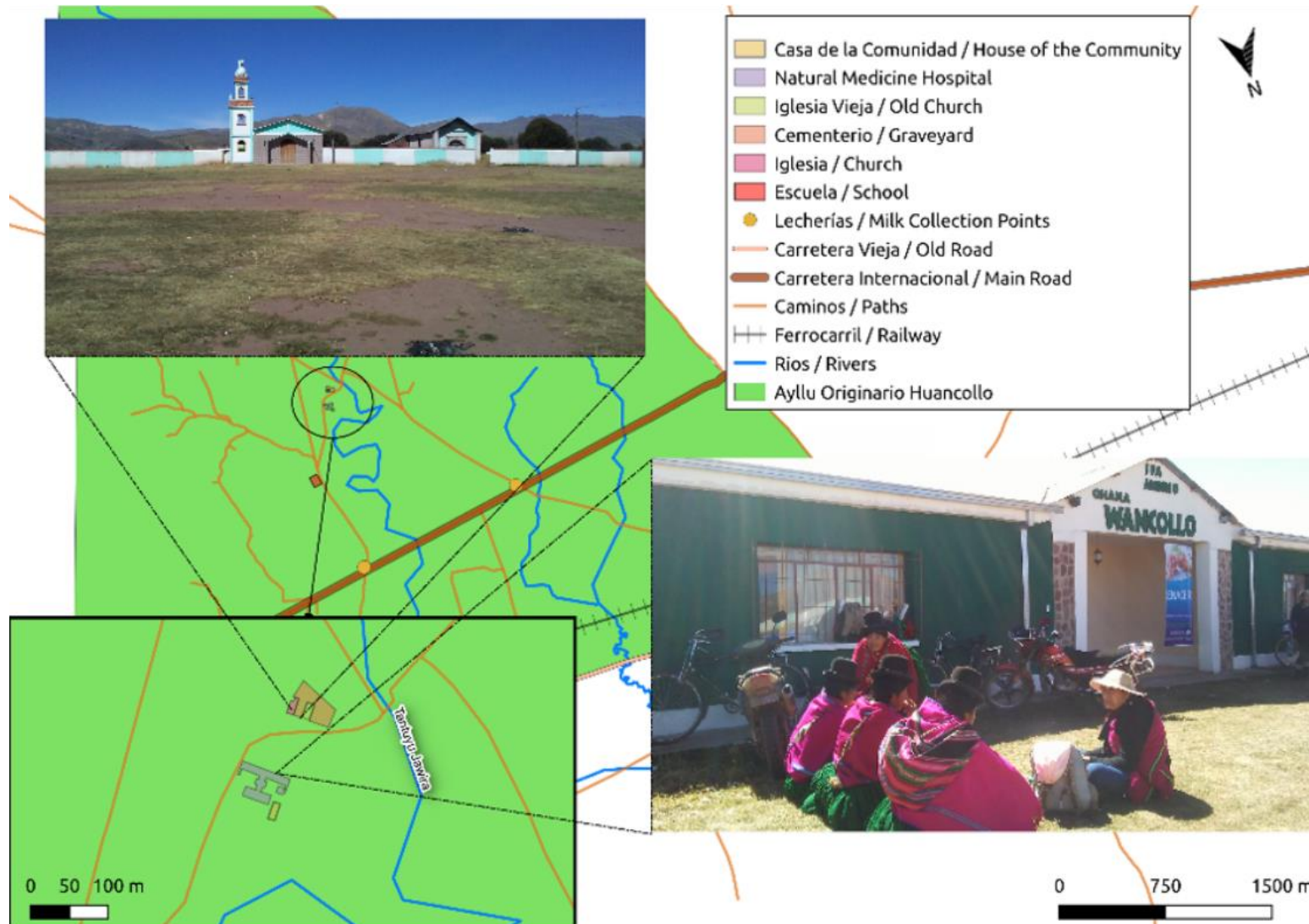


Figure 7.15: Illustrated map of the main features in the plaza of Huancollo: a) the church with the attached graveyard; b) the Natural Medicine Hospital. May 2018.

These historical contingencies appeared as a conciliatory as much as radical turnover. The *apoderado*'s son was serving as authority in the CACOT at the time of the land regularisation and he oversaw the full process concerning Huancollo and the other seven communities of the Municipality of Tiahuanaco pioneering native land titling in Bolivia. He insisted on the intertwining of legal, social, and technical matters driving the process. Firstly, the urgency to update the tenancy of the land is related to the instruments that had been employed at the time of the 1953 Agrarian Reform:

“They measured the properties with ropes and steps, so the title was not coincident with the actual surface, there was a variation of one to two hectares. When we started the new process in 2005, we aimed at regularising what the title says on the surface; or the surface to be the same as in the title” (Tiwa18-18: §19).

This technical adjustment is overall functional to the purpose of reinforcing community members' properties, individually as households and collectively as *ayllu*: “With this process of regularisation we erased the distinction between *ex-comunarios* and *ex-colonos* [...] The community is legally the *Ayllu Originario Huancollo* and we're all natives. That distinction died” (Tiwa18-18: §31-33). Another concise comment from the *ex-colono* hits the nail on the head as to the extended sociality with the land that characterises the spatial and temporal relations of the *ayllu* in terms of kinship obligations: “It's changed now, our parents have been set aside” (Tiwa18-16: §80).

The stories attached to the Natural Medicine Hospital earlier anticipated the critical articulation of the contemporary past of the *Ayllu Huancollo* with the global ethnodevelopment paradigm. During the time of *saneamiento*, Tiwanaku's heritage-making practices and the experiences of community members of Huancollo in archaeological practice are at the centre of attention. Archaeology became entangled with rural development and provided a space to translate and reconfigure emotional and legal bonds between people, ruins, and other “storyplaces”. Then, an ethnographic vignette of the Feast of the Crosses will make an attempt to convey the agglutinating power of *kena-kena*, the music performed on that occasion, to further stress the extended sociality of the *ayllu* as an identifiable polity in relation to cosmopolitical practices. Finally, the persistence and changes of the collective uses of the land and the cyclical authority system within the framework of the *usos y costumbres*, i.e. *ayllu*

customary law, which shows the importance of linking memories and aspirations to ground the vernacular practice of Indigenous rights.

7.4.1 Archaeological encounters and storyplaces

At the beginning of the 1990s, the community of Huancollo was the target of a rural development project aimed at improving crop production through the cultivation of experimental *suka kullus* [raised fields]³⁵. The project had the general goal of retaining people migration and providing a sustainable alternative to territorial development (Swartley, 2002: 16). Swartley (2002: 79–80) described with a wealth of detail, measurements and ethnographic observations the experimental archaeology premises beneath this development project, which ultimately aimed at probing the hypothesis of the centralised nature of the prehispanic State of Tiwanaku founded on the control of the workforce needed to support such an intensive agricultural system.

The project is an example of the burgeoning links between archaeology and sustainable development inspired by participatory ethos, cultural appropriateness, and market integration. Swartley (2002: 90–100) argued that those archaeological representations and experimental findings coincidentally legitimised the essentialisation of both native identity and farming system. The outcome of these interactions is what the author branded the “invention of indigenous technology” (Swartley, 2002: 81)³⁶. She considered that:

“Raised field agriculture keeps rural ‘Indians’ working on their farms and maintains their ‘Indianess’, particularly as it is viewed in connection to the land, to pre-Hispanic history, and to the idealized image of indigenous peoples as protoecologists. The raised fields ‘contained’ the indigenous Aymara speaking farmers by keeping them on their farms” (Swartley, 2002: 160).

³⁵ The raised fields project was also funded by the IAF and implemented in the field with the technical assistance of the Netherlands' international cooperation and the Fundación Wiñaymarka. This NGO linked archaeology and development in the Bolivian side of the Lake Titicaca Basin, for it was created and directed by the archaeologist Oswaldo Rivera, former Director of the archaeology governmental office and collaborator of Alan Kolata's *Wila Jawira* Project (Swartley, 2002: 24).

³⁶ Alluding to Hobsbawm's foundational work on the reshaping of memory and costumes for the sake of nation-state imagination, but also to Escobar's (1995: 23) use of “invention” to address the spread of the global development paradigm because of the discursive manufacturing of the “war against poverty”.

The definitive abandonment of the raised fields proved the “inevitable failure” (after Ferguson, 1990: 8; cfr. Swartley, 2002: 159–161) in terms of persuading Huancollo’s peasants to accept the image of native farmers manufactured by archaeologists and development planners. Swartley (2002: 147–153) considered that the “invention” of traditional Andean values, such as reciprocity and mutual aid, was at odds with the time investment required for the maintenance and cultivation of the raised fields, and she found that it was too onerous compared to the time involved in farming regular dry fields, and/or with the accessibility of waged employment in the city.

The raised field project has fallen into neglect, after being abandoned in the field. Conversely to the Natural Medicine Hospital, this experience did not leave record in the memories collected in Huancollo, despite several community-members taking part in the archaeological surveys and excavations integrating the associated *Wila Jawira* Project³⁷. The only exception is an indirect hint provided by the *apoderado*’s son while examining the map of the Agrarian Reform: he mentioned that in a collective plot located halfway between the House of the Community and the school, just in a bend of the River Tantuyo, “they wanted to do something, but it turned out to be a pond” (Tiwa18-18: §204). Although nothing remains in the surface, the location coincides with the information supplied by Swartley (2002: 130). Furthermore, a comparative outlook with the rehabilitated *suka kullus* of La K’araña through satellite imagery confirms this suggestion (Figure 7.16). A deeper significance to the allusion to the “pond” can be found in its capacity to inhibit development, for archaeologists and technicians failed to see it even before than assessing it as a potential risk.

³⁷ The limited range of research participants partially explains this trend. However, the direct involvement of the *apoderado*’s son in the raised fields project is confirmed for he is acknowledged as Swartley’s research assistant (Swartley, 2002: xi).

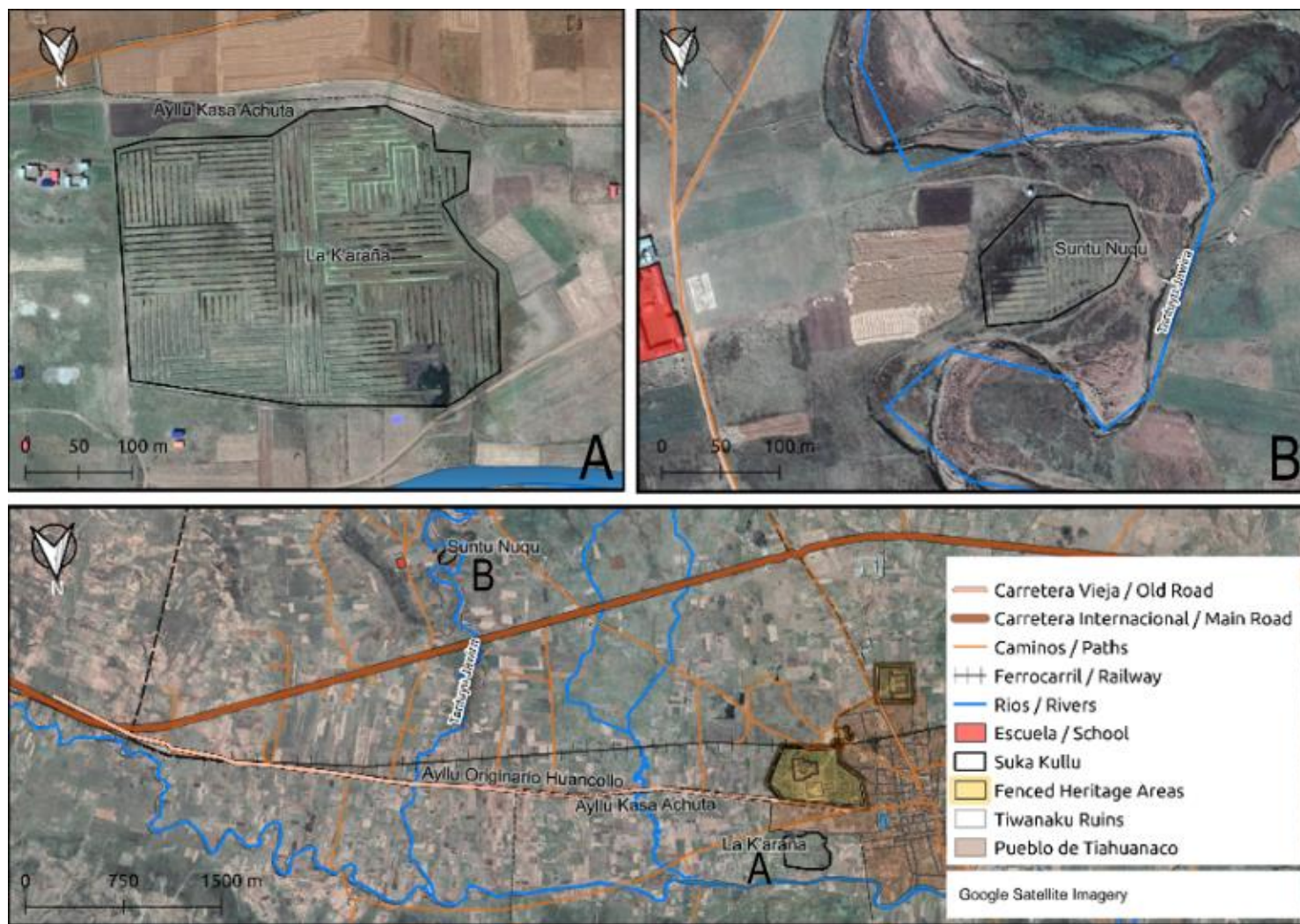


Figure 7.16: Map showing a comparison between the rehabilitated raised fields of La K'araña in the Ayllu Kasa Achuta (a) and the possible location of the experimental raised fields in the communal land called Suntunuqu in Huancollo (b).

An ethnography of archaeology carried out by Leighton (2016: 743) in the territory of Huancollo focused on the disagreements caused by labour dynamics during an excavation. She looked at the long-term collaboration between archaeologists and the community as it developed into “a hybrid form of scientific labor that is characterized by the ongoing process of negotiating, bargaining, and compromising” (Leighton, 2016: 749). The archaeologists tolerated the rotative repartition of jobs according to community households as an ethical compromise against a form of traditional organisation for the highest purpose of interpreting the material record of the past discovered through the excavation. Conversely, in Leighton’s (2016: 748) opinion, community authorities, *maestros*, and field technicians circumscribed the purpose of the archaeological practice to the “plentiful supply of well-paid jobs, with as many families benefiting financially as possible”.

The author insisted that was not the case for a general lack of interest in archaeological findings, for the locals can aptly transfer this kind of information into handcrafted replicas or guide-speech for tourism purposes; yet, she quite pretentiously argued that from community collaborators’ perspective “economic authority is a more pressing concern than epistemic authority” (Leighton, 2016: 750).

The words of the *apoderado*’s son bring me to partially contrast with this view, for he mentioned that collaborating in archaeological works helped locals with a source of professional training “to expand knowledge” (Tiwa18-18: §60). The disagreement between community internal structure and labour organisation in archaeology or development interventions, which both Leighton (2016) and Swartley (2002) pointed out, certainly concerns the spheres of economy, ethics, and social organisation, but also the diverging ways of relating to the objects of the intervention, being they archaeological artefacts or cultural landscapes. As far as heritage-making and Indigenous land issues are concerned, “success may be differently assessed” (Herrera, 2015: 47) depending on whether these objects and places are associated to a crystalised past or to the evolving flow of social relations and mutual obligations between people and land.

Since the beginning of state-led intervention into the conservation of the monumental heritage of Tiwanaku (see Chapter 4.2), archaeological practice has had a major impact on the social and territorial development of the Ayllu

Originario Huancollo. A ruined signpost of the DINAAR is a signature in the landscape of memories attached to the continued affection of authorised heritage-making processes in the territory (Figure 7.17). When I pointed it to an elder woman who lived right behind the invisible boundary marked by the signal, she retold that “the former owner sold his land to the ruins” at the time of the hacienda, and now what is left is the “*lakayita*” – the ruined walls of the adobe house – “that is the rightful owner of the land” (Tiwa18-4: §46). In so doing, she confronted me with an entwined ruination happening in the frictional zone between contrasting regimes of property.



Figure 7.17 a) The signpost of the former National Direction of Archaeology that marks the limits of the non-fenced heritage area of Mollu Kuntu; b) The ruined building of the house standing right outside of the fenced heritage area and possibly belonged to “the man who sold his land to the ruins”. May 2018.

The pyramid of Akapana belonged to Huancollo until it was absorbed in the jurisdiction of the village of Tiahuanaco due to the lack of written legal titles (see Condori Chura and Ticona Alejo, 1992: 30). A *mallku tayka* of Huancollo, to whom I spoke during the preliminary fieldwork, recalled her childhood when the archaeological area had been not yet fenced off and people “used to have celebrations up there, there used to be a fair in Akapana up there, but over time it has been fenced off, it has been closed down” (Orlandi, 2016: 20). The *apoderado*’s son confirmed that the territory of Huancollo once extended into the archaeological area that was later declared as heritage property of the State, but he also wanted to remark that *Mollo Kontu* – one of the three areas designed as worthy of international protection by UNESCO – still belongs to the *ayllu* and “it will be always protected as archaeological area” (Tiwa18-18: §172; see below

7.3.3) as to prevent the transfer of jurisdictional administration to the village of Tiahuanaco or the interference of the other communities of the CACOT.

A recent remote-sensing mapping conducted by UNESCO technicians reinforced the urgency to redesign the buffer zone around the main archaeological areas of Tiwanaku in concert with the surrounding communities, and especially with Huancollo because most of the investigations took place on its territory in the area of Mollu Kontu (Figure 7.18). This study revealed a complex palimpsest of archaeological features, including the probable use of the ponds scattered in the area as structural elements of animal-shaped geoglyphs predating the phase of major development of the monumental core (Gallego Revilla and Pérez González, 2018: 121–125; Iglesias Kuntz, 2018). Archaeological scholarship (see e.g. Albarracin-Jordan, 1996: 203; Janusek and Kolata, 2004) usually associated those ponds to sunken basins known as *qochas*, which supported intensive agriculture, fishing and camelid herding.

At the edge of the current established buffer zone, I could talk to a man who had a lengthy career participating in archaeological campaigns that culminated in his designation as *maestro*. He raised the historical connection between Tiwanaku and the ponds in other terms. He stated that these water sources are vestiges of “the soil that was used to build the Akapana” (Tiwa18-17: §300). For the former *maestro*, the physical and temporal continuity of the *qochas* with the ruined pyramid of Akapana intertwines with the cyclical inflow of rainwater that gradually filled in these cavities; a slow process that eventually enabled the practice of animal breeding and stretching contiguity of this material assemblage with the very social fabric of the *ayllu* in the present.

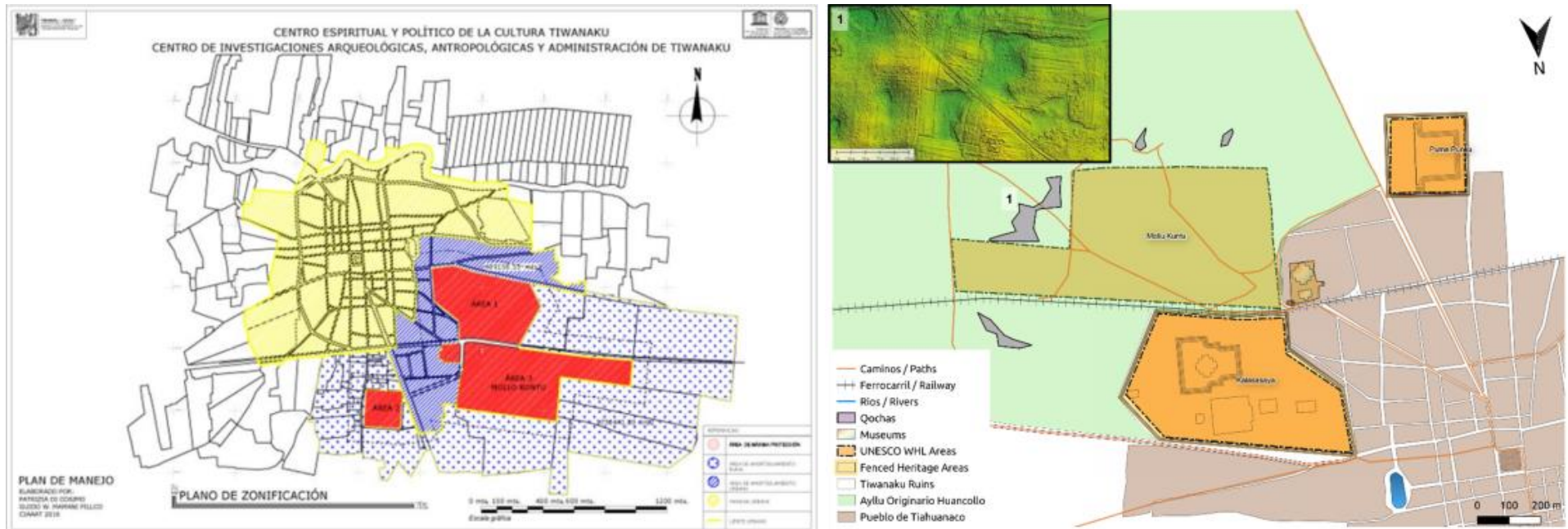


Figure 7.18: On the left, proposed redefinition of the UNESCO buffer zone, the dotted area surrounding the areas 1 and 3 Mollo Kontu corresponds to the territory of Huancollo (Source: CIAAAT, 2016: 239); On the right, map showing the qochas surrounding the monumental centre and detail (1) of the geoglyph identified by the UNESCO experts in correspondence of the pond locally known as “The Ducks Lagoon” (Image credit: Gallego Revilla and Pérez González, 2018: 123 Figure 69). The topographic and archaeological data stemming from the recent remote-sensing survey would seem to agree with the local knowledge according to which the name Tiwanaku is the castellan transliteration of *‘thia wañaku’* [the dry shore] (see below). According to the UNESCO experts (see Gallego Revilla and Pérez González, 2018: 140), the area around Puma Punku is very likely to be part of an ancient quayside linked to the Lake Titicaca coastline, which would give rise to a slightly modification of its name into *Uma Punku*, meaning “the gate of the water”.

However, this socio-material compound overlaps with the state-regulated field of heritage production, which upholds on the translation of those same elements highlighted by the former *maestro* into archaeological data, subsistence farming, and environmentally protective restrictions to deploy an authorised regime of individual property and exploitation of the land. The interplay of antagonistic regimes of heritage and property appears in the memories of the archaeological work that the former *maestro* experienced during his career:

“I started in the years 1970s, just as wheelbarrow pusher. Those guys pickaxed feverishly, 40x40 meters they used to dig. Where now stands the Ponce monolith, it used to be all covered by soil. Those years they discovered it, by the 1960 they started. I was still a young assistant – ‘wheelbarrow pusher’ they called it. That’s where I’m coming from” (Tiwa18-17: §204-212)

On that occasion he saw a platoon of soldiers sent to hasten the excavation under the authoritarian command of Ponce Sanginés and his chief archaeologist Cordero Miranda so as to leave space for the tourist-archaeological complex that the whole nation didn't even know it was dreaming of. He retold with a grimace of disgust that “they were cleansing there, the strongest they did was 5x5 meters, a square like that, but they dug the soil directly into a truck and took it away” (Tiwa18-17: §236-243). The harshness of that practice contrasts with his experience when he was promoted to the role of *maestro*, and later travelling across the country to participate in other archaeological campaigns:

“Then in 1987 I was promoted to *maestro*. That was already a modern way of performing an excavation, not as brutish as before. Because there you can get necklaces, arrowheads, you know? Then, when we sifted, everything that came out was beautiful” (Tiwa18-17: §213).

Archaeology gave him employment until 2009; thereafter he complained that the only business he has left is with animal breeding (see above 7.3.2). He regretted having been excluded from the allocation of available work shifts in the controversial Akapana Pyramid restoration project (see Chapter 5.3.2), and mocked those who were hired “just to play with straws and refill with adobe every hole they see... They’re just changing the walls; they don’t dig anything! There are no more *maestros*, many of them are dead” (Tiwa18-17: §272).

The crucial role played by the *maestros* in the crafting of a vernacular epistemology concerning archaeological facts surfaces in relation to the accuracy

of methods and instruments employed in the excavation of burial settings to avoid damaging human remains; otherwise, he exclaimed, “we would have killed the human bone!” (Tiwa18-17: §244). In addition to the sophisticated expertise in the excavation of some of the most fragile fragments of any archaeological intervention, he recalled “the strong and very dangerous smells” emanating from the hole as soon as it is dug: “They intoxicate you and make you suddenly want to fight [...] That happens when we dig out human bone” (Tiwa18-17: §192, 197).

Yet, he knew the remedy is to take a sip of pure alcohol and he proudly recalled the work of persuasion to include this practice in the course of a regular scientific excavation, despite the vain grumbles of the foreign archaeologist on duty:

“He already knew! ‘Mr. John you need to get one of this!’ And he always brought. And I sorb a bit, and he says, ‘You are not going to drink that!’ ‘Yes, sure’, and I drink and with that I am fine again, and I can keep working. That happens as digging is hard business. That’s how we used to work in the ruins” (Tiwa18-17: §199-201).

The former *maestro*’s experience enables sharpening Leighton’s (2015: 80; 2016: 748) argument about the underestimation of local epistemic authority in archaeological community-based knowledge. In fact, the role of *maestro* means recognising and dealing with what exceeds the strictly disciplinary concern of archaeology. This is no small matter, for it implies that archaeology enmeshed into the broader politics of the *ayllu* (Figure 7.19). In these terms, the “dangerous smells” come to represent an overlooked quality of the archaeological assemblage, which the *maestros* are able to detect and orient toward the required practices to extend *ayllu* kinship relations by means of the reciprocal obligations between people and land.

Performed before undertaking the archaeological work, the act of drinking and sprinkling alcohol onto the ground – *ch’alla* – brings together the same material evidence of archaeology while keeping this practice partially connected with other socio-cultural settings of community life, such as during the *q’uwancha* performed at the starting of the agricultural season to propitiate a good yield. This knowledge is necessary to archaeological practice as much as the methods and instruments provided by disciplinary traditions. What differs is precisely the epistemic framework in which the action occurs: while the objects discovered by the

archaeologists cannot “smell”, or if they do that is not relevant for elicitation, the *ch’alla* let beings emerge in relation to their sensory and material attributes.



Figure 7.19: a) A cow tethered to a stone known as Tiwanakota for it presents a side decorated with an ancient motif; b) Detail of the engraving of the Tiwanakota stone. May 2018.

The former *maestro* recalled another event that needed the intervention of a *ch’alla*. This happened when a lightning hit his house, forcing him to build a new one because “when you walked nearby you get sick: your head aches or something is going to happen to you” (Tiwa18-17: §116). He was recommended to perform a *ch’alla* at the point where the lightning struck as a sign that “you must not step on it anymore; something makes you sick” (Tiwa18-17: §325). He handled the unforeseen event by turning the site of the accident into a “sacred place” where he used to regularly pay offering to Pachamama – *wax’ta* (Figure 7.20). In the same vein, by performing the *ch’alla* before engaging in archaeological work, the *maestro* communed this practice with the customary notion of “walking with faith” (Tiwa18-17: §136), which means to know the dangers of the territory and handle them accordingly; for instance, “taking precautions” (Tiwa18-17: §61) in choosing the right pasture to graze the cattle, according to the quality of the texture, the seasonality of rainfall, or the intensity of the frost.



Figure 7.20: The vestiges of the house that the former *maestro* told it was hit by a lightning and now he uses as the setting for paying an offer up to Pachamama. May 2018.

The ponds that the former *maestro* associated with the construction of the Akapana are revealed in a new light through the seasonal regime of water inflow, which ultimately defines whether the pasture can be used to feed the cattle. The bare grasslands that extend on the right shore of the Tantuyo River are another source of danger for both people and animals. A community elder shared this concern. I met him outside his family house, nearby the river, and he listed the *qochas* surrounding the archaeological areas of Tiwanaku, as well as other water sources scattered throughout the territory of the community, among the “storyplaces” of the *ayllu* (Figure 7.21). He explained what that means to me by referring to the memory of his father-in-law, who first told him that those are places that “hold a story” and to which one shall not get close: “Even nowadays when an animal or someone falls into, that place always eats, it kills, or one gets sick, and dies” (Tiwa18-8: §6).

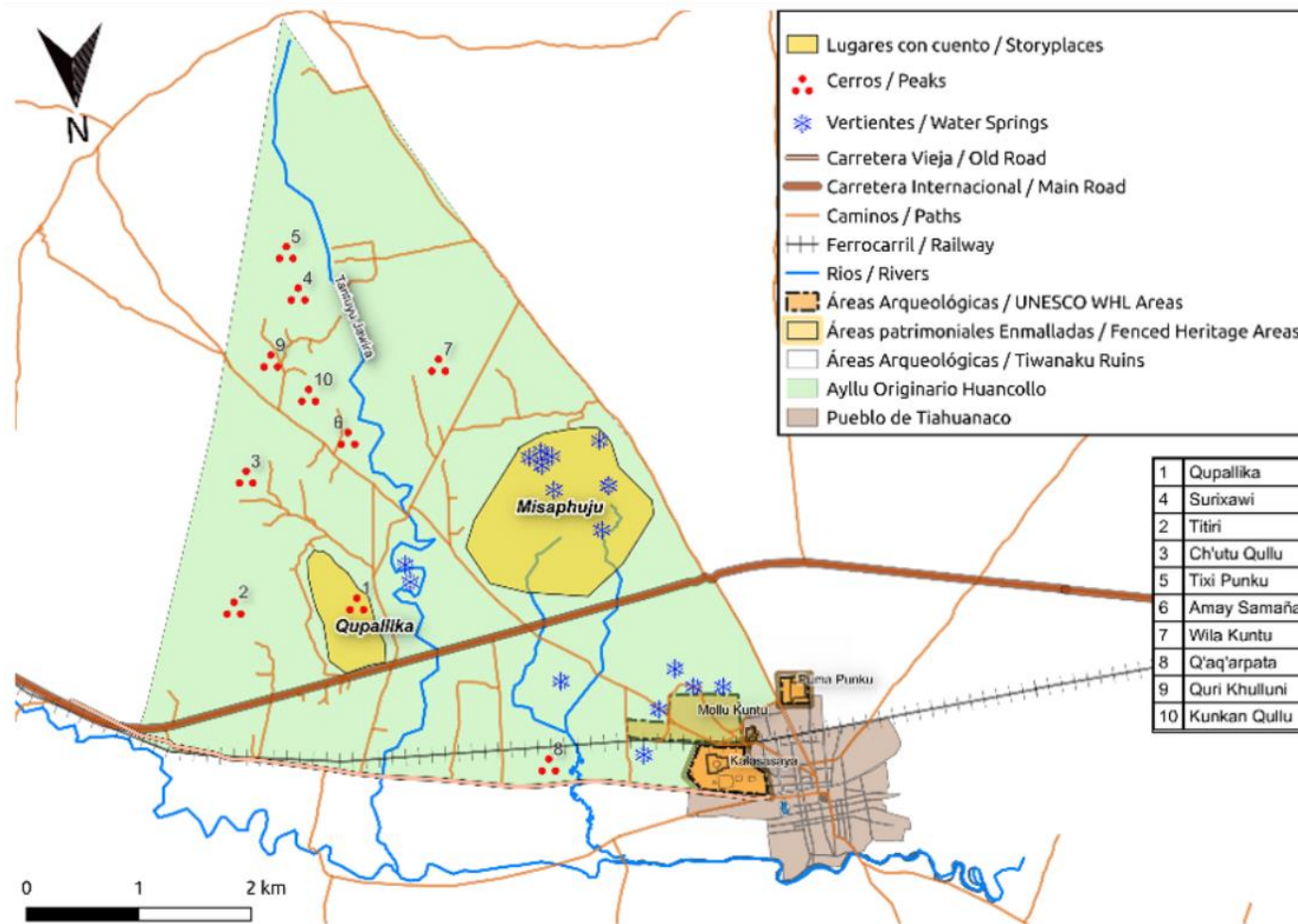


Figure 7.21: Map showing the storyplaces identified in the Ayllu Huancollo.

These stories related to water sources and other dangerous places make them “have a name”: *Misaphuqu* is the name given to the grasslands extending at the south of Tiwanaku, while *Suntunuqu* is called the floodplain that appears seasonally on the bends of the Tantuyo River. Interestingly, there was the community plot chosen for the experimental community *suka kullus* rehabilitation project according to the working hypothesis presented at the beginning of this section. The reference of the *apoderado*'s son to the pond inhibiting the successful deployment of the project may thus be stressing an underneath connection with the collective memory of the hazardous nature of these water sources in the living landscape of the community.

The advice of not letting cattle drink constantly from the ponds of *Misaphuju* (Figure 7.22) returns in the testimony of the only young community member of Huancollo with whom I was able to record an interview during the fieldwork. The allocated household plot of his family was right in the middle of the grasslands, and he gave a vivid account of the hazards related to the water sources, since these are “kind of sacred: a cow can fall, get sick and eventually die” (Tiwa18-3: §4). The young community member advanced an explanation relying on the local knowledge that points at the bare alluvial plain as the “place where water begins” and which tangibly becomes evident as soon as the reservoirs reduce water capacity and “the remains of the sea appeared, the sand of the beach” (Tiwa18-3: §2). This evidence aligns with “the very name of Tiwanaku, as our grandparents used to say, it comes from ‘*thia wañaku*’ [the dry shore], that is, the seashore was more or less where these places are” (Tiwa18-3: §2).

The stories linked to *Misaphuju* in the detailed testimony of the young community member quickly reveal a hidden and unexpected protagonist in the shape of an entity called *antahualla*: “it’s like a flashing light that sometimes appear, and you can go there and fall badly” (Tiwa18-3: §10). The *apoderado*'s daughter, whose *sayaña* is found on the other side of the international highway splitting the grasslands in two parts, illustrated extensively and effectively the power of the *antahualla* in the rugged waterscape of *Misaphuju*:

“That side is called *Misaphuju*, there are twelve hollows from which water springs come, but not even the cattle can approach there because they can fall into. It’s deep and small and cows get lost in there. We must be careful [...] A family party was happening on that side one night, and something like a star appeared; it is called *antahualla*. This light came from one side and

hit a man, who had been drinking and went out to urinate. It took him to *Misaphuju* and made him get lost. They were looking for him the next morning and found him dead in *Misaphuju* [...] You can't be too careful, because the *antahualla* is there; do you get it? It shines at night and blinds you. Once the *antahualla* almost hit me, since there wasn't electric light at that time, and I almost got blind. You must fear that at night if you want to walk safe here. That's what it is" (Tiwa18-7: §84-96).



Figure 7.22: One of the ponds of the Misaphuju floodplain. May 2018.

The feeling of danger in connection with the lived landscape grounds vernacular heritage-making practices in terms of cosmopolitics, meshing the external inputs that affect the local sense of place into fluid socio-material circumstances, which Swartley (2002: 160) too hastily addressed as the essentialised portrait of a planned cultural “invention”. The Qupallika hill (Figure 7.23) is the best example of the continuous process of updating traditions and adding information through which the customary and unwritten politics of the *ayllu* takes over the modern logics of heritage and ownership. As the *ex-colono* told me about *Qupallika* compared to the ruins of Tiwanaku: “It’s the same as this... like a heritage, because people go there and pray for water when it doesn’t rain; they go up there, fasting” (Tiwa18-16: §138).



Figure 7.23: The flattened and lengthened elevation of the Qupallika hill in the landscape of the Ayllu Huancollo. May 2018.

Other factors intervened across time to stress the importance of the hill for the *ayllu*: the naming of the local football team after Qupallika and the Virgen de Asunción, the patron saint of the community, or the building of a water tank at the top of the hill to collect water and distribute to the households by taking advantage of the slope. The former *Secretario* also recalled the importance of *Qupallika* for the origins of the celebration of the Aymara New Year:

“The religion began in the community. The celebration of the 21st of June, the Andean-Amazonian New Year as they called it now, started in the community with the offering at our community sacred site on top of Qupallika hill. Thereafter we performed a *wax'ta* in the Hospital to ask Mother Earth for permission, then the pilgrimage to Tiwanaku, to receive the first sunbeams at the Kalasasaya Temple. It firstly started in our community, then became popular within other communities and promoted to tourists” (Tiwa18-5: §75-79).

Another characterising feature of Quapallika is the flat and narrow top, which spread the belief that it was a sort of “extra-terrestrial airport”. As it was mentioned in the first section of the chapter, an elderly woman told the story of a battle against the community of Achaca to convey the importance of the place called Qupallika within *ayllu* relations (Tiwa18-12@: §70-72). Her nephew was acting as interpreter and was so excited to listen to the story of Qupallika that forgot to translate it back to me for a moment. After asking him for a clue to grasp what the story was about, he replied with admiration: “*Qupallilka* is a powerful person” – and as a complement to his aunt’s story – “I also know that it was an extra-terrestrial airport, according to our ancestors’ legacies” (Tiwa18-12@: §78). An unexpected outcome of frictional heritage-making practices, just like the pseudo-archaeological reputation of Tiwanaku (see Encinas and Di Cosimo, 2017; Vranich, 2006: 133), overlapping and coexisting with pre-existent, powerful storyplaces.

7.4.2 Goodbye to the green: The Feast of the Crosses in Huancollo

Throughout this section, it has been argued that a significant feature to visualise the time of *Saneamiento* is the ontological disagreement surrounding heritage-making practices. In so doing, the excesses of interpretation triggered by archaeological or ethnodevelopment interventions are displayed within the relational framework of cosmopolitical commitments that tangle community and territory into the defined polity of the *ayllu*. The performative inscription of these practices into the spatial and temporal continuity of the Ayllu Huancollo can be appreciated through an illustrated vignette of the Feast of the Crosses (Figure 7.24).

On the 2nd of May I could get in contact for the first time with the former *Secretario*. He agreed to meet at the *plaza* of the village of Tiahuanaco once he returned from Taraco, where he worked in the local Municipality as Cultural and Tourism Delegate. I arrived there with my friend Nives, a Swiss writer who moved to Tiahuanaco a long time ago for she was “gripped in a dream by the Gateway of the Sun”. We sat on a bench under the steely canopy, which nowadays stands at the centre of the *plaza* but used to be a shelter for the ruins during the French archaeological mission at the dawn of the 20th century, and we were wondering whether that was the reason why the design of such a fine example of modernist infrastructure was attributed to Gustave Eiffel.

The former *Secretario* arrived with a shared taxi. It was not difficult to find us since we were the only two *gringos* nearby. Talking with my friend, with whom he was already acquainted, the *Secretario* remembered the archaeologists with whom he had worked, and his role in the Union of Archaeology Workers of Tiwanaku (see Chapter 5.3.2). Once I could finally step in and introduce my research, his attention was caught by the links between heritage matters and inter-generational exchanges of knowledge and practice. He remarked on the importance of music to this pedagogical dimension and invited us to attend the Feast of the Crosses in Huancollo that same evening for he was in charge of performing the traditional *Kena Kena* that year.

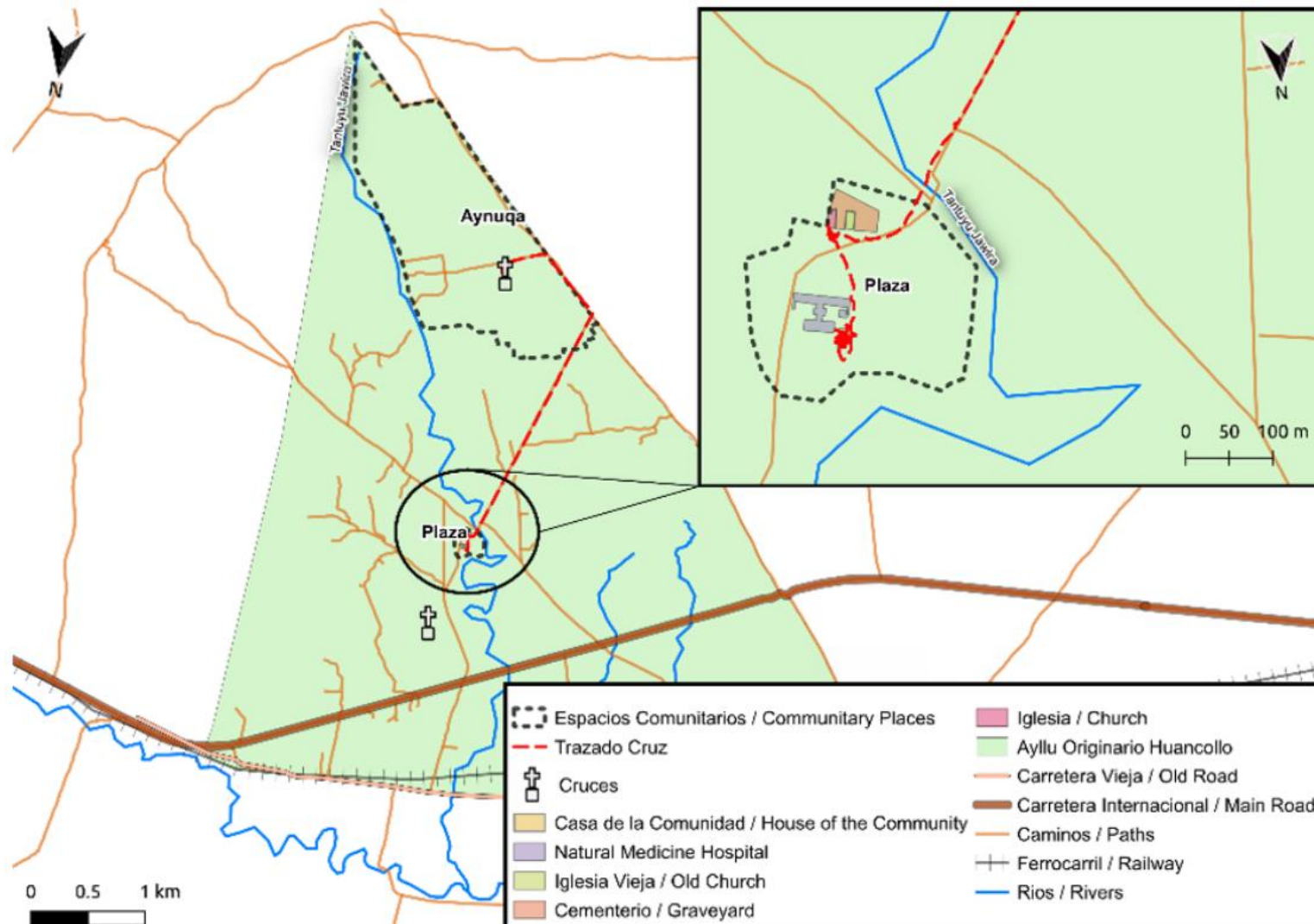


Figure 7.24: Map showing the principal settings of the Fiesta de las Cruces [Feast of the Crosses].

The meeting point was at the *plaza* of Huancollo, but I could not find any transport to commute to the community in time, and nobody was waiting there. I went to the Natural Medicine Hospital in search of help. Luckily, Don Juan was there doing some cleaning work. He told me that everyone else was already gone: a group went to Qupallika, another to the *aynuqa* [collective land] where the two crosses of the *ayllu* are placed. Each cross refers to a *Campu Kamani*, who are the authorities that oversee the good maintenance of the fields. In contrast to the red and black poncho of the *mallkus*, they wear green attires.

Don Juan drove me close to the *aynuqa* on his motorbike since he was on his own way home. I got off the motorbike and walked through the fields toward the thin trail of smoke marking the place of the ceremony (Figure 7.25). The *mallkus* and *mallkus taykas* were arranged in a semicircle: the women were sitting on a side, the men were standing on the other, and in the middle was the *aguayo* [blanket] where I deposited a handful of coca leaves and sweeties for sharing. They had already burnt the *wax'ta*, and what left was a smouldering pile of ashes next to the mound where the wooden cross stood, adorned with flowers and green straws.

The fire started to light while the sun goes down behind the mountains. The *Jilir Mallku Tayka* distributed sweeties and beers among the participants. After a while, the former *Secretario* arrived together with three other musicians. They unsheathed the flutes and a drum, and after generous sips of pure alcohol, began playing the [Kena Kena](#).

Between chats, drinks, cigarettes, and *pijchadas* [chewing coca leaves], other people arrived while the musicians kept playing. During the music breaks, people took the floor to say words of thanks for the farming year that was finishing its cycle on that day. When it got dark, the *Campu Kamani* took the wooden cross off the mound; accompanied by music, everyone got on board the vehicles parked nearby. The *Jilir Mallku* invited me to join him in his van. Along the way, a *mallku tayca* explained to me that before the arrival of motorised transport, they used to walk from the *aynuqa* to the church, where the two crosses of the *Ayllu* are meant to join. She said that without any nostalgia for the old times, as highland nights begin to be very cold in May; thus, the motorised improvement was very much welcomed.



Figure 7.25: a) The cross standing on the mound in the *aynuqa* during the celebration with the lighted fire of the *wax'ta*; b) Video snapshot of the musicians performing *kena kena*; c) A participant in the celebration in the act of choosing coca leaves under the sight of the *mallkus taykas*. May 2018.

Yet, at the bank of the river Tantuyo, once we arrived close enough to the two bridges – one pedestrian, the other for vehicles – the motorised caravan suddenly stopped, and everyone got off. The musicians started playing again, closing the procession lighted by torches, and headed by the *Campu Kamani* holding the cross (Figure 7.26). We crossed the bridge by foot with the sound of *Kena Kena* always in the background. The other group had already descended from Qupallika and was waiting just in front of the church. The music stopped, and the two *Campu Kamani* and their respective crosses entered together in the church, followed by the rest of the community members and occasional visitors.

It was not a long service. The officiant gave thanks for the end of the agricultural cycle and then deposited the crosses in a corner behind the altar of the *Virgen*

de la Asunción, patron saint of the community. They would have to rest there during the dry winter and later put back on their respective mounds at the coming of the spring rainfalls.



Figure 7.26: a) The campu kamani holding the cross escorted by the mallkus and the musicians to cross the bridge of the river Tantuyo; b) The two crosses inside the church listening to mass; c) Video snapshot of the passage of the cross from the hands of the campu kamani to those of the officiant; d) Video snapshot of the jilir mallku addressing the mass at the end of the service. May 2018.

All the attendees moved out from the church and disposed themselves in a circle. The *Jilir Mallku* said some words of thanks, then left the floor to the *mallku* responsible for agriculture. The musicians retrieved the melody and the whole directory of *mallkus* and *mallkus taycas* approached the two *Campu Kamani*, who were standing in front of them (Figure 7.27). One by one, the *mallkus* greeted the *Campu Kamani*. The rest of the community members who were attending joined in a second round of greetings, which culminated in the divestment of the *Campu Kamani* from their green attires.



Figure 7.27: a) Outside of the church, the campu kamani being greeted by the jilir mallku; b) the rest of community members joined in greetings the authorities leaving their post; c) Video frame sequence of the divestment of the campu kamani by a mallku tayca; d) Another round of greetings with confetti; e) The kena kena players resumed the enchanting melody; f) Inside the House of the Community, disposing coca leaves and cigarettes on the aguayo; g) On the other side of the room, the musicians kept playing the kena kena until food is served. Mayo 2018.

Following the melody of *Kena Kena*, we all moved to the House of the Community. A *mallku tayka* disposed an *aguayo* at the centre of the room, and everyone left coca leaves and cigarettes for sharing on it. Other people joined the

musicians with their flutes, and they kept playing in circles until the food was ready to eat and rivers of beers made the evening even more cheerful.

The flow of time leaves its mark on space. The seasonality of the landscape indexically joins the divestment of the *Campu Kamami* and the changing colours of the grassland, from green to yellowish, heralding the beginning of the dry winter season. In the extended sociality of the *ayllu*, other authorities will wear the green ponchos as the same as the land says goodbye to its green hues until spring rains will come and colour it again.

7.4.3 *Usos y costumbres*: the spatial and temporal dimensions of *ayllu* politics

The Feast of the Crosses brings together two plots that have always been used for the collective purposes of the *ayllu* (Figure 7.28). Turning the map of the Agrarian Reform upside-down (see above Figure 7.12(b), the *apoderado*'s son stressed that the *aynuqa Wila Quntu* [collective land of the red headland] is situated in an area of high productivity for it is sheltered from the frost and favours the conservation of the crops. He explained that the *saneamiento* “respected” (Tiwa18-18: §130-134) the entitlement of this allotment by transferring each individual title – *qallpa* [household plot in a collective land] – to the descendants of those who first registered in 1953.

The *plaza* is another land that is collectively owned, but for a different purpose than agriculture. The *apoderado*'s son recalled that “many years ago, our elders decided that each household should have allocated a small plot here” (Tiwa18-18: §254) to help those community members who emigrated to the city and returned to Huancollo only to participate in general assemblies: “as a result of that decision, the *plaza* was created; this is also one of the important stories of the community” (Tiwa18-18: §268).

The portion of land surrounding the educational unit of Huancollo constitutes another example of collective tenancy. It is the responsibility of the members of the community school board to care for the cultivable plots around the structure, between the foothills of Qupallika and the Tantuyo River. One member for each of the four zones of the *Ayllu* takes part in the school board, which is chaired by the *Yati Kamani* [person in charge of the education] according to the annual rotation of *cargos originarios* [indigenous authorities].

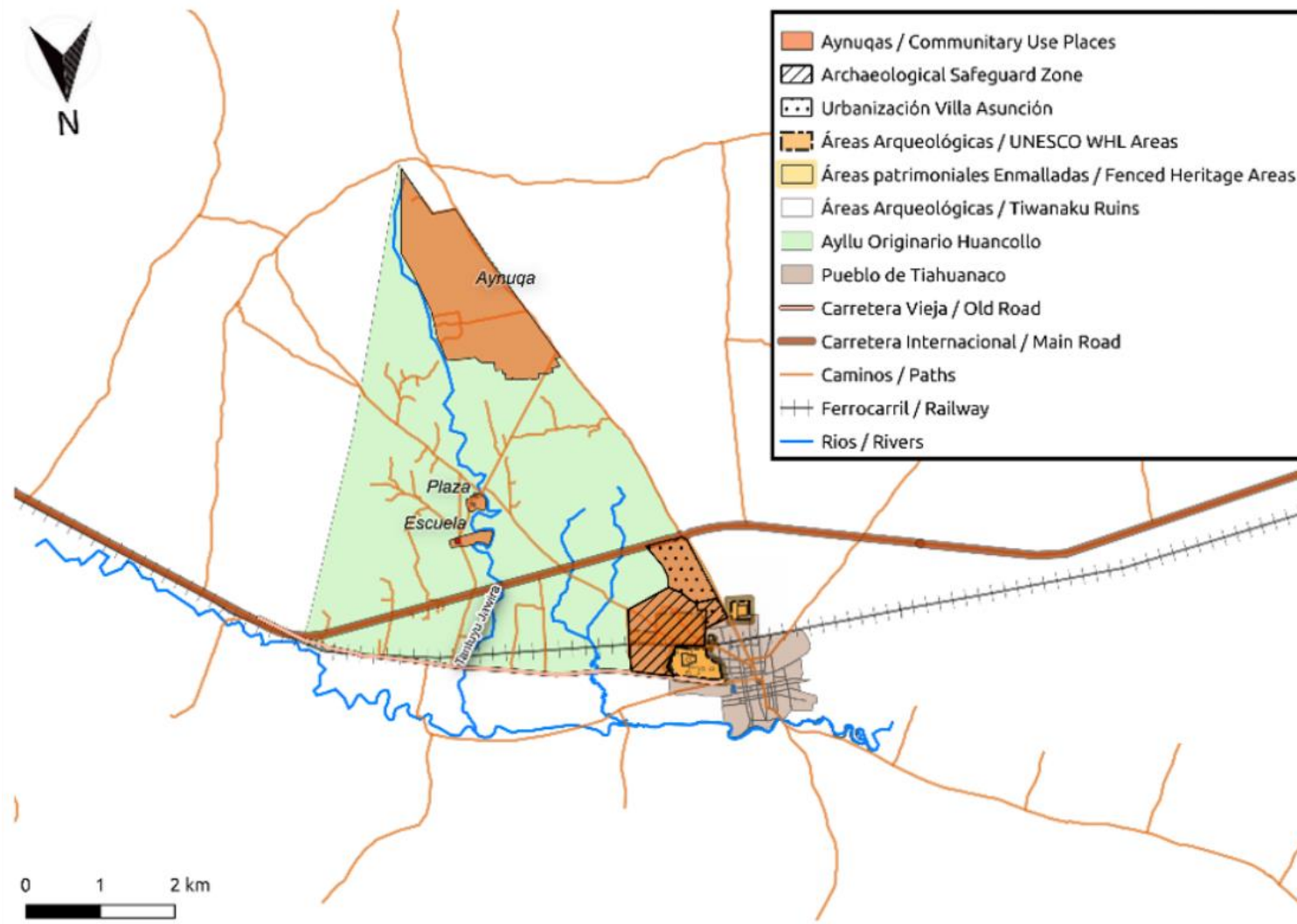


Figure 7.28: Map displaying the places holding communitarian uses of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo.

Whereas the *aynuqa Wila Kuntu*, the *plaza*, and the school preserved the collective tenure through time, other places received collective entitlement after the last land regularisation. In one case, the area in question is in front of the ruins of Puma Punku. This plot formerly belonged to a community member who had attempted to sell it to a stranger without the consent of the community; according to the *apoderado*'s son "many looked at this plot with interest, so the community saw convenient to urbanise" (Tiwa18-18: §280). The result is the *Villa Asunción* Urban Development Area, in which each household owns a *qallpa* to build a house.

Another recent case of collective entitlement refers to the land adjacent to the archaeological area of *Mollo Kontu*. In agreement with the foreseen expansion of the UNESCO buffer zone on the community territory (see above Figure 7.17(a), the Assembly of the *Ayllu* resolved to designate it for collective purposes by allocating farming *qallpas* to each household and halting any kind of building development design, because "with a look to the future, it is important to think of protection" (Tiwa18-18: §274). However, in contrast with other pieces of land designated for community purposes, the designation of the archaeological safeguard area in the territory of the community directly affects the existing individual tenure of certain *sayañas*.

This circumstance triggered the discontent that emerged in the conversation with the elder woman who lives near the DINAR signpost (see above Figure 7.17). She insisted that her *sayaña* belongs to the village of Tiahuanaco rather than the community and complained that the *mallkus* wanted her to relocate to another plot and put her family land in common with the rest of the *ayllu*; she exclaimed: "Those people cannot force me! I will give the land to whoever I like... Why do these people can demand me?... Yes, sir, I do protest!" (Tiwa18-4: §10). Her vigorous grievance manifests a cardinal principle of *ayllu* politics as revealed in this chapter so far, namely that land tenure cannot let economic and social functions on aside:

"This land is to be worked on, since those who work on the land own the land, is it not? [...] I raised my children here; I raised my cows here, with sweat and tears, and I cannot leave as nothing, because that's my job. That's what I've to say, gentleman. [...] I respected it, we raised cows and sheep and by selling that we earned the money to educate my children, for them to go to school, to the military service. They are people already my

children [F: What do you mean by saying ‘respect’?] You must be on the school board, and I have respected that [...] These people do what they want *ahí arriba* [up there], ‘You must do this, you have to be *mallku*, you have to be on the school board’. I’ve already done whatever they required me to do! I have respected everything. Now that all the people on the list have finished, they are going to start again from here. It will be the same until I die; is that how it will be? But I am not going to see that, I am not going to be alive; I am going to die. I say, I’m about to die right now. So that’s how it is, gentleman” (Tiwa18-4: §9-10, 28-30, 48).

Living and being part of the *ayllu* is inextricable from taking care of the *sayaña* and from the cyclical system of performing community power, i.e. *cargos originarios*, which operates according to a rotating elective system drawn from the list of entitled households that was updated through the *saneamiento*. These are the obligations that all community members must fulfil in order to exercise their rights to the land as individual households and in community as part of the *ayllu*. A relationship of trust which, if broken, leads to the inevitable departure from the social and territorial unity of the *ayllu*.

A man in his sixties living at the edge of the community limiting with Achaca made this point explicit by pointing at the ruined walls of his wife’s grandmother’s house to recall the time when he moved to Huancollo and started his own course of *cargos*. The house stressed his kinship affiliation with the *sayaña* in which he lives and works and by extension with the *ayllu* in which he has the obligations to serve in the cyclical system of elective authorities and to respect the customary law of the community, its *usos y costumbres* [‘traditional’ customs and practices] holding a factual binding power:

“These are the traditional customs and practices of the community that must be respected: attend the assemblies, if there is an event in the community, you must be present. To be present is to respect. In the case of an assembly, for example, or if it is needed to go somewhere, those who are serving in the *cargo* must be there. There is nothing but the *usos y costumbres*, isn’t it? That’s our livelihood in the community” (Tiwa18-15: §12-18, 34-40).

The *usos y costumbres* involve all aspects of community life and are closely related to the same cosmopolitical logic behind the designation of the storyplaces of the *ayllu*. More information on this aspect was provided by another elder from the starting list of key informants (Tiwa18-8: §6, 38). He was one of the flute players at the Feast of the Crosses depicted in the previous section, and we chatted comfortably in his car parked outside the adobe house of her wife’s family, in a *sayaña* located very close to the sinuous bends of the Tantuyo River

and to which he moved many years ago. He became well acquainted with the stories attached to the dangerous places of Huancollo, as well as with the customary practices and ritual payments that must be performed to quench the thirst of those powerful places and enabling working together.

He regretted that many of those practices were on the way of oblivion, such as what happened to the practice of *ayni* because of the single-handedly agricultural machinery, or the fabrication of adobe and thatch instead of the prefabricated bricks and calamine sheets for house building (Figure 7.29). Yet, rather than being elements of a crystallised past, these practices evolve as the *ayllu* changes through time.



Figure 7.29: a) Ruined adobe house with the thatched roof already changed for calamine sheets; b) freshly inaugurated brick house. May 2018.

The *saneamiento* brought about the obligation of native attires to identify community authorities³⁸, in contrast with the ruralisation of the *secretarios* during the time of *sindicalismo*. In the opinion of the elderly musician, this change in semblance implies deeper considerations regarding the overall administration of the community:

“So, the uses and customs: before it was purely old people, grandparents, elders, they managed by their rules, if something happens in the community and there is a problem, then, they solved it, they understood each other, they talked like this [...] And then there is the case of the *mallkus*: before it was, as I said, before it was like that, it wasn't uniformed, they were the only ones who handled it, they only managed it by themselves, not even a *chicote*, before there was no *chicote*, they just managed it like that, with their little shawl, any little shawl, no ponchos like that, now we have *ponchos*, *lluch'u*... [...] Now we already have the law on the uniform that we have to wear: black trousers, a half-beige, half-black jacket, then our *lluch'u*, our scarf, our *chuspa* and our *chicote*, that's it. The *chicote* is also our weapon, that's our weapon, but you can't beat anyone up with that, right? It is the arm for which the *mallku* must be respected as an authority, it is always respected. [...] At the time of the *secretarios*, if there's any issue, they called the police, because the police were more respected before; currently we have the *Jalja Mallku* [authority in charge of justice] who solves the problems and they must be always present” (Tiwa18-8: §53, 65, 69).

The issue of conflicting temporalities and materials affecting the exercise of the customary law of the *ayllu* surfaced with clarity in the conversation with a community member who worked as a naturopath at the Natural Medicine Hospital. As he recalled:

“If I was going to heal someone, then she would come one day to dry barley, or he would help to weed: a mutual support from profession to profession. But nowadays it is already mercantilist, individualist, there is no longer that commonality of sharing, right? Nowadays, if one loses an hour, then she must be paid for that hour. Even we ourselves, right? Because if we treat them like this, with mutual support, we won't be able to maintain this place, right? You need to clean, you need to feed yourself and keep up with current

38 The Statute of the CACOT (2014, 65) indicates seven attributes for the *mallkus* identified by their respective garments: “Punchu wairuro [black and red poncho] stands for the protective wings of the condor and means that the authority protects his people from all the evils that beset them; Rimanasa [shawl] with *tiwanakota* and *wiphala* motifs, means the *chiqap thaki* [straight path] that leads to the horizon with ethics and morals; *Lluch'u* [woollen hat covering the ears] multi-coloured as the *wiphala*, stands for the authorities' mental balance and maturity in their thoughts and closed ears against gossip; *Ch'utuqu* is the black headgear that signifies mature personality, knowledge and wisdom; *Suriyawu* is the braided leather rope with coloured fringes that stands for the authority power; *Chicote* [whip] means power and justice of the authority; *Ch'uspa* it is a woven bag of multicoloured wool, which contains coca, sweets and pure natural products for the *ch'alla*, it signifies the friendship of the authority towards his fellows in the exchange of ideas during the conversation”.

technology, don't you? However, within the Aymara it has always been an *ayni...*" (Tiwa18-14: §19).

He brought to the fore the practices involved in the exercise of customary law, in this case regarding the actuality of the mutually supportive practice of *ayni*, as the pillars of "an observational methodology: that is, just by looking so not to forget" (Tiwa18-14: §23). This intends to complement the shortfalls of what he called the "mathematical time", that is the accelerated time of progress in which "we all are in a hurry, stressed, depressed", and laconically concluded that: "I don't know whether it's because the world is spinning faster, or we want to arrive quicker or to do things the fastest way, but time doesn't allow. Then, that's what the *usos y costumbres* are for" (Tiwa18-14: §23).

He equated the role of the customary law of the *ayllu* to "the appropriate treatment of sharing" (Tiwa18-14: §23). Sharing either a meal, or refreshments, or of course coca leaves before the starting of medical procedures is a necessary procedure to establish connection with the patient in the case of his profession as naturopath, so that he may be able to provide an appropriate healthcare. In so doing, time slows down. In the same vein, the customary sharing of coca leaves before meetings or engaging in work of all sorts responds to the same cosmopolitical logic according to which emerging relational entities are brought together through partially connected practices (see De La Cadena, 2015: 32). As Allen (2002: 109) put it, "coca chewing is not only a sign of orderly social relations; it is also an instrument through which these relations are defined, created, and maintained".

As I was able to confirm it countless times in the field, the ethical consent form would have been useless without the complementary support of the green bag containing coca leaves (Figure 7.30). Concluding the interview with the naturopath, we agreed to meet the next day to join him and his brother who were heading to a place called San Bartolomé to harvest medical plants at the foot of the mountain Quimsachata in the neighbouring community of Achaca (Figure 7.31). He wanted me to record the roaring water of the river's springs so he could use that as a background music for the patients at the Hospital. This would have been the repayment for the time he dedicated to help me with my research.

Slowing down the acceleration of modern time by sharing coca leaves and practicing mutual support highlights the *usos y costumbres* as the *ayllu* politics defying homogenisation through alternative articulations of people, lands, and things, and revealing “both communitarian and universalistic (*ch’ixi*) ways of conceiving rights and remembering their struggles” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2018b: 136).



Figure 7.30: Ways of bringing beings in relation: a bag of coca leaves, a cigarette, and the ethical consent form. May 2018.



Figure 7.31: On the left, heading to San Bartolomé with the naturopath in front of his elder brother; on the right, collecting medical plants with the roaring river flowing on the background. May 2018.

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter organised the results of interviews and field observations at Huancollo, revealing the materials of *ayllu* politics in the interstices of community

organisation and national and global processes of individualistic imagination of heritage, property, and rights. These emergent themes become more apparent as the data have been organised around the three temporal nodes of *Hacienda*, *Sindicalismo*, and *Saneamiento*, which unveil the evolving social fabric of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo through webs of relatedness and reciprocity configured by cosmopolitical attachments between community and territory.

This approach opens avenues to recognise that the struggles to preserve the collective tenure of the land are instrumental in the defence of cultural integrity and life in all its forms, beyond issues of ancestral ownership and multicultural recognition. Through the detailed discussion of oral memories, material leftovers, and spatial configurations of the three distinctive yet enmeshed temporalities of the contemporary past of the Ayllu Huancollo, the chapter traced the cosmopolitical activators attached to places holding some sort of gravitational power that granted them a special recognition by those who dwell nearby, such as the alluvial grasslands, the mountains, the schools, the Natural Medicine Hospital, and the archaeological ruins of Tiwanaku, among other locales, either human-made or not. These cosmopolitical actors inscribe *ayllu* politics with the maintenance of kinship relations, among families and pieces of land, revealing juxtapositions and disagreements in the otherwise too lineal process of legal entitlement of indigenous communities and territories trumpeted by the multicultural or plurinational state-machinery and transnational regimes of protection and enforcement of cultural rights.

Keeping track of these socio-material relationships through archaeological ethnography and counter-mapping revealed the cosmopolitics surrounding the UNESCO World Heritage site of Tiwanaku as a complex amalgam of human and non-human political actors. The chapter made an attempt to show the vernacular, mostly unwritten logic that insufflates spatial and temporal continuity to a community and constitutes the *ayllu* as the primary collective political subject, according to its own customary law and in steps with the times, enacting multi-temporality through practices grounded on the relation of mutual care, respect, and fear between people, things, and land.

The multi-temporal politics of the *ayllu* challenges the homogeneous temporality of the State and the accelerated pace of western modernity. Following this emergent line of inquiry, I will now move to analyse the findings of the second

case study in the Calchaquí Valleys of Northwest Argentina, starting with the counter-mapping of the consultation process with Indigenous organisations and local communities. Already in this preliminary phase, the contrasts with the Bolivian case study are sharp in terms of the social and cultural context in which Indigenous politics operate. Nevertheless, there are some similarities in the overall difference if one looks at the intertwined fields of cultural heritage and rights through the lens of indigeneity and beyond the narrow limits set by national idiosyncrasies and cosmopolitan aspirations.

Chapter 8. Moving fields: The process of consultation and consent-seeking in the Calchaquí Valleys

After having unpacked the case study in Tiwanaku through the fieldwork in the Ayllu Originario Huancollo, I now move the focus to the Tucumán portion of the Calchaquí Valleys in Northwest Argentina. Fieldwork in this area involved the collaboration of two local communities: the Indigenous Community of Amaicha del Valle (CIAV) and the Indian Community of Quilmes (CIQ) (see Chapter 4.3). In both cases I have sought to document the steps leading to the consent to undertake the investigation in the territory of each community. The present chapter maps the consultation process in the Calchaquí Valleys (Figure 8.1), starting from the meeting with the secretary of the UPND-Tucumán and will bridge the second case study in the communities of Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes.

8.1 “The twists and turns” of consultation

On an early day of July 2017, I walked into the office of the National Institute Against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism [*Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación, la Xenofobia y el Racismo* (INADI)] in the city of San Miguel to meet with the secretary of the UPND-Tucumán Delfín Gerónimo (Figure 8.1(1)). As soon as I entered the room, Don Delfín welcomed me by saying: “So, what are you trying to sell me again?”³⁹. At first the joke disoriented me; only a few days had passed since my arrival in Tucumán, and that was the very first time we met. *What was I selling?* As the conversation flowed, I could get closer to understanding to what extent such an appreciation lay on nested experiences of encounters and mistrusted agreements.

³⁹ Fieldnote, July 2017.

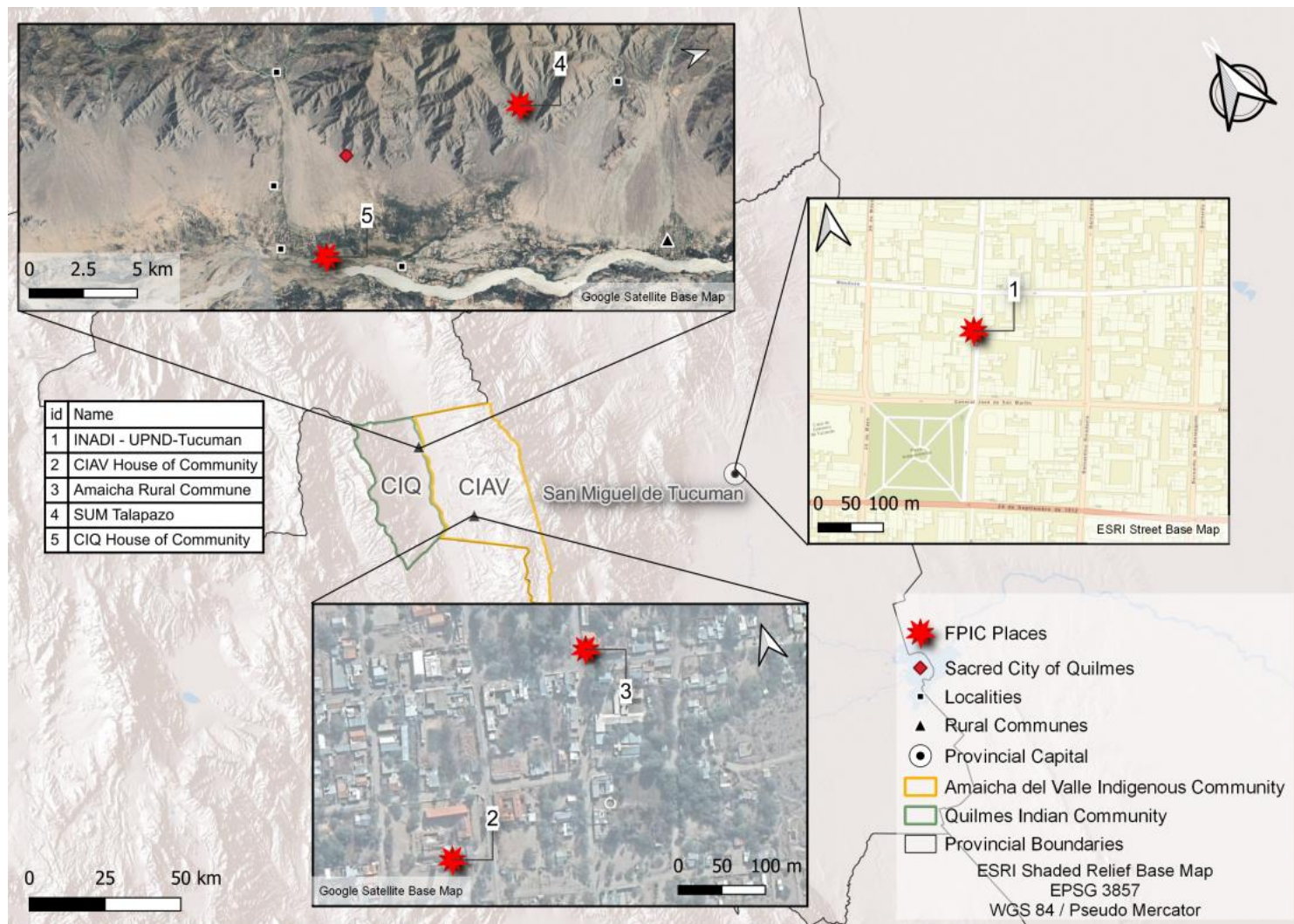


Figure 8.1: Map displaying the places interested by the consultation for the second case study across Tucumán Capital City and the Indigenous communities of Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes.

The camera switched on, and at once Don Delfín took the word:

“I’m going to ask you that when you get the results, since most certainly you’ll make a final document out of that, you shall get it to us. Because we need that. To know how we are being looked from the outside is like a document as well, a tool for our task, for our struggle” (Calcha17-1: §3).

The ongoing struggle is that of articulating one’s own knowledge to “the science endorsed by the university and acknowledged by the State” (Calcha17-1: §25), to prove the conditions of authenticity and historical continuity needed to access and enjoy the rights constitutionally granted to Indigenous peoples by the multicultural refurbishment of the Argentinean State. In spite of the growing legal corpus recognising Indigenous peoples’ rights both at the federal and provincial level, Don Delfín insisted that there is still “an implementation gap between paper and practice: a path that needs to be walked” (Calcha17-1: §17).

This path is likely to be traceable in the inconsistency of the consultation and consent-seeking processes with local communities. Don Delfín admitted that the lack of organisation beyond the community level harms the efforts of enhancing Indigenous peoples’ participation in all matters that concern them, since “nowhere it is written how the steps of a consultation should be” (Calcha17-1: §17). This entails that governmental or private organisations, as well as researchers can take advantage by taking any kind of meeting as a consultation, and so improperly keep implementing their projects without any real consent. He mentioned, for instance, the case of the Quebrada de Humahuaca, in the northern province of Jujuy, which UNESCO declared World Heritage cultural landscape, but where:

“they came with forms to be filled out, meetings to be attended, and called that a consultation; and then you can see the results: the land increase in value, and since the legal recognition of community territories is not yet solved, the communities are expelled, the land increases its value, and outsiders come to buy it” (Calcha17-1: §36).

Similar strategies in terms of the imposition of a simulacre of participation to the communities involved in heritage-making designation was witnessed in the case of the Argentinean section of the transnational UNESCO property of the *Qhapac Ñan* – Andean Main Road (cfr. Korstanje, 2016; Korstanje and García Azcárate,

2007). For that reason, Indigenous grassroots organisations such as the UPND⁴⁰ have been working to create autonomous and contextual frameworks that place them as the subjects entitled to bring the consultation to the field because “in the face of State’s inaction, the organisations must take a position” (Calcha17-01: §19).

For the FPIC to be exhaustive it needs to take the bureaucratic time of State’s and scientific disciplines’ practices and the living time of the concerned communities both into account. According to Delfín Gerónimo: “local participation entails many discussions, and it takes many twists and turns too, which often the time of state-bodies, the rulers, or institutions is not willing to walk through” (Calcha17-01: §15).

Looking through this perspective, the ironic welcoming that puzzled me may well refer to the collision of times underlying ethical obligations and good intentions. In this sense, the request for the devolution of the results of the investigation is indicative of the willing to plant a joint milestone in the open-ended path of consultation, rather than taking consent for granted as a one-way access to the field; otherwise, “there are already plenty of theses and masters about our past, our culture, yet those are stacked in libraries, without returning to the people concerned” (Calcha17-01: §23).

Like other “travelling concepts” (Lazzari and Korstanje, 2018: 224), the “results” are the tangible manifestation of the participation in the production of knowledge in intercultural settings. Thus, it is important to acknowledge this commitment in the ethical pursue of the consent to collaborate. Asserting the co-interest of the research outcomes reinstates the political substance into the ethical form and helps liberate the living time and space of the concerned people from the classificatory burden of bureaucracy and interpellation.

⁴⁰ At the time of writing the UPND has not yet defined its own consultation protocol. There are, however, examples of autonomous consultation protocols in force, such as: the guidelines of the National Meeting of Indigenous Peoples’ Territorial Organisations [*Encuentro Nacional de Organizaciones Territoriales de Pueblos Originarios*] (ENOTPO, 2014); and the consultation and free, prior, and informed consent protocol *Kachi Yupi – Huellas de la Sal* [Salt prints] of the Kolla and Atacama Communities of Salinas Grandes and Laguna de Guayatayoc (2015) in response to the growing interest into lithium mining industry in their territory by private and governmental sectors, between the provinces of Salta and Jujuy.

Finalising the interview, I asked Don Delfín to review the consent sheet I had prepared for submission to the community authorities; then, he restated:

“What I would like to write down is the issue of the restitution of the results. Because it has already happened to us with this kind of agreement... Let’s make a commitment, such a date, the study ends, and the restitution will be made to the community and that will also benefit our organisation” (Calcha17-01: §55).

Accordingly, we worked on drafting a commitment letter that he later signed on behalf of the UPND-Tucumán (Appendix A.4). This agreement received significantly good appreciations in the following steps of the consultation in the Calchaquí Valleys. These considerations will be discussed in the following sections, as they are informative on the contemporary socio-territorial dynamics of the communities of Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes.

8.2 Amaicha del Valle: enlarging the practice of law

“1. If someone greets you, particularly an elder or a child, you must return the greeting. That is our custom”⁴¹.

Thursday morning is the designated time of the week to meet with the Council of Elders of Amaicha and expose problems of various kinds: from solving quarrels among community members over land holdings to informing about projects affecting the collective tenancy of the territory and requiring endorsement from community authorities. Likewise, once I arrived in Amaicha for the first time in August 2017, I walked to the House of Governance of the Amaichas – locally known just as “*la comunidad*” [the community] (Figure 8.1(2) – and patiently waited my turn to explain the purposes, aims, and methods of my research project. The Elders were happy with the proposal and confident in the commitment letter signed with the UPND-Tucumán but invited me to meet with the *cacique* Nieva before agreeing to sign any consent sheet.

The Council of Elders is a body of governance firstly created in 2002 by a faction of the community in response to an internal crisis of leadership and as a sprout of “the virulent awakening of the Calchaquí identity” (Isla, 2009: 274). The promulgation of the “Political Constitution of the Indigenous Community of Amaicha del Valle” (CIAV, 2004: 53) established that seven community members

⁴¹ Taken from the “Norms of coexistence within the community of Amaicha”. Tourist brochure, undated (see Figure 8.3 below).

over the age of forty-nine and elected by the General Assembly of the Community compose the Council of Elders, which holds the authority to destitute the *cacique* in the case of bad management or irregular behaviour. According to the Council member Doña Eva Pastrana, the role of this governance body is “to advice and support the cacique so that he has the clarity to manage the community” (Calcha18-1: §5), specifically for what concerns the exploitation of land and resources, and the administration of justice based on the principle of “friendly arbitration”. Enforcing this Indigenous institution has been a way to recover values that were vanishing in front of the expansion of State civil authority: “because it’s healthier to live as a community; in a word: it’s fairer” (Calcha18-1: §9).

Since the mid-20th century, in Amaicha del Valle there have been two autonomous yet imbricated governances of the territory: the *comunidad indígena* [indigenous community] and the *comuna rural* [rural commune]. While in the former case the figure of the *cacique* embodies the historical continuity of Indigenous leadership in the struggle to secure the collective ownership of the land, the latter is an expression of the political-administrative subdivision of the State, which is represented by a communal commissioner whose office persisted by direct appointment of the provincial executive until the 1990s when it became an elective office. In his thorough ethnography of the community, Isla (2009: 89–93) referred to this circumstance as “the institutional double-side of Amaicha”: a conflictive relationship that overall favoured synergies between the two forms of governance for the common purpose of securing the land, but also prompted the emergence of corruptive-clientelist practices amongst competing factions struggling for hoarding posts available within public job concessions, administrating funding coming from international cooperation projects, and increasing the basin of votes for provincial and national parties once the appointment of communal commissioner became elective.

Reflecting on the circumstance that *comunidad indígena* and *comuna rural* share “juxtaposed spaces” (Cruz and Morandi, 2016: 1)), which are constituted by a palimpsest of practices that “takes root in belonging to a territory” (Isla 2009: 275), it has not been unusual that the same person held both offices in the last three decades characterised by the flourishing visualisation of Indigenous peoples on the national scene. That happened with Miguel Pastrana, who was communal

commissioner and *cacique* since the return to democracy in the 1980s until he was deposed by the Council of Elders in the early 2000s (Godfrid and González, 2014: 65; Rodríguez and Boullosa-Joly, 2013: 24–25). At the time of my fieldwork, the occurrence of keeping both offices repeated in the person of the *cacique* Eduardo Nieva⁴².

In practical terms, the latter implied that I had to meet him at the House of the Rural Commune – locally known just as “*la comuna*” [the commune] (Figure 8.1(3) – although in his role of *cacique* (Figure 8.2). However, we firstly met by accident in the hostel where I was staying during my first visit to Amaicha. He had come to talk with the hostel’s owner, who happened to be the recently appointed Secretary of Tourism in Lalo’s community/rural commune government. Since I was introduced as an archaeology doctoral student, the *cacique* Nieva suddenly commented: “We had to re-educate the archaeologists!”⁴³. What he was referring to appeared clearer during the meeting that eventually the *cacique* conceded amid his multiple commitments:

“We had to re-educate them because the truth is that they used to enter into our territory without asking permission or anything. Furthermore, they used to dig and take things away; we have a lot to recover. So, within our own politics, we took the decision not to let anyone in unless they have our permission and our consent. In fact, Law 25.517 has been one of the earliest proposals we made at the national level: Article n.3 introduced the consent before this kind of intervention for the first time in a piece of domestic legislation. When you achieve strengthening your own governance, they will come and properly ask permission, even though they are not used to!” (Calcha17-3: §130).

The Indigenous Community of Amaicha del Valle is a national reference point in terms of “strengthening the governance”. Since 2015, on the initiative of *cacique* Nieva and through institutional agreements with universities and research

⁴² Nephew of the historical *cacique* of the 1970s Raimundo Silva, and an Indigenous rights attorney by university education and professional experience, Eduardo “Lalo” Nieva epitomises the trajectory of transnational indigenism at the turn of the century. He has been involved in the drafting of the OAS Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples, in the works of the Inter-American Court of Justice, and as representative for Argentina in the UN Working Group and Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples’ Issues, as well as in the development of Argentine internal corpus of Indigenous rights. He had a prominent role in leading the opposition to the *cacique* Pastrana, and in spreading the grammar of international Indigenous rights in the region, being also one of the main proponents of the UPND (Rodríguez and Boullosa-Joly, 2013: 22–23). Back to Amaicha, he assumed the role of *cacique* for the first time in 2008 and keeps holding onto the position after three consecutive mandates; conversely, in 2019 he lost his chance for a second mandate at the post of communal commissioner achieved in 2015, when he replaced Miguel Pastrana who managed to win the 2011 election.

⁴³ Fieldnotes, August 2017.

centres, the School of Indigenous Governance has organized seminars and meetings on the rights, history, and politics of Indigenous peoples to educate future community leaders and technicians who collaborate with local communities. Lalo underscored that this project “collects everything related to the *Derecho Mayor* [Larger Law]; do you get me? The Larger Law is our *usos y costumbres*, our own rules, those which are unwritten but rule everyday community life” (Calcha17-3: §75).



Figure 8.2: Snapshot of the video interview with the cacique of the CIAV Lalo Nieva at the comuna of Amaicha del Valle, with the Argentinean and whiphala flags in the back, and sharing mate tea. August 2017.

Embodying and translating rights into this set of community practices is pressing matter because of “the lack of political will” that harms the normative proliferation recognising Indigenous peoples:

“We can keep holding during another five hundred years, but they are not going to have such a political will [...] Rather than waiting for miracles, then, it’s us who really have to draw our own politics up, right? That is, the practice of those rights according to our own capacities” (Calcha17-3: §51-53).

Hence, the importance of taking seriously into consideration the collective dimension of the human right to take part in the cultural life of the community: “it is the collective what holds the community together [...] the collective is the particularity through which people resist assimilation” (Calcha17-3: §77-78). This implies looking at the knowledge giving substance and practice to the Larger Law

as equal in relation to the legality enforced by institutional or private actors, while exceeding the cultural adequacy deployed through standard law⁴⁴.

Inasmuch as heritage networks materialise the creation and transmission of knowledge, they pervade all aspects of living in community. In the mid-1990s, when Miguel Pastrana was the *cacique*, an early interest in evaluating the touristic potential of archaeological sites in the community territory drowned because of internal factionalism (Aschero et al., 2005; Korstanje et al., 2013: 40). More recently (see Sosa and Nieva, 2017), a request for the restitution of the *Huaca de La Apacheta*⁴⁵ has been advanced to the Ethnography Museum of Buenos Aires on the basis that the artefact, and what it stands for, retained the capability of partaking in the cultural life to the point of representing the community before the State since the registration of its juridical personality.

The *cacique* Nieva supplied yet another example that related to the increasing tourist turnout and the importance of enlarging law in this context (Figure 8.3). That was because of the disconcert brought by people who ignored how to properly behave in the community, especially in the week-long *Fiesta Nacional de la Pachamama* [National Feast of Pachamama] that attracts yearly tens of thousands of visitors in coincidence with the Carnival celebrations (Boullosa-Joly, 2010; Isla, 2009: 128–130; Mathews-Salazar, 2006). Thus, he explained: “We had to write fifteen rules of conduct [...] The first of those says: if you come to the territory of Amaicha and an elder or a child greets you, then you must greet them back” (Calcha17-3: §80, 87).

To know how to greet seemed once again to be paramount to recognise and control the equivocation underlying intercultural encounters (see Chapter 6.3). The conversation held with the *cacique* Lalo Nieva addresses further elements to

⁴⁴ It is for that reason that I prefer translate *Derecho Mayor* into “Larger Law” instead of “the rights of the forebearers”, or something alike. While the latter conveys the sense of tracking identity back to some ancestral origin, using Larger Law offers the opportunity to highlight the extent to which Indigenous rights and politics as much as indigeneity are built upon traditions but constantly update themselves through articulation with changing circumstances (cfr. Clifford, 2013: 53; Tsing, 2007: 43).

⁴⁵ A Santamariano style funerary urn found in territory of Amaicha and named “jar idol” by the archaeologist and folklorist Adán Quiroga at the beginning of the 20th century and since then part of the collection of the Ethnography Museum of Buenos Aires. Notwithstanding the formal claim advanced by the CIAV, the Museum authorities refused to take the request into consideration because it stands outside of the current legal framework in terms of not being addressed to human remains but to a cultural object. Thus, the Museum claimed the urn as part of its own patrimony and unable to return it to the community without compliance of adequate measures of conservation.

this point. Specifically, it is possible to correlate the measures taken to govern uncontrolled tourism with the “re-education” of archaeologists inasmuch as “those who enter through the back door are not going to do well, for sustainability lays in the community itself” (Calcha17-3: §132). “Sustainability” is the ability to pass knowledge over to future generations, yet this is meant to be found in the “complementarity of knowledge” (*ibid.*) rather than in sticking to the separation between local and scientific ways of knowing.

In other words, crafting knowledge and being in community are just the same:

“Consent should give rise to reciprocity [...] Reciprocity comes with dialogue and finding a middle ground where someone receives you, but you too will eventually return a part of the knowledge about what you studied. That’s reciprocity, right? It’s the enrichment and respect due to cultural diversity without trying to change you, or assimilate you, but in such a framework of being respectful” (Calcha17-3: §144).

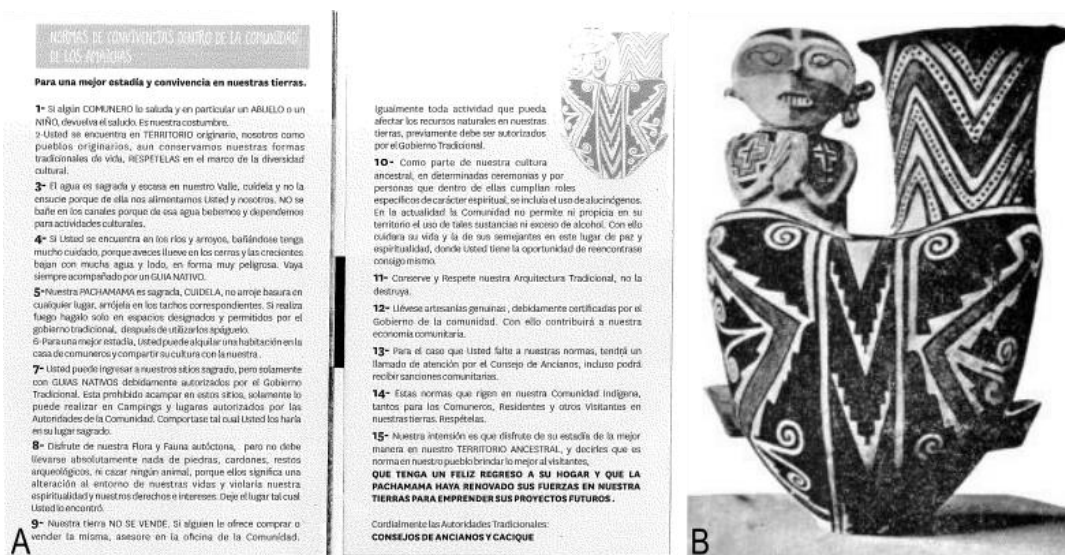


Figure 8.3: a) “Norms of coexistence within the community of Amaicha”. On the upper-right corner there is the reproduction of the Huaca de la Apacheta. Tourist brochure, undated; b) A picture of the “jar idol” reproduced in Quiroga (1897: 15, fig.6).

As Arenas and Ataliva (2017: 7) rightly pointed out, the long-standing enhancement of community politics in Amaicha finds a prominent and recent example in the occupation and resignification of the decade-long abandoned premises of the *exHostería* [old inn] (Figure 8.4), The *exHostería* was part of the tourism development strategy implemented since the second half of the 20th Century in Northwest Argentina (see Chapter 4.3.3). It passed through various public concessionaries and was finally dismissed in the mid-1990s after failed attempts to trespass the property to private companies (Sosa, 2011). The political action led by the Council of Elders transformed a ruined infrastructure into a

community venue “by exercising our rights over the territory” (Council of Elders of the CIAV quoted in Sosa, 2011: 140), providing an angle to trace the materials of Indigenous peoples’ “re-emergent aesthetics” (Lazzari and Korstanje, 2013: 405) in the politically charged practices deployed to make sense of, or redress situations of injustice.



Figure 8.4: a) A view of the abandoned complex of the exHostería taken from what was the space of the overhead swimming pool; b) The CIAV House of Community in a restored premise that once was the locker room of the swimming pool. July 2018.

With the final endorsement of the *cacique*, the community consent form was signed (Appendix A.5). One year later, I returned to Amaicha del Valle for the second phase of the fieldwork, and I met again with the *cacique* and the Council of Elders to give notice of the beginning of the research activities and regularly to

inform about the advancement of new lines of inquiry. In one of those meetings, the *cacique* Nieva insisted that his main concern at that time was to publicise the leading role of the community in attracting funding and implementing projects, such as those for the Indigenous Winery, or the works for the drinking water plant, in such a way that “the community appears as the promoter and not just a mere beneficiary”⁴⁶.

The implications of enlarging the practice of law and complementing knowledges anticipated in this section were concisely but effectively resumed by one of Amaicha’s most respected spiritual referents, Don Beto Andrade, during the assembly convened to return the report of fieldwork activities, as he commented on the relevance of the petroglyph of the *Chiqui* for the advancing of the customary law of the community; an exciting collaborative enterprise to which I was invited to participate and to which I will return below (see Chapter 9.3): “This is what was found in that field where they wanted to install the solar panels. This is a unique document, which made us reflect. That’s like our Larger Law; it’s better than a book”⁴⁷.

8.3 Comunidad India Quilmes: “every cloud has a silver lining”.

The process of consultation and consent-seeking with the Indian Community of Quilmes did not go as smoothly as with the authorities of the neighbouring community of Amaicha, reaching a solution only during the second fieldwork season. A range of factors concurred with these difficulties. In the first instance, the difference in the internal organisations of the two communities: in the case of the CIAV is the General Assembly that retains the power of decision-making, but this is spatially concentrated in the town of Amaicha and politically delegated to the executive figure of the *cacique* and the balancing authority of the Council of Elders; conversely, the deliberative system of Quilmes is fragmented into small base-communities corresponding to the fourteen villages spread across the territory⁴⁸. Each base-community expresses two representatives for the Council

⁴⁶ Fieldnotes, August 2018.

⁴⁷ Fieldnotes, December 2018.

⁴⁸ From north to south along the National Route 40, these include Colalao del Valle (which is also the seat of the rural commune), Anjuana, El Bañado, Quilmes Bajo, and El Paso; in the low- and mid-foothill areas include Anchillo, El Arbolar, El Pichao, Talapazo, Rincón de Quilmes, Quilmes Centro, Las Cañas, El Carmen, and Los Chañares, all of them at various distances from the highways that runs parallel to the Santa María river (see Arenas and Ataliva, 2017: 8–14; Korstanje et al., 2013: 34–35).

of Delegates on which falls the ultimate responsibility for decision-making as well as to vest with power the *cacique* elected by the General Assembly of all community members.

Isla (2009: 96) remarked that the historical factionalism of Amaicha prompted by the centralisation of power contrasts with the “more democratic” governance of Quilmes. He traced this difference back to the unequal tenancy of the land and in the strategies adopted either to conserve the collective ownership, in the case of Amaicha, or to fight for recuperation against the landowners’ abuses, in the case of Quilmes (see Chapter 4.3.2). Both systems keep revolving around the invocation of an ancestral belonging to the territory as the unifying force for identity-based claims (Isla, 2009: 280), yet their difference interrogates the scale on which this revindication occurs. This is relevant to the purpose of consultation and consent-seeking because it entails that each one of the fourteen base-communities belonging to Quilmes retains a real space of autonomy for the decisions affecting their respective territories⁴⁹.

The diffused and multi-scalar government intersects with the second factor that slowed down the prior consultation with the Indigenous authorities of Quilmes; namely, the conflictive situation generated by the takeover of the Sacred City by a group of tourist guides and with the backing of the Tucumán provincial agency for tourism (see Chapter 4.3.3). This event produced a severe chasm in the political organisation and administration of the community, even leading to outbreaks of physical violence amongst the opponent groups, and the temporary detention of the *cacique* Chaile after a failed attempt to recover the administration of the site by force, following unheeded claims to the provincial justice (ANDHES, 2015; Tolosa, 2017: 73)⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ For instance, Arenas and Ataliva (2017: 58), who were part of the technical team responsible for the implementation of the territorial survey of the indigenous communities of Tucumán in accordance with the Law 26.160, stated that it was necessary to create specific cartographies for each base-community given the socio-territorial complexity of the CIQ.

⁵⁰ A first attempt to take possession of the administrative premises of the archaeological site occurred on 6 November 2013, few days after the election of Santiago Santos as alternative *cacique* with the only votes of the three base-communities of Quilmes. Yet, the group of the *cacique* Chaile achieved restitution through legal means in this occasion. This was not the case after the second and definitive seizure of the site on 7 March 2014, which caused serious injuries to eight community members. Since then, the *Administration Village of Quilmes* upheld the control of the site under the surveillance of the EATT. On June 2015, there was the attempt of the *cacique* Chaile’s faction to restore the control of the CIQ, which led to the preventive imprisonment of the leader that lasted until September of the same year, causing a large national and international mobilization for his release.

The heart of the disagreement was the refurbishment project of a new site museum. This was promoted within the co-management package born out of the dialogue table established between representatives of the Quilmes community and the provincial administration with the intermediation of archaeologists based at the University of Tucumán (Korstanje et al., 2013: 43–45; Lazzari and Korstanje, 2013: 403). The opposition faction initially contested the project because of the lack of guarantees about the continuity of available jobs, particularly for the people of the village of Quilmes, who would have been the most vulnerable in labour terms.

During the first season of fieldwork, I was able to interview two leaders of the splitting group in their home village of Quilmes Centro. According to one of them, who obtained a degree in history by recovering the memories of community elders about the archaeological site of Quilmes, “each village that forms the CIQ has its resources, and so let them begin to defend, manage and exploit them themselves” (Calcha17-08: §157). The other leader is an experienced tourist guide, he thought that the interinstitutional dialogue table was a factual way “to keep the community out” (Calcha17-08: §109). He also contended that each base-community should take care of archaeological sites and other resources within the limits of their respective territories: “the Sacred City is part of the village of Quilmes, since each base owns its own archaeological site” (Calcha17-07: §202).

This scenario complicates further as the legal claim advanced by the former private concessionary against the provincial authorities for the recognition of the intellectual property rights of the tourist infrastructure he built on the site, and which lay abandoned since his eviction (Figure 8.5). This situation brought the project of the new site museum to a deadlock and the internal breach within the community to amplify.

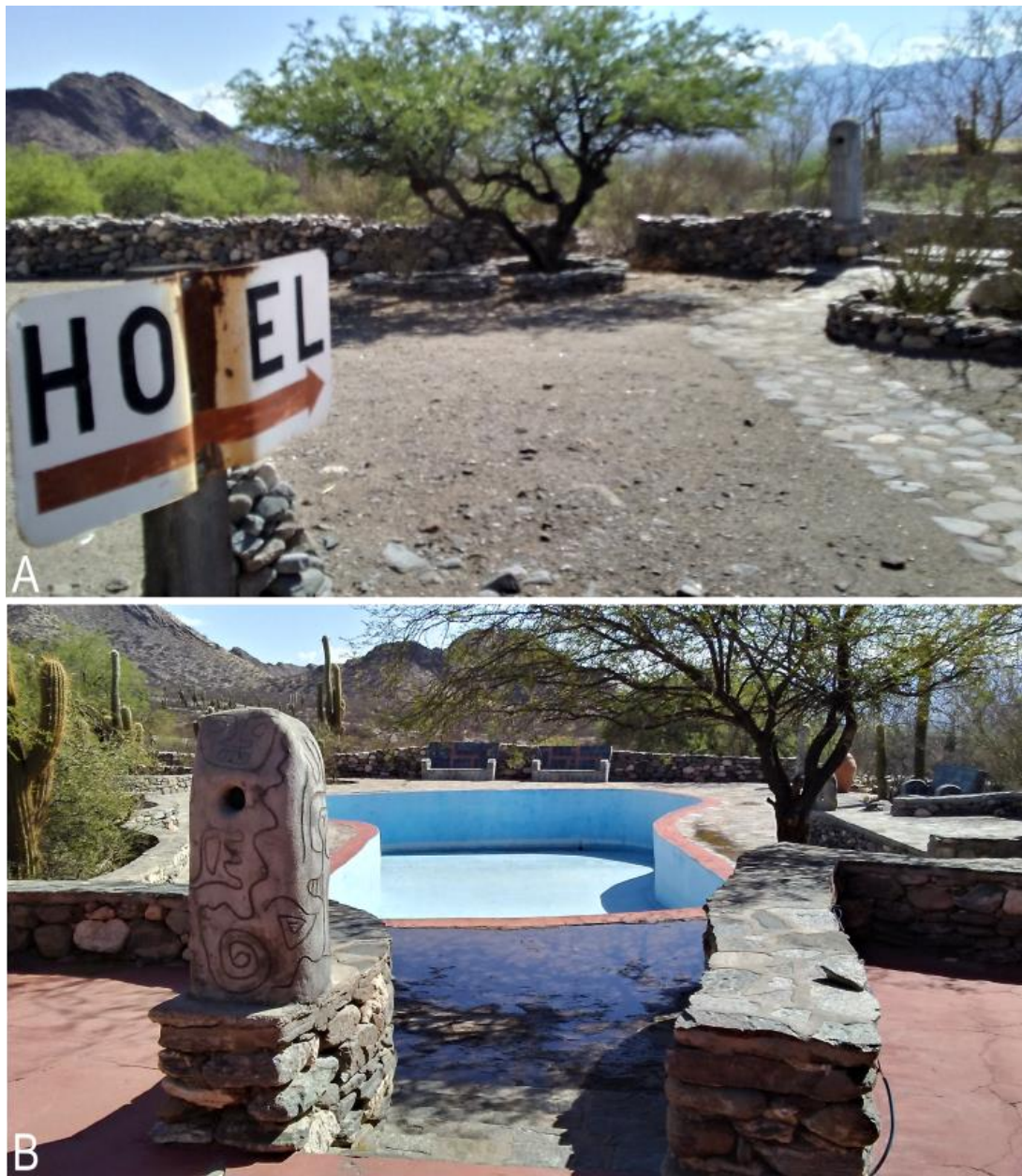


Figure 8.5: The oxidate signpost (a) and the abandoned swimming pool (b) of the tourist complex on the site of Quilmes. November 2018.

At the time of my arrival in the valley, the Quilmes community lacked a clearly recognisable collective authority due to this internal rift. Instances from national and provincial bodies of control required the community to recompose its unity to be allowed to manage the Sacred City and preserve collective rights over the territory. At the same time, the pressure of the former landowners to get hold of the lands was constant as much as the new threats coming from the expansion of mining activities and intensive vineyard cultivation flourishing in the neighbouring areas of Santa María (Catamarca) and Cafayate (Salta) (Boullosa-Joly, 2016; Cruz and Morandi, 2016). In such a hectic situation, the base-communities were organising local assemblies to choose the delegates for the

Council in view of the general election of the *cacique* scheduled for the following year.

Don Pancho Chaile was the provisional *cacique*, recognised by the UPND and federal institutions. As I reached him by phone at the time of my first visit to the valley, he suddenly objected that he was lacking the authority needed to convene an assembly with the base delegates and discuss my research proposal. However, he agreed to meet me on the central plaza of Amaicha del Valle and exchange a few words while waiting for the gas cylinder to be replaced (Figure 8.6). Listening to the old *cacique*, I could not help but be impressed by his calm in relating the tragic events he experienced in his own flesh, as well as his irreducible hope that community interests would survive even the most difficult circumstances; as he stated after all, “*no hay mal que para bien no venga* [every cloud has a silver lining]” (Calcha17-02: § 26). His long trajectory within the Indigenous movement may help to make sense of that confidence:

“As we say, our [political] baptism has been the dungeon. I was in jail and all the leaders who started at the time of the dictatorship were imprisoned. That meant not everyone wanted to be a leader, for this is who goes to jail and whom immediately the police is looking for” (Calcha17-02: §3).

The transition to democracy slightly contributed to making public and legitimating the political aspirations embodied by the mobilisation and advocacy for Indigenous Peoples’ rights: “We have begun appearing on the map” (Calcha17-02: §3). Through institutional recognition, the possibility to strengthen the governance of the community and to access dedicated funding channels for ethnodevelopment projects within the contextual policies of domestic deregulation and international cooperation incited by the neoliberal-inspired federal governments during the 1990s came into play (see Carrasco et al., 2008; Weinberg, 2017). The flow of legal recognition and culture commodification brought competition and grievances: “The opposition started there; it is born out of interest. Yet it was not an interest in working, nor fighting; to this day, grabbing those resources has been the only interest of the opposition, not working nor making things better” (Calcha17-02: §4).



Figure 8.6: Snapshot of the video interview with the cacique of the CIQ Pancho Chaile in the central plaza of Amaicha. August 2017.

In the opinion of the *cacique* Chaile, conflicts over the management of the Sacred City occurred because of a similar rationale for which internal opposition germinates. He blamed the veiled connivance of the current administration of the site with Héctor Cruz, but also condemned the complicity and omission on the part of Tucumán provincial authorities and overall system of justice as “they turned a blind eye when the site was taken over from us” (Calcha17-02: §12). This is telling about the bureaucratisation of the field of community consultation and consent-seeking practices. Don Pancho specifically blamed the community liaison officer on behalf of the tourism board of the province of Tucumán for the implementation of the site museum: “this person started to stroll around and asked about what we needed; what is true is that he dedicated himself to screwing us badly” (Calcha17-02: §16).

The convoluted dynamic surrounding the new Interpretation Centre of the Sacred City of Quilmes brings new light to analysing the condescending character of the consultation process in hiding the political struggle for social and territorial justice behind the curtain of cultural peculiarity and tourism exceptionalism. This has implications for alimending factionalism, competition, and suspicion, which concur in harming the space of community autonomy. The refurbished site museum becomes a brilliant vortex in which the power relations between Indigenous

governance and the administrative machine of the nation-state and within the own community of Quilmes are condensed. In Don Pancho's own words:

"That's why we can't say that we have confidence in the State. We had trusted that a project was going to happen, we fought against the damned people who really didn't want the project to be carried out. The work was being developed by both the national and provincial offices for tourism, they were going to make an investment here. In the end something was done, the work that was called '*Centro de Interpretación*' has not yet been completed, it is going to be a renovation of the archaeological site and we approved it by 95% of our people who gathered in the assembly. The usurpers let's say they were 5, 8%. When we were fighting for the project to be approved, the usurpers were fighting for the project not to be done. It's funny the role they played, because then they stole the site from us with the support of those same people" (Calcha17-02: §18).

Mistrust particularly is the third factor that reverberated on the bumpy road to my own research permission. Once returned to the Calchaquí Valleys for the second fieldwork season, the opposite factions of the community reached a truce thanks to intermediation of the Tucumán governmental agency and sealed through a "formative trip" to Peru to which representatives of the indigenous community and the Administration of the Sacred City participated in order "to replicate the experience of Machu Picchu in Quilmes" (EATT, 2018b: n.d.). Although the general election to the office of *cacique* was still pending, the most part of the base-communities had already chosen their representatives to the Council of Delegates. Through contacts in Amaicha del Valle, I managed to reach the newly appointed delegate of the base-community of Talapazo⁵¹.

We chatted in the *quincho*, the canteen of the hamlet, sharing a *mate* tea sweetened with sugar and mountain herbs as it is customary in the valley. He is a young community leader who used to work as a tourist guide in the Sacred City but lost the job after the seizure of the site by the group of the village of Quilmes. Nonetheless, he still partakes with the new administration and has remained active in promoting tourism in Talapazo by reaching an agreement with a local NGO and the national Secretary of Familiar, Peasant, and Indigenous Agriculture for the building of accommodation facilities, and by promoting community work to recuperate local archaeological resources (Figure 8.7).

⁵¹ The choice of Talapazo was not (just) a matter of a chance, though. In the next chapter it will become clear why the research interest had moved towards this particular hamlet by following the line of inquiry disclosed by the ruined landscape of development interventions in the territory of both communities of Amaicha and Quilmes.



Figure 8.7: a) The base-community delegate displaying the *pirkas* reconstructed through community work for a better presentation of the local archaeological site; b) Documenting a block with rock art in the field between Talapazo and El Pichao. October 2018.

His baptism in community politics was a confrontation with the police to halt the eviction of a group of families settled in a vacant allotment in the town of Colalao del Valle, whose ownership a former landowner had legally disputed leading to a harsh confrontation between the CIQ and the police force (Tolosa, 2014: 75), which received a big echo through national and international public opinion demanding respect for Indigenous Peoples' rights (Amnesty International, 2011)⁵². That was for him a moment of political awakening: "After that you just

⁵² In June 2011 the legitimate possession of the CIQ over the disputed land was acknowledged in compliance with the Law 26.160/06 and the provincial and national Constitutions.

think: my grandfather died when he was 105, and I say: one hundred and five years paying the landowner, how much is this land worth to the landowner?”⁵³.

The delegate confirmed that the Council had restarted to meet regularly. Asked whether it was possible for me to take part in the next scheduled meeting, he agreed to forward the request to the other members through the dedicated WhatsApp chat. In the meantime, he agreed to let me start the research in the hamlet since I had obtained the authorisation from UNPD-Tucumán, and provided that information to the base-community assembly was correctly given. The meeting was held in the Multifunctional Single Hall [*Salón Único Multifuncional*, SUM] (Figure 8.1(4), a new community space built with the same funding channel as the tourist accommodation project (Figure 8.8). The main point of discussion during the assembly was the logistic organisation of the forthcoming *Festival of the Copla*, a regional gathering of singers of this musical genre spread throughout the Argentinean Northwest (Occhipinti, 2002)⁵⁴. After that, it was my turn to introduce myself and ask for permission to carry out the fieldwork in Talapazo and the availability of those who were attending the meeting to share their time and words for my project.

Few days after the assembly in Talapazo, the Council of Delegates finally met. The young delegate rode his motorbike down the mountainside to the National Route 40, and there we headed south until reaching the unmistakable building that hosts the House of the Community of Quilmes (Figure 8.9) at the crossroads with the dirt road that leads to the Sacred City (see Figure 8.1(5)). As soon as Don Pancho Chaile arrive the assembly officially started. His mandate as *cacique* had been extended until the celebration of the new election; nine out of fourteen base delegates were attending.

⁵³ Fieldnotes, October 2018.

⁵⁴ “*Coplas* are short songs, performed to one of only a few variations of a four-line melody. Some verses are ‘standards’, widely known throughout the region. Others are ‘local’, performed in a particular village or locale. Some of the most highly appreciated *coplas* are improvised, often as witty and slightly suggestive repartees between a male and a female singer” (Occhipinti, 2002: 320).



Figure 8.8: The door of the SUM in Talapazo decorated with the Diaguia motif of the suri. October 2018.

Chaile gave a brief introduction about multiple pending legal proceedings, then asked the delegates to introduce themselves. I had prepared a cover note to present my proposal of investigation, which one of the delegates of Quilmes Centro read out⁵⁵. Thereafter, he suspiciously questioned the ethnographic approach that I had specified in the note: “If yours is an archaeological project, why are you doing anthropology?”⁵⁶. Other enquiries followed from him and other delegates, such as: concerns about “being investigated under magnifying

⁵⁵ As mentioned above, two representatives for each base-community compose the Council of Delegates. In the case of Quilmes Centro, one delegate was the person at the head of the Administration in charge of the Sacred City and he joined the meeting later, while the other delegate and secretary of the assembly had resulted one of the main injured during the seizure of March 2014 and forced to leave the village.

⁵⁶ Fieldnotes, October 2018.

glass”⁵⁷; whether I had any intention to take things out of the community; that I was taking advantage of Quilmes while the project was actually focused on Amaicha del Valle since I had worked there before; finally, the secretary proposed that for the investigation to be fair, I should have committed to training youngers in interviewing methods.

Admittedly, this thorough questioning took me by surprise, as I did not expect to have to defend the positioning of my research design in such a detail before the community assembly. At the same time, the opposition revealed the “uneven sedimentation” (Lazzari and Korstanje, 2018: 215) of knowledge and expertise in the field of consultation (see Chapter 3.2). In this case, suspicion and distrust towards my proposal drew from the tense territorial and political situation of the community, but also from the unsettling (un)disciplinary categorisation of my investigation.



Figure 8.9: The House of the Indian Community of Quilmes. October 2018.

In a certain sense, the point of discussion always gravitated around “the results of the investigation” and to what extent those could translate into benefits for the community. If the research project drives them away from the boundaries of apprehended disciplinary experience, then also the tangible outcomes may become inapprehensible, suspicious, and therefore questionable. By proposing an archaeological ethnography look at the recent past of the community, I was at

⁵⁷ Fieldnotes, October 2018.

once challenging what locals conceived as the true matter of archaeology and undermining what the discipline has been traditionally good for: that is, finding in the distant past the evidence for a persistent identity in the present. Yet, Indigenous politics is more likely to emerge in the multitemporal and material relatedness of dwelling, as it creates a space of friction with the regulatory apparatus of the nation-state.

Pancho Chaile eventually acceded to sign the consent form (Appendix A.6). He settled the discussion⁵⁸ agreeing that whatever the object of the study was, “the crucial thing is meeting again with a mate tea, and you go showing us what things affected you in your journey”⁵⁹.

I could not have found better words to wrap up my research proposal.

8.4 Conclusions

The chapter provided information about the phases of the consent-seeking process leading to reach an agreement to collaborate with the Indigenous communities involved in the second part of the fieldwork of this dissertation in the Calchaquí Valleys. Walking through this field of consultation has revealed the impact of contemporary heritage-making practices on Indigenous territories of the Argentinean Northwest and the interplay of grassroots organisations, provincial, national, and international interests. This frictional space highlights the ambiguities and inconsistencies in the otherwise idealised practice of securing free, prior, and informed consent; regulatory police that can either promote intercultural work or justify the continued dispossession of Indigenous territory and heritage.

The chapter shows that the consultation process, far from being a standard tool that is universally applicable in the same way, occurs in specific contexts, with dynamics that vary according to the experience and expectations of different communities. The purpose of documenting the steps of consultation became a strategy through which the territory reveals its materiality, as a participating

⁵⁸ At least in the setting of the assembly. Some days after the meeting I was told by colleagues in Tucumán that they had been contacted by the acting secretary of the assembly, who asked more information about me and whether the research perspective relying on archaeological ethnography “was a real thing” (Arenas and Manasse, personal communication, November 2018).

⁵⁹ Fieldnotes, October 2018.

subject within the social relations of the communities, claiming its role in my efforts towards a better translation of the practice of rights in vernacular terms.

The task of tracking the multitemporal and material dimensions to widen the political field of multicultural recognition and Indigenous politics lies at the core of the archaeological ethnography in the Indigenous communities of Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes, which follows in the next chapter.

Chapter 9. Heritage Cosmopolitics in the Calchaquí Valleys

This chapter presents the findings of the archaeological ethnography carried out in the indigenous communities of Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes, on the western edge of the Province of Tucumán, in the north-western corner of Argentina. In previous chapters (see Chapter 4.3 and Chapter 8) I showed the imbricated colonial and postcolonial histories of these two communities, as well as the leading role of their authorities within the contemporary context of Indigenous peoples' rights, advocacy, and political activism. As Don Delfín Gerónimo pointed out in the interview he gave me starting the process of consultation and consensus building with the communities (see Chapter 8.1), in spite of the growing recognition at national and international levels, there is still a long way to go before the "implementation gap" between the theory and practice of Indigenous peoples' rights will be overcome. My research corroborates this observation, but also indicates a strategy to bridge this gap by reactivating neglected memories and materialities.

In methodological terms, the fieldwork in the Calchaquí Valleys responded to research curiosities and adjustments as they were unleashed by the multi-sited unveiling of the field as it is walked through. Both the back-and-forth to obtain research permits and the first part of the fieldwork in the municipality of Tiahuanaco have shown that there is a structural dichotomy that configures the field of indigenous heritage as a space of friction between nation-state policies and community self-determination, which in the Bolivian case takes on the contours of the political-spatial-kinship unity of the *ayllu*. Notwithstanding the difference in national contexts and histories of relationships between State and Indigenous peoples in Bolivia and Argentina, looking at heritage through a political lens that is not afraid of making things public reveals a commonality in the experiences of suffering, dispossession, and disenfranchisement between the *Ayllu Huancollo* and the indigenous communities of Amaicha and Quilmes.

The latter does not entail translating *ayllu* politics from one national context to another but thinking of indigenous heritage without the limitations imposed by national borders and academic traditions. A discussion about indigenous heritage must be transnational and grounded on the extended sociality between community and territory with its burden of obligations and relational commitments.

The object of study as well as the researcher are not an exception, and if one wants to engage in community collaboration, the earlier he realises, the better. Through this tangle of experiences and mutual expectations, the signposts to visualise and trace heritage cosmopolitics in the Calchaquí Valleys are disclosed.

Doña Lastenia Aguilar (Calcha18-3: §451), a member of the Council of Elders of Amaicha and who would be elected “Pachamama queen”⁶⁰ the year after my stay in the Calchaquí Valleys, in the following *copla* may have addressed the same concern that I would like to convey in this chapter, but certainly in a more pleasant and befitting manner:

*“A los ajos los cortaron [The garlic plants were cut off]
Y a los tallos los quemaron [And the stems were burnt down]
Pero en el fondo de la tierra [Yet, at the hearth of the earth]
Las raíces quedaron [The roots remained]”*

9.1 Lines of development: Pachamama in the political

August is the month devoted to Pachamama throughout the Andean region (e.g. Haber, 2009: 425; Mamani Condori, 1994: 75). In coincidence with the coldest and driest period of the year, the soil needs preparation for the sowing and the coming of the rainy season; this made it the most critical period of the year, which requires specific rituality (Figure 9.1). People have lengthily frowned upon the public feeding of Pachamama in Northwest Argentina, however, these practices resurfaced in the public space, often with the support of national and international institutions during the last forty years (Arenas and Ataliva, 2017: 174; Boullosa-Joly, 2010: 115; Isla, 2009: 127). Following Angelo’s (2014: 277–278) insights from the Quebrada de Humahuaca, “many recent cultural manifestations (rituals, vernacular architecture, and other practices) thought of as ‘the other’ against which modern Argentina was conceived are now being revalorized and reincorporated into a different ‘sense of self’ and of the nation”.

⁶⁰ Since its second edition in 1949, one of the most peculiar attractions of the National Feast of the Pachamama has been the election of the so-called “Pachamama *queen*”, a personification of the Andean Mother Earth embodied by an old woman of the community elected for her capacity to custody and transmit the knowledge of the territory (see Boullosa-Joly, 2010: 110; Mathews-Salazar, 2006: 78).



Figure 9.1. "The eighth month, August; Chacra Yapuy Killa, month of turning the soil" (Guaman Poma, 1615: 250[252]).

In Amaicha del Valle, the celebration of the 1st of August to honour Pachamama was born out of the challenge posited by the Council of Elders to the former *cacique* Miguel Pastrana and the commodification of the National Festival of Pachamama at the turn of the 20th century (Boullosa-Joly, 2010: 115). The day has now turned into an institutionalised occasion where Indigenous and State authorities concur in performing the ritual of feeding the earth (Figure 9.2). This is also a moment to reinstate", as it was underscored during one of the many conversations with the spiritual leader of the community, Don Beto Andrade:

“To use the gift of the word is an especially important value for humanity. Today with the word we attack, today with the word we lie; in fact, they made us sign documents and then those documents are not valid and never a word to say ‘sorry, I was wrong’ and ‘let’s sit back and start the conversation’. The word is a gift that Mother Earth has given us to express ourselves, and today we are using it badly, then we should rethink how we are using this gift [...] The State is not fulfilling what it should. Our Larger Law is the land and territory, and it is very broad, so it is our very life where land and territory enclose our spirituality, our life, our way of speaking and being able to express ourselves in life in every sense. As part of this community and in the spiritual part, to be able to set a course in society and give a choice, it seems to us that this is the path we should all go down together. When we say brother, not only with people we are brothers, but we are brothers with plants, with animals, with water, with the same stones that for many the stone is a stone and nothing more than that, but for us they are our sisters because we classify them into male and female and have a spirit like us” (Calcha18-12: §5).



Figure 9.2 A panoramic assembled picture of the public celebration of the Pachamama on the 1st of August in the premise of the Indigenous Community Winery. On the left, the Indigenous authorities of the CIAV Council of Elders. Don Beto stands in the middle holding a *whipala*, next to schoolchildren from the local primary school. On the right, the *cacique* Nieva stands just next to the Argentinean flag, followed by the provincial authorities. In the foreground, a rug is used to tap the mouth of the Pachamama and an *apacheta* next to which are located the aliments for the offering. August 2018.

At the celebration of the Pachamama, Don Beto (Calcha18-12: §35) made use of the “gift of the word” to address the politicians who were attending and to restate the commitments held by the State representatives to respect the “sacrality of the territory”. The affirmation of an alternative conceptualisation of territory and humanity renders visible the complexities that haunt the normative efforts to regularise Indigenous politics. Yet, as cultural particularities become publicly asserted, the nuances of political arguments underpinning Indigenous voices are lost in translation:

“For them to speak of nature and the environment is something that has no spirit, it is an economic good. However, we don’t talk about nature, we talk about Mother Earth, and it turns out that Mother Earth has a spirit, because plants have a spirit, because water has a spirit, because everything has a

spirit. So, I'm not talking about an economic good. I'm not talking about money, I'm not talking about an object, but I'm talking about my own brothers, because they have a spirit [...] Humanity is a whole. What happens is that in these times and with these ways of expressing ourselves we are all individualistic; then the human being has already separated from humanity, we are independent, so we think independently, we handle ourselves independently. Yet, the good or bad that we do turns out to favour or not the whole society, so we must return to community thought, where we can all think, where we can all decide, and above all where we can all bear responsibility for what we say" (Calcha18-12: §11).

To take the relationship with Pachamama into account for the recognition of Indigenous rights – as Tucumán Provincial Constitution does – not only means giving credit to a traditional custom but also taking on the responsibility stemming from the acknowledgement of the *pacha*, which is the Quechua/Aymara noun root for Pachamama/Mother Earth. Allen (2015: 27) considered that *pacha* points at “the world we live on and within, [it] is a complex configuration of matter, activity, and moral relationships [...] *Pacha* can denote the whole cosmos as well as a specific moment”. The scalar fluidity investing time and space makes *pacha* a tricky and somehow dangerous framework of “asymmetrical reciprocities” (Haber, 2009: 424) and “commitment” (Sillar, 2004: 181) – such as feeding the earth and asking permission to the *antiguos* – which are constitutive of the broad sociality including both human and other-than-human beings.

Taking care of Pachamama so that she takes care of what the community needs is part of a relationality between beings that translates territorial belonging into participation rather than property. It is a way of linking subjects through difference, and at the same time nurturing the exercise of self-determination. Present/past, culture/nature, and subject/object dichotomies dissolve in this framework of knowledge like the mixed materiality of the offerings in the “mouth” of the earth (Figure 9.3). The political logic of *pacha* brings Indigenous sovereignty over the territory and natural resources to the fore and paves the ground for the emergence of meaningful “spaces of equivocation” (Allen, 2017: 30; after Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 7).



Figure 9.3 At the top, a graffiti painted in a wall standing in the central plaza of Amaicha del Valle, it reads “Pachamama is Liberation”. August 2017. At the bottom, materiality of the offering to Pachamama before and after the celebration at the Indigenous Community Winery. August 2018.

As a researcher in the field one cannot help but be exposed to this “local theory of relatedness” (Haber, 2009: 428), which concurrently transforms how “we relate with things and their spectres” (Haber, 2013: 80). Engaging with Andean animism and the nested politics of the *pacha* brings about “*resetting* our thinking [so as to] recognize presentation rather than representation, predication rather than symbolism” (Allen, 2015: 39). Amid the folds of *movement* and *attention* prompted by my “wayfaring” (see Ingold, 2016: xxvi) across the mesh of heritage/rights practices in the Calchaquí Valleys, the forking paths of development interventions’ signatures in the territory became apparent.

9.1.1 The ECIRA Project in Amaicha del Valle: Italians' "sweet cash", tangible legacies of leadership, and disputes of identity

During my early days of fieldwork, there was an aspect that often cropped up from informal conversations: my presence gave rise to memories of other Italians who had previously crossed paths in Amaicha del Valle to implement a rural development project. At first, I did not pay too much attention to these random interactions; yet the persistence and the frequency with which the memories of the "Italians who came with the ECIRA Project"⁶¹ resurfaced, eventually sparked my interest into an unexpected yet valuable research pathway. When I had the opportunity to briefly talk with a woman who had been part of the technical team of the project, she was reluctant to speak about it, yet she said:

"This project helped the community to reorganize, because until then they came... with nothing; I mean, I always say: 'we put the Indian headband on because cash was coming' and well, that's how they started [...] Some things did work, especially in the organizational side and as far as identity is concerned, I said, 'I used to be an Indian, give me money!'"⁶²

Community's historians Quinteros and Cruz (2016: 890) have argued that the project was in all effects "a breaking point" for the recent history of the community. A leading position in the ECIRA team was held by the anthropologist Alejandro Isla (2009: 110–125), who offered a deep account about how the execution dynamics of the project intercepted the factional disputes for the legal representation of the community – from a cooperative of agricultural producers to a juridically registered civil association – which would have enabled securing and managing development funding at the same time of being a prerequisite for

⁶¹ *Estudios Comparados Interdisciplinarios de la Realidad Andina* [Interdisciplinary Comparative Studies of Andean Reality]. The Project was based at the University of Buenos Aires in Tilcara (Jujuy) and implemented between 1987 and 1994 with the funding of the Italian NGO *Movimento Laici per l'America Latina*, MLAL [Laity Movement for Latin America]. Mathews-Salazar (n.d. [1997], 89) highlighted the post-dictatorship context in which the project was designed, and the intimate connections forged between the core members during the years of repression. In fact, both Alejandro Isla, the anthropologist and director of the project, and Pedro Cerviño, responsible for the local implementation in Amaicha, had been imprisoned and compelled to leave the country and seek exile in Italy. A preliminary survey found needs, aims, and activities of the development intervention in collaboration with the local indigenous and civil authorities of Amaicha, both held by Miguel Pastrana at that time (Isla, 2009: 81). In coincidence with the official starting of the productive stage of the project, in 1989, the ECIRA team founded the NGO *Centro Andino de Formación y Desarrollo*, CADIF [Andean Training and Development Centre] which continues to be active in promoting rural indigenous development in the valley.

⁶² Fieldnotes, September 2018.

successive litigations seeking recognition of the national juridical entity and collective land tenure.

Within an applied anthropology framework, the project's general aim was to improve living conditions and consolidate the organisational structure of the community of Amaicha with the intention of halting locals' reliance on public jobs and youth emigration (Isla, 2014: 103). The original design involved the purchase of motor vehicles and agricultural equipment, the building of a community house and two annexed warehouses, fomenting livestock breeding and the cultivation of grapes, alfalfa seeds, and aromatic crops destined to the national market through the drilling of three wells with coated canalisation (Isla, 2014: 105–106).

At the end of the implementation period, two wells were in function to produce marketable alfalfa seeds in the locality of Encalilla, close to the river Santa María, while the other sub-projects left no trace, and the warehouses and the designed community house remained abandoned on the outskirts of the town in a turbulent dialogue with the unfinished ampliation of Héctor Cruz's Pachamama Touristic Complex right in front of them⁶³ (Figure 9.4). The dimension of hope and expectations generated by development promises matched the persistent aftermaths of mistrust and violence left by the project in its journey through the community (Isla, 2009: 81–82; Isla, 2014: 107; Mathews-Salazar, n.d.: 94–98). The project did not reach the hoped organisational and economic sustainability primarily because of its underestimation of the State bodies' interactions with community's internal factionalism, but also, due to its attachment to models extrapolated from an economy-biased and rigid view of community work underlying the kinship relations of the *ayllu* in the central Andes (see Chapter 7.3.2), which have proved unapplicable to the actual realities of the Argentinean Northwest region as elsewhere.

⁶³ The allotment where the warehouses and the community house were built was at the centre of a dispute between Héctor Cruz and the *cacique* Pastrana, who was accused by the entrepreneur of not respecting an agreement to sell the property of that portion of land (Isla, 2009: 23–28). The situation escalated in June 2000 when the family of Cruz occupied and fenced the sheds and the community house in. Pastrana responded by sending his supporters with the tractor bought with the ECIRA's funding to break the fence and evict Cruz. When the two groups met, one of the sons of Cruz set fire to the tractor provoking serious injuries to the person who was driving. After the intervention of the police and subsequent legal proceedings, Cruz's ampliation designs were interdicted, and the disputed allotment remained in juridical possession of the members of the Pastrana's family.

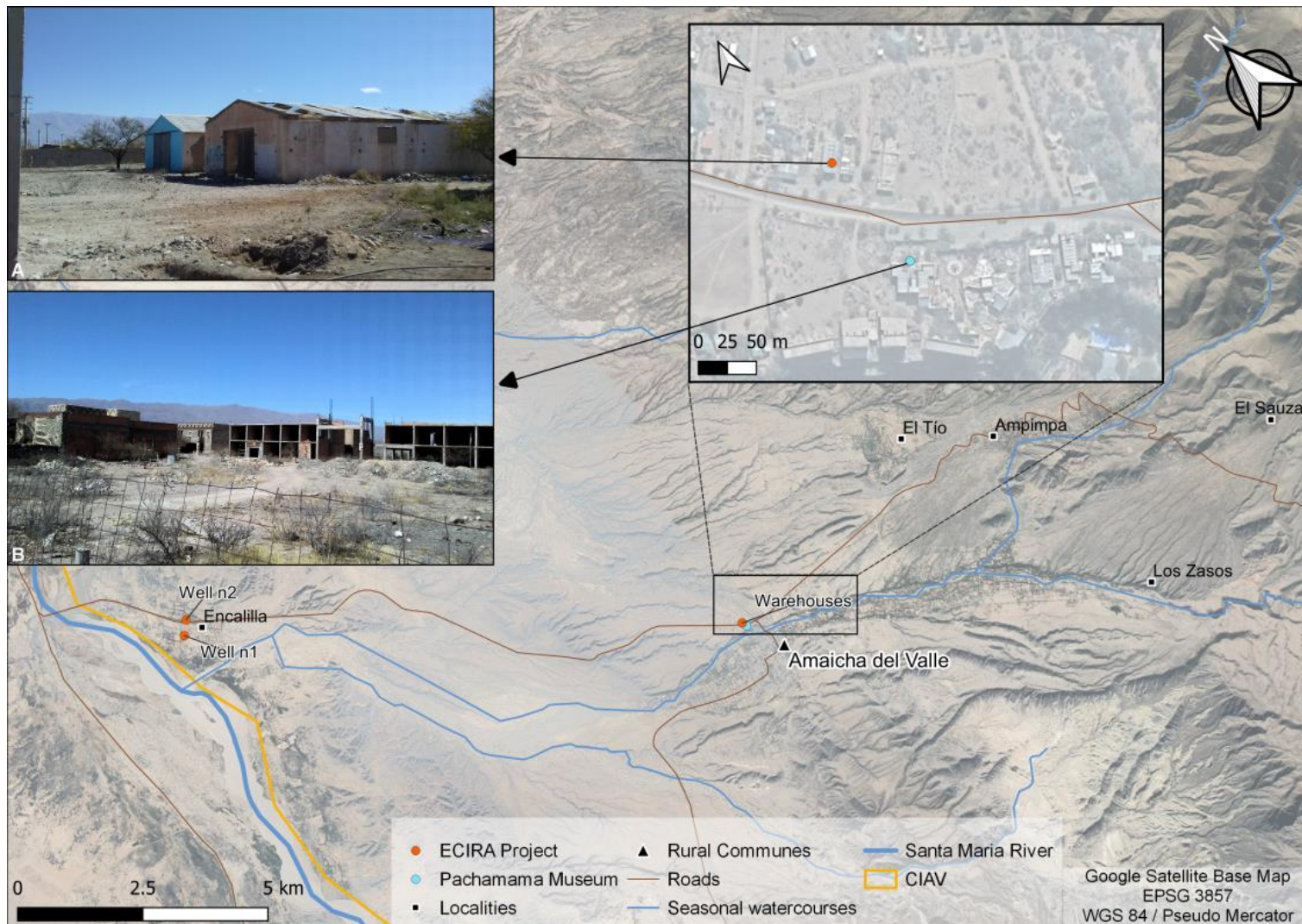


Figure 9.4: Map showing the locations interested by the ECIRA/MLAL Project and detail of the abandoned warehouses (a) in front of the unfinished extension of the Pachamama Museum Complex (b). August 2018.

The former *cacique* Miguel Pastrana was the main interlocutor of the technical team. He has already moved away from community's political life, but very kindly welcomed me to his retirement house in the locality of El Tío. The ECIRA Project was in his opinion a "*proyecto malparido*" [pitiful project] because it failed to consider the differential of time and interest between the technicians' good intentions and the living life of the locals:

"At that time, we were interested in bringing funds to change people's economic situation. It wasn't even the case to dwell on what the purpose of that would be, because people with money already think differently. But well, we brought the project, we didn't put it together because we didn't have a technician, eh, projects have always been set up outside, they've come here, people saw them and said, 'It's fine like this, that's it'. But why do I say this was a pitiful project? Because if they come and say, 'Look, how much land do you have? We can put one, two, three, ten hectares of whatever you want, well, take the funds to buy the tools'; but how do I make ends meet? This is going to take two years, three years for me to start producing, and what would I eat with my family if I work? Well, that matter hasn't been considered [...] the project failed because people couldn't afford to work permanently on this" (Calcha18-17: §98, 104).

Notwithstanding his late regrets, Miguel Pastrana was the prime mover of the project, and he fought the most for its execution. For him, bringing the project to Amaicha was a way to consolidate the collective ownership of the land and so to enforce the legal recognition of the 1716 Royal Deed (see Chapter 3.3.2), but he found that "people were not aware of what the community means" (Calcha18-17: §296). He contended that the project didn't work because of a lack of a lack of self-sacrifice on the part of the community members, and therefore complained that "they could not see the results, and the project ended up ruining" (Calcha18-17: §149).

Marcos Pastrana was the president of the project's steering committee during the final years of the ECIRA Project (Isla, 2009: 117) and shared a similar opinion on the causes that made the development intervention fail at least in part. His was one of the few households, out of the eight that had agreed to receive land and equipment, which maintained and expanded the farming plot in Encalilla. Right there we met on a windy day; in addition to take care of his plot, Don Marcos had been recently tasked by the community with monitoring the access and redistribution of the water extracted through the two wells of Encalilla, and the compliance with the payment of the related electric bills. He explained to me that

the wells were originally powered by gasoil motors, but changed to a more convenient electric extraction system (Figure 9.5); then he recalled:

“That’s the luck we’ve had because those people came with money, such a sweet cash that they gave us... well, it’s not that they gave us but that they looked for a company, an NGO, and they drilled the wells. The two wells that are working have been dug by those people. They supplied all kinds of equipment: tractors, plough, cars, and a van. It has been greatly beneficial, but well, of all that what is standing is right here: the wells and the lands that have begun to be worked” (Calcha18-2: §13).

For Don Marcos, whether the project worked depended on the efforts that locals had put on it:

“For those who are willing to work the land, the land gives you back. There’s no case: the land gives you everything. Yet, those who come to work on the farm for a little, and then come back whenever they want, they are not going to succeed in anything [...] Then they grumble because there was no yield; but if they haven’t taken care of it! Pachamama gives you, that’s right, but she rather gives you the strength to work” (Calcha18-2: §17-19).

The opportunity to manage such amount of incoming funds stirred the rivalry among the opposing factions to fill the jobs available within the project, as well as the suspicion that behind “the Italians” there was an unsaid interest in taking the land of the community since they were not asking anything in return (Isla, 2009: 111–113; Mathews-Salazar, n.d.: 99–102)⁶⁴. According to Isla (2009: 82), such was “the seductive power of money” within the community that reinstated cooptation dynamics and fears associated with the seasonal job in sugar cane plantations (i.e. *zafra*), yet with a change in the “local elites” which used to control this intermediary position. He claimed that “the project’s subsided nature was not understood. There was always a deep mistrust towards the space of consultation because money came for free, as a gift from the Italians” (Isla, 2009: 111).

⁶⁴ The election to the presidency of the *Asociación Civil Comunidad de Amaicha* held in 1988 turned into a competition for the direction of the steering committee set up to implement the ECIRA project in the field. The technical team of the ECIRA openly supported the Pastrana’s list, stoking the accusation of corruption and misappropriation from the opponent Mamani’s supporters. Don Filemón Mamani led the latter group that opposed the victory of Pastrana’s candidate and registered another civil association with the name *Comunidad Indígena de Amaicha*. This was also supported by the commune delegate, who had changed in detriment of Miguel Pastrana reflecting the shift in the political power of the Province (Isla, 2009: 115).

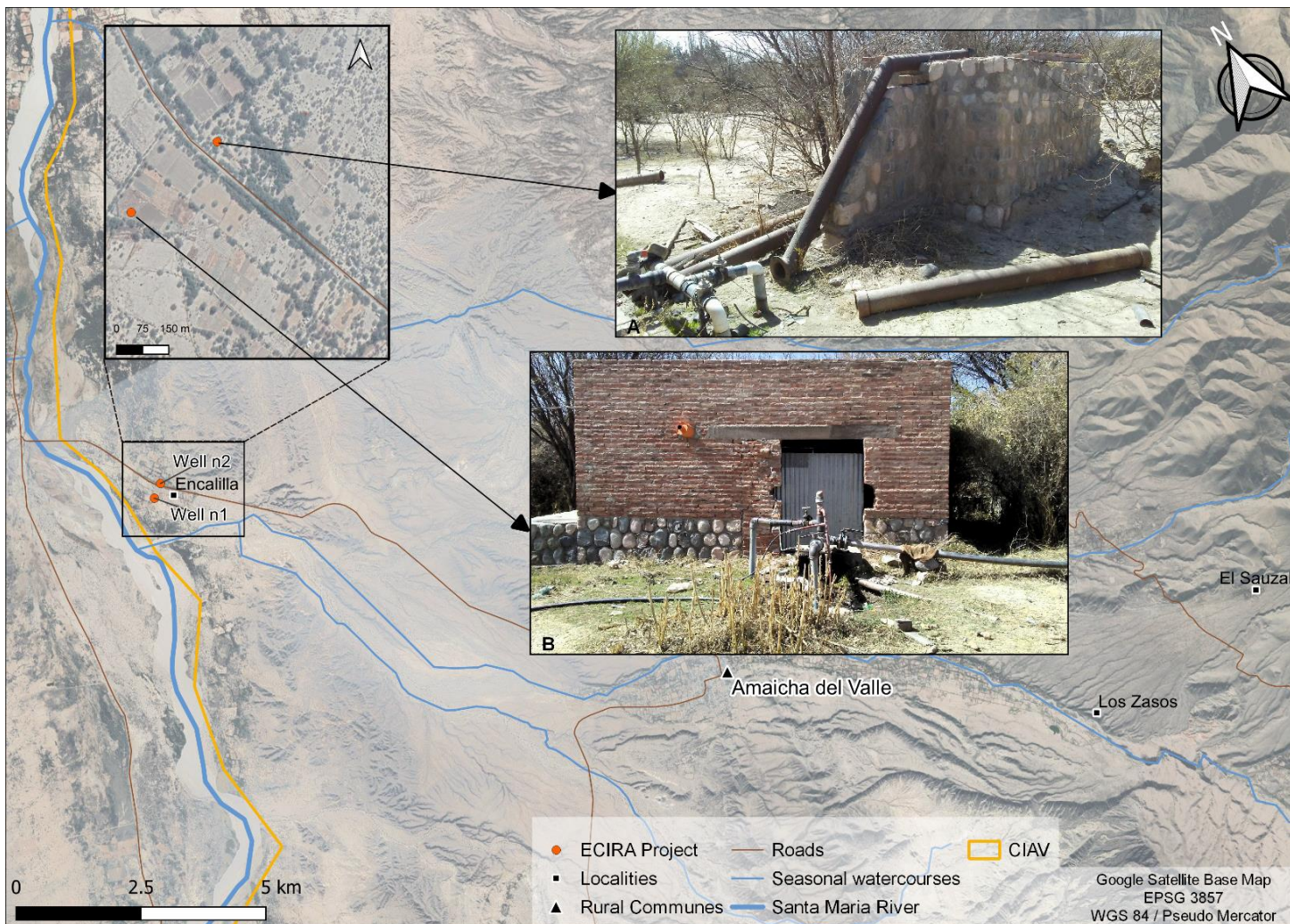


Figure 9.5: Map showing the locality of Encalilla where the two wells of the ECIRA Project were built, and details of a water tank attached to the well n.2 (a) and dismissed after the change to the electrical water extraction system, and the electric pump of the well n.1 (b) with the building that used to host the old diesel engine. August 2018.

Nearly US\$ 800.000 came to Amaicha del Valle through the ECIRA Project (Isla, 2009: 110). An elder community member and proud grandson of the first Pachamama queen vividly recalled the assembly convoked to supply information about the project. It was the moment in which “they said to us, ‘These are dollars!’ They had to show them to us so that we could know because we didn’t know the dollars [...] there were dollars piled up, cash, dollars on hand” (Calcha18-16: § 241). He insisted that the investment was shamefully wasted: “everything melted away [...] we bought the tractor, and they burned it; we bought the machinery, and they lost it; we bought a van, and they broke it; what was going to be done, has not been done” (Calcha18-16: §230, 236)

One of the fiercest opponents to the project was *Pato Mamani*⁶⁵. I went to visit him for he had been the last public concessionary of the provincially owned *Hostería* at the beginning of the 1990s, taking advantage of the closeness between his family and the recently appointed delegate of the rural commune. The conversation quickly moved to the ECIRA Project and the political situation of the community at that time. He was among the signatories of the formal complaint for embezzlement filed against Miguel Pastrana before the INAI, which was on the verge of withdrawing the national juridical entity granted in 1997 (Isla 2009: 122-123).

From his point of view the measure of the failure of the project is given by the disproportion between the amount of incoming money and the few tangible results: “in between that wicked cash lies a burnt tractor, ruined warehouses, a fortune in stolen equipment, brand new vehicles used for two, three months and made vanished. It was a really bad process for the community” (Calcha18-20: §178-180). Joking on the occurrence that the funding came from Italy, he colourfully wrapped up the project’s pitfalls:

“I’m going to tell you something: it’s not the pig’s fault but whoever’s feeds it [...] Our people should be blamed because if you bring a project to make a table, and the Italians have been very scrupulous to design a four-legged

⁶⁵ *Pato’s* father was don Filemón who challenged the leadership of Miguel Pastrana in the 1980s. His grandfather don Agapito Mamani is remembered as the *last lifelong cacique* elected according to the traditional community’s statute. Don Agapito died in 1964 and he was replaced by Raimundo Silva who encouraged the inscription of the community into a cooperative directed by a secretary led by a president and regulated by civil law, a transition that was formalised in 1970 (Isla, 2009: 107).

table, but later I find a table with three legs, or two, then the fault is mine... Why would I make a three-legged table?" (Calcha18-20: §199)

Further harsh critics to the ECIRA Project came from another descendant of Amaicha's local elites, the Segura family. This family has been long embroiled with the political and economic development of the community in the last century, pioneering local trade – they still own the earliest grocery shop in town – in addition to playing the critical role of intermediary with the sugar industry during the *zafra* (Mathews-Salazar, n.d.: 39). When the project started, Guti Quiróz had recently returned to Amaicha after pursuing university studies in engineering in Buenos Aires. He quite clearly asserted his positioning against the development project: "everything that could have been earned was for them; they did the project for themselves, not for the community [...] I don't think I got it wrong because there was anything left when the project ended". (Calcha18-8: §13, 55). I asked him about what kind of idea of development the ECIRA was promoting, and he replied:

"They did the same we used to do in our households, but I could not see how people were improving [...] Of course, they brought many things, such as those warehouses, which now you see them all destroyed, there were baling machines there. I'm not denying that, but there's something else missing. Because it's not just giving a machine, I mean, locals could drive a tractor but not really value it or take advantage of the machine unless you teach them what's it worth for. I think the project missed that" (Calcha18-8: § 33, 68).

What is interesting is that both *Pato* Mamani and Guti Quiróz pointed to successful examples of initiatives implemented by their respective families to contrast the ECIRA Project's distance from a fair community development (Figure 9.6). This was the case of the 1936 arrangement for the public works of water canalisation in the locality of El Remate negotiated by Don Agapito Mamani (Cano Velez, 1943: 122–123), to whom his grandson *Pato* referred as "forward-thinker" (Calcha18-20: §166). As well as the famous water-powered stone mill owned by Guti's grandfather, Don Justo Segura, which was one of the only three mills in the Calchaquí Valleys in the first half of the 20th century, also serving as a meeting point for the exchange of goods, services, and ideas; according to Guti, "at that time the community worked not with money but with bartering" (Calcha18-8: §231).

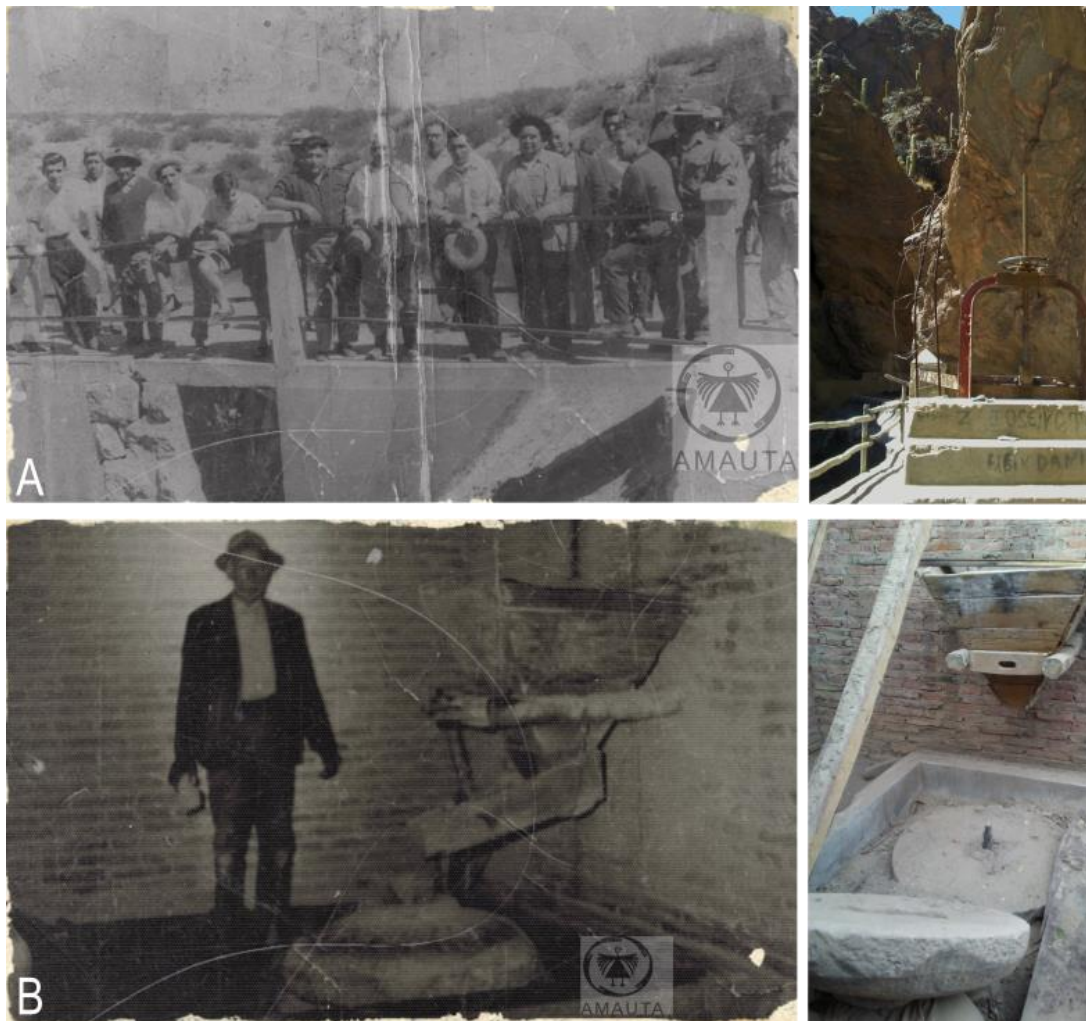


Figure 9.6: a) Archival image showing the *cacique* Agapito Mamani surrounded by workers of the water canalisation (Fundación Amauta, ca. 1936), and on the right, the locality of El Remate where water is channelled into the dike of Los Zastos and then to the town of Amaicha through ditches. September 2018; b) Archival image of Don Justo Segura standing by the mill (Fundación Amauta, ca. 1960), and on the right, the mill that his grandson would like to restore for educational purposes. September 2018.

These examples highlight the publicly acknowledged brokerage, i.e., the ability to negotiate and navigate across worlds, as the characteristic signature of successful and legitimate community leadership (Isla, 2009: 97; Rodríguez and Boullosa-Joly, 2013: 5). It is precisely this ability what they considered lacking, or suspiciously hidden, in the local management of the ECIRA Project.

However, in addition to the political and economic resources mobilised by the traditional elites, Miguel Pastrana leveraged on a different kind of symbolic capital during the project. Together with agricultural machinery came workshops, leaflets, and radio broadcasting aimed at rediscovering the roots of community identity (Boullosa-Joly, 2016a: 116–117; Mathews-Salazar, n.d.: 106). The former *cacique* explained that his own success was due to the connections established within the flourishing transnational indigenism: “I was the

representative of Argentina at the United Nations and I engaged with the economic world, then we achieved other important projects for Amaicha” (Calcha18-17: §78).

An elderly couple who received land and equipment through the ECIRA project was overall satisfied with how things went on the productive side – “fabulous, but it had no sales” (Calcha18-6: §237) – and also reckoned that with the arrival of the team, locals “started to take an interest in feeling indigenous [...] It was right there when we began to claim that we are an indigenous community” (Calcha18-6: §262). In a more critical vein, Guti Quiróz returned to the entanglement between culture, politics, and development that characterised the first experience of the community of Amaicha within international cooperation networks:

“Why did they take advantage of culture? Because they said the project was for an indigenous community in Amaicha del Valle, do you get me? They publicised all things like so, then when the money ran out, the project ended, and they forgot about the community [...] Careful, it happens still now that the [indigenous] community is just feigned!” (Calcha18-8: §122-124).

This warning seems to be concretising if one compares the pictures of the old van of the ECIRA team that lay dumped in one of the warehouses and the bright new van of the communal commissioner/*cacique* Nieva (Figure 9.7). Identity factors intervene in the dispute for community development to the extent that the materiality of these projects recalls the individual qualities of the *cacique* responsible for their implementation, which can deteriorate as much as the development objects.

The interplay of agencies, human and non-human, between the *caciques* and the materials attached to their leadership has been captured clearly during a chance encounter, when I was trying to ask around about the two abandoned warehouses, and the owner of a shop right next door got to the heart of the matter:

“At that time, we received a subsidy. Here was the headquarter of the community. They bought agricultural machinery, tractors, to revalue the field of Encalilla. I remember because my dad was in that group, they worked the land. There are still the wells, and well, ones had passed, and others came. It’s like what is happening now with the current *cacique*: he goes crazy with the winery and then another crazy guy will come over time, and the winery will be ruin... What do I know, just to make you an idea”⁶⁶.

⁶⁶ Fieldnotes, August 2018.



Figure 9.7: a) The vanishing symbol of the Indigenous Community of Amaicha del Valle on the chassis of the van used during the ECIRA Project; b) The new van of the rural commune of Amaicha under the administration of the *cacique* Nieva; c) A view of the new building of the Community Winery close to the hamlet El Tío. August 2018.

What remained after the project ended was the dispute over the representation of community identity as a new asset that allowed the concentration of public benefits following the recognition of Indigenous Peoples' rights in the 1994 Constitution (Figure 9.8). The rural commune, controlled by the Mamani faction at that time, obtained funding from the provincial government to renovate the central plaza of the town with the addition of *pirkas* and *apachetas* to give it more native appeal (Mathews-Salazar, 2006: 75). Concurrently, the indigenous community of Miguel Pastrana had access to an important channel propitiated by the INAI to design and build the so-called *Pachamómetro*, a fenced venue in which Carnival activities were concentrated from the original setting in the central plaza to charge tourists an entrance (Boullosa-Joly, 2010: 113; Isla, 2009: 130). The indigenous community was also very active in establishing collaboration

agreements with university departments (see Aschero et al., 2005; Rivolta, 2010), aiming to prompt the archaeological investigation of the sites of El Remate and Los Cardones and to develop community tourism on an identity and cultural basis.



Figure 9.8: Materialities of “indigenous re-emergence” and community factionalism associated with the Pachamama. a) The *apacheta*, “altar for offering to Pachamama (Mother Earth)” standing in the central plaza of Amaicha after the refurbishment of the 1990s; b) The entrance gate of the *Pachamómento* that opens in February for the annual week-long Festival of Pachamama, while remaining closed for the rest of the year. August 2018.

The trail of distrust inaugurated by the ECIRA Project persisted through the tangible qualities of competitive socio-material arrangements orientating community development. The management of another funding channel coming through the World Bank Indigenous Community Development Program [WB-DCI

(World Bank, 2000)]⁶⁷ released additional tensions in the already precarious governance of the community (Boullosa-Joly, 2010: 23; Rodríguez and Boullosa-Joly, 2013: 23). The exacerbation of identity disputes would eventually lead to the rivalry among the *cacique* Pastrana and the Council of Elders over the organisation of the National Feast of the Pachamama in 2002 and the subsequent governance chasm, which only the political and negotiating skills across different worlds embodied by the cacique Nieva were able to recompose, until other heritage-triggered conflicts would not have spawned to make the community move across generations of memories.

9.1.2 “The water is not for sale”: photo-assemblage of a development waterscape

On one day in mid-August, I joined the family that hosted me in Amaicha del Valle to participate in a celebration in honour of Pachamama in a hamlet called El Sauzal, or *Chaupi Ñam* [the middle path] as it has become recently known, on the slope of the Calchaquí Mountains which enclose the Santa María Valley towards the east (Figure 9.9). In addition to the public celebration of Pachamama, the familiar gatherings to give thanks and reinstate the pact of reciprocity with the earth have also been revamped in the last few years.

At the margin of the festivity, I could talk to community historians Rodolfo Cruz and Mario Quinteros about the research angle that I had taken. They both remembered that in El Sauzal another development intervention took place through a cooperation project funded by the European Union and implemented in the field by the Italian NGO *Associazione per la Partecipazione allo Sviluppo* [Association for Participation in Development, APS-EU] (Figure 9.10). Yet nothing came out of that because the locals had taken all supplied hoses away and redirected the water towards their household plots rather than the walnut orchard that came with the project⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ This was a US\$5.000.000 “Learning and Innovation Loan” conceded by the World Bank to the government of Argentina to promote “community-driven development and management of natural resources on indigenous lands” (World Bank, 2000: 2). The INAI was in charge of the coordination with an advisory board composed by two representatives for each concerned community. Three pilot areas were identified in Neuquén (Mapuche Community of Pulmarí), Salta (Kolla Community of Finca Santiago), Tucumán (Diaguíta-Calchaquí communities of Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes), on the basis that they had already achieved land regularisation and sufficient degree of internal organisation (World Bank, 2000: 42).

⁶⁸ Fieldnotes, August 2018.



Figure 9.9: Celebration of the Pachamama in El Sauzal (CIAV). August 2018.



Figure 9.10: The signal of the APS-EU Project in a field of El Sauzal. Courtesy Mario Quinteros (Source: Indymedia Argentina, 2005).

Mario is today a high-school teacher in Tucumán capital city, but he had a leading role in community politics, as he was involved in the creation of the Council of Elders and was elected *cacique* after the hectic General Assembly of May 2004 that discredited Miguel Pastrana's leadership. In a series of pieces published in a well-known international online information portal, he charged against Miguel Pastrana, whom he branded as "*protégé* by the INAI" (Indymedia Argentina,

2003: n.d.) because of the indifference of the federal agency to the allegations of embezzlement against the former *cacique* and his administration.

If the INAI maintained its institutional support toward Pastrana, even after he was officially discharged by the General Assembly, according to Mario (Indymedia Argentina, 2005) that was due to ensure the implementation of the international cooperation projects no matter what effects those were having in practice, therefore, in violation of the ILO Convention 169, as it was harmed the right to take decisions concerning the development of the community and its territory in a free, conscious and informed manner.

However, continuity in leadership at the local level was essential for the nation-state apparatus to access dedicated funding and regulate the political aspirations of the community. The same was true for the counterparts of those international cooperation projects. In one case, the World Bank (2004: 6) arrived to put in writing, as one of the “lesson learnt” points of the pilot indigenous development program:

“Given the importance of backing the communities, various mechanisms of support to the authorities must be included since they are the guarantee to the continuance of the project and they serve as a key role in providing incentives for ample social participation”.

Both the World Bank and the European Union international cooperation projects affected several locations on both banks of the Santa Maria River in its slow flowing throughout the Calchaquí Valleys (Figure 9.11). The focus of these interventions was primarily on rationalising the water supply to promote agricultural productivity and strengthen community governance. As the example of El Sauzal shows, these plans did not find a straightforward application in terms of practical deployment and acceptance by the local population.

Two main issues might have concurred to slowing down the implementation of the international development projects, which gave rise to the photowork assembled in this section: on one side, the projects challenged the customary cyclical water distribution according to household tenancy in each particular hamlet or in association with others; on the other, the technical assessments and reports overall underestimated the power of the mudslides – locally known as *volcán* – which capriciously as much as violently hit the valley during the rainfall season.

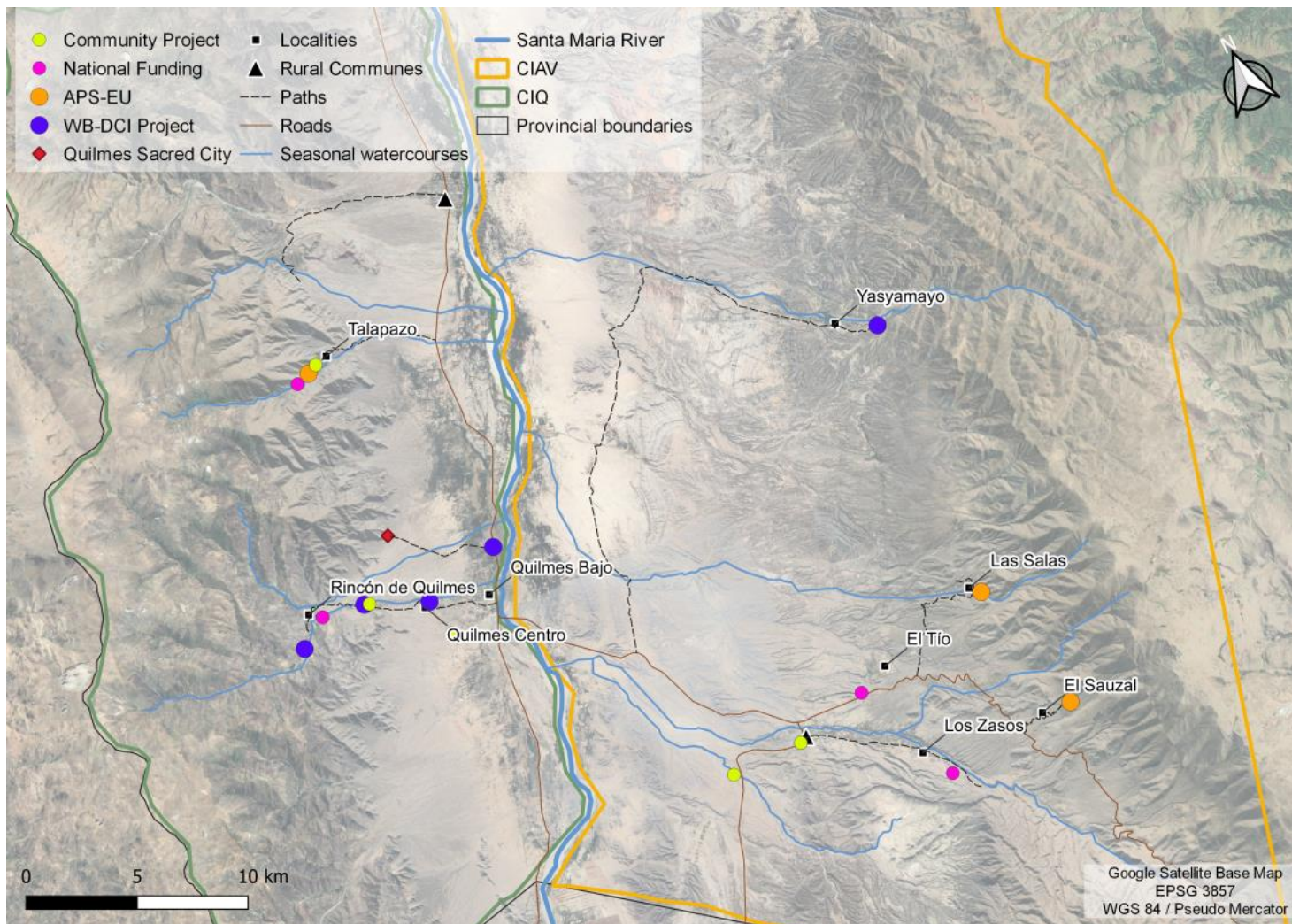


Figure 9.11: Map showing the locations that were interested by the WB-DCI and APS-EU Projects plus interventions funded by national agencies or community initiatives mentioned in the chapter.

The combination of those factors does not imply that the projects have failed unambiguously everywhere. In fact, it draws attention to the slippery surface of knowledge and practice that superimposes the promised modernisation of natural resource management, because of water is more than an object of technical intervention. The result is a waterscape made of plastic hoses, ditches, stone canalisation, cisterns, pressure load breakers, and dams, as well as people, plants, and animals, which bring a multitemporal and multispecies assemblage together. Therein some features are already abandoned or overlap with the traces of earlier interventions, while others have been transformed or rearranged to meet the living circumstances of the locals.

A vignette from the village of Talapazo (CIQ) elucidates how equivocations about water agency and rationalisation are still crucial to the contemporary drive for tourism-led development. During my stay, I could attend a meeting called to hear from the representatives of the Secretary of Agriculture about the funded tourist infrastructure (Figure 9.12). The functionaries explained that the promised materials to complete the waterproofing of the tourist cabins were no longer available due to budget restrictions; however, they had already brought calamine sheets instead.

Another was the matter of concern to those present: the promise of increasing tourist flow could bring a shortage of water supply. The project manager's solution was sharp and conclusive: "the tourist who comes here needs to know that water is scarce, so you have to put signals to inform that water isn't potable and those who want drinking water must buy it", and then an added warning, "it's better for you to follow all the requirements of community-based rural tourism otherwise El Pichao or Quilmes will get the funding!"⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ Fieldnotes, October 2018.



Figure 9.12: The meeting in the SUM of Talapazo (CIQ) with the functionaries the governmental community-based rural tourism project. On the right side of the table, next to the exhausted child, is the project manager in plaid shirt. October 2018.

The envisaged solution, although undisputed during the meeting, stood out to me not only for the blunt threat to redirect the project onto other base-communities of the territory, thus feeding competition and jealousy, but also because suddenly an episode occurred the earlier days of stay in Talapazo came up to my mind and made sense to me equivocally: I wanted to buy a bottle of water from the shop, and the owner sold it to me, but reluctantly and she wanted me to know that the piped water was also drinkable.

What an elderly woman of the hamlet later told me about selling water sheds light on this space of equivocation, which may appear superficial at first glance:

“I’ve complained to these youngsters, ‘You let anyone in, what do you know what they’re going to do?’ Here is greatly rich. We’ve always defended the mountain. This is mineral water what we have here. They made studies, in all this area there’s mineral water. At once they came to take the water, and by throwing stones we sent them away [...] This is mineral water, that’s why those who come and drink then feel sick, because this is pure water. There was a British young boy who wanted water and I filled his bottle, then he wanted me to sell it and asked, ‘How much is that?’ No! Water is not for sale! Pachamama becomes upset and she won’t give us more water. So I told him, ‘Better you buy tickets for the raffle of the Festival of the Copla instead’” (Calcha18-29: 155, 163).

Water partakes community social life in such a way that exceeds the comprehension of development technicians. I had another suggestion of this excess during a morning when I was asked to entertain the few children based at the school of Talapazo due to a last-minute absence of the teacher. When asked to draw what they thought it was a notable feature of the hamlet that I could visit

in the next days, two little girls impressed me with their drawings for their ability to channel the centrality of water in the social life of the community (Figure 9.13).

In what follows, I will attempt to bring such an excess to light through a photo-assemblage of aquatic socio-material arrangements documented in localities of Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes whose territories were affected by multiple development interventions, either coming from abroad or product of community rearrangement.



Figure 9.13: Waterscapes as drawn by two little girls in Talapazo. October 2018.



Figure 9.14: An abandoned hose seemingly shaped as a question mark in a field between the villages of Quilmes Centro and Quilmes Bajo (CIQ). It was part of the high-pressure irrigation system brought through the World Bank-DCI Project and designed to channel the spring water in Rincón de Quilmes down to the valley. Yet, the families of Quilmes Bajo opposed and cut it down because the system went in detriment of the rotation of shifts through which they had traditionally managed the use of water. November 2018.



Figure 9.15: A hose of the World Bank-DCI Project suspended over a ravine near Yasyamayo (CIAV). The system worked, but the amount of water conveyed by the tube is too small as to cover all needs of the local families, the most part of which emigrated to the city. September 2018.



Figure 9.16: Frames of the walking-with-video interview conducted following the course of the APS-EU Project irrigation system in Las Salas (CIAV). a) The concrete water tank at the top of the irrigation system; b) An orchard where the walnut trees have dried up due to lack of care; c) The abandoned ditch that was replaced by the new high pressure system; d) Following the main tube as it crosses the bed of a seasonal watercourse; e) Excavating the head key of the irrigation system in an abandoned farming plot, to show how air remains stuck in the system if it is not used; f) The research participant's farming plot where he eventually replaced the supplied automatic drip system with a sprinkler one because he considered that the former did not supply enough water for the walnut trees, which ended up drying. September 2018.

The project funded by the European Union foresaw replacing flood watering with an automatic drip irrigation system for the cultivation of walnut orchards. I was able to reach a former participant in that project, who still holds land in his native hamlet of Las Salas but lives and works in the town of Amaicha. He was overall satisfied, although considering that a more specific formation on the use of the irrigation system and the specificity of cultivation of the variety of walnut tree supplied by the project would have helped. He appreciated that the new system allows watering more often than flood irrigation regulated by cyclical distribution

of water shifts. However, only seven families out of the sixteen that were in the hamlet before the arrival of the project remained, while the majority left their plots abandoned as it was not affordable to continue caring for them if the youth was moving away. Another risk factor is wild animals, such as foxes, rats, and other underground rodents (*ocultos*) that eat the hoses and roots of plants; in either case, the plants end up drying out.

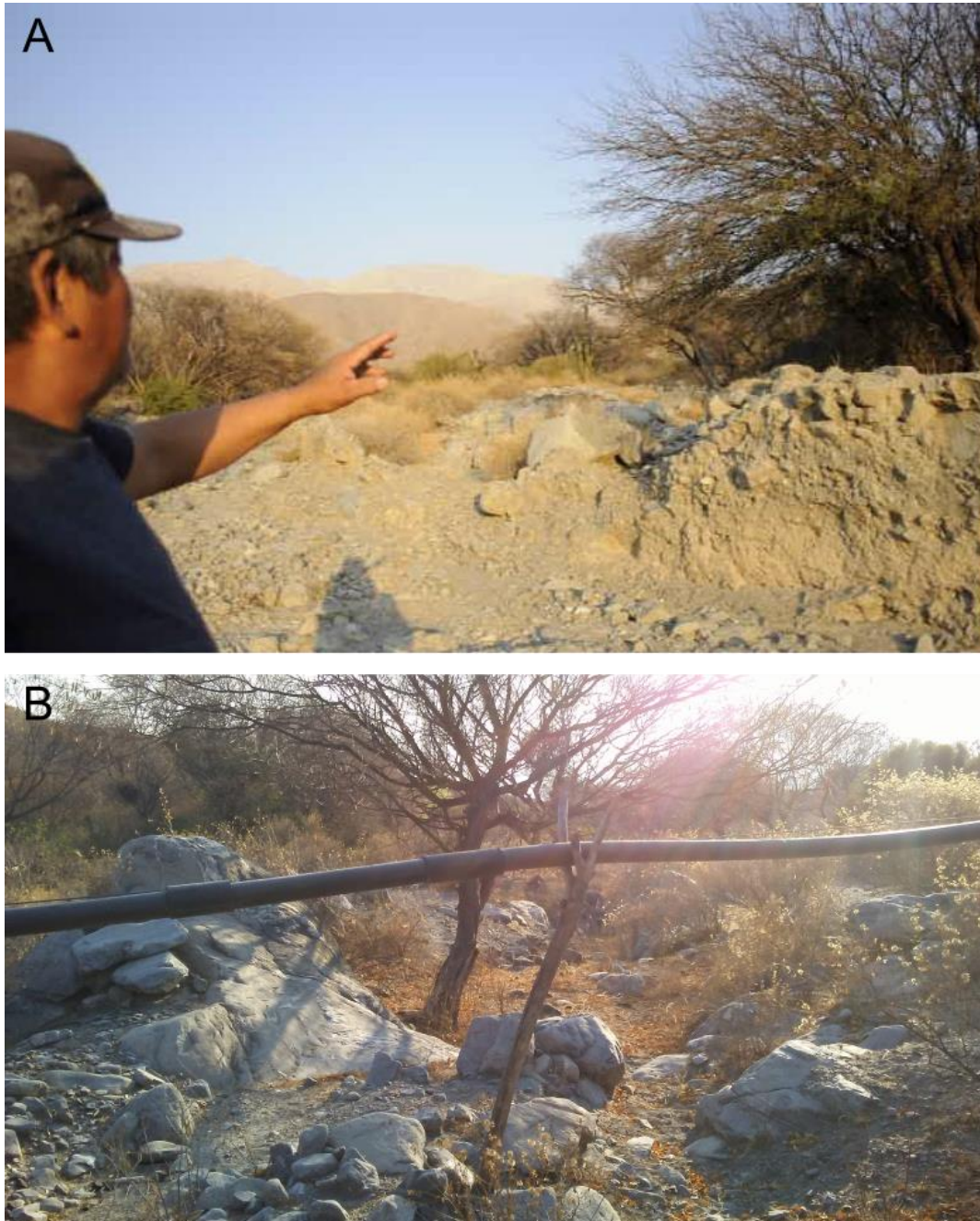


Figure 9.17: Two more snapshots from the survey in the hamlet of Las Salas (CIAV) expressing the precariousness of the implementation of the APS-EU Project. A) The research participant pointing at the heap of soil and debris washed away by a *volcán*, which also broke the main tube of the irrigation system. b) The replaced tube precariously supported by a wooden stick before burrowing under the opposite shore of the river. September 2018.

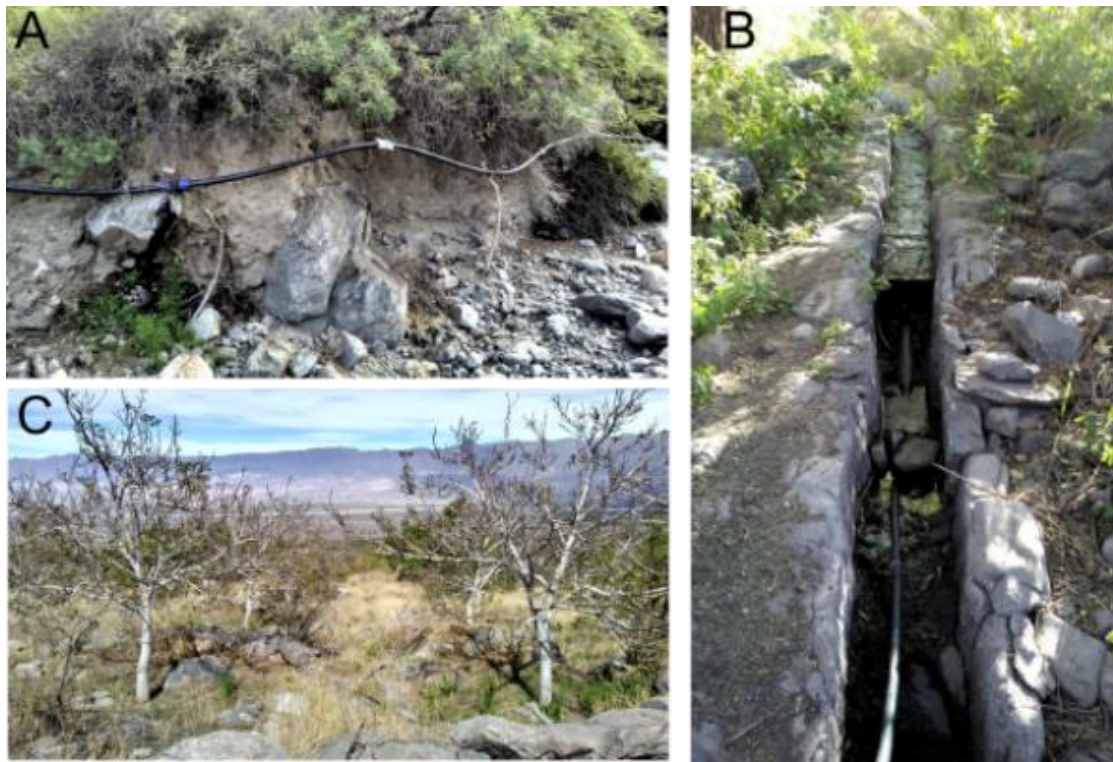


Figure 9.18: The APS-EU Project in Talapazo (CIQ). a) Local arrangements to complement the trajectory of the piping when crossing a watercourse; b) Conversely to Las Salas, the old ditches had been improved thanks to a national subsidy in cooperation with the University of Tucumán and kept in use either to direct and protect the hoses or to channel the water into plots that are not joined by the pipeline; c) A walnut orchard at the lowest point of the village, in a plot that was vacant before the implementation of the irrigation system. October 2018.

The same project included a counterpart in the community of Quilmes. According to Antonio Caro, the base delegate who brought the project to the hamlet of Talapazo: “The system is half-used... it’s not complete because people don’t understand how to use it. Some have used it for a while, then have changed to *customary flood watering*” (Calcha18-23: §223-225).



Figure 9.19: a) The owner of the above-mentioned walnut orchard (Figure 9.19c) who moved there as soon as her son joined the project, and they could access water for both plants and people. They abandoned the drip system for flood irrigation and have to “borrow water” from other households’ shifts to maintain the orchard productive; b) A villager of Talapazo who changed walnut tree for vineyard to make better use of the drip irrigation system, and for it was more productive and rentable. October 2018.



Figure 9.20: a) Vineyard served by the drip irrigation system installed through the APS-EU Project; B) and c): details of the head tap of the system, which employed Israeli technology specifically developed for extremely arid and semi-arid regions. October 2018.

Don Matías Condori was the other base delegate of Talapazo at the time of the arrival of the project. He resorted to his experience as a mechanical engineer across the country to give an account of the pitfalls and strengths of the project, also joking with me about its “Italianness”:

“People here are accustomed to receiving an amount of water for the plant, so if they just see a drop, it’s the same as they can’t see. The other issue is that watering used to be every twenty days, then watering every three, five days is too much for them. They consider that was like losing time. Yet I think this irrigation system that they left us is like an Alfa Romeo. The engineer who came, he got his act together because he made good use of the money and with excellent materials. He left everything for you to do well. It was just a matter of regulating the car: you step on the clutch, get first and start! Yet nobody did. On the contrary, they abandoned and took the drippers off to get more water. They cut the hoses as the water did not come out plenty, and they broke it all. Then foxes and rats came in addition. [...] They left us something that was working, and people abandoned it. That is,

just think that they gifted you an Alfa Romeo along with money! Just a head tap of that is worth \$700, just for a tap! That came from Israel, not from here, there was no production here. It was the first time this technology came to the country. That's why I told you that it was an Alfa Romeo" (Calcha18-35: §82-92, 623-627).



Figure 9.21: a) The upper stream of the seasonal river of Talapazo at the start of the ditch that conveys the spring water into the stone canalisation built through the national subsidy in the 1990s; b) The ditch continues along the dry riverbed, threatened by the erosion caused by the amount of water brought by the growing of the river; c) In proximity of the first houses of the village, the water coming from the stone canalisation can be directed into a cistern, depending on the turn of each family, and from there it passes through a desander filters before flowing into the pipeline; d) To regulate the flow into the stone channel or the hoses according to the cyclical shifts, a metal plate is either lifted or put down in order to fill the contiguous cistern; e) The water flowing down the principal stone canalisation and detail of the opening of a ditch that enables directing water to an household plot. October 2018.

Another point of view on the development project in Talapazo came from an elder woman who had been excluded from the project for she was considered reticent to contribute to “community work”. As it has been showed extensively in the case of Huancollo (see Chapter 7.3.2), the space of equivocation disclosed by international cooperation aids for indigenous development often becomes appreciable inasmuch as “community work” opposes to “working together”. The elder woman’s account reveals the coming together of divergent systems and

ideas of work and community as they remained trapped in an ethno-developmental logic

“[The base-delegate] caught the opportunity to bring the project here. He had this idea of doing community work, but people were sceptical. Each one wanted for their own plot. They’re a bit scared whether it was affordable or charged for the use, as we never received anything similar. At first, they thought that, later gained confidence and relaxed, but no matter what they had to put their labour. Only the delegate and I live on this shore of the river, so we’re always arguing. And now they’re always begging for water. When they need on the day that I’ve the shift, they asked and I don’t mind giving them, even though I haven’t gotten a hose. They can use the stream and put the water in the channel. Instead, those who live on the other shore they have piped current water in their houses when it flows on that side; this side we don’t, we have water depending on the shifts” (Calcha18-26: §70-90)

Villagers of Talapazo found a possible solution to favour the coexistence of both irrigation systems – the pressurised pipeline and the cyclical shifts by flood – in the structural renovation of the old stone dam. This community-led project was partially funded by the revenues generated by the Sacred City, which the Administration of the Village of Quilmes put a disposition for the needs of all the hamlets that integrate the indigenous community. Through the same channel, the dam halfway between Rincón de Quilmes and Quilmes Centro was enlarged and strengthened. When I met Don Simón Costilla for the first time during my first visit to the valley, he invited me to join them up there to record the works at the dam and to see how they were “working as Indians” (Calcha17-6: §169). It was not possible on that occasion, but a year later I found myself immersed in a similar circumstance in Talapazo, and to paraphrase Don Matías, who was the informal construction supervisor, “you have to work with what you have, with what you know, and with what you can”⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ Fieldnotes, October 2018.



Figure 9.22: Community-led projects in the Indian Community of Quilmes. a) Structural renovation to reinforce the stone dam of Talapazo with a concrete wall to return the infrastructure to community service after several years of neglect; b) The back of the dam in Talapazo with attached the beginning of the stone channel leading to lower farm plots; c) The reconstructed dam halfway the villages of Quilmes Centro and Rincón de Quilmes. d) The ruins of the ancient dam in the archaeological site of Quilmes. October – November 2018.

The original building of the old dam of Talapazo dates at least to the early 20th century as the elders remembered that it was already there when they were born. According to one of them, the financial support provided by the Administration of the Sacred City was due because “we in Talapazo are those who fought the most [against the landowners and to recuperate the Sacred City] and only recently they gave us AR\$10.000 for the dam!” (Calcha18-29: §151-153). Intertwined senses of transitional justice and tangible affections with the living landscape concur in making the renovation of the dams a crucial point of contemporary community politics. A leader of the current administration of the Sacred City passionately emphasized that:

“Many people who are no longer with us wanted that. Others I thought were going to die before they could see the beginning of the work. And today we made it, we dug the dam. Of course, the money came from there, and we’ll put more whether needed so that’s over and we can have better water

management. From there progress can rise. There are many abandoned farms in the lower part due to lack of water, but it is not because it lacks, but because of poor management. Today we have a bigger reservoir, and we have a pipe that was once installed, but it is underrated and has its flaws. We're going to use it partially because it's necessary; then, those farms that were neglect can bloom again". (Calcha17-8: §158-160).



Figure 9.23: a) The first desander at the beginning of the WB-DCI water pipeline system in Rincón de Quilmes; b) An element of the system departed from a pressure load breaker; c) In the background, the remain of a hose went off because of excessive water pressure, and the pre-existing stone ditch where the water has returned to flow; d) The main system tube buried under a mudslide; e) The dry riverbed from the top of the compacted mudslide with the abandoned tube and the ditch that was dug for the emergency; f) Detail of the beginning of the emergency ditch. November 2018.

A neighbour of Rincón de Quilmes summarised the chain of unfortunate events beneath the failure of the high-pressure water irrigation system that was part of the World Bank indigenous development program:

“When we closed the tap, either one or the other had the water, there was no continuity of use as it was presumed in the original plan. It turns out they didn't put it in the way they should have. So, we took that tap out. If I close this up, there's nothing but air here and water there, so it's not convenient for me, and I've dug a ditch for consumption and irrigation. Everywhere it

happens like this with those projects, they made a half of the project and the other half they don't. And I don't know what the reason is [...] The hose is left exposed, then when happens that load of water comes down from the mountain and the river grows, it's going to cut it off again. That's why they should have done that wall up there. A thin-iron wall came with the project for the water to pass over. It was about fifteen to twenty meters deep, because nothing can stand the river when it loads lot of water, it gouges and gouges and drags ten kilos stones. That came with the project. We saw it because the foreman showed us the project, the amount of money that came down from the World Bank, as they were paying out to carry the work out. Well, they did half of it [...] What the river makes, it melts. That's why the water doesn't run through the pipe anymore, it goes through that old channel." (Calcha18-46: §1-2).

Although farm irrigation was the main purpose of the pipeline, people were also concerned about health issues related to the flow of water in an open channel and exposed to all kinds of contamination, which may have been ignored or simply turned out to be invisible to the eyes of technicians, such as the fact that a goat could fall and die upstream, ending up in the river water that would then be seamlessly conveyed into the water that people use for drinking or washing, as well as for irrigating fields. In this light, the complaint made by the same neighbour of Rincón de Quilmes seems totally understandable: if they had money to invest in the development of the territory, "why don't they put some water filters instead?" (Calcha18-46: §4).

Jesús González is a young craftsman who lives and works in Quilmes Bajo, he was the base-delegate at the time of the implementation of the World Bank Project and that is why I reached him so that he could explain to me what went wrong from his point of view. He focused on the persistence of the water shift system in people's minds and practices:

"The water shifts are like a community custom. We are not costumed to a kind of management that expects each of us to have an amount of water according to the size of our plots. We made the project, but it didn't change how they're used to use water. We could not make it feasible, and the hoses lay there, abandoned" (Calcha18-42: 1).



Figure 9.24: a) Donkeys drinking from the open channel approaching Quilmes Centro; b) A large ditch cutting the course of the unfinished stone channel, which was funded with the same national subsidy as the one in Talapazo, but much bigger in extension; c) A watercourse bifurcation before the dam: depending on the water shifts, the water can either continue straight to fill the reservoir or channel back into the hose system through a desander tank; d) An oxidate juncture of the irrigation system in Quilmes Centro; e) A hose put into the ditch to intercept the waterflow and redirect it to a household; f) A plastic hose of the irrigation system fills a household's particular cistern; g) A broken hose approaching the lower fields of Quilmes Bajo. November 2018.

9.2 “In pursuing of truth and justice”: The Calchaquí Parliament and the Quilmes Interpretation Centre within the territory/heritage entanglement

The traces left by international cooperation networks and indigenous development projects in Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes show that these interventions acted on the territory as much as they mobilized the community heritage, either as resistance or acceptance. In these terms, and in line with the

proposal of Korstanje and colleagues (2013: 66) to embark on collaborative work of sorts, the entanglement between territory/heritage takes shape, whereby if one is concerned, so is the other, and both constitute an indissoluble whole. Such a conceptual twist springs from grounded encounters in the field and enables looking at the more recent history of the Indigenous movement in the Calchaquí Valleys within the long-term struggle to recover and defend the territory against the various avatars of colonisation and considering the role of heritage in advancing those reclaims as the irruption of territory back into an ecology of political practices.

Don Antonio Caro – Talapazo’s base-delegate and historical leader of the CIQ – thoroughly explained the convoluted dynamics related to the implementation of the World Bank indigenous development project and how it intersected matters with the ongoing recognition of Indigenous rights and community land entitlement. He made clear that whatever kind of loan the Argentinean State committed to deal with, that was just “a sort of small refund for what had been taken away from us, and that still is” in what he judged to be the “thousand-year-old debt” that weighs on the national consciousness of the State; thus the community of Quilmes resolved to exploit this novel channel “to make activities and strengthen institutionally” (Chalcha18-23: §243).

A key element of the World Bank Programme, according to Don Antonio, was that it compelled community leadership to discuss and prioritise development projects in relation to education, health, and heritage issues, as he confidently exclaimed that “we have always thought about caring for our resources ourselves, we have never thought about giving them away to anyone” (Chalcha18-23: §245). Here lies, for him, the source of conflicts opposing the community of Quilmes and the provincial authorities of Tucumán, not least as far as the management of the Sacred City is concerned. Don Antonio directly linked the successful takeover of the administration of the heritage site with the broader socio-political context, which the activities funded through the World Bank channel actively shaped and channelled into the constitutional reform of the Province of Tucumán in 2006,

“Whereby the rights of the peoples were incorporated for the first time; it states: ‘The Province of Tucumán recognises the land and the territories that Indigenous peoples have traditionally occupied, and guarantees the political, social, and economic development of these peoples’” (Chalcha18-23: §267)

Don Antonio's undeniable enthusiasm for the World Bank Program was not only due to the achievement of the envisioned goal of strengthening community organisation. Even the dumped plastic hoses belonging to the underused irrigation system in Quilmes, if looked at from the brighter side, can still serve a community purpose: "this is a new form of irrigation and, if water levels drop, we still can use it... this is good for us to keep holding on; we won't grow more fields, but we can sustain what we have" (Calcha18-23: §271). For better or worse, the development plans take part in a future-oriented history of Indigenous sovereignty and enfranchisement, in which the reclamation of the Sacred City of Quilmes is the most recent, yet critical, milestone.

Among the interventions sponsored through the World Bank Program, there was the construction of the House of the Quilmes Indian Community. The strategic mindset of its location was as important as becoming the official venue for community assemblies and the heart of collective deliberations taken there. Staying at the crossroad of National Route 40 with the access road to the archaeological ruins (Figure 9.27(1), the building was to all intents an outpost for the roadblock of November 2007 through which the community of Quilmes could reclaim ancestral ownership of the Sacred City (see Chapter 4.3.3).

Don Antonio's mother was one of the first community leaders to stand up against the exploitation of the landowners back in the 1960s, because, as she said to me, "in the pursuit of truth and justice, we must be all equal" (Calcha18-28: §65). During the conversation I was privileged to have with her, she confirmed the strategy behind the decision to build the House of the Community, as well as she gave me a powerful lesson in what it means to fight for what is yours and has been taken away from you without your consent, though lies, pain, and fear.

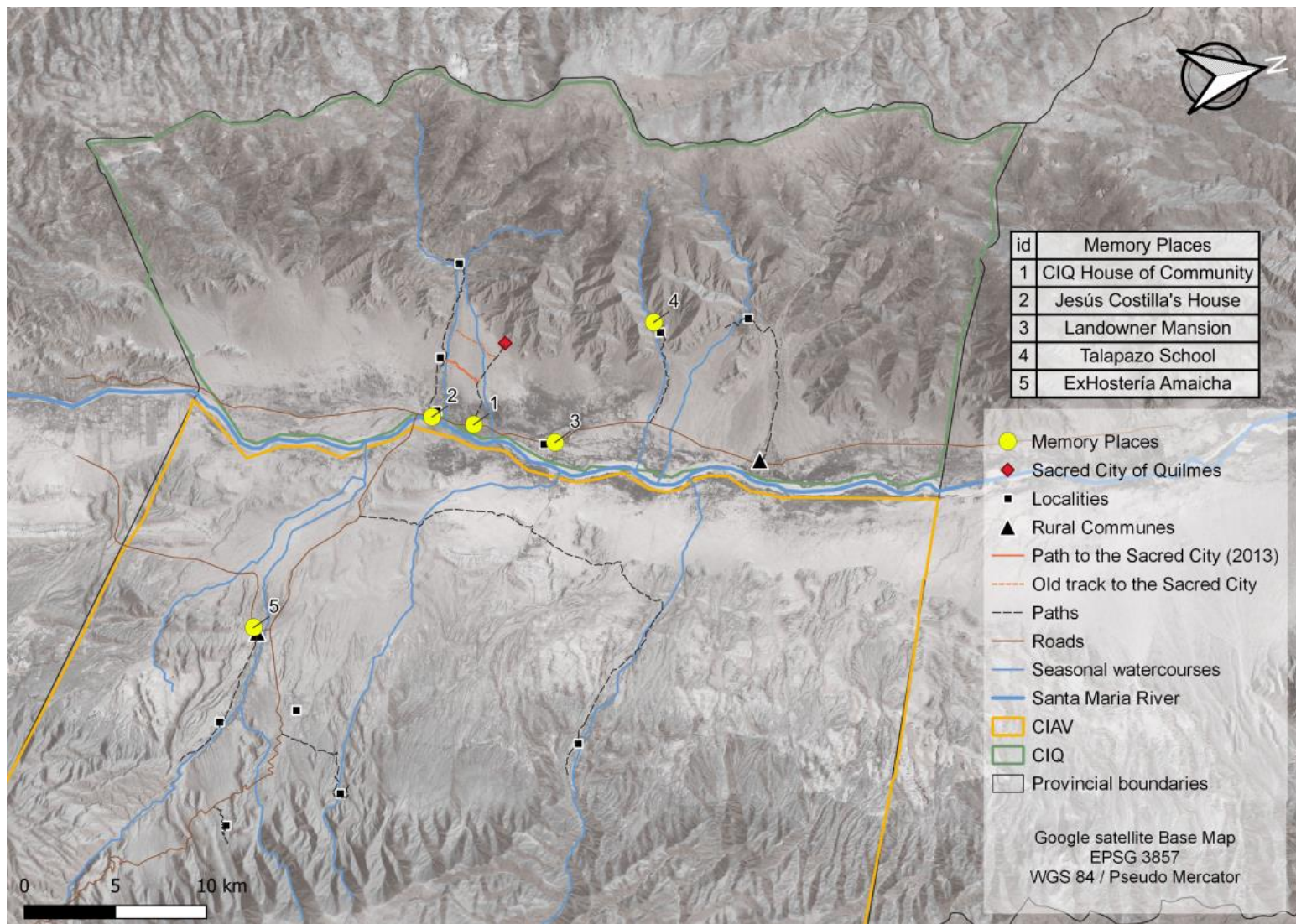


Figure 9.25: Map displaying the memory places mentioned in the section.

“Since I was a child, I wasn’t afraid because my father taught us, and as I said, I was always curious, and I always stuck my nose where I could. I have been always awake, and that’s how I have fought and defended my valley. We started for other things, and then we went after Quilmes. We gather to take over the Sacred City because a businessman owned it, but that was ours. Firstly, we took a land to build a House there, beside the road; then we went up to the Sacred City, always in a group, and the tourists joined us. That is how we went to rescue the Sacred City. [...] We went to rescue the Sacred City and you ask me why? Because these are our ancestors, it has been left for us, not for the government, nor even the president nor anyone else! That’s ours!” (Calcha18-28: §18, 22).

She shared with me her memories about the beginning of her participation in the fight to recover the “true ownership” of the land for the people who dwell and work in it. Her testimony was sharp and passionate, unleashing a vehemence that was barely masked by the aches and pains of her 90 years of age. She recalled when she stopped paying the landowner who claimed the land for himself, and what spurred her to encourage other families to follow her example:

“I don’t pay, and do you know why? Because this land is mine. – ‘And who did sell it to you?’ – ‘This is mine because my ancestors left it to us’, I say, ‘You’re those who took it over, you’re those scoundrels who climbed the tallest carob tree and took possession of all the empty land as far as the eye could see, and it’s unfair that you’ve such a large extension and we’ve nowhere to live. Now I oppose to everything you’re doing; we’re not going to pay for water or anything. Whatever you do, wherever you go, we’re the true owners’ [...] I don’t fight, I dialogue for truth and justice, because where justice is, there is the truth; so better not to mess with us since we are native and we are strong, for someone took the fright away from us, and since there we fight” (Calcha18-28: §14).

The powerful testimony of an historical leader of the Quilmes community sheds light on the temporal as well as logical continuity between the defence of the land and the rescue of the Sacred City. What the two processes have in common is being part and parcel of a political strategy whose unambiguous aim is “to take the fright away”. Once people are no longer scared, a more equitable order of things can be restored by following a simple, common-sense rule of courtesy: “are you going to let others take those things that you know are rightfully yours?” (Calcha18-28: §22). In linking the legitimacy of community land ownership with the governance of fear exercised by the landowners, the late community leader offered yet another insight to reflect upon partially connected conceptions of property at play in the contemporary past of the Calchaquí Valleys:

“The land must be worked and borne fruit and eat from there. God hasn’t come down from heaven to sell the land to anyone, and whoever says that is a liar because the land passes over from generation to generation. Everything that you have done in your life, tomorrow you’ll die, and another comes to work; and the land will be stay there, it doesn’t go anywhere, neither is owned by anyone: for it belongs to those who work” (Calcha18-28: §22).

The rebellion against the privileges of the landowners broke out in coincidence with the crisis and dismantlement of the sugar industry in the northwest of the country during the 1960s, which prompted the emergence of regional and federal grassroots organisations placing Indigenous Peoples’ voices on the national public agenda. In such an effervescent context, in December 1973 the *Hostería* of Amaicha del Valle hosted the First Regional Indigenous Parliament “Juan Calchaquí” (Figure 9.28). The aim of the meeting was to coordinate a common political platform around key points to be discussed with the federal government, in such a way as “to make this voice a shout loud enough to break the deaf ears and a *tacuara* lance thrown into the hearts of the culprits” (Federación Indígena de los Valles Calchaquí, 1973: n.d.).

Quinteros and Cruz (2016: 890) argued that the Calchaquí Parliament expressed the political will to link the territorial issue with other social demands – such as, education, health, and rural development – which characterised this early stage of Indigenous activism and would later become the specific focus of state and NGOs-led projects that would have turned active political actors into passive receivers of development subsidies. Lazzari and Lenton (2019: 685) also emphasised this aspect when studying the evolution of Indigenous politics from the years before the dictatorship, and they succinctly captured the crux of the matter: “In a few years Indigenous peoples in Latin America would attract official attention as potential objects of both development and political persecution”.

In parallel to the 1973 meeting, the federal government patrocinated a study to measure the collective territory belonging to Amaicha del Valle for the purpose of constituting a new juridical personality as cooperative of producers (Isla, 2009: 151; Pierini, 2020: 287; Tolosa, 2020a: 23). The report proved that the protocolisation of the Royal Deed in 1892 left out portions of land on the west shore of the Santa María River and on the north of the seasonal river that flows through Yasyasmayo, all of which were originally included in the limits established in 1716 (Figure 9.29).



Figure 9.26: Newspaper covering of the 1973 Indigenous Parliament celebrated at the Hostería of Amaicha del Valle (Source: *La Gaceta*, 26 December 1973).

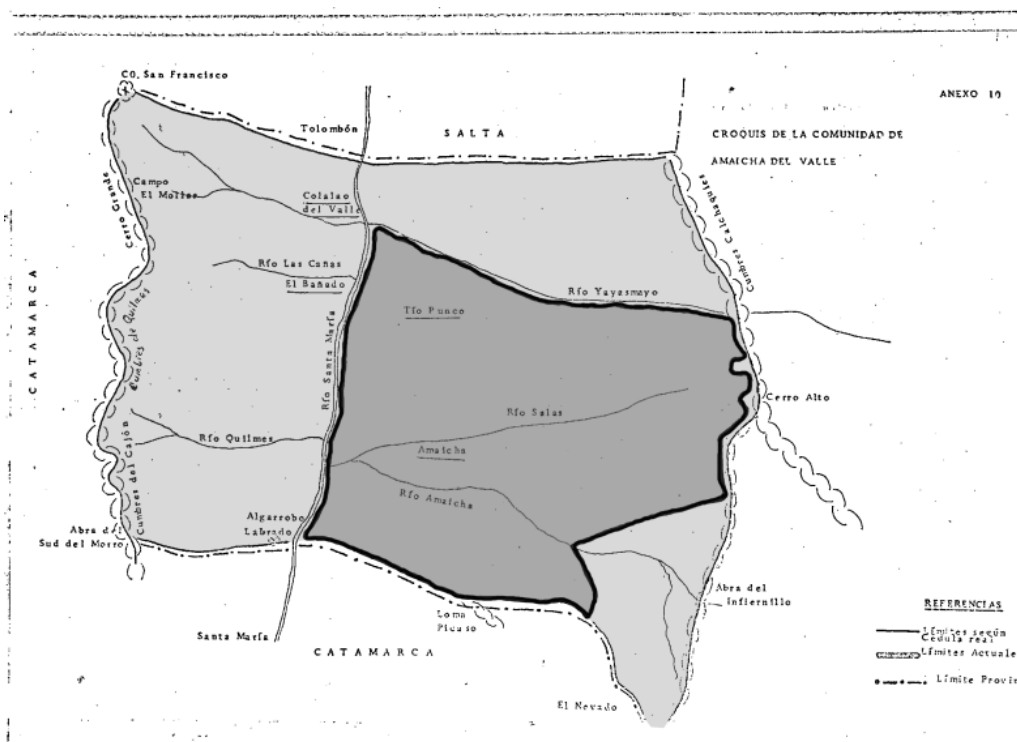


Figure 9.27: Map of the surface of the territory of the community of Amaicha del Valle with the differences between the lands included in the Cédula and those actually held by the Community in 1974. (Source: Federal Investment Agency 1974 reproduced and adapted from Tolosa, 2020a: 35, fig. 3)

The *cacique* of the Quilmes, Pancho Chaile, was working in Buenos Aires at that time, while also moving his first steps into the arising national Indigenous organisation. He returned to the Calchaquí Valleys to assist his father, who was among the delegates of the 1973 Parliament. When I asked him about this experience, he vividly remembered that:

“We knew about the Royal Deed in 1973 during the Parliament in Amaicha. We already knew about the document, but just like it was something related to Amaicha only. Only then we discovered that it wasn’t like that: Quilmes is also included in the Royal Deed. There was the start of the organisation; there our past has begun to matter to us” (Calcha17-2: §40).

Don Jesús Costilla likewise placed the Calchaquí Parliament “at the beginning” (Calcha18-41: §6) of the coordinated effort to escape the seemingly unescapable power of the landowners. Weaving his memories as he used to do with his renown wicker baskets made of *poleo* branches (Figure 9.30), Don Jesús pointed out that territory matters as a discriminant for justice as long as it partakes in a wider Indigenous polity from which community sovereignty flows:

“The Indio made the Royal Deed. There was a Tree, from here nine kms away, a carob tree near the river. There the Indio vowed, but he did not swear to God, he swore to the Tree, to the Place. The Indio carved the Tree and sealed it; so was the oath to get the land back” (Calcha18-41: §6).



Figure 9.28: Don Jesús Costilla working on a wicker basket during our conversation. November 2018

Grosso (2008: 22) observed that “*Indio* is the constitutive difference of Argentinean national hegemony”. Being the *Indio* the acting subject in Don Jesús’ testimony, the

agreement reached between the descendants of the brave Diaguita people and the Spanish Crown changes in perspective, and contextually reveals the “transgressive indigeneity” that Lazzari and Lenton (2019: 684) associated with “an emergent assemblage of subjectivation” drove by the reclamation of justice. In Don Jesús’s term, “*acobardarse*” [to become frightened] entails tearing this assemblage apart and relinquishing political subjectivity to those who claimed to own the land, while standing up for the territory by refusing to serve the landowners puts the fear aside and shows things as they are:

“The people of Amaicha did well to hold the community with all their might, but in Quilmes they couldn’t, because the landowner was already here. Then another came, and another one... Here all were cowards, they got scared and no one dared to go after them; that would have been nice. They let the landowner administrating, and the landowner screwed us badly, because instead of helping people, he left the poor people poorer. The landowner compelled them to work, even the women, kids, and old people had to work. They had to give food to the landowner; everything was for the landowner... You may have seen that house in El Bañado? That house used to belong to the landowners, haven’t you seen it has been already abandoned? Well, it’s abandoned because people stopped feeding them, and they lost. They didn’t know how to work, they had no expertise, they were nothing; and they’ve lost everything” (Calcha18-41:6-7).

The large white house in El Bañado (Figure 9.31) attracts the memories attached to livelihood under the landowners also because it was for a lengthy period the only place where people of the nearby settlements could access school education. According to Don Antonio Caro’s mother, that experience nurtured her political activism inasmuch as “she who doesn’t suffer in her own flesh doesn’t know what others suffer [...] I used to go barefoot to El Bañado, from here we went to school through those stones and scrublands just to learn something” (Calcha18-28: §22). The shared experience and embodied suffering motivated the families of Talapazo to enfranchise from the landowners’ governance of fear through the subversive building of an autonomous school in the early 1970s (Figure 9.32).

As a direct outcome of the celebration of the Calchaquí Parliament, the Indigenous Federation of the Calchaquí Valleys was established to put an end to the exploitation of the landowners. Nonetheless, already in 1975, the military junta installed its power in the Province of Tucumán and persecuted the members of the Indigenous organisation accused to support the guerrilla (Arenas and Ataliva, 2017: 191; Lazzari and Lenton, 2019: 692; Pierini, 2020: 280–289; Tolosa, 2020a: 42–43). The following

passage was delivered by an elder woman of Talapazo, who gave a clear account of the link that persists in memory between the unfortunate outcome of the First Calchaquí Indigenous Parliament and the return of fear as a source of power after the fervent beginning of the Indigenous struggle had finally succeeded in scaring it away:



Figure 9.29: The large white house of the Chico family in El Bañado had been a missionary estate until the end of the 19th Century when the landowners acquired it and became the centre of the exploitation of the territory. The descendants of the Chico family still own the place, which was being restored at the time of my visit to make it into a hotel on the privileged position on the Route 40. November 2018.



Figure 9.30: The school of Talapazo built with the effort of the local population and recognised by the public administration as local school n. 37 in 1974. October 2018.

“After the Parliament – well, now one can deduce it could have been for a complaint that the landowners put because they did not like that – the military appeared because there was a ‘subversive’ here and persecuted all those who took part in the movement. That was hard because they took people to Famailla⁷¹, a truck came and loaded all those who were in the movement, and we scared of course, those things had never happened before [...] There were plenty of military. I didn’t know even what to say. They asked whether the ‘subversive’ was around, ‘No he’s not here’. And they started looking around and two bags of concrete were here, ‘Who gave you that?’ – ‘The organisation gave this to us’ – ‘And for what?’ – ‘To make a barrier for the river Santa María’ – ‘What else does the ‘subversive’ say?’ – ‘He just talks about the land; he makes us understand that we own the land’. And they kept asking, and I don’t even remember, they left eventually. They went to other houses and took people out. Another leader has not appeared anymore. They took him away because he joined the ‘subversive’, so they imprisoned him. After him, another man in El Bañado, an elderly lady in Quilmes, and others who have already died. And Costilla as well, he’s in Quilmes. The meetings of the organisation used to be in his house, that’s why there was plenty of military just around the corner every time they met” (Calcha18-26: §250-256).

Don Jesús Costilla’s testimony about those years follows below and translated in full, as an act of respect for the words the late community leader shared with me, and which stand out for the clarity through which he made the effort to explain to me how the political movement and he himself could keep the fight heated in spite of the most terrible persecution one can ever imagine:

“Do you have father and mother? That’s it, can’t you see? You will always defend what belongs to your father and mother, don’t you? That’s the way it is. We’re doing this, that’s how we started. Because we are direct descendants, and yes, our face may no longer be the same as the Indian, but in all customs, in everything we have heard from our grandparents, great-grandparents, we have been always concerned. So we have come a long way, we have come so far. They have imprisoned us; do you see that I walk with a crutch? Because General Bussi⁷² did that to me. A military man, because that military man had also been a landowner, and he defended the landowners here because he had his interest to do that. But that was unambiguous, and they understood. That’s why we were

⁷¹ In the town of Famailla, fifty kms from Tucumán capital city, operated the first clandestine detention center in Argentina in what would later become a school. At the “Escuelita de Famailla”, now converted into a space of memory, people were imprisoned, tortured, killed, or made disappear during the Tucumán Operative Independence (1975-1976), which anticipated the genocidal practice of the dictatorship occurred from 1976 to 1983. <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/archivo-nacional-de-la-memoria/sitios-de-memoria/espacios-de-memoria/la-escuelita-de-famailla/centro-clandestino-la-escuelita>

⁷² The Army General Antonio Bussi was at the head of the Operative Independence, and *de facto* president of the Province of Tucumán between 1976 and 1978. He was regularly elected Governor of Tucumán during the democratic regime from 1995 to 1999, and finally sentenced to life imprisonment with the charge of crimes against humanity in 2008.

fighting to get to this... let's say that now we are certainly not there, but we are close. We are still defending that.

The fight has been brutal, fierce. If one entered as a fool, then has stoked up along the way. And they have shot at us, they have taken us prisoner, they have tortured us.... You know what torture is, don't you? Well, they did everything to make us stop fighting and not going on... That was to make us fearful. The military did what they wanted. They took my things away, I have a cot without a bed, they left me without clothes, they took my clothes, they took things from me. And it was all for me to give up, for me to leave. And well, several desisted, right?

However, we did not stop, we moved on, do you see? Let's say, of course it's not totally clear, but isn't it curious? It is because until now there are those who first join and then run away as soon as they realise that it is not going well. They are the cowards who already desisted. However, there are others who do not. I was beaten, they used electric prods on me, they beat me a lot, they kicked me, they hit me with guns on my back. I am already blind and deaf. That is what they did, so that we would throw the struggle away and give up. Yet we have not given it up. And that's the curious thing.

We saw fierce things. Those who stayed at home didn't know when it would have been their turn, and what would have happened next. Someone who was taken away did not come back anymore. Now there are proceedings going on; they are already paying for what they did. We went to Human Rights in Buenos Aires, I was through Human Rights, but this hasn't finished yet, it's still in court. However, they said that it's appropriate because what they made to us was illegal: we were not part of the guerrilla; yes, we were fighting, but against the landowner, against those who claimed to own the land and made people suffer [...] Yes, we did meet here in my house but not for the guerrilla, it was to welcome wretched people. And they stopped coming as soon as they saw that we were being persecuted. Yet, we did not give up, we carried on. We just carried on" (Calcha18-41: §2-5).

The decade-long court trial that followed the military government's eviction order against Don Jesús in 1976 became a milestone in Indigenous rights jurisprudence: a federal court in Buenos Aires dictated that the landowner who had moved the claim did not own a legitimate property title, which encouraged people to stop paying for living on their own land and to join the rising Indigenous Community of Quilmes (Boullosa-Joly, 2016: 112–113; Pierini, 2011: 205; Tolosa, 2020a: 42–43). According to the *cacique* Chaile, after the return to democracy the most pressing concern was to differentiate the community organisation from other sorts of legally constituted associations. He found that the key element was the specific attention paid by the indigenous community to the protection and care of the land and its resources, such as wood and water. For him this political standing can be simply summarised into “everything we call Pachamama” and that enabled “to demonstrate to the society and

the State itself, to the military and police repressive forces, that our aim has always been to fight for our rights” (Calcha17-2: §3).

The relation with Pachamama, as we have seen, is primarily maintained as a political positioning before governmental and non-governmental bodies to claim collective land tenure and territorial autonomy. Yet, within the overlapping frameworks of ethnodevelopment and multiculturalism, the compartmentalisation of the territory/heritage entanglement has become the most critical issue triggering anew the fear of concealing Indigenous political subjectivity under the misappropriation of a fetishist version of Pachamama. A case in point is the blatant blurring of the history of the Quilmes community propelled by the new Interpretation Centre sponsored by the provincial authorities (Figure 9.33), whose acronym in Spanish – CIQ – is the same one by which the Indigenous Community of Quilmes has been known in the public sphere since its legal recognition.

The EATT (2018a) press release on the day of the inauguration, the 1st of February 2018 – suggestively entitled “Let your senses be enraptured at the Quilmes Interpretation Centre” –magnifies the presence of “national and provincial authorities”, while “community representatives” stand on the fringes of the scene, keeping silent about the benefits that the infrastructure would bring to relaunch the economic development of the region. The incorporation of “the latest trends adopted by the most current and advanced museums and thematic exhibition halls in the world” (EATT, 2018a: n.d.) serves as a backdrop for the promises of massive and commodified tourism where the memories of the struggles for the land are overlooked. The marginalisation of community politics and values in public policies aimed at the promotion of indigenous heritage is even more clearly manifested in this quote from the text of the press release:

“The start of the ceremony, at the gates of the new tourist attraction, included dedications to Mother Earth, the singing of *copleras*, the traditional offering to Pachamama and the donation to the *Apacheta*, as well as the planting of a carob tree in which all those who wished to add their shovelfuls of soil from the sacred territory took part” (EATT, 2018a: n.d.).

Local participation in the project was limited to their involvement as characters in the docufilm “Pilgrims of a dream”, which recapitulates the main steps of the history of the Quilmes people: from their settlement in the valley, through the Spanish wars and the

banishment, to the present that is pictured as one of idyllic community work and flowery hopes. Surrounded by an aura of fancy museography, world-oriented tourism outreach, and respect for cultural identity and territory, the museum narrative conveys an image of harmonious descendance letting aside the tensions of heritage-making, as well as the historical struggle for community rights stemming from embodied sufferings, confrontations, and negotiations (Figure 9.34). The Centre is a showcase for the Ruins of Quilmes where the living Sacred City loses its political agency to better fit the requirements of global market and multicultural police.

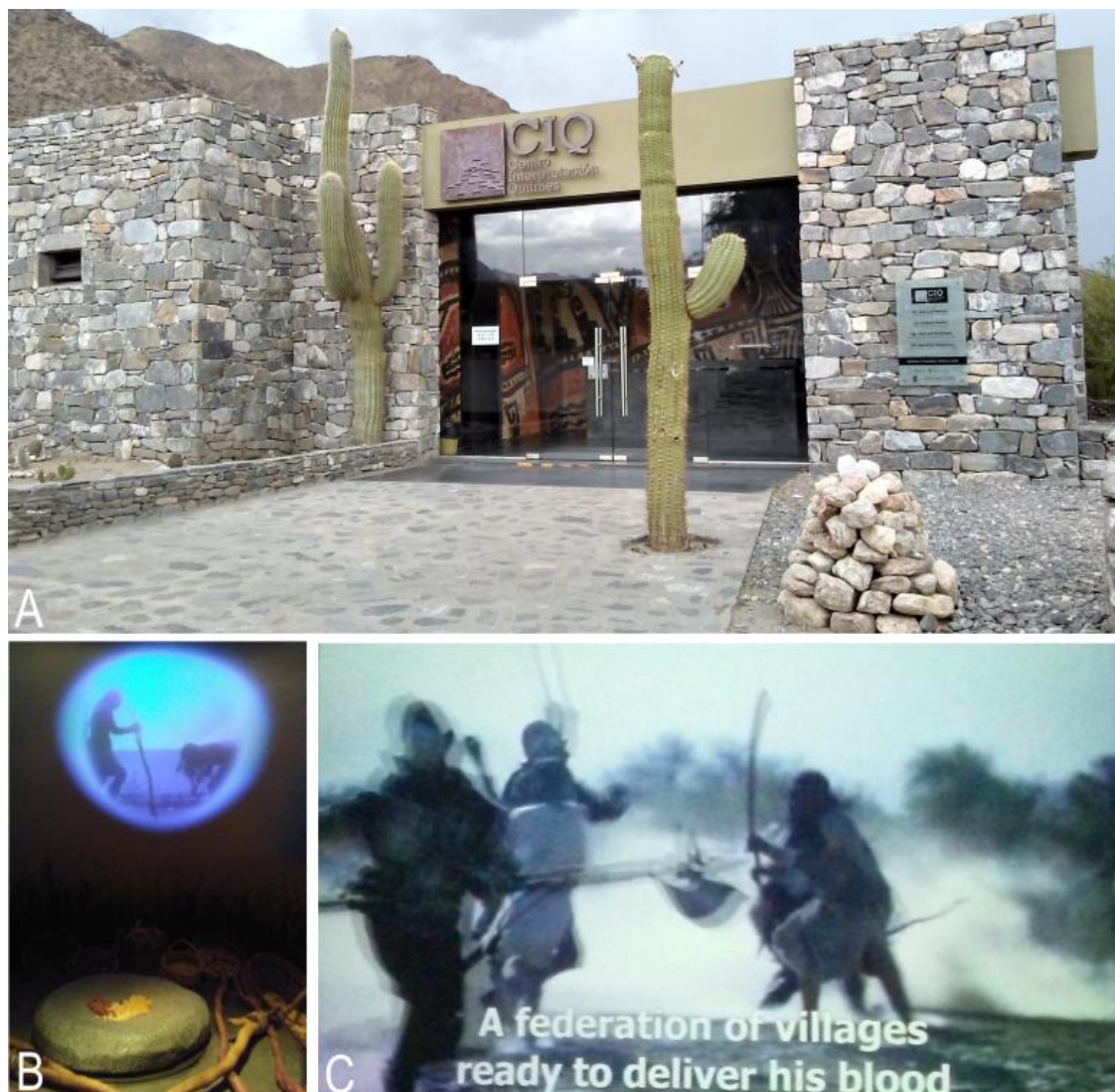


Figure 9.31: a) Front view of the Quilmes Interpretation Centre; b) Audiovisual installation showing the agricultural resources and practices of the Quilmes people; c) A frame of the docufilm “Pilgrims of a dream” capturing a scene of the war against the Spanish conquerors (Courtesy of EATT and Village of Quilmes Administration). November 2018.



Figure 9.32: The contradictions of heritage-making practices in Quilmes as expressed by comparing a Tucumán government’s signpost on the Route 40 (a) inviting to the visit of the Sacred City “the strength/fortress of an ancestral people”, and the handicrafts on sale at the site (b) that continue to reproduce the name *Ruinas de Quilmes*, because, as many craftswomen told me, that is how tourists know the place. November 2018.

The current administration of the village of Quilmes accepted this museum rhetoric to gain the support of the Tucumán tourism authority in the internal struggle of the community. However, as anticipated in the earlier section (see Figure 9.23), the revenues of heritage management enabled the implementation of a number of community-led projects. These not only related to improving water management and

agricultural development, but also to supplying financial support for local events, such as the mentioned Festival of the *Copla* in Talapazo (see Chapter 8.3), and even for the accommodation of a space for the graveyard of the three villages of Quilmes.

Among the general choir of acceptance for the museum, I could register a couple of interesting discordant voices. Firstly, an elder woman of Talapazo, while commenting on it as “an impressive work” (Calcha18-26: §162), underscored the lack of proper reference to important elements to keep the memory of community struggles and politics alive:

“There are many things missing. They overlooked the agency of the people who worked for the community. People struggled with all their might before, they didn’t have any support, not even to travel, nothing, that’s why they really had to work for everything. Nobody had enough for food, if they had a small animal, they would take it, a lady would cook it and they would eat. They had to wait for the people from the government to come. On the other hand, now, if they had the money from the project, they met every two weeks, the council met and had a budget for food and to pay the cook, before there was nothing like that [...] That’s what I mean, the struggle for recognition, the people who have fought for the territory” (Calcha18-26:§178-180).

Finally, the opinion of an artisan to whom I spoke in the craft market at the entrance of the site. She started to work there selling water and snacks during the community management of the Sacred City and acceded to have her own craft post after the Village of Quilmes took over the administration of the site. In addition to complaining because the final project did not follow the original plan, which also included the improvement of the craft market, she contested the very matter of the museum:

“The museum is there, but there is still a lot missing. They made not even 10% of the things. It’s very short what they’ve done, there’s no room for everything. However, I don’t like what the EATT did, too much fancy, too much plastic stuff they put inside! If I could have made it, I would have cut a green branch and made it dry, rather than using all this plastic stuff. I can’t see that working very well” (Calcha18-47: §5).

These last testimonies illuminate the key point brought up by this section, namely that transgressive indigeneity follows paths that at first sight may not always appear as evident as they are, but which are nonetheless present and ready to become activated as soon as the opportunity arises. The following section will give an example of enacting community politics by the accidental juxtaposition of multiple temporalities and material attachments linked to the story of the Chiqui.

9.3 The Irreducibility of the Chiqui: intercultural work and transgressive indigeneity on the other side of Pachamama

In this closing section I bring the attention to a “thought experiment” (Holbraad, 2009: 434) at the interface of what has been argued about the territory/heritage entanglement and the relevance of studying the material leftovers of international cooperation projects aimed at developing indigenous heritage and territory. I present insights born out of a collaborative work conducted with the *cacique* Lalo Nieva in Amaicha to promote the creation of a specific category of “community heritage” within the current legislation of the Province of Tucumán (Tucumán Cultural Entity, 2018). The triggering of the proposal was the finding of a petroglyph in an archaeological area within the recognised territorial boundaries of the community. The particular motif engraved on the stone block puts the compartmentalisation of heritage into question at the same time as it foregrounds the elements opposing and complementing authorised State mechanisms and creating the space of friction in which community self-determination unwraps.

9.3.1 Field accidents: sacred places, fox-like devils, and vanishing promises of development

In April 2017, the government of the Province of Tucumán announced a letter of agreement between the French electric corporation NEOEN and the Indigenous Community of Amaicha for the installation of a photovoltaic plant in the territory of the community (Government of Tucumán, 2017). Both provincial and community authorities foresaw a fantastic opportunity for sustainable development and respectful of the principles of Indigenous governance and collective ownership of the territory. During my first visit to Amaicha, on the August of the same year, I was interested in collecting information about the relationships between archaeologists and community to dig into the practice of prior consultation and collaboration. Don Marcos Pastrana drew my attention to the recently approved solar plant project:

“Today we are struggling with the electric bills, but a French company came to settle and give us solar energy so that there is no pollution. They made us an offer, a proposal. And we studied it, we all met and agreed. It is a great advance that we are going to have in our community, because we are going to pay less for electricity; I am not saying that we are going to have free electricity, because it always has a cost, but we are going to be someone in the country that is going to have a solar station that gives us free electricity, because *Tata Inti* [Father Sun]

is going to provide us with all the energy that the sun has, how about that! But for this they told us: 'well, we are going to place ourselves there, sixty hectares that we want to be able to install all the solar panels'. So, we went to see the place, and it was a sacred place, my friend... and we didn't know about it". (Calcha17-4: §28-29).

The implementation of the project unfolded critical issues. The corporation contracted a team to conduct the mandatory environmental assessment, but they oversaw the impact that the project would have had on the archaeological landscape of the Las Salinas River, a seasonal course of water that runs almost parallel to the River Amaicha before joining and flowing to the River Santa María. Since the early 2000s, archaeologists from the University of Tucumán have conducted investigations in Amaicha with the consent of the community and have participated in outreach projects (Aschero et al., 2005; Korstanje et al., 2013: 36; Somonte and Baied, 2011). Further surveys conducted on the surface of both sides of the Las Salinas River (Adris, 2013: 51; Somonte and Baied, 2017: 39) led to the identification of archaeological structures, lithic artefacts, and stone blocks carved with different iconographic motifs, which are ascribable to several periods of occupation dating back at least 6500-5900 BP.

This issue also came up when I met Somonte and Baied, the archaeologists who led the archaeological survey in the area and they confirmed that the archaeological sites have been registered according to the mandatory procedure established by national and provincial heritage authorities, as well as have reported information about the findings to the community. They remembered that one particular element found among the forty-five identified petroglyphs was even at the centre of a discussion between the archaeologists, who interpreted it as a masked man herding an animal – probably a feline (Adris, 2013: 49–50) – and the *cacique* Nieva, who insisted that the animal was actually a fox. They said that the *cacique* seemed so confident and without a shadow of a doubt that they jokily warned me in that occasion: “When you meet with the *cacique*, don't talk about the feline; you'll make him upset!”⁷³.

The archaeologists also recalled that in 2009, during a university outreach programme at the site of El Remate, the same iconographic motif was chosen as the logo for the locally managed visitor centre by the household of the Los Zazos hamlet who were taking part in the project⁷⁴. In fact, I found a patch with the drawing in question sewn

⁷³ Fieldnotes, August 2017.

⁷⁴ Fieldnotes, September 2018.

into the visitor book of the centre when I visited the site (Figure 9.35). I asked the two young men who were attending the public why they had picked up that image among the others, if they had had a choice of doing that, and one of them answered that it was because the drawing resembles a connection with the territory that now seems lost: “it shows that our ancestors had more contact with the natural part than us; that which nobody can see now, neither we can. But the *Indio* knew how to reason with animals” (Calcha18-19: §183-189).



Figure 9.33: The patch with the petroglyph's drawing recorded in the site Río Las Salinas II attached to the book of presence of the El Remate visitors' centre. August 2018.

With the decision of the electric corporation to install the photovoltaic plant in that area, the petroglyph surfaced again in the social dynamics of the community. Alarmed by the first assessment, the *cacique* Lalo Nieva wanted to find reassurance about the real impact of the project within the long-established relationship with the archaeologists of the University of Tucumán. The *cacique* called them asking, “What was archaeologically relevant in Las Salinas?”⁷⁵. With the support of the community and

⁷⁵ Somonte and Baied, personal communication, September 2018.

provincial authorities, Somonte and Baied managed to conduct an independent impact assessment to evaluate the feasibility of the project. Despite the negative outcome of the new study, the community assembly agreed to continue with the project as it was. In sum, the consultation showed that the archaeologists' concerns about heritage conservation weighed less than the promises of wage jobs and law electricity fares brought by the French corporation's local promoters into community politics.

There was however another obstacle that ultimately stagnated the project. For the future solar plant to enter in function, it would have needed to connect to the pre-existent power transmission network, which the transnational mining company La Alumbrera owns until the end of its period of activity. While this had been originally scheduled for 2018, due to the postponement of the closure of the mine (La Tinta, 2018), the company refused to give access to its private installation, and NEOEN moved the investment to another community in the province of Salta (Government of Salta, 2018). After less than a year since the announcement of the letter of agreement, the promises of development had already vanished.

The definitive interruption of the solar panels project unfolded an unexpected course of events. During a meeting with the *cacique* Nieva to inform about the ongoing fieldwork, he told me about the finding of this extraordinary petroglyph in which it was unquestionably depicted a fox due to the shape of the tail and the design of the figure – no matter what the archaeologists were blathering about – and since that was a fox, the human figure to which it was linked could only be a devil, for the two characters always linked in oral tradition and knowledge passed by the elders. He invited me to join the meetings with a group of local schoolchildren promoted by the Council of Elders to protect the collective property of the finding by declaring it “community heritage”. In the first meeting, the *cacique* showed us a picture of the block, then explained:

“It's mind-blowing that the fox is holding hands with a deity that we call the Chiqui. I don't know if you have read in the history of Amaicha that the Chiqui is like a little devil of the Carnival. That existed in Amaicha's culture. Incredibly, on the stone you can see the fox with the Chiqui in his hand. All the elders of the Council started to say, 'it's not for nothing that our grandparents used to say that the fox has always got a devil's hair'. What was mischievous about the fox, what was funny was that he screwed everyone, he screwed the armadillo, he screwed all his mates... but in all stories he always lost. He was the trickster who always lost. That was how the grandparents metaphorically tutored the children not to play

the mischievous ones, otherwise you are always going to lose. So that's what it is. That's what we have. It's the first image in thousands and thousands of years of oral history that someone was able to visualise on a stone. And we cannot look the other way. It is a moral obligation: we have to defend it"⁷⁶.

Although the prominence of the fox and its connection with the devil in Andean trickster tales and cosmology are not surprising (see Allen, 2011; Guaman Poma, 1615: see Figure 9.36; van Kessel, 1994), it was admittedly the first time I had heard about the *Chiqui*. Neither I found that people in the community knew about it, even though the devil-like figures of the *Supay* or the *Pujllay* are popularly associated with the Carnival celebration throughout all the Northwest Argentina (Isla, 2009: 128), as well as elsewhere in the Andes (Taussig, 1980: 151). The question of why this demonic figure had been specifically related to the *Chiqui* stuck in my mind.

There was another clue that made this diabolic connection particularly intriguing. Trying to figure out some information about the *Chiqui*, I showed a picture of the petroglyph to the proud grandson of the first elected Pachamama queen. He at once recognised the devil in it, but not for some specific attribute of the drawing – since “the devil transforms into whatever the devil wants” (Calcha18-16: §39) – rather because Las Salinas has always been a place related with the devil:

“There are *salamancas* in three places, but the biggest ones are in Las Salinas, there are many people dancing there. If you are going to enter into the *salamanca*, you must spit on our Lord [...] You can hear the bandoneons at night, in those deserts where there is nobody and no water in those fields. There are hills in Las Salinas, and among those hills a palace appears at night, on certain nights, there is a palace lit up because there they are dancing, at certain times, and it appears to them. [...] And there [in the picture of the petroglyph] you can see the devil transformed, they are about to dance, they are two, an animal and a person, right? That is engraved there because that is where the *salamancas* are” (Calcha18-16: §27, 33, 41).

⁷⁶ Fieldnotes, August 2018.



Figure 9.34: “Drawing 110: Superstitions and omens: *atitapya*, bad omens; *aquyraki*, misfortunes”. On the left border a fox pulls its own tail while the writing reads “*Atoc zupayta ayzan camaquita ayzan*” [the fox drags the demon; it drags its maker] (Guaman Poma, 1615: 281[283]).

The identification of this area with the presence of a *salamanca* is reinforced through information about the census carried out in 1989, in which La Salamanca is indicated as a toponym on the southern edge of the community territory, limiting with the provincial border of Catamarca (Isla, 2009: 84). The reference to the *salamanca* offers a hint for the ominous relationships borne by things appearing from or gathering in sacred places. Las Salinas is also linked to the failed attempt to drill a well within the ECIRA Project that would have supplied water for the foreseen productive activities,

which, as a matter of fact, were never implemented in that area. However, in the memory of the elderly community member, if that had succeeded, it would have also been a sign of an extraordinary far-from-God intervention:

“Those scoundrels drilled from La Puntilla to Salamanca, and inserted marking posts, but as there is one God, they stumbled on rock and no water came out. The water is salty there! The salty river flows down there, so the salt flats are there! There is one God and well, nothing was done, and the money has gone: the pit that was supposed to be drilled to extract water from there was not done, neither the quince plantations, the vineyard, the milking yard, or the cows were implemented” (Calcha18-16: §251).

Focusing on the postcolonial history of the Huarpe people in the Cuyo and Mendoza provinces, Escolar (2012: 3) pointed out the *salamanca* as “a seemingly phantasmal event of transmission of skills, knowledge and power”, and parodically associated with the notorious Spanish university city for “it first draws attention to a non-scholastic, popular, subversive, heretical, or clandestine transmission of knowledge and values” (2012: 6). The author highlighted the emergence, concealment, and reappearance of the *salamanca* event reveal the materialisation of a vortex, meshing ordinary and extraordinary political subjects and altering established power relations of an unfair order of things.

Just as the magic of the *salamanca* (see Escolar, 2012: 55), rather than being excluded from the political as a discrete supernatural entity, the *Chiqui* might be well referring to an event ruled by different ontological and epistemological logics (see Kusch, 2010: 56). The next section unfolds the emergence and concealment of this figure-concept to show that its reduction into a marginal character of the Calchaquí folklore, as the divinity that is responsible for people’s misfortunes, bears connection with the epistemic disavowal and disenfranchisement suffered by Indigenous peoples.

9.3.2 The emergence and concealment of the “father of the sacrifices”

Besides the topographical association of Las Salinas with devilish places, the timely emergence of the *Chiqui* amidst a failed attempt at what was a community-endorsed development initiative suggests looking into the historiography of its possible interpretations. Gentile’s (2001) exhaustive ethnohistorical study made easier the task of retrieving information about the *Chiqui*. She brought to light that in Quechua and Aymara colonial-era vocabularies the entry “*chiqui*” was related to a wide range of

situations expressing the contingency and flightiness of fate (Gentile, 2001: 14–17). The author outlined that the semantic connotation “*chiqui*” persisted during three centuries of colonial domination as an attribute given to places, people, and animals as to express danger or ominous occurrences: for instance, a city could be “*chiqui*” if it was affected by an earthquake or other natural or human-made calamities; people could have been branded “*chiqui*” according to the misfortune of their life; or animals can be akin to “*chiqui*” in the case they represent a source of danger, such as a flock of parrots attacking the fruits of a farming plot (Gentile, 2001: 20–40). Even the very name *Calchaquí* could refer to the combination of *calchani*, i.e. the name given by the Incas to rebellious peoples, with *chiqui*: that is to say, unruly peoples who had suffered a situation of uprooting and adversity (Gentile, 2001: 45).

This author convincingly argued that the personification of The *Chiqui* as a residual demoniac character of the folklore led to underestimate its value “as a concept that could be evoked, among others, through an anthropomorphic figure” (Gentile, 2001: 42). This change occurred in the second half of the 19th century, when the consolidation of Argentinean sovereignty and the massive influx of settlers of European legacy triggered the emergence of radical cultural practices to resist the forced assimilation, some of which were associated with The *Chiqui*. As many scholars have argued (see Escolar, 2012; Gordillo, 2002; Isla, 2000; Sarra, 2020), the spread of imageries and landscapes related to demoniac figures across the north-western region of the country bore witness to the seasonal work in the developing sugar plantations, and to the general uncertainty about the tenancy of the lands threatened by unprecedented socio-territorial transformations.

It was in this context when Lafone Quevedo (1888: 249) gave notice about the “Feast or game of The Chiqui” celebrated around February in coincidence with the harvest of carob bean and the confection of fermented beer. The festivity involved singing “Indian songs”, in whose transliterated lyrics the mention to The *Chiqui* was found and running around a carob tree from which hung heads of hunted animals and dough dolls called *huahuas* [children], which were the price for the winner of the race (Lafone Quevedo, 1888: 250). Following a passage from Montesinos’ *Chronicle of the Incas* (1642) mentioning that “*chiqui* was the name given to the adverse fortune”, Lafone (1888: 249) interpreted the celebration as “a curious remnant of the pagan world” whose intention was “to ward off misfortune in times of drought or other calamity”.

Other authors sought to trace in the archaeological material of the region the elements related to this cult in antiquity to demonstrate the historical continuity of the populations of the Argentinean Northwest. In line with the “philological approach” (Farro, 2014; Haber, 1994: 43) guiding the earliest archaeological explorations at the end of 19th century, the observation of both rural practices and archaeological findings was meant to draw a coherent, long-term historical account of the population dwelling in the interior of the country (Figure 9.37). Expanding on Lafone Quevedo’s first description, Quiroga (1897) identified the cult to The *Chiqui* in the Santamariano funerary urns by drawing attention to specific details in the decoration – such as, snakes, *suris* [*Rhea pennata*], the carob tree, anthropomorphic figures holding *humas* [severed heads] – all of which pointed to a sacrificial ritual to mediate with a powerful entity: “what was most demanded to The *Chiqui* (as it is today) was rain... In the jars everything speaks of water” (1897: 6). Quiroga (1897: 5) therefore identified the central figure of the large urns as the representation of The *Chiqui*, “demon on account of which people are miserable”.

Similarly, Ambrosetti (1899: 154–155) found that the metal objects engraved with figures of human heads, snakes, or frogs could have been related to the water cult of The *Chiqui* as fetishes employed to invoke the rain. He further argued that such a worship was a superstition grounded on “the moral character of the Calchaquí people [...] vengeful, bloodthirsty, and fierce” (Ambrosetti, 1917: 131–134) and leading to cruel sacrifices of children in “precious urns” to exorcise the continuous adversities of an environment, which the archaeologist considered “unsuitable to livelihood”. Within this interpretative framework, the kneaded human figurines hanging on the carob tree of the Feast of The *Chiqui* would have been the modern transposition of those ancestral ritual sacrifices.



Figure 9.35: Archaeological artefacts associated with the pre-Incaic cult of the Chiqui (a) Santamariano urns that Quiroga (1897) related to human sacrifices (Source image: Nastri, 2008: 21, Figure 14); Metal plates that Ambrosetti (1899) linked to fetiches employed in the invocation of rain (Source image: González, 2007: 37, Figure 4).

These authors coincided in linking water scarcity to the sacrifices demanded to sate demoniac wrath. In so doing, they assigned The *Chiqui* to a mythical pantheon, shaped as the classical European antiquity, and susceptible to express the inner qualities of the people who created it. The ambiguity and irritability associated with The *Chiqui* were rooted in its own etymology, as it was just another element of the natural landscape that needs to be fixed into an established taxonomy: “*chi* is a standing thing; *qui* is a particle that means ambiguity, duplicity; therefore, *Chiqui* is a twofold thing, filled with falsehood” (Quiroga, 1897: 5). However, the translation of *chi* as a “standing thing” can have a deeper meaning if one relates it to “*chichic*”⁷⁷, which was one of the names for the monoliths identifying “lithomorphic ancestors protecting farms and irrigation ditches, in the middle of or next to which they stood” (Gentile,

⁷⁷ Thanks to Bárbara Manasse for bringing this point to my attention during her contribution to a two-days conference – *Ñaupá Amaycha* – organized in October 2018 by the community of Amaicha del Valle (<https://naupaamaycha.wordpress.com/>).

2003: 223), and therefore necessary for the good maintenance of community relations among human and non-human participants; ordinary and extraordinary subjects that share the same political field.

The figure of The *Chiqui* as depicted by Lafone Quevedo, Quiroga, and Ambrosetti crystallised in successive compilations of folklore studies in the Calchaquí Valleys during the 20th century (e.g. Agüero Vera, 1972: 133–134; Colombes, 1984: 150). The well-known folklorist Juan Alfonso Carrizo (1942: 432–434, see fig. 9.38) gave the last word about the fate of the Feast of The *Chiqui* by arguing that the formal elements of the cult lasted in the rural tradition, while the “traditional intention” had been lost and indistinguishably associated with one among the many entertainments of the Carnival. The personification of a dispersed assemblage of evidence into the figure of The *Chiqui* within the fledging material culture and folklore studies of the Calchaquíes (see Chapter 4.3.3) was instrumental to settler-colonial expansion into Indigenous territories, customs, and histories.

In opposition to the enraged character of The *Chiqui*, another similarly reckoned superstition became popular, as it seemed to convey more virtuous qualities. Both Ambrosetti (1899: 155) and Quiroga (1897: 22) agreed on Pachamama being the civilised version of The *Chiqui*, either imported or imposed from more advanced nations of the Central Andes. Backed by scientific authority, the opposition between The *Chiqui* and Pachamama – “deities repelling each other” according to Quiroga (1897: 22) – becomes significant for the implementation of national policies of cultural assimilation, community land grabbing, and customary laws delegitimization. In these terms, the emergence and concealment of The *Chiqui* and the contextual enhancement of a picturesque version of Pachamama are intertwined phenomena of the same process by which selected traits of popular culture were purified of those components thought to be sign of backwardness and put in service of the relentless march of progress, as a proof of Indigenous peoples’ “predisposition to improve themselves and fully join the cultured life” (Quiroga, 1897: 29).

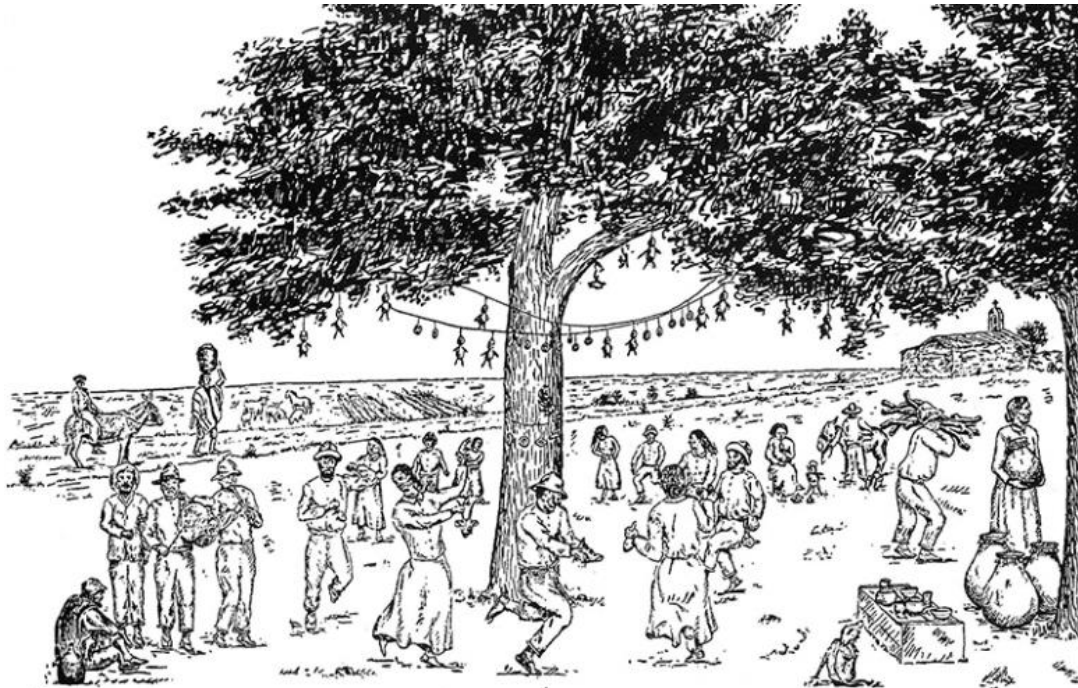


Figure 9.36: Drawing of the Feast of the Chiqui according to Carrizo (1942: 433) based on his observations and the descriptions of the first explorers.

The ultimate assimilation of The *Chiqui* as one devil within many in the Carnival celebrations happened at the same time as the National Feast of Pachamama began to tickle the greedy appetites of Tucumán economic and political powers. As if they were not part of an integrated whole necessary for the reproduction of social life, The *Chiqui* and *Pachamama* split into two opposite and antagonist sides. The wrath of the *Chiqui* did not fit well into the eagerness for homogenisation of the nation-state, nor its generative ambiguity could channel the necessary confidence for individual property, free market, and capitalist accumulation. However, just as in Juan Oscar Ponferrada's (1943: 159) play *The Devil's Carnival*⁷⁸, the *Chiqui* stays disguised, "as if it were said of sadness in the depths of happiness".

9.3.3 Take a walk on the wild side of *pacha*: "just-being" and the practice of heritage/rights

During a further meeting with the *cacique* Nieva and a group of schoolchildren to advance with the proposal of community protection of the petroglyph of the *Chiqui* and

⁷⁸ The play plot moves from an inversion of roles between the *Pujllay* and the *Chiqui* during the celebration of the Carnival in a village of Northwest Argentina: since then, everything that looks like joy will eventually turn into fatality for the characters of the piece. The reversal of roles during Carnival, which in itself is the time of the subversion of the ordinary, can be appreciated as an invitation to look at things beyond their apparent commonality to rescue a complexity impossible to visualise through disciplined times and modes.

the Fox, the Council of Elders' representative Doña Eva Pastrana wanted to make clear the distance between the devil as taught by Christian education and the devils related to the Carnival celebrations. Those might have been thought as the same, whereas they were deeply different, for the Carnival's devil was not the expression of the absolute moral separation between good and evil, rather it was "the one who takes away the fear, the concerns, and the sadness from the other"⁷⁹.

The closeness between joy and fatality as expressed by Doña Eva resonates with the observation made by the Argentinean philosopher Kusch (2010: 69), who saw a logical and spatial relation of proximity between *Cusipampa*, "the plain of happiness", and *Chiquipampa*, "the plain of misfortune", in the monumental landscape of the Inca capital city Cuzco. In his opinion, "Indigenous philosophy does not separate knowledge from life... It revolves precisely around this life... what we call *pacha*" (Kusch, 2010: 68). The rupture of this flows of relatedness is either due to its subsumption into an epistemology that discriminates between knowing subjects and ready-to-known objects (cfr. Haber, 2013: 85), or for the eagerness to find a non-irritating balance between popular and modern aesthetics (cfr. Lazzari and Korstanje, 2013: 409), and provokes the overturn of *pacha*, that is, the *kuty* which is where fear lays (Kusch, 2010: 43).

The politics of *pacha* is that which allows preventing fear, hence cannot help but take accidents as a constituent element of the reality of the "just-being" (see also Grosso, 2015: 95; Kusch, 2010: 63). Elsewhere, Kusch (2008: 56) argued that "the opposite may happen instead of being able to use a thing. Things have a *no* around their neck, and in this context, it is unclear whether or not a thing can be useful". Rather than symmetry, this is a constitutive ambiguity of things and beings, in which opposites coexist instead of the one overcoming the other.

Doña Lastenia Aguilar's testimony brought my attention to this point for the lived landscape of the valley when she explained the importance of the *apachates*, i.e. the mounds made of piled stones to pay offer and ask permit to Pachamama:

"Those of us who keep being, we still believe and teach how to offer up to earth. When I was a child, everybody had their *apacheta* because everywhere was bridleway. Do you know what a bridleway is? [F: Well, yes, I guess I do...] That you go on horseback, or on foot, there's no paved road. Those are paths, so you

⁷⁹ Fieldnote, September 2018.

go along one path, and it always separates: one follows here, the other one goes there. One goes to Casi Yaco, the other one goes to Las Salas. There is an *apacheta* because it is sure that paths separate, and you have to trace which path to follow, if you are going where you want to go. [F: Is it like a signpost?] That's correct, it's an *apacheta*. And well, the *apacheta* is also a knowledge. It is like an altar where there are spirits of... of.... How can I put it? There are good spirits, which had been here since before and they created it. That is why we have such a knowledge. We go, we cut a small piece of wood, we put it on the *apacheta*, which is made of stone. And well, there was this... What do you call it? Legend, that many dreadful things used to appear, like *mulánima*, it was another... other evil things that appeared, which were not from our... How shall I say? It wasn't like it existed here, but things like ghosts that appeared. And well, that's what the *apacheta* is for: if those appeared, one arrived at the *apacheta* and was safe. [F: And where did these ghosts appear?] There, sometimes they walk people along the paths, along the trails... [F: But is there a specific place where they appear?] Well, obviously there's not, didn't I tell you? In each *apacheta* it happens to be. There are many, lots of *apachetas*, not just one. [F: Ah, so is there where the ghosts appear?] Yes, of course. Whichever way you take, the paths always diverge; there's the *apacheta*" (Calcha18-3: §148-180).

The forking paths marked by the *apacheta* makes me think of the re-emergence of The *Chiqui* after the vanishing promises placed on the solar power plant. It shows a ghostly sovereignty over the territory, which haunts the policies that make Indigenous peoples appear as beneficiary, rather than owners of their own development (Figure 9.39). It shows us a silent, yet effective, inscription of community self-determination in the landscape through the reactivation of a concept that was presumably lost, which is yet reclaimed by appealing to it as the source of knowledge and legitimation for the customary laws that had been previously outraged by the arrogance of nation-state homogenous citizenship.



Figure 9.37: a) On the bottom left of the governmental signpost marking the inauguration of the State-planned drinking water works in Amaicha del Valle, an apacheta affirmed indigenous governance. August 2018; b) Apacheta on the old trail to the Sacred City, which was created by the village of Quilmes' neighbours during the seizure of the site in 2013 to avoid the roadblock on the main route by the antagonist faction within the CIQ. November 2018.

Instead of being exclusionary opposites, Pachamama and *Chiqui* – the authorised indigenous and the unruly Indian – complement each other as ways of coexisting with/in the territory, working to receive its fruits, and being attentive to the adversities. Rather than being an uncultured form predating the cult of Pachamama, the *Chiqui* complements it by being antagonistic to it. The combination of both manifests the ability to negotiate the political sense of things beyond the allowed normative limits and thereby encouraging the autonomous becoming of the community.

It is a juxtaposition of opposites that unfolds new spaces of friction and articulation. In these terms, the concept of *chiqui* evokes *ch'ixi*, the Aymara term employed by Rivera Cusicanqui (2012: 105; 2018b) to move a radical critique to the policy and rhetoric of multiculturalism, and with which shares the meaning of something born out of generative duplicity and ambiguity. In the light of what has been said so far about the socio-material assemblages that could be designed as *chiqui*, the Bolivian sociologist herself has accidentally pointed to an association between *ch'ixi* and *chiqui* (see Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015: 213) when she mentioned a linguistic trick that was spread among urban Aymara people in the years of the multicultural boom of Bolivia, for which “*Desarrollo de comunidades*” [Community development] became “*Desarrollo de calamidades*” [Development of misfortunes].

Yet, it was the material support of the petroglyph that triggered the activation of memories and politics around the place of The *Chiqui* within the limited outcomes of multiculturalism and ethnodevelopment. During the meeting in which the *cacique* Nieva told me about the finding of the petroglyph, he introduced the topic prompted by my question about the demand of restitution of the *Huaca de la Apacheta* to the community (see Chapter 8.2 and Sosa and Nieva, 2017). He recalled an episode during his participation in the drafting of the law 25.517/2001, which regulates the restitution of human remains to indigenous communities in Argentina: “Do you know that I proposed a fourth article stating that the archaeological heritage of public museums and private collections should be returned... And they took it out!”⁸⁰.

As a way forward after the failed solar panel project, I collaborated with the *cacique* on a proposal for a community-led heritage register, which stems from the evolutive interpretation of Indigenous peoples’ right to heritage (cfr. Orlandi, 2018), while filling

⁸⁰ Fieldnotes, August 2018.

in the gaps in Tucumán legislation on cultural heritage (Law 7.500/2005), and in domestic and international regulations (ILO C169 and national laws 24.071/1992 and 25.517/2001). As it has been thoroughly discussed in this thesis (see Chapter 2.3, Chapter 3.2, Chapters 6 and 8), the obligation to obtain free, prior, and informed consent for all scientific research and undertakings in the territory of legally established indigenous communities is a necessary but not sufficient condition to guarantee a fair access, participation, and contribution to heritage. In fact, the object of agreement within such regulations continues to be classified according to categories unrelated to the social and cultural frameworks of reference of the communities with which everything called heritage interacts.

The creation of a special register in the provincial heritage law responds to these shortcomings by implementing an evolutive interpretation of Law 7.500 (art. 12), which states that “entities, organisations and persons” are entitled to inscribe and dedicate themselves to the protection of cultural heritage. Given that indigenous communities are endowed with legal status, they can rightfully take charge of heritage in their territories, and following constitutional prerogatives, they have the right to do so according to their criteria of conservation, cosmovision, and care, seeking cooperation with other entities – when they so wish – for the preservation of heritage in accordance with community self-determination and respectful of the social bonds with the territory.

Commenting on this work during the presentation of the report of activities to the Council of Elders, Lalo Nieva underscored that:

“One of my concerns as a *cacique* is that I have not been able to raise awareness in the community so that they can see beyond the law. I am against those Indigenous leaders who are very legalistic because the law limits you and restricts you. Thus, what we have done for the *Chiqui* is not so much to go outside the law, what we are doing is to be and walk on the edge of the law. On the edge of the law... That’s the exercise of rights in practice. [...] We are going to be the only community that makes this beautiful madness. Not inside the law, not outside the law, we always walk on the edge. The Indigenous leader who walks within the law tricks on his own”⁸¹.

The graphic registry of the petroglyph of the “Chiqui and the Fox” (Figure 9.40) concretised a cosmopolitical form of heritage-making, in the sense of showing the affection borne by an element of the archaeological record over the interpretive

⁸¹ Fieldnotes, December 2018.

framework, social development, and power relations of the community with which it interacts. It informs us about an epistemic standing that will challenge scientific explanations and nation-state legal frameworks, not to invalidate them but to draw attention to their gaps and to offer a valuable alternative.

External recognition does not restrict the tenets of critical indigeneity, whose political subjectivity springs out of tensions and contradictions, in the case of the memories of the composition and recomposition of the *ayllu* in Huancollo (Chapter 7), as well as in the disappearance and reappearance of the unruly *Indio* Diaguita-Calchaquí in the indigenous communities of Amaicha and Quilmes. Taking the oral tradition conveying the association between the devil and the fox from the perspective of the *chiqui*, as this section unravelled, brings out another way of putting together the scattered fragments that lead back to the recognition of the heritage and rights of indigenous peoples, one that is unbound from the constraints and control exercised by multicultural or technical taxonomy. It also invites us to reflect on the risks involved in compromising with the promoters of a one-way road to development or salvation, as well as the realisation that things can go wrong and can come back to haunt us. That is, misfortune and accidents (*chiqui*) are an integral part of life itself (*pacha*).

9.4 Conclusions

During my first stay in Amaicha del Valle I could only glimpse the surface of the *chiqui* in community politics, but by the time I returned to the valley it acquired a deep significance for the direction that the fieldwork had taken after leaving the site of the first case study in Bolivia. The story-tracking of the long memories and material histories of the *Ayllu* Huancollo (Chapter 7) brought to the fore the changes and continuity breeding life into competitive configurations of people, land, and things that engage in different scales of heritage-making practices. Building up this grounded perspective as a translation device for the multi-sited field of my research, this chapter explored whether similar tenets of *ayllu* politics can be helpful to make sense of the conflicts generated by the implementation of multicultural policies in the Calchaquí Valleys.



Figure 9.38: Graphic registry of the Chiqui petroglyph conducted by a team from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Tucumán. Picture courtesy of Eduardo Nieva.

The leftovers of ethnodevelopment projects in community memories and landscape offered material mediation and curiosity spur to look at the entanglement between territory/heritage as a pivotal element of contemporary indigeneity in Argentina. This lens puts the conflicts generated by the community management of the Sacred City of Quilmes on a different light from the neoliberal propaganda that continues to fragmentate the legitimate right to heritage into stock of stakes and revenues. The chapter highlights that the reclaim for the site is grounded on community histories of dispossession and enfranchisement, on the fights to defend the territory and take care of it, in spite of the most terrible persecutions or the juiciest promise of development.

The rhetoric and practice of multiculturalism, especially through the technical intervention of ethnodevelopment designs, accentuates the separation between heritage and territory. On the one hand, heritage is something to be preserved, either by anchoring it to a static past or transfiguring it as a folkloric commodity; on the other hand, the territory becomes a matter of concern as long as it is a source of raw materials whose rationalisation into resources favours their exploitation. Yet, as entangled as they are, territory/heritage stays spookily connected and agitates the ground of things taken-for-granted.

The chapter proved the efficacy of archaeological ethnography and counter-mapping as a hybrid methodology to navigate a complex web of socio-material relations crossing different temporalities, as well as to lay the foundation for a horizontal collaboration aimed at creating something else than the sum of the parts. The figure-concept of *chiqui* offered a cue to unpack the regimes of protection accountable for indigenous heritage to be misrecognised in multicultural policies and development interventions. Tracing its emergence and concealment in national historiography and charting its spatial relation to contemporary development interventions show the political assemblage composited by *chiqui*-related things and its capacity to reclaim the space of Indigenous radical self-determination in the face of the indifference of State. Through the creation of the Special Register, the community leadership finds another way to reach an important result, which partially connects with the failed promise of the solar power plant: the active recognition of community sovereignty and political autonomy as manifested by the capacity to decide on the development of its own territory without being a mere beneficiary of public or international aids.

Bridging archaeological ethnography with archival research, and surface survey with photo-essay, the chapter has presented an argument to investigate into the heritage cosmopolitics stemming from reiterated and juxtaposed interactions with the territory. This approach problematises ordinary understanding of indigenous heritage by showing its generative contradictions as well as giving credit to the silenced alternatives that materialise on the dirty surface of small things forgotten. The concluding chapter will bring insights from the two case studies together and summarise the main results stemming from the multi-sited archaeological ethnography in the South-central Andes presented in this doctoral dissertation.

Chapter 10. Things that tied the field together

10.1 Introduction

The chapter systematises the findings of the doctoral research into four thematic essays, which reflect the “archaeological circumstances” of heritage/rights outlined in Chapter 2.4 and characterising this investigation as a situated engagement *with/in* and *of* the present, plus a conclusive coda to go back to the future as an interplay of memories and aspirations. These essays look at four themes that explore the different yet entwined spatiotemporal and political dimensions of heritage/rights across the two case studies: a) the ruination of multiculturalism; b) the discursive and material disjuncture of indigenous heritage; c) the cosmopolitical diplomacy; d) *qhipnayra ch'ixi*, ‘motley futurepasts’.

This thesis showed that nationalism and cosmopolitanism are not so different political designs if they are looked through the lens of heritage-making practices. Framing this object of inquiry enabled the delimitation of the multi-sited field of research across the two study areas in Bolivia and Northwest Argentina. Walking and charting long-term configurations of people, things, and lands revealed heritage cosmopolitics as the third-space in-between memories and aspirations, in which the political takes shape and where archaeology can recuperate the space to deploy its critical contribution to society. My claim is for a hitchhiker, diplomatic archaeologist who is attentive to recognise the spots where the ephemeral remains of past encounters and the silent sociality of artifacts and landscapes enable moving forward by stepping from stone to stone, from box to box, so slowly composing the journey (see Chapter 3).

As a way of “reclaiming archaeology” (González-Ruibal, 2013: 18), the perspective adopted in this thesis has allowed for a thorough investigation of the definition and use of indigenous heritage in the two study contexts. Overcoming the limits imposed by national borders and closed academic traditions with a multi-sited approach has exposed a common thread in the materiality of ethno-development projects and the subordination of community heritage management projects to the authorised heritage-making practices of the State and transnational actors such as UNESCO, or non-governmental organisations.

The crucial point is composition after critique, as Latour (2004: 455) reckoned: “A common world, if there is going to be one, is something we will have to build, tooth and nail, together”. Altogether, these conclusions aim at weaving the findings of the fieldwork with ongoing debates on political ontology and archaeology of the contemporary past. The goal is to combine and summarise the main results of this doctoral work so as to contribute to the methodological development of multi-sited archaeological ethnography and to acknowledge the lessons learnt thanks to the communities that agreed to collaborate with my research, confident that these are powerful examples of community resistance and organisation to exercise, protect and transmit the respect for Indigenous peoples’ rights to heritage, territory, and life in community.

10.2 First theme: The ruination of multiculturalism

This dissertation has put forward a case for multi-sited archaeological ethnography as a cross-disciplinary methodology bringing together the anthropology of human rights and cultural/natural relationships with archaeological perspectives and methods to study Indigenous pasts in post-colonial settings. By addressing two different fieldwork locations, i.e., the Autonomous Municipality of Tiahuanaco in Bolivia and the Calchaquí Valleys of Tucumán in Northwest Argentina, this doctoral research contributes to understanding contemporary heritage conflicts in the south-central Andean region.

The research area is conceived as a living landscape woven by material and discursive interactions crafting intelligible systems of values enmeshed with larger spatiotemporal configurations and marked by subsequent imperial contradictions. These reverberate in the present in the guise of the seemingly inescapable juridical mould of the nation-state to recount the history of relations between peoples and to show the options available for the peaceful progression of these relations. My research moves away from the predominant single-site and national focus, through a combined historical and spatial approach that showed the convergences and divergences of heritage-triggered conflicts across different scales and ecologies of practice. This approach entails looking at the multiple temporalities and ways of dwelling with/in the

territory of both fieldwork locations, bringing the ruination of the classificatory logic of multiculturalism to the fore.

The simultaneously diachronic and synchronic perspective adopted in this thesis illuminates the pitfalls of the ethical imperative of participation that holds the agendas of recognition of cultural diversity, collaborative archaeological practice, and heritage legislation together. The regulation of the heritage/rights field through legal artefacts that discipline community consultation and consent-seeking is critical for it catalyses the depoliticization of Indigenous strategies and may recast social injustices and territorial dispossessions behind the appearance of achieved consensus.

An archaeological gaze into contemporary discursive and material heritage/rights arrangements follows the traces of these sedimented, partially connected interactions by adopting a self-critical standpoint. Recalling Mamani Condori (1994: 58), an Indigenous perspective in archaeology implies that:

“[t]he past is not inert or dead, and it does not remain in some previous place. It is precisely by means of the past that the hope of a free future can be nourished, in which the past can be regenerated”.

This standpoint marks the theoretical disruption that this research intends bringing to the subfield of the archaeologies of the contemporary past by calling attention to the fractures and interstices emerging from linking heritage and rights and univocally placing the consequences of their uneven communing under the overreaching umbrella of indigenous development and cultural rights. “Archaeology is the child of developed countries”, Miller (1980: 709) argued long time ago, while addressing the modernist inheritance of archaeological practice in post-colonial, developing countries. He warned about the risks associated with contrasting traditional against non-traditional ways of relating to the material remains of the past, for such a dualism keeps the conceptual and methodological tenets of archaeology unchallenged and aligned to imperial designs. However, he pointed out that this polarity does have some kind of value as a vehicle for future research, insofar as it shows:

“[T]he description of a conceptual dichotomy operating for the people of the area themselves, with what is perceived as traditional being regarded as an integrated whole [...] ‘custom’ may constitute the ideas of the past to which archaeology is seen as relating [...] Yet, unlike many other imported ideas, archaeology, in order to become meaningful, must not only become an integral part of the developing

system, but also cross the boundary to become identified with many important aspects of traditional life and outlook” (Miller, 1980: 710).

This dissertation made visible the contours of the ontological chasm triggered around the interactions between technicians, locals, and composite materials and beings belonging to the past of the south-central Andean region, which therefore fall within the disciplinary concern of archaeology but also take part in the customary-based politics of community building. While in the Bolivian case the community counterforce that opposes the nation-state and its juridical and technical devices – including archaeology and heritage – is publicly linked with the political and socio-territorial entity called *ayllu*, more convoluted and questioned is the association of community politics with an Indigenous perspective composing and contrasting the monological discourse of the State in the case of Northwest Argentina. My point is that vernacular logics shape contextual, often paradoxical and conflictive, engagements with nation-states, academy, or transnational bodies, which leave their marks in the legal and material landscapes.

The profusion of authorised depictions of Andean native inhabitants for the sake of global tourism industry or the experimental application of prehispanic irrigation systems and infrastructure for rural development as a way to greenwash the colonial legacy of archaeology have been the major and most visible outcomes of the field of contention and practice between indigenous heritage and rights. My thesis brings a long-term aware, object-oriented approach to the assemblages surfacing in the layered history of interactions among people, land, and things. Those points of contention become sensible in unexpected ways thanks to the persistence of material circuits of exchange across the Southcentral Andes; on some occasions, the objects, ideas, and images composing those circuits across space and time require to do a double take (Figure 10.1). The visualisation of the “the uneven temporal sedimentations in which imperial formation leave their marks” (Stoler, 2013: 2) shores up the ruination of modern imaginaries and multicultural classification. Heritage cosmopolitics tracks and maps this multitemporal and living landscape to highlight what is absent or has been left behind.



Figure 10.1 The contemporary past of the Andean region materialised in the awkward relationship between (a) the detailed relief decoration of the upper frieze of the Gateway of the Sun at Tiwanaku (September 2016), and (b) a T-shirt hung in a market of Cafayate (Salta), reproducing the motive of the lateral figures surrounding the central “Staff Idol” of Tiwanaku, as an out-of-place ethnic souvenir of the precolonial past of the Calchaquí Valleys (September 2018).

The fieldwork therefore concentrated on surveying the material and discursive semiotic registers involving the inscription of indigenous heritage under subsequent modern/colonial matrices of knowledge and power (Mignolo, 2007: 476; Quijano, 2007). The juxtaposition of modes of relating to the materiality of Tiwanaku offered a prism through which assessing the long-lasting effects of the modern purification of heritage and its colonial policing through pieces of legislation and disciplinary practice. It shows as well how archaeological sites, objects, and ideas participate in local performances of power based on the affirmation of customary law as a political strategy to recreate and expand the sociality of the *ayllu* in complicity and contention with nation-state sovereignty. This convergence semantically concretised in the overlaying meanings of the word *maestro*, which stands for who is an expert archaeological worker and may also designate the one who bears local knowledge, who knows how to talk and read coca leaves, and walk among the ruins.

An ethnographic, material semiotic approach (cfr. Abercrombie, 2016; Howard, 2010) allowed unravelling the tangle of iterations and performances of power associated with the nationalist use of Tiwanaku heritage. The review of the events leading to the promulgation of the Plurinational Constitution (see Chapter 5) has shown the emergence and consolidation of a public sphere structured around the performance of “decolonisation” through a variety of semiotic channels, which enabled the peopling of the political arena by “voices” previously incapable of being heard (Howard, 2010:

178–179). Nonetheless, stressing continuity across the liberal administration founded on the hacienda system, the populist revolution aiming to assimilate the indigenous peasantry into national imagination, and the multicultural openings derived by the neoliberal adjustments, the structuring contradictions of the plurinational regime became manifest, “not only in how state is imagined, but also how it is governed” (Canessa, 2017: 71).

The intertwined spatial and temporal dimensions of indigeneity materialised into the institutionalisation of the Solstice celebration on 21st of June and in the political action through which the CACOT peasant union and the Municipality of Tiahuanaco took over the administration of the archaeological site of Tiwanaku shortly before its declaration as member of the prestigious family of UNESCO World Heritage hotspots. Looking at these crucial events in parallel with the emergence of Evo Morales’ leadership and deployment of policies aimed at implementing specific measures of “decolonisation” of the state machinery and governmental revealed the assimilation of indigenous heritage to the homogenising fiction formulated by and for an Andean-centric plurinational State (see Arnold, 2018: 46; Fabricant and Postero, 2019: 248), which nonetheless keeps depending on the political and economic capitals derived by large-scale extraction of natural resources.

Similar dynamics unfolded from the struggles over the control and management of the Sacred City of Quilmes in Northwest Argentina. Reading against the grain the postcolonial history of the Calchaquí Valleys revealed the repetitive identification of indigenous socio-material assemblages with the unruly space laying outside of established social orders. This reflects on heritage-making practices that are inherently connected with nation-building processes, and Indigenous rights-based claims for common lands and good life are still singled out as transgressive proposals undermining civil coexistence when they violate the tight bureaucratic mesh and cultural taxonomy arranged to curb their political enthusiasm.

Nation-states and other transnational or intergovernmental actors manufacture static, easy-readable, cultural and territorial identities by coupling indigenous heritage to the marketable distribution of cultural rights. Another common feature between the two case studies presented in this thesis appears while looking at the ruination of development projects as marks of the enduring crisis of neoliberal multiculturalism.

Post-development scholarship has called attention to the structural crisis of the development paradigm and to the consequences of ignoring the mutual commitments that become effective as soon as global designs intercept local contextual histories, epistemologies, and ways of dwelling the territory (see Blaser, 2004: 34; Esteva and Escobar, 2017). Reflecting on the simultaneous spatial and temporal imbrications that are integral in the shaping of development as a network connecting social practices at various scales of imagination, Esteva (2013: 53) stated that “only an archaeological eye... would be able to explore the ruins left by development”. Even more eloquent is the reference to archaeological imaginaries in Sachs’ (1999: 3) “guide to the ruins”:

“Ruined buildings hide their secrets under piles of earth and rubble. Archaeologists, shovels in hand, work through layer upon layer to reveal underpinnings and thus discover the origins of a dilapidated monument. But ideas can also turn out to be ruins, with their foundations covered by years or even centuries of sand. I believe that the idea of development stands today like a ruin in the intellectual landscape, its shadows obscuring our vision. It is high time we tackled the archaeology of this towering conceit, that we uncovered its foundations to see it for what it is: the outdated monument to an immodest era”.

Looking at the vestiges of NGOs’ activities around the Bolivian shores of the Lake Titicaca, Roddick (2019: 103) foregrounded the material palimpsests generated by those interactions. He also addressed the raised field agricultural projects that included the rehabilitation or experimental application of archaeological *suka kollus* for rural development, as those outside the monumental core of Tiwanaku mentioned in Chapter 7, observing that:

“None of these fields are maintained today, and many are eroding into the greater archaeological palimpsest. For instance, fields outside of Tiwanaku are now a wetland grazed by cattle, blending in with the much older site” (Roddick, 2019: 111).

The braided material remains of subsequent colonial, national, and global projects reveal the juxtaposition of different temporalities and social arrangements involved in the configuration of the multi-sited archaeological record of the southcentral Andes region’s contemporary past. Lumping together insights from two key archaeological sites of the region, such as Tiwanaku and Quilmes, this thesis documented “what people are left with and the ways they seek to confront the durability of what is not easily disposable or possible to set aside” (Stoler, 2016: 337). This entailed taking an

equidistant consideration between the material remains of the prehispanic past and the afterlives of ethnodevelopment projects impacting on community lands.

Through the alternative, relational, and performative archive of oral memories and scattered materials throughout the landscape, the two case studies display community struggles and vernacular logics for protecting and taking care of heritage and territory. In line with what has been argued by Gordillo (2014: 9), official heritage-making designs displayed that “[t]he reification of the past in a bounded, fenced-off place also hides that beyond the fenced perimeter lie constellations of rubble created by ongoing forms of disruption”. Thinking outside of the fenced perimeter of classical heritage studies locations, these socio-material “constellations” (after Benjamin, 1968: 253; Gordillo, 2014: 20) restore the silent work of “memory objects” (Olivier, 2011: 132) to hack the taming taxonomy of indigenous heritage.

10.3 Second theme: Unpacking the archive of indigenous heritage

My fieldwork in the Bolivian highlands and in the southern Calchaquí Valleys adds to the long list of Andean archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistorical studies highlighting that objects and places participate in continuous flows of reciprocal sociality between people, territories, and things from the past, which are usually associated with the materialization and subjectivation of entities called *wak'as* (e.g. Allen, 2017; Bray, 2015; Haber, 2009; Sillar, 2004; Vilca, 2010). Far to be harmonious, these relationships underpin predation and danger, which ritual interventions enable to overcome, or at least to keep in mind and take precautions. Archaeological ruins, dead bodies, and other material and non-material entities, or events, such as the *antahualla* light blinking among the floodplain of Huancollo (see Chapter 7.4.1) and the *salamanca* devilish assemblies illuminating the salt flats of Amaicha del Valle (see Chapter 9.3.1), are things charged with a “gravitational power” that makes them as uncomfortable as “the latest emergent agents of particular landscapes with deep-time transactional histories” (Lazzari, 2011: 185). These are things that gather many subjects together, whether human or other-than-human, and can physically harm by killing, cheating, or frightening.

The investigation intersects current debates around new materialist and post-humanist approaches in archaeology and heritage studies, yet it challenges the view feeding

into the picture of human indifference and political apathy, showing in contrast that conflicts over rights and resources triggered by the political participation of other-than-human actors have the potential to create new cultural forms, as for instance the legal artefact specifically designed to protect the spiritual and material connections between people and territory, i.e., the free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC). My research argues that the institutionalisation of community consultation and consent-seeking mechanisms packs within itself naturalised conceptions of indigenous heritage that ultimately preclude the acknowledgement and full exercise of Indigenous peoples' aspirations and well-being.

Unpacking disagreements over heritage bureaucracy, management, and ownership in both field locations contributes towards a comparative assessment of Indigenous rights in practice, and brings the reconceptualization of the FPIC from its standard consideration as a tool to achieve consensus, to understand it as the materialization of a space, or a field of action, where contested visions and expectations play each other out through things and places channelling different understandings of what matters in the definition of indigenous heritage.

Grounding the universality of human rights in its cultural and material relations can be achieved by de-constructing the “architectural dimension” (Mbembe, 2002: 19) of the archival production underpinning the modern/colonial regulation of the heritage/rights system, bringing to light the structural violence against the alter-archives reduced to silence (see Chapter 2). The role of archaeology is critical for reproducing the comforting fabula of tolerance for cultural diversity through participatory dialogues with local communities, which hardly become mutually transformative, keeping the imperial core of the discipline unsensible to its contemporary circumstances. Challenging this state of things is correlated to a counter-modern, “undisciplined archaeology” (Haber, 2012; 2016a: 176; Hamilakis, 2014: 124; Shepherd, 2015) in which political and academic classifications can be eroded through the time of archaeology, which is memory, and through indigeneity as the performative force to territorialise cosmopolitical alternatives.

The material-discursive production of cultural heritage under multiculturalism erases the traces of what does not fit in the legal recognition and obscures the grey areas of community participation from the study of Indigenous pasts in postcolonial settings.

Archaeology is functional to that for it conceptually shapes the unilinear arrow of time as much as gives legitimacy to place-based practices of thinking and acting according to, or in disagreement with hegemonic conceptualisations of people's relationship with the past. By maintaining unchallenged modern conceptual dichotomies, multicultural heritage policies therefore constantly produce "sites of equivocation that enable circuits between partially connected worlds without creating a unified system of activism" (de la CADENA, 2010: 351).

Participatory rhetoric of neoliberal multiculturalism or government-led decolonisation designs still pigeonholes indigeneity by codifying living social relationships into fixed norms of cultural aesthetics and political legitimacy. Both fieldwork case studies display the current framework of implementation of the constitutional rights entitled to legally registered indigenous communities in Bolivia and Argentina. They overall show the structural limits of the classificatory logic built upon the taxonomic recognition of indigenous people, lands and things. This logic configures a sterilising, possessive, and individualistic relationship with natural/cultural resources that reinstates the colonial sovereignty of the nation-state and keeps disciplining citizenship rights according to the requirements of global market economy. It ignores disagreements in order to keep modern classifications undisputed.

The cooptation of indigenous heritage into participatory ethical grids dilutes, when not completely forecloses, the critical actions of grassroots social movements, rather it breeds the frontier expansion of cultural/natural resources extractivism, either in the case of educating people about what is worth preserving and remembering for some universal rationale, or while granting to Pachamama an apathic juridical personhood for pacifying the conflicts generated by her invocation to safeguard our common social habitat. Within the neoliberal governmentality of indigenous heritage, the ultimate choice is between being either an object of protection or subject to criminalisation.

By illuminating the twofold dimension of the FPIC, both as a "cultural artefact" (Strathern, 2000: 2) and a middle-ground for the vernacularisation of human rights (Merry, 2006: 42–43), my research integrates the concerns and care for things with a cosmopolitical attention towards ontological conflicts and the forces and regimes of perception that inscribe them into dogmatic regulatory fields. This perspective is crucial to unveil the coexistence of emancipatory politics sustained on the enforcement

of human rights in the collective space of the community, as much as social regulatory orders placed on the edge of reproducing neo-colonial dispossession, facilitating extractive development, and accelerating the speed of ruination of the living relationship with the landscape.

Mapping out my own process of consultation and consent-seeking with the communities of Huancollo (see Chapter 6) and Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes (see Chapter 8) materialised a space “to communicate by differences” (Viveiros de Castro, 2004: 10), which ultimately blurs the achieved consensus, without this being detrimental to the research as a whole; on the contrary, the ability to disagree is precisely what I wanted to emphasise most strongly when mapping the process of consultation and consensus building. The FPIC calls the archaeologist’s eye because this is a process in which differences emerge in the matter of something that is meant to last and guarantee the consensus achieved above the object of consultation. It is the point of convergence/divergence for a wide array of social artefacts: e.g., professional protocols, community permits, books, official and unofficial archives, local museums, photographs, tourism-related flyers, graffiti, and other kinds of material outcomes derived from heritage/rights encounters, either recognised as such or not.

This conceptual framework provided the cue to organise the findings of the multi-sited fieldwork around sites of “ontological conflicts” (Blaser, 2009: 879; Lazzari, 2018) over indigenous heritage assemblages; namely, those enacted by the gravitational power of Tiwanaku, the *taypi* navel of Andean cosmologies (see Chapter 4.2.1), and the ancient city of Quilmes, the last bastion of the Diaguita-Calchaquí resistance to the Spanish colonisation of Northwest Argentina (see Chapter 4.3.1). The ethnographic encounters that constellated my pursue of consent and consensus to carry out the fieldwork in collaboration and agreement with the communities concerned gave way to considering cosmopolitical disputes vis-à-vis “participants whose presence was not recognized by all who participated in the gatherings” (Blaser and De La Cadena, 2018: 12).

Rhizomatically connected, the materials composing the two case studies have been captured on their constant flowing, as they became tangibly expressed in circuits of contention over political and economic values attached to indigenous heritage. Layered histories of elusive promises pile up, sedimented in the long-standing

memories of encounters premised on outsiders' interest in taking possession of community territories and resources through lies and trickery. As the famous drawing illustrating a key episode of Guaman Poma's Chronicle (Figure 10.2) still evokes very powerfully, the ambiguity of colonial classifications dates to the earliest days of imperial conquest and revolves around tricking the other for one's own sake.

Archaeologists do often recognise the politically embeddedness of their work with the materials of the past, yet they do so from a safe distance: their accounts and representations are far removed from the actual past communities whose lives are being interpreted. The visual representation of the encounter depicted in Guaman Poma's Chronicle reproduced in Figure 10.2 introduces the chapter in which the *mestizo* author related how the Spaniards were eager to conquest and blinded "from the greed for gold and silver" (Guaman Poma 1615: 370[372]). This evocative drawing could be taken as a graphic illustration of the material "entanglement" (Corcoran-Tadd, 2016: 50; cfr. Hodder, 2012) that characterised colonial domination, as early modern political and economic circuits that connected indigenous and non-indigenous assemblages came together. In such settings, the tendency to take coinage as a given, singular category of object (intended for exchange) obscures its polysemy and hybrid nature, which was enabled by the physical properties that afforded particular relations of production, use and circulation (Corcoran-Tadd 2016: 64). Rather than promoting a complete, dramatic overturn of daily life through its introduction among indigenous societies, as standard scholarship would explain it, Corcoran-Tadd (2016: 49) argues that the hybridity of coinage created the space for the slow yet inexorable melding of vernacular logics into the centralised system and technological machinery of the Spanish colonial administration.

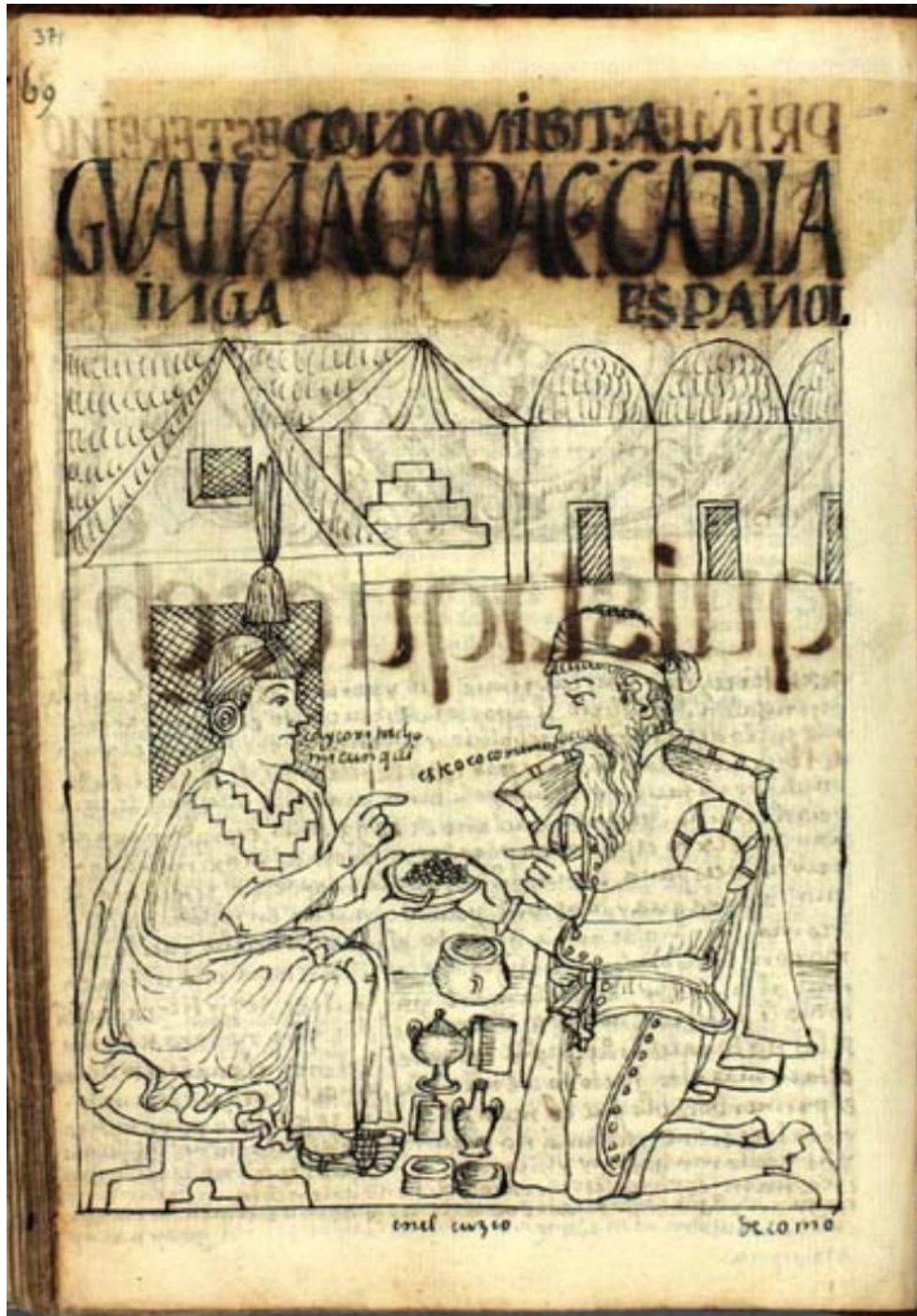


Figure 10.2: "Drawing 147. The Inka asks what the Spaniard eats. The Spaniard replies: 'Gold'. / *Cay coritacho micunqui?* [Is this the gold that you eat?]/ This gold we eat. / In Cuzco" (Guaman Poma 1615: 369 [371]).

However, the encounter between the Spaniard and the Inca introduces attentive readers to the deeper layers of non-discursive and con-textual meanings attached to a colonial order of things. The image sparks curiosity for it resonates with the contemporary violence prompted by the ongoing expansion of the extractive frontier upon Indigenous bodies and territories and exercised through trickery and threatening strategies: "the fictional registry of words, riddled with euphemisms that veil the reality

rather than designate it” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a: 19). Commenting on the same drawing of Guaman Poma’s Chronicle, Rivera Cusicanqui (2015: 183) wrote that:

“Gold as food strips the visitor of his human condition and synthesises the stupor and ontological distance that pervaded Indigenous society. This is a central metaphor of conquest and colonisation. Its vigour allows us to make a leap, from the sixteenth century to the present, from historiography to politics, to denounce and combat food turned into gold, seeds as nuggets of death, and human perdition as a wound to nature and the *cosmos*”.

Money was certainly a key cosmopolitical activator (in the sense outlined in Chapter 4) in the case studies examined in this doctoral research, yet one that hardly subsumed all the significant heritage/rights relations registered around Tiwanaku and Quilmes. The equivocal communication enacted by money was “entrapped” (Hodder, 2014: 20) into broader assemblages, which revealed, as Hodder (2014: 19) put it: “a darker side to the entanglements of humans and things [...] they involve more than networks of humans and things, a symmetry of relations”.

I have illustrated how money partially translates loosely interconnected trusting relationships in consultation and consent-seeking processes (see Chapter 6.3.2) and visualised its marks in the landscape by following the material trails of development interventions affecting community heritage and territory (see Chapters 7 and 9). I have also documented how money assemblages fed vernacular imaginaries associated with devilish human, or human-like figures and places, which, as in the Andean oral tales, induce fear into people and make a detail of their trickery plans apparent, flipping the field of possibilities.

The Natural Medicine Hospital in Huancollo (Chapter 7.3.2) illustrates this point: brought into *ayllu* sociality by the coincidental interests of promoting traditional botanical and medical knowledge and holding the community together during the neoliberal adjustments of the 1980s and 1990s. Similarly, the events that ignited the process of inscription of the *Chiqui and the Fox* petroglyph as community heritage of Amaicha del Valle (see Chapter 9.3) provide an example of “the stickiness of human-thing entrapments” (Hodder, 2014: 31) by tangibly providing an alternative composition of the fragmented oral and material past of the Calchaquí Valleys in such a way that it makes sense for community self-determination as the active subject of its own development. These are the sorts of landmarks that I have registered during my

fieldwork across the southcentral Andes: gathering places that, through their divergences in temporality and materiality, enable looking at things turning tables and pointing to the broader social textures and political circumstances of colonial suffering.

Thinking through heritage cosmopolitics, while story-tracking the contemporary past of the Ayllu Originario Huancollo, unfolded the historical and relational practices that reunite living and dead people, animals and artefacts, buildings and storyplaces in the common grammar of *ayllu* politics. Mapping the locations visited throughout the Calchaquí Valleys, while presenting a different although intertwined trajectory leading to the multicultural regulation of indigenous heritage, revealed sites in which the politics of the *pacha* became manifest through slippery material engagements within ongoing rural development designs brought into communities by national or transnational intermediaries.

Together, these case studies display the “ontology of land and the relationships extractivism establishes with it”, as Rivera Andía (2019: 169–170) has recently set forth, exploring the cosmopolitical agency of a church built and maintained by a community in the Peruvian Andes by working together. These are the silent, mainly non-discursive aspects of the collective property relationships through which people and territories “relink things and feelings in the world” (Haber, 2016a: 176), and fight “to make the legal aspect of this relationship operational in the national sphere” (Rivera Andía, 2019: 184).

The convergence and overlap between community and state bureaucracies showed that “[t]he spatial dimensions of ethical judgement create substantial material effects with enduring affective power” (Lazzari, 2008: 644). The methodological point is to become able to recognise where juxtapositions and ruptures become tangible: stratified in palimpsests as nodes of socio-material constellations or enmeshed in the lived landscape with the materiality of the past; once this evidence is disclosed, automatically becomes a harbinger of new research concerns and social interactions within shared horizons of memory and expectation.

An important aspect arising is that of the coproduction of archaeological knowledge, which is always encoded in shared practices with local communities and territories as much as borne on the persistent qualities of objects and landscapes. Critical is not to draw a straight line between the evidence of what is past and the memories of what is

becoming. It is crucial to assess and widen the modernist notion of the archaeological record so as to include its evidentiary traces as part of present assemblages in which “what really matters is the relations between entities, as well as what kinds of entities there are” (Lucas, 2012: 167). The multimedia register of ethnographic, ethnohistorical, photographic, and video encounters with and around objects and places that caught my curiosity develop the traditional notions of archaeological record in this direction, building upon the cosmopolitical alter-archive to resist and counteract in the face of destruction brought by narrow regulatory infrastructures.

Sedimented on the places and materials of the established normative and customary structures, looking at the spatial distribution of these encounters unfolds the performative and necessary equivocal character of community consent-seeking and consensus building mechanisms. To follow these traces means inscribing community collaboration into a kind of “ambulatory knowing” – as Ingold (2000: 230–231) would put it: “stepping stones along the way, punctuating the process rather than initiating it or bringing it to a close”.

10.4 Third theme: Cosmopolitical diplomacy

This thesis brings into light that the contemporary struggles over ownership and management of indigenous heritage exceed the terms assigned by institutional or disciplinary discourses and participatory ethics. These are content with ensuring that multiple voices may have the choice of partaking in shared heritage-making practices, while a deeper outlook shows that conflicts over indigenous heritage concern place-based material histories and life-experiences of oppression and broken promises.

The points of contention over the archaeological sites of Tiwanaku and Quilmes are found in the irreducibility of territorial relations to the univocal classificatory logic of past/present or nature/culture resource extractivism, and within which the prehispanic ruins are just one among the diverse participants of a much wider and evolving network of reciprocal commitments. A diplomatic rapprochement to this issue might be a worthy undertaking, as this thesis made the effort to show.

For both case studies, the grounded visualisation of heritage cosmopolitics revealed that the capacity either for emancipation or subjugation lies in material engagements beyond discourses. The multi-sited archaeological ethnography presented in this

doctoral investigation challenges the predominant discursive approaches to indigenous rights and heritage. My thesis shed light on the tangible effects of implementing multicultural policies within a neoliberal framework and tied together interconnected processes of community self-determination and imperial ruination. This approach gives sensitivity to the texture of these assemblages and denounces ongoing violations of people's life, dignity, and cultural integrity through dispersed materiality and multiple temporalities of dwelling with/in the territory.

Thinking of archaeology as an "ecology of practices" (after Stengers, 2005b; see Chapter 2.1) that confounds disciplinary techniques with "amassing legions of things" (Olsen et al., 2012: 56) has been useful to deal with the issue. However, to conceptualise that space of thought and expertise in terms of "a specific community and a distinctive habitat" (cfr. Olsen et al., 2012: 14) falls short for my purpose, which brings the "cosmopolitics" as a complementary and required framework. Altogether, "ecology" and "cosmopolitics" incite connections between different modes of being and ways of knowing which can converge and diverge by maintaining their mutual difference. Stengers (2005a: 994) admitted that this approach is founded on the premise of figuring out how "to slow down reasoning", which also resonates with Bennet's (2010: vii) commitment "to think slowly an idea that runs fast through modern heads".

Disciplinary conservatism or approximative empirical foundations boosted by the accelerated appealing of theoretical fashions might have led archaeology and heritage studies practitioners to entrench themselves in distinctive habitats, failing to coherently inform society. "Slowing down" is, in these terms, a call for equalization and contemporaneity that try to expose the incongruence between the abstract proclamation of symmetrical equivalence against life-experienced asymmetries.

On these tenets, Blaser and De la Cadena (2018: 18–19) put forward the "uncommons" as:

"[A]n invitation to think that instead of the sameness that recognition supposes, politics might not start from, nor resolve in ontologically homogenous grounds. [...] We propose the uncommons as the heterogenous grounds where negotiations take place toward a commons that would be a continuous achievement, an event whose vocation is not to be final because it remembers that the uncommons is its constant starting point".

Stretching continuities between current theoretical debates on relational ontology, material agency and personhood, and future-oriented approaches in archaeology and heritage studies, my methodological design has been inspired by the careful slowness of hitch-hiking during the fieldwork to highlight the contextual emergence of life-generative sites of ontological conflicts. That was a process of “re-enchanting” space through contemporary archaeology practices to reveal “a labyrinth, where stories, times and people meet in unexpected ways” (González-Ruibal, 2019a: 161–162). In so doing, this thesis does not claim any discovery according to the modern tropes of archaeology (see Gnecco, 2013), least of all, an ethical guideline on how to deal with the past of others.

On the contrary, if one would like to find an orientation out of it, that would be a sort of *Hitchhiker’s Guide to Slow Archaeology*: an instruction booklet, a *libretto* “for learning how to stay with trouble” (see Haraway, 2016: 2) by kneading inheritances and consequences of overregulated indigenous heritage assemblages, in an attempt to challenge ordinary understanding of multicultural recognition and establish a platform for the vibrant disruption of materiality. In other words,

“Adding a cosmopolitical dimension to the problems that we consider from a political angle does not lead to answers everyone should finally accept. It raises the question of the way in which the cry of fright or the murmur of the idiot can be heard ‘collectively’, in the assemblage created around a political issue” (Stengers, 2005a: 996).

Heritage cosmopolitics is therefore “diplomacy all the way down” (Stengers, 2018: 95) insofar as it implies putting into brackets common understandings of indigenous heritage assemblages, so to avoid “the curse of tolerance” lurking behind, letting the scandalous positioning of things participate in the definition of the political. “Diplomacy”, as conceptualised by Stengers (2005a: 1002–1003; b: 193; 2018: 83–85), brings the suspension of certainty over taken-for-granted agreements, and assumes the commitment “to provide a voice for those whose practice, whose mode of existence and whose identity are threatened by a decision. ‘If you decide that, you’ll destroy us’” (Stengers, 2005a: 1002).

Conway (2020: 23) recently summarised Stengers’ argument pointing out “diplomacy as a ‘labour of difference’ which takes worldly cohabitation as given [...] is neither bellicose nor pacific; rather, it dramatizes the possibility of peace from within a coercive

historical reality". This revolves around making present and committing to witnesses evoking the unchallenged disasters provoked by "the hegemonic conquest machine called Science, blindly, unilaterally imposing so-called objectivity and rationality over whatever exists" (Stengers, 2018: 86–87). For critical indigeneity to unsettle the field of heritage/rights, this sort of "diplomatic intervention" (Stengers, 2018: 85) is needed to hold "the cause" of the assemblage harmed by the violence against indigenous heritage and territory, and to make this suffering matter as a customary yet not completely recognised breach of peoples' rights.

The photo-essay in Chapter 9.1.2 is an example of taking on this challenge by framing the vernacular cry "The water is not for sale" in the archaeological aesthetics of the elusive rationalisation of cultural/natural resources. The material vestiges of ethnodevelopment projects are glimmering nodes of persistent "governmental assemblages", as Li (2007: 233–234) argued, noting that anthropologist-led development interventions funded by the World Bank in Indonesia replicated old colonial and national patterns "to govern through community" under neoliberal circumstances. She insisted that the shortcomings of the development interventions must be found in "the governmental stance that envisaged empowerment as a product that could be manufactured by technique" (Li, 2007: 269).

Development technicians, like the "engineers" of Deleuze and Guattari's (2010: 19, 98) war machine, "work along the lines of a laying out of the territory" (2010: 98). The philosophers followed the fluid footprint of water so to distinguish between "State" and "nomad" sciences because of the living materiality of things:

"[T]he State needs to subordinate hydraulic force to conduits, pipes, embankments, which prevent turbulence, which constrain movement to go from one point to another, and space itself to be striated and measured, which makes the fluid depend on the solid, and flows proceed by parallel, laminar layers. The hydraulic model of nomad science and the war machine, on the other hand, consists in being distributed by turbulence across a smooth space, in producing a movement that holds space and simultaneously affects all of its points, instead of being held by space in a local movement from one specified point to another" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2010: 20).

Water infrastructure has been associated with the fabric of social consensus as much as monuments and other political and ritual sites, both in the past and the present (e.g. Boelens, 2014; Herrera, 2014; Janusek and Kolata, 2004; Smith, 2016). However, in

contrast to monumental spotlights, these kinds of assemblages are meant to be “invisible” and “used on a daily basis”, which led Smith (2016: 164–165) to consider infrastructure “as a materialization of ongoing communication, in which there are often conflicts among different constituents to achieve consensus”. Infrastructure entangles human activities and physical changes of things “in both predictable and unpredictable ways, [...] result[ing] in degradation and failures that require ongoing mitigation through modification and repair” (Smith, 2016: 173).

The case studies showed episodes in which “matter strikes back” (Pels, 2013: 91) not only in relation to stuff from the past turning into heritage, but also through the resistance of water to commodification as a natural resource controlled and administered through “the strategic building of simultaneously material and discursive human-nature constructs – as hydrosocial cycles” (Boelens, 2014: 235). The lagoon *Santonogo* in Huancollo consigned to oblivion the NGO’s raised fields experimental project, which ignored how to correctly feed and pay an offer to the dangerous wetlands along the river *Tantuyo Jawira* (see Chapter 7.4.1). Similarly, the *volcanes* – the mudslides produced by the excessive growth of temporary watercourses in the Calchaquí Valleys – carelessly ignoring the restrictions of rural development planning have continued to drag down the pipelines designed by the technicians and laid by the neighbours of the localities of Amaicha and Quilmes communities in which these projects were implemented (see Chapter 9). In both cases, the structural lack of knowledge of rural development planning triggered precarious adjustments to the material infrastructure of the hydraulic systems, as well as the update of the juridical personality of the community according to the changing legal frameworks of nation-state and transnational bodies.

In the case of the three hamlets belonging to the reclaimed Village of Quilmes (*Rincón, Centro, Bajo*), the hydrosocial dynamics revolved around the apparently stubborn defence of the cyclical rotation of the shifts of water usage and the blanket irrigation system against the construction of the high-pressure irrigation promoted by the community leadership within the framework of the World Bank Program. This is a simple example of how “hydrosocial territorialities” raise the issue of “materialized morality” (Shah and Boelens, 2021: 94; see also Boelens et al., 2016). Behind its alleged political impartiality, water infrastructure manifests ontological disagreements and makes them plain in the public sphere through unpredictable interventions. These

material excesses became entrapped in broken taps and disfigured plastic hoses scattered along the route of the hydraulic system on the slopes of the Quilmes Mountain range. These material debris percolated through space and time (cfr. Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 178; Witmore, 2006), becoming the main witnesses of the embezzlement charges put against the community leadership that motivated the overtaking of the Sacred City and fed community factionalism.

It was a coincidence that I happened to visit the archaeological site on the same day, the 6th of November, which marked the fifth anniversary since the overtaking of the Sacred City by the Village of Quilmes Administration. Nothing was planned to be taking place to commemorate the day, but this occurrence was brought into conversation by a young artisan in her forties, with whom I talked at the craft market, where she has been working since the group of Quilmes took full control of the administration of the site. She actively supported the intervention and kept memory of the enduring internal chasm of the indigenous community. In her testimony, she offered a perspective to link the inevitable failures of ethnodevelopment projects with the illusionist trickery of making things absent, as with the anaesthetisation of the Sacred City:

“The community has received many projects, such as the water project in Quilmes, that irrigation project, for example, was a huge national project. And it has not been finished, it’s all just lying there. It’s all covered up; the hoses have been lost. I’m telling you because the same *cacique* that came in here, the one who used to manage here, also handled everything that was part of this community project. And we, as [neighbours of] Quilmes, have never known; they have never told us about the revenues or anything else. And we decided to take over because of these issues, because they didn’t account for the benefits of the projects that were coming to the community, nor they were being transparent with regard to the site’s income flows. So, we decided, we had claimed for two years or so that they should assume the responsibility towards people’s work, but they just kept going on and on...

[...] The *cacique* presented these projects as if the community were held accountable before the nation, but he has never reported back to the community. It was a project ranging from the slope of the mountain to the Route 40. They have brought plastic hoses, which they bought; they have dug and buried them; and they have bought sprinklers and all those things, all of which have been left there. Let’s say it hasn’t had much of an end, they’ve come, they’ve thrown the hoses there, ‘Now you take care of it’. Someone got it, someone else has not. The problem is that it is not finished. The hoses have been thrown into the field, left in the sun, and dried up. Others came and took them away. The World Bank dropped

money, a lot of money, and that money has never been seen” (Calcha18-51: §2, 10).

The provincial policies of intercultural dialogue and reconciliation, through promises of rural development and tourism revenues, partially connected with the politics of relatedness that the community of Quilmes deployed for the purpose of claiming its ancestral connection to the ruins and being legally entitled to preserve the site for future generations as part of its community heritage. This juxtaposition of purposes created material nodes in which these conflicting, yet imbricated logics become tangible, and which I could learn to recognise, for instance, on the “no-trespassing” signpost, diplomatically separating the untouched “City of Peace” from the restored “City of War” (Figure 10.3).



Figure 10.3. A signpost in the Sacred City of Quilmes that reads “Prohibited to pass. Unrestored urban area”. It is located on the pathway leading up to the *pukara* of Quilmes, the upper, fortified part of the city, the lower section of which was the subject of most of the reconstruction work during the dictatorship. The urban area, the “City of Peace’ as it is called in local guides speeches in contrast with the reconstructed “City of War”, is thus preserved remaining outside of the tourist circuits but partaking as the tangible manifestation of community cosmopolitical networks. Although unrestored, or thanks to it, this part of Sacred City is peopled by the ancestors who hand over the oral tradition that the bodies of the last irreducible Quilmes Indians were transformed into cactus *cardones*, thousands of silent sentinels standing guard over the Calchaquí Valleys, while waiting to return to their bodies. November 2018.

The group of families from the Village of Quilmes could take advantage of the “governance of the prior” (sensu Povinelli, 2011) to resolve the internal dispute within the management of the community heritage to their own advantage by alleging

geographic proximity and working continuity as guides in their claim to be the rightful custodians of the Sacred City before the provincial authorities. In so doing, they have reinstated the subordination to nation-state mechanisms of regulation and pacification, limiting the subversive capacity of indigenous heritage to shake the fundamentals of things taken for granted. Through an archaeological ethnography approach, my thesis illuminates on the nature of the conflicts surrounding the community management of the Sacred City of Quilmes, which makes room for “diplomatic negotiations” (Latour, 2014: 305), as well as for research synergies and counterpoints with future-oriented critical heritage studies, in order to make the harm inflicted on territory/heritage entanglements matter as a breach inflicted on everyone’s dignity and sociality.

Archaeology stands on the conundrum of either concealing or activating heritage-triggered disagreements, at the same time as it crafts the scientific legitimacy required for Indigenous peoples’ claims being properly heard by the deaf ears of nation-states or other transnational bodies. Here lies the regeneration of “the gloomy role of archaeology” (Calcha17-1: §13) under the circumstance of neoliberal multiculturalism, which Don Delfín Gerónimo, the secretary of the UPND-Tucumán (see Chapters 4.3.3 and 8.1) pinpointed when he referred to “the science endorsed by the university and acknowledged by the State” (Calcha17-1: §25): to provide Indigenous peoples with the governmental technique to deal with anaesthetised avatars of their pasts, while policing and preventing them from territorialising their own futures, however tolerable or intolerable they may appear.

10.5 Fourth theme: *Quipnayra ch’ixi*, motley futurepasts

In this conclusive chapter I have brought attention to three interrelated thematic nodes constituted by the “ruination of multiculturalism”, the “unpacking of indigenous heritage”, and the “cosmopolitical diplomacy”. Around each of these nodes, the three archaeological circumstances described in Chapter 2.4 unfold. The first theme underlines the “disruption” created by taking a critical standpoint that affirms that the past is *in* the present, therefore creating the conditions for the visualisation of the discarded materials of successive authorised configurations of heritage/rights. The second theme gives the measure of the shortcomings of participatory ethics, highlighting the contradictions that lie underneath the consensus generated by these

practices, as they underestimate the possibilities and limitations of engendering the past *with* the present. The third theme illustrates the rhizomatic connections that heritage cosmopolitics enables for the archaeologies *of* the present. This coda wraps the discussion considering a missing subject that is nonetheless present in every archaeological circumstance, namely the future.

I take the expression *quipnayra ch'ixi* to stress that the future that archaeology carries on with itself should be as much variegated as possible and as a way to evoke the material world inhabited by the ancestors that flash before each one's sight, while facing the burden of uncertainty that is hidden from view, but which nevertheless creeps forward along continuous movements of antagonism and complementarity with the materials of the past.

This expression joins two Aymara concepts that together roughly translates into "motley futurepast". *Qhipnayra* refers to the aphorism "*qhipnayra uñtasis sarnaqapxañani* [looking to the futurepast we together come walking forward]" collected by the THOA (see Mamani Condori, 1994: 58). The term is itself a composition of two words, which, in a fashion very similar to Benjamin's (1968: 257) depiction of the "Angel of History", stand for the corporeality of time; in fact, *qhipha* is the Aymara word for "shoulder" at the same time as it expresses the future, while *nayra* means "eye" and simultaneously refers to the past (e.g. De La Cadena, 2015: 129; Rivera Cusicanqui, 2015: 211).

Regarding the other concept evoked by my construct *quipnayra ch'ixi*, this dissertation wanted to show that heritage cosmopolitics resounds in the formulation of *ch'ixi* assemblage thinking put forward by Rivera Cusicanqui (e.g. 2012: 105; 2018b: 25): an artisanal praxis that articulates situated contradictions and scrambles the fabric of complex identities derived from an enduring history of colonial encounters. She explained that something *ch'ixi* expresses "a color that is the product of juxtaposition, in small points or spots, of opposed or contrasting colors" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012b: 105). This formulation challenges the sterilising trope of cultural hybridism advocated by the supporters of multiculturalism and critics alike, as well as the overly convoluted and academicist decolonial approaches, delinked from vernacular experiences.

In contrast, Rivera Cusicanqui (2012b: 106) argued that "the metaphor of *ch'ixi* assumes a double and contentious ancestry", it harbours within itself what is forbidden

by authorised regulations, but also the capacity to “develop dialogical forms for the construction of knowledges”. The notion of *ch'ixi* stems from, and primary points to the concept of “motley society... the parallel coexistence of multiple cultural differences that do not extinguish but instead antagonize and complement each other” (2012b: 105). The expression *quipnayra ch'ixi* may thus accommodate the ground for threading heritage cosmopolitics onto a critical indigeneity: “in a spiral whose movement is a continuous feedback from the past to the future – a *principle of hope* or *anticipatory consciousness* – that both discerns and realizes decolonization at the same time” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012b: 96).

The spatiotemporal nodes that I have documented throughout my investigation express what Rivera Cusicanqui (2014: n.d.; see 2018b: 83–84) further described as intermediary space – *taypi* – or “a zone of friction... that creates the magma enabling historical transformations, for better and worse”. In the same vein, heritage cosmopolitics is a call for attention to mapping the spatial and temporal dimensions of the embroilment between indigeneity and capitalism. By taking into account the above-described processes of ruination, consultation, and diplomacy, the composited picture of “motley futurepasts” foreground a picklock for presenting the speculative exercise of world-making with absent subjects populating “something that is and is not at the same time... the logic of the included third” (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012b: 105).

From the point of view of the *qhipnayra ch'ixi*, my intention is to challenge the monological reflexivity of the Anthropocene that has become widespread to classify the material and discursive fragments belonging to the contemporary and frightening era we are living in (cfr. Latour, 2010: 480; Sterling, 2020: 189). The editors of a recent volume dedicated to the topic found that “[t]he winds of the Anthropocene carry ghosts – the vestiges and signs of past ways of life still charged in the present [...] the traces of more-than-human histories through which ecologies are made and unmade” (Gan et al., 2017: G1). If ghosts and ruins are the haunting presence in the landscape of the Anthropocene, its negative constituency, “monsters” are the positive face of composited worlding practices, the assemblages of human and nonhumans critters that we are called thinking and acting on; as Haraway (2016: 101) set forth: “My Chtulucene entangles myriad temporalities and spatialities and myriad intra-active entities-in-assemblage”. The awarded science-fiction writer and literary critic Ursula K. Le Guin (2017: M16), contributing to the aforementioned edited collection, addressed

that “one way to stop seeing trees, or rivers, or hills, only as ‘natural resources’ is to class them as fellow beings – *kinfolk*”.

Le Guin’s (e.g. 1974; 1976) world-making writing has been an inspirational source for the kind of assemblage thinking that I propose through my construct *qhipnayra ch’ixi*, which does not end in an enclosure, but every new composition is a harbinger of further breaches and intrusions (see Haraway, 2016: 118–119; Tsing, 2015: 287–288)⁸². Her stories let the contradictory hopes of living in a world where it is possible to think through multiple worlds shine through, as an “ambiguous utopia” (Le Guin, 1974). Here it is possible to grasp the perspective, the curiosity and imagination, the “art of noticing” Tsing (2015: 17) called it, to look after “how the dream of reason produces monsters” (González-Ruibal, 2006: 179) by giving credence to the multitemporal debris of repetitive utopic designs scattered throughout our damaged planet.

I found affinities with the “logic of invention”, as discussed by Wagner (1981: 28; 2018: 15–16): a “self-differentiating variable” that extends intersubjective knowledge and makes manifest the movements of the researcher in the field, the embodied intrusion in the dynamics of the communities, as well as the mutual limits of knowledge: “the anthropologist cannot always leave his own shadow out of the picture he draws” (Le Guin, 1976: 75). Audiovisual techniques of recording “what is going on” (cfr. Ingold, 2010: 160) helped me to make this particular disruption in the field explicit, contributing to a dialogical craft of knowledge, at the same time as they focused on the crossroads of curiosity and wonder, which constellate the research journey and break through in unexpected ways (Figure 10.4).

According to Pratt (2017: G172-173), “curiosity, the practice of reading landscape as it is walked [...] the desire to find magic, to enchant or reenchant the world, to make it possible to inhabit it with love” are the defining characteristics of a peculiar sort of researcher, which she identified, drawing on Benjamin (1968: 172), with the

⁸² A telling example is the novel *The Word for World is Forest* (Le Guin, 1976), whose main narrative plot has been closely replicated by the blockbuster movie *Avatar*. Yet, a crucial point makes them diverge, as also Haraway (2016: 120–121) rightfully remarked, there is neither heroes-tale nor happy ending in the novel, nor the magnificent betrayal of the enemy “going native” as Latour (2010: 472) reflected upon the fictional 3D reality of Pandora, but the foretelling of nested catastrophes that the characters of the story, and the readers of the novel, are compelled to think of and stay with.

“Anthropocenic *flâneur* who remakes the city as a multispecies chronotope where human, animal, plant, fungal, and viral life-forms negotiate their cohabitation”.



Figure10.4: In the school of Talapazo, CIQ, “And you? Where did you come from?”. October 2018.

A contemporary archaeology sensibility complements the “idly strolls” (Benjamin, 1968: 12) of the romantic *flâneur* by means of the frightening awareness that “in the material remnants of the past, we find an interrupted promise: a hope that things could have been different” (González-Ruibal, 2019a: 88). Senses and material experiences can activate “a critical nostalgia with utopian leanings”, which in turn may trigger “a source of empathy and collective action” leading to an unpredictable “link of affinity, suffering, and hope” (Derrida, 1994: 106; quoted in González-Ruibal, 2019a: 88).

Considering this logic as an invention, I think with Wagner (1981: 9) that “like invention in music, it refers to a positive and expected component of human life”; a minimum common set of tools and concepts for ordering and articulating social experience in space and time: “Invention changes things, and convention resolves those changes into a recognizable world” (Wagner, 1981: 45). That it is why is important to know how to greet (see Chapter 6.3): by respecting this simple convention, the possibility for further inventions and material compositions irrupts and simultaneously paves the grounds for shaping the convention anew.

The musical dimension is particularly revealing of the “chiasmatic” (see Wagner, 2012: 166–167; 2018: xvii, 99–103), rather than casual or causal logic beneath, which resonates across and beyond human senses via tempos of disruption and composition in the landscape. Tsing (2015: 23–24) argued that both music and agricultural cycles are meaningful cases of assemblage thinking as they progress through the recurrent observation of “patterns of unintentional coordination” and the gathering of “multiple temporal rhythms and trajectories”.

The case studies of my thesis provided examples of the agglutinating and pedagogic powers of music and its imbrications with extended material commitments between community and territory. They resounded in the *kena kena* performed during the celebration of the Feast of the Crosses in Huancollo and linked to the cyclical rotation of *ayllu* authorities, as well as to the seasonal changes of the landscape (see Chapter 7.4.2). Echoes of them flew through the persisting bluntness of *copla* singing across the Northwest Argentina, a rhythmic transposition of the irreducible sociality of the territory and a melodic braiding of long and recent memories of land dispossession and resistance (see Chapters 4.3 and 9.1).

The formulation of *qhipnayra ch'ixi* challenges future-oriented archaeology and critical heritage studies in two ways. Firstly, it foregrounds that pictures, music, objects, and texts are intertwined communication devices that regulate the visibility of violence in contemporary societies, manipulating and normalising through their tangible qualities how political issues and scientific facts can legitimately inform common opinion (cfr. Hall, 2016: 88–91; Lazzari, 2011: 183–184). Con-textual and non-verbal technologies of (dis)agreement provide the medium to summon different sensibilities.

A second related point that arises is that of the double bind of heritage ethics and field methodologies, as it becomes appreciable when “hospitality” becomes an object of research inquiry and self-reflection (see Wagner, 2012: 161). The emphasis on the twofold host/guest relationship was crucial to situate Indigenous peoples’ rights over their heritage and territory in multicultural debates, and to make public the illusionary tale of the equality between stakeholders propelled by cosmopolitan models of community heritage, which are “colonial appropriation masquerading as democracy and fair play” (McNiven and Russell, 2005: 237). As an ethnographic tool, hospitality illustrates the traps that make researchers hostage of their subject of study and the

environment they are weaving together (Blaser and De La Cadena, 2018: 8; Fabian, 2001; Wagner, 2012: 172). Focusing on hospitality as a trope through which deconstructing epistemological and juridical common-sense foundations, as in Grosso (2015), highlights the ambiguity of a process grounded in the meeting space of human and material interactions, sedimented on the reiterated ignorance of excesses of communication, and normalised by modern imaginaries and colonial disciplinary violence.

Whereas Latour (2010: 484) insisted that it is necessary a “much more embodied definition of the material world if we wish to compose a common world”, this definition should recognise things existing and re-existing in an ontological space that is not that which academic and legal constructs have built for them, to make them visible or to speak for them, or yet to render them into silence.

“To be recognized means to be given a voice”, Fabian (2001: 162) argued, while unpacking three glosses for “recognition” as they became evident in the translation of the term into his native German idiom: a) “an act of cognition”; b) “an act of memory”; c) “an act of acknowledgement”. He added that if the subject-object entrapment seems to be implicit and inevitable in the model of recognition – as it is when someone knows, remembers, or acknowledges another – there is a way “to avoid the postmodern escapism with its gratuitous celebration of ‘multivocality’” by re-cognizing things the other way round, which is to say:

“recognition as re-cognition, that is, as the mobilization, or the suffering, of memories that are at the core of personal identity, seems to be the cutting edge in relations with others that have a chance of producing knowledge [...] only when self and other get to a point where they begin to ‘remember the present’ will they be drawn into a process of mutual recognition based on the kind of knowledge that changes the knower and that by the same token re-constitutes his or her identity” (Fabian, 2001: 177).

Recognition as “re-cognition” leads us to things betwixt memories and footprints, a phantasmatic presence that prompts towards a form of knowledge as solidarity (Haber, 2013: 83–84; Lazzari, 2013: 2–3; Santos, 2001: 269–270). Just as hospitality and humour (cfr. Grosso, 2015: 91; Wagner, 2012: 167), recognition is a liminal gateway that is opened to the reversibility of its relations, and by the same token offers an angle through which common sense agreements can be unsettling.

Through the improvisational and multi-temporal lens of archaeological ethnography an ontological politics framework found itself nested in the encounters with/in the animated landscape and opened to the reversibility of its relations (see Chapter 3.2). Consulting with local communities and achieving the permit to perform a research in the field are practices placed amidst the tension of recognition between hosts and guests and affirmed through rhetoric and tangible utterances.

By acknowledging the equivocal nature of the FPIC as a machine for engineering community consent under the legal umbrella of recognition of cultural diversity, this thesis *re-cognises* the transformative character that consultation – in its broadest cosmopolitical acceptance – had upon the definition of the common terms of community participation in the research I was proposing, and upon my own participation in, and sensation of, the social dynamics inscribed in the territory, while looking at the memories of those encounters to pursue a reliable line of inquiry.

The Argentinean philosopher Rodolfo Kusch (2010: 162) talked about the “zeal for plenitude” that characterises what he referred to as the “*estar siendo*”, the “it-is-being”, as Grosso (2015: 93–94) translated it, of a self-determined South American episteme embodied by those which “we will never be able to cry out what we really want, because our cry is always unpleasant” (Kusch, 2008: 96). Such is the “dramatic instability” of dwelling in the circumstance (Kusch, 2010: 159), which is radically opposed to the brazen conceit of living in a world that is right-out-there and ready to be known and possessed: “A definable world is a world without fear, while a world that instead surrenders to the fluctuations of circumstance is to be feared” (2010: 160). The logic of the *estar siendo* puts the great divides of modernity into brackets by advancing another sort of all-encompassing, frightening plenitude: “the sensation of dispossession that accompanies the supposed potential wealth of our *América*” (Kusch, 2010: 163).

Although separated in space and time, similar tenets underpinning Kusch’s *estar siendo* can be found in Rivera Cusicanqui’s (2014; 2015: 21) epistemological proposal of the “sociology of image” as a vernacular and scientific craft that “implies a defamiliarization, a distancing from what is familiar, from the immediacy of routine and habit”, and concurrently “observes what it already participates in; participation is not an instrument at the service of observation but its presupposition”. Taking Guaman

Poma's chronicle (1615) as an inspirational source to ignite "*qhipnayra* sparks, in which the past hatches as an awareness of a present practice and a possible emancipation in the future", Rivera Cusicanqui (2015: 246) called attention to the yearning for paths to universality that do not dilute the multiplicity of knowledge and practices that constitute them. This warning acquires a corporeal dimension and a decolonial impulse insofar as she argued that "more than physical pain, it is the stripping of dignity and the internalisation of the values of the oppressors that, like Frantz Fanon, makes Waman a theorist of the colonial condition" (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010a: 27).

The juxtapositions and divergences of postcolonial ethics, ethno-development rhetoric, and political misrecognition presented in this dissertation materialised in points of clash and regeneration, which I call heritage-triggered ontological conflicts. These nodes illuminate the slippery horizons of memory that are entrapped in the confrontation and negotiation with human and other-than-human bodies and agencies. Alternative stories emerge out of promises, deceits, and debris. These are stories of sufferings, cheating, breaking treaties, and recompositing from scratches, which, as in the classical Andean tale of the "Fox and the Condor" (ILCA, 2005), become part of a reconstituted whole within which the political subjectivity of Indigenous peoples is performed through cosmopolitical practices of community-building and decision-making autonomy before the multiform agents of nation-state or transnational development machinery.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout this doctoral investigation I have showed that “work” is another liminal concept through which the persistent colonial representation of Indigenous peoples breaks through; “work... says nothing about plenitude”, Kusch (2010: 162) argued, but simply legitimises visual and material orderings of possession and dispossession. That makes me think about a cue that Juan de Dios Yapita shared while attending his introductory lessons: one can differentiate who is an Aymara monolingual speaker from who has been raised in a bilingual *mestizo* environment by paying attention to how they pronounce the Spanish equivalent for work, “*trabajo*”, that is, whether they say it separating the initial consonant cluster “*tr-*”. Provided that in Aymara there is no abstract word for work, nor two consonants can be phonetically juxtaposed, this difference in pronunciation invites thinking at the tight interstices where ontological disagreements may appear.

This linguistic trick was helpful in the field to ground the radical opposition between “working together” and “community work”, which have been highlighted in both the Ayllu Huancollo and the Calchaquí Valleys in relation to rural development projects funded through international cooperation channels. Whereas the latter combines two abstract terms that are foreign to Aymara language, such as “community” and “work”, the former is grounded on the tenet of ongoing reciprocal commitments towards human and other-than-human companions, which I documented as heritage cosmopolitics. This is the kind of far-reaching respect toward the others that the *maestro* don César Callisaya (see Chapter 4.2.3) resumed in “*ayna qamaña*”: living/walking in solidarity.

A new kind of humanities education is needed, according to Spivak (2004: 526), one that aims at “an *uncoercive* rearrangement of desires” and unmasks the false transparency of human rights advocates and experts of transnational development cooperation. As Fanon (Fanon, 1963: 40) so forcefully wrote, the decolonial impulse surges from “*deciding to embody history in his own person*”.

Through a suggestive twist of words, De la Cadena (2019: 40–41) has recently emphasised the “anthropo-not-seen” as a challenge to, and complement of, the Anthropocene. As she put it, this is everything that either participates in breeding the

extractive instincts of the modern *anthropos*, or in turn embodies that which escapes and resists such an ordering of things, thus enacting “a new order of the perceptible” (2019: 39). These are the two sides of the same coin of colonial dispossession, and once that is truthfully acknowledged, it leads to a *re-cognition* of Indigenous rights-based demands as our owns with their own self-differentiating, porous borders. Benavides (2007: 142) said that earlier and with a certain amount of clarity: “Interrogating the native should make us realize that we are all natives and that this is an important element that modern capital seeks to hide and history to forget”.

This is the spectral reality of that which *is not* and nonetheless constitutes us, and in which we must “learn to live with ghosts... to live otherwise, and better... not better, but more justly” (Derrida, 1994: xvii–xviii). The ground-breaking jurisprudence of the Inter American Court of Human Rights attests with the force of international law that the body of circumstantial evidence of the violation of Indigenous peoples’ rights to property, cultural integrity, and life is to be found in the reciprocity between community and territory and in the practices of intergenerational memory transmission that include both human and other-than-human beings (see Chapter 2.3.1). On the occasion of his commentary to the sentence that affirmed the collective right of the N’djuka people to obtain material reparations and justice for the victims of the massacre committed in the community of Moiwana in Suriname, the former IACHR’s judge Cançado Trindade (2005: §93) stated that:

“It is incumbent upon all of us, the still living, to resist and combat oblivion, so commonplace in our post-modern, ephemeral times. The dead need our faithfulness, they are entirely depended upon it. The duties of the living towards them are thus not limited to securing respect for their remains and to granting them a proper burial; such duties also encompass perennial remembrance. They need our remembrance today and tomorrow, just as much as we needed their advice and care yesterday. Time, thus, instead of keeping us apart, on the contrary, brings all of us - the living and the dead - together. This, in my view, ascribes an entirely new dimension to the links of solidarity between the living and their dead. Remembrance is a manifestation of gratitude, and gratitude is perhaps the noblest manifestation of rendering true justice”.

When I read this paragraph of Cançado Trindade’s Separate Opinion for my master dissertation, the “game of retranslating” (Fabian, 2001: 177) the concept of “recognition” into my own Italian language stroke me in the form of the complementary meanings of “*riconoscimento*” [recognition] and “*riconoscenza*” [gratitude, awareness]:

the former, the masculine noun-form of the verb “*riconoscere*” [to recognise], is linked to the evidential paradigm needed to know something that has been absent in space and time, and suddenly has reappeared, testing our perceptions; the latter, recognition as *riconoscenza*, i.e., the female noun-form stemming from the continuous present form “*riconoscente*”, and which entails that an intersubjective relation is established and maintained through *memory acts of being thankful*.

This twofold acceptance of recognition orientated my research inquiries, ethical commitments, and fieldwork practice. In so doing, some order may have resulted out of a recursive, sprawling, and vibrant disorder, but in the shape of an “*archē*” (cfr. González-Ruibal, 2019a: 55–56; see Rancière, 1999: 107; 2004: 87): a new beginning to picture another sensible way to recompose the contemporary consensus around indigenous heritage and cultural rights.

This thesis adds to the debate by making: (a) a theoretical contribution, i.e., highlighting the materiality and the long-term awareness of the south-central Andes contemporary past; (b) an ethical reflection, i.e., exploring the limits and possibility of endless responsibilities towards the others; and (c) a methodological input, i.e., highlighting the potential of photography and mapping to evoke past encounters and render absent subjects and spaces visible. Yet, more importantly, I have tried to make plain the necessary interdependence and reciprocal feedback between all these three dimensions, which archaeological ethnography and heritage cosmopolitics can enhance together.

Returning, once again, to J. L. Borges (1999: 118), by whose “fictions” so many worlds have been made possible: “My solitude is cheered by that elegant hope”.

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UKAMAW

**Heritage cosmopolitics: Archaeology, Indigeneity, and Rights in Bolivia
and Argentina**

Volume 2 of 2

Submitted by Francesco Orlandi to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology
in June 2021

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature:

Appendix A: Ethical Approval and Community Consents

1. Certificate of Ethical Approval, College of Humanities



COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

College of Humanities
Queen's Building
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Exeter UK EX4 4QH

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f +44 (0) 1392 724344
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w www.exeter.ac.uk/humanities

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

Academic Discipline: Department of Archaeology

Title of Project: Indigenous Archaeologies and Human Rights in Latin America: exploring possibilities toward an intercultural cosmopolitanism

Name(s)/Title(s) of Project Research Team Member(s): Francesco Orlandi Barbano

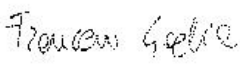
Project Researcher's Contact Details (email and telephone no.): +44(0)7538367413
fo224@exeter.ac.uk

Brief Description of Project:

This investigation focuses on the social dynamics surrounding the definition of 'indigenous heritage' in the multicultural policies of two selected contexts in South America, namely the Autonomous Municipality of Tiahuanaco (Bolivia) and the Southern Calchaquíes Valleys in the provinces of Tucumán and Catamarca (Argentina). The project seeks to examine the extent to which contested memories on places and objects play a role in identity-based claims for land rights and cultural citizenship. The aim is to explore new pathways for the emergence of 'heritage/rights systems' as an alternative approach to the current elaboration of a human right to cultural heritage proposed by intergovernmental institutions (e.g. UNESCO, UN Council of Human Rights), and implemented at the discretion of the sovereign nation states

This project has been approved for the period

from: 15 June 2017 to: 30 March 2019

Signature 


Date: 17 July 2017

(College Ethics Officer)

Name/Title of Officer (BLOCK CAPITALS):


DR FRANCESCO GOGLIA

2. Authorisation CACOT "Subcentral Zona Centro", Tiahuanaco, Bolivia



TAYPI MARKA AYLLUS INDÍGENAS ORIGINARIOS
JACHA MARKA TIAHUANACU

ZONA CENTRO
PODER ORIGINARIO CULTURAL
Personalidad Jurídica _____
LA PAZ - BOLIVIA



Tiwanaku, 19 de Abril de 2018

Señor
Francesco Orlandi Barbano
Estudiante de Doctorado de la Universidad de Exeter (Reino Unido)

Ref: Autorización Trabajo de Investigación en las comunidades de Zona Centro


Mediante la presente le hacemos llegar un saludo cordial, fraterno deseándoles éxitos en sus funciones que desempeñen el bien de Zona Centro del Municipio de Tiwanaku.

La razón por la cual me dirijo a su persona, Francesco Orlandi Barbano (Pasaporte YA0446217, de nacionalidad Italiana), dando la autorización para realizar el trabajo de investigación en las diferentes comunidades de Zona Centro y después de concluir el trabajo se devolverán los resultados correspondientes tanto a las comunidades con que trabajara y más al Sub Central de Zona Centro.


Todas las actividades se realizarán en coordinación con las autoridades originarias de las comunidades y más con el Jilin Mallku Sub Central y su Directorio.


Sin otro particular me despido de su persona muy respetosamente.

Atentamente,
Las Autoridades Originarias de Zona Centro.




Juan Carlos Choque Q.
JILIN MALLKU SUB CENTRAL
ZONA CENTRO SUYO INGAVI
TIAHUANACU GESTIÓN 2018





Maximino Guibónes
QUILLO KAMANI
SUB CENTRAL GESTIÓN 2018



Gregorio Nina Caspe
QUILLO MALLKU
SUB CENTRAL GESTIÓN 2018

AYLLU ORIGINARIO
YANAMANI

AYLLU ORIGINARIO
GUARAYA




AYLLU ORIGINARIO
ACHACA

AYLLU ORIGINARIO
HUANCOLLO

AYLLU ORIGINARIO
KASA ACHUTA

AYLLU ORIGINARIO
CHAMBI CHICO

TIAHUANACU
JUNTA DE VECINOS

3. Consent form Ayllu Originario Huancollo, Tiahuanaco, Bolivia



COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
Queen's Building, The Queen's Drive
Exeter, UK, EX4 4QH
Department of Archaeology
Lava Building, North Park Road
Exeter, UK, EX4 4QE

De acuerdo a lo anterior y en total conocimiento, la Asamblea Ordinaria del Ayllu otorga una Autorización para las actividades a desarrollarse de forma participativa en el territorio de la Comunidad durante el mes de Mayo de 2018, y para que la información obtenida sea compartida con fines científicos y profesionales.

Al firmar en duplicado este documento se señala la aceptación de las condiciones que se estipulan, quedando una copia para el Investigador y otra para el Ayllu Originario Huancollo.

Lugar y Fecha: Huancollo 2018-05-2018

Firmas:



[Signature]
Rene V. Osco Choque
SULLKA MALLKU
AYLLU ORIGINARIO HUANCOLLO
TIWANACU PROV. INGAVI

[Signature]
QULQI KAMANI
AYLLU ORIGINARIO HUANCOLLO
TIWANACU PROV. INGAVI

[Signature]
Faustino Choque Mainana
GILIRI JACH'A MALLKU
AYLLU ORIGINARIO HUANCOLLO
TIWANACU PROV. INGAVI

[Signature]
GILIRI JACH'A MALLKU
AYLLU ORIGINARIO HUANCOLLO
TIWANACU PROV. INGAVI

[Signature]
Miguel Quispe
AYLLU ORIGINARIO HUANCOLLO
TIWANACU PROV. INGAVI

[Signature]
Gloria Lullisaya Yaj'a
Qulla y Thak Kamani

[Signature]

4. Letter of Agreement UPNDT, San Miguel de Tucumán, Argentina



COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES



UNIVERSIDAD DE TUCUMÁN

SECRETARÍA GENERAL DE INVESTIGACIÓN Y DESARROLLO TECNOLÓGICO

Acta de Compromiso

Entre Francesco Orlandi Barbano, investigador doctoral de la University of Exeter (Reino Unido) y becario del Departamento de Cooperación Internacional del Ministerio de Educación y Deporte de la República Argentina, y la Unión de los Pueblos de la Nación Diaguíta en Tucumán (UPNDT) representada por su secretario general, Delfin Gerónimo.

Con este documento se establece un acuerdo para la realización de la investigación "Arqueología y derechos humanos: usos e interpretaciones del patrimonio cultural en comunidades del Noroeste Argentino", en el marco del proyecto de tesis al titulado "Indigenous Archaeologies and Human Rights in Latin America: exploring possibilities toward an intercultural cosmopolitanism", en el periodo comprendido entre julio 2017 y septiembre 2019.

Dicha investigación implica el registro oral de narraciones y entrevistas individuales o grupales, la visita a lugares de memoria, así como las observaciones de reuniones y asambleas comunitarias relacionadas con la implementación del derecho a la consulta previa de las comunidades indígenas. A través de este proyecto se recolectará información sobre las dinámicas de colaboración entre comunidades locales y profesionales de la arqueología con el propósito de establecer mejores pautas de acuerdo con los derechos humanos de los pueblos indígenas y con la conservación, acceso y disfrute del patrimonio cultural.

Esta investigación deberá tener el acuerdo de las personas a entrevistar y las autoridades de sus respectivas comunidades cuando fueran integrantes de la UPNDT, el investigador asume el compromiso de entregar a la Unión de los Pueblos de la Nación Diaguíta en Tucumán, (UPNDT), copia en castellano de los resultados de la investigación como un aporte técnico a la tarea que esta organización lleva adelante para el reconocimiento de sus derechos.

Dicho aporte no implica remuneración alguna por parte de la UPNDT, por cuanto mucha de la información registrada en el trabajo surge de las entrevistas realizadas a sus autoridades y comuneros.

La presente acta se firma en duplicado copia, quedando una para el investigador y otra para la organización.

San Miguel de Tucumán, el 15 de Agosto de 2017

Francesco Orlandi Barbano

DELFIN GERÓNIMO
SECRETARIO GENERAL
U.P.N.D.T.

Delfin Gerónimo

5. Consent form Comunidad Indígena Amaicha del Valle, Tucumán, Argentina



COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
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Department of Archaeology
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Exeter, UK, EX4 4QE



Ministerio de
Educación y Deportes
Presidencia de la Nación
Dirección Nacional de Cooperación Internacional
Programa de Becas Internacionales

Acta de Consentimiento Informado Autoridad Comunitaria

Título de la investigación: *Arqueología y derechos humanos: usos e interpretaciones del patrimonio cultural en comunidades del Noroeste Argentino.*

Investigador: Francesco Orlandi Barbano

Afiliación: University of Exeter (Reino Unido) – Becario del Ministerio de Educación y Deportes de la República Argentina

He sido invitado(a) a una reunión donde se me ha informado del proyecto de investigación llevado a cabo por Francesco Orlandi Barbano para su tesis doctoral en el Departamento de Arqueología de la Universidad de Exeter, Reino Unido.

En mi calidad de Autoridad de la comunidad indígena de AMAICHA DEL VALLE he sido comunicado de la realización de este proyecto en nuestro territorio indígena.

La investigación implica el registro oral de narraciones y entrevistas individuales o grupales, la visita a lugares de memoria, así como la observaciones de reuniones y asambleas comunitarias relacionadas con la implementación del derecho a la consulta previa de las comunidades indígenas. A través de este proyecto de investigación se recolectará información sobre las dinámicas de colaboración entre comunidades locales y profesionales de la arqueología con el propósito de establecer mejores pautas para futuros encuentros.

Los datos registrados serán confidenciales, sólo conocidos por el investigador, y el anonimato de los participantes será resguardado tanto en la fase de recolección de informaciones como en los sucesivos usos de las transcripciones, en la tesis doctoral, publicaciones científicas y charlas públicas. La información será analizada y revisada por el investigador y solamente tendrá acceso externo a la misma la directora de tesis del investigador, dra. Marisa Lazzari (Universidad de Exeter, Reino Unido, M.Lazzari@exeter.ac.uk). Todos los instrumentos, fotocopias de entrevistas, grabaciones y artículos creados durante esta investigación serán entregados a la comunidad una vez finalizada la investigación en Septiembre 2019.

Igualmente, estoy informado(a) de que la participación de las personas que integran la comunidad de la cual soy autoridad no implica remuneración ni retribución alguna, que es absolutamente voluntaria, que pueden negarse a dar información y que tienen derecho a retiro de dicho proceso sin expresión de causa y sin consecuencias negativas por ello. He entendido que podré revocar mi consentimiento antes del Septiembre 2019 y que sucesivamente a esta fecha la información recolectada en este proyecto tendrá que ser puesta a disposición pública en un repositorio de archivos abiertos de la Universidad de Exeter.

Si tengo alguna pregunta o duda puedo dirigirme a Francesco Orlandi Barbano del Departamento de Arqueología, de la Universidad de Exeter, su teléfono es el +39 3334592641 (+44(0)7538367413) y su correo electrónico es fo224@exeter.ac.uk.

Si siento que se vulneran o violan los derechos de los participantes de la investigación, podré contactarme con el Presidente del Comité Ético del College of Humanities de la Universidad de Exeter, Dr Francesco Goglia, +44 (0) 1392 723157, correo electrónico F.Goglia@exeter.ac.uk.

De acuerdo a lo anterior y en total conocimiento otorgo mi acuerdo voluntario, para que la comunidad que represento participe de la investigación y para que la información obtenida sea compartida con fines científicos y profesionales. Doy por entendido que al firmar en duplicado este documento señalo la aceptación de las condiciones que se estipulan, quedando una copia en mi poder.

Nombre autoridad: Dr. Eduardo Nieva

Firma: _____

Lugar y Fecha: Amaicha, 15/8/2017

Dr. Eduardo A. Nieva
D.N.I. 21 333.041
CACIQUE
Lern Indig Amaicha del Valle

6. Consent form Comunidad India Quilmes, Tucumán, Argentina



COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
Queen's Building, The Queen's Drive
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Department of Archaeology
Laver Building, North Park Road
Exeter, UK, EX4 4QE



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Educación y Deportes
Presidencia de la Nación
Dirección Nacional de Cooperación Internacional
Programa de Becas Internacionales

Acta de Consentimiento Informado Autoridad Comunitaria

Título de la investigación: *Arqueología y derechos humanos: usos e interpretaciones del patrimonio cultural en comunidades del Noroeste Argentino.*

Investigador: Francesco Orlandi Barbano

Afiliación: University of Exeter (Reino Unido) – Becario del Ministerio de Educación y Deportes de la República Argentina

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En mi calidad de Autoridad de la comunidad indígena de COMUNIDAD INDIA QUILMES he sido comunicado de la realización de este proyecto en nuestro territorio indígena.

La investigación implica el registro oral de narraciones y entrevistas individuales o grupales, la visita a lugares de memoria, así como la observaciones de reuniones y asambleas comunitarias relacionadas con la implementación del derecho a la consulta previa de las comunidades indígenas. A través de este proyecto de investigación se recolectará información sobre las dinámicas de colaboración entre comunidades locales y profesionales de la arqueología con el propósito de establecer mejores pautas para futuros encuentros.

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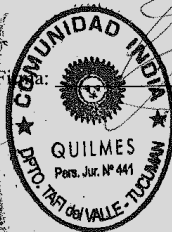
Si tengo alguna pregunta o duda puedo dirigirme a Francesco Orlandi Barbano del Departamento de Arqueología, de la Universidad de Exeter, su teléfono es el +39 3334592641 (+44(0)7538367413) y su correo electrónico es fo224@exeter.ac.uk.

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Nombre autoridad: Francisco S. Chavle

Lugar y Fecha: Quilmes
20 de Octubre 2018



FRANCISCO S. CHAVLE
CACIQUE
Comunidad India Quilmes

Appendix B: Tables of research participants and Interview coding

1. Tiwanaku (fieldwork April - June 2018)

Int_Code	Participants
Tiwa18-1	man, director of CIAAAT,
Tiwa18-2	man, local memory and territory in Huancollo
Tiwa18-3	man, local memory and territory in Huancollo, cultural practices
Tiwa18-4	woman, territory memory, cultural practices
Tiwa18-5	man, memory of archaeological works, history of the ayllu through the 20th century
Tiwa18-6	man, former highest indigenous authority in Tiwanaku in the 2000 intervention
Tiwa18-7	woman, territory memory, cultural practices
Tiwa18-8	man, territory memory, cultural practices
Tiwa18-9	woman, memory territory, cultural practices
Tiwa18-10	man, musician, memory territory
Tiwa18-11@	woman, memory territory, cultural practices
Tiwa18-12@	woman, memory territory, cultural practices
Tiwa18-13@	woman, memory territory, cultural practices
Tiwa18-14	man, traditional medical knowledges, memory territory
Tiwa18-15	man, memory territory, experience in archaeological works
Tiwa18-16	man, memory territory
Tiwa18-17	man, memory territory, experience in archaeological works
Tiwa18-18	man, memory territory, experience in archaeological works, history of the ayllu through the 20th century

@ Interview in Aymara with the help of an interpreter.

Total Research participants: 18

2. Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes (fieldwork July - August 2017)

Int_Code	Participants
Calcha17-1	man, leader of the UPNDT indigenous organization
Calcha17-2	man, cacique of Quilmes
Calcha17-3	man, cacique and administrative authority of Amaicha del Valle
Calcha17-4	man, former community authority, archaeological remains in La Puntilla, relations with archaeologists
Calcha17-5	man, touristic guide in archaeological site El Pichao, relations with archaeologists
Calcha17-6	man, renown craftman and former worker in restorations works in Quilmes
Calcha17-7	man, director of Inti Quilla Museum in Punta de Balasto
Calcha17-8	man, director of the Archaeological Museum in Santa Maria
Calcha17-9	man, deputy of Quilmes village in the CIQ Council of Delegates
Calcha17-10	man, responsible of the touristic promotion of Amaicha, touristic guide, encounters with archaeologists, cultural practices/touristic attractions
Calcha17-11	man, leader of the Quilmes village group that took over the sacred city of Quilmes
Calcha17-12	woman, artisanal knitter, owner of a cooperative craft shop in Amaicha, and organiser of the "Women Knitters Meeting in Amaicha", diasporic indigenous memories

Total Research Participants: 12

3. Amaicha del Valle and Quilmes (fieldwork July – November 2018)

Int_Code	Participants
Calcha18-1	woman, member of Amaicha Council of Elders
Calcha18-2	man, old, former community authority in the 1990s, beneficiary of ECIRA project in Encalilla
Calcha18-3	woman, member of Amaicha Council of Elders, future Pachamama 2019
Calcha18-4	woman, director of Amaicha popular library

Calcha18-5	woman, former director of Amaicha popular library
Calcha18-6	woman and man, beneficiaries of ECIRA
Calcha18-7	man, former member of ECIRA local support team
Calcha18-8	man, descendent of the Segura family owners of the watermill and local shops, very critical with ECIRA
Calcha18-9	women artisans working in Amaicha central square
Calcha18-10	man, president of the Amauta Foundation in Los Zazos
Calcha18-11	couple from Las Salas, beneficiaries of UE/APS development project
Calcha18-12	man, spiritual referent of the community
Calcha18-13	man, unofficial guardian of the ex-Hosteria
Calcha18-14	man owner of the shop next to the two ECIRA sheds in Amaicha
Calcha18-15	woman, descendent of the Segura family, member of ECIRA local support team
Calcha18-16	man, elder of the community, very critical with current administration, Amaicha oral memory
Calcha18-17	man, former cacique and administrative authority of Amaicha during the 1980s and 1990s
Calcha18-18	man and woman, conversation with, in and about the Pachamama Museum in Amaicha
Calcha18-19	two men, members of the group that manages the Remate waterfall, water infrastructure, and archaeological site in Los Zazos
Calcha18-20	man, descendent of the Mamani family, critical of ECIRA project, last official administrator of ex-Hosteria
Calcha18-21	man, descendent of the Segura family, member of the ECIRA local commission, watermill n.1 in Encalilla, "the man who lived in the cave"
Calcha18-22	man, former member of the World Bank development project in Yasyamayo

Calcha18-23	man and woman, development projects, indigenous memories and heritage-territory struggles in Talapazo, very active in the years of CIQ "recognition"
Calcha18-24	man and woman, local memory in Talapazo
Calcha18-25	woman, local memory in Talapazo, schooltime in the Chico family's mansion
Calcha18-26	woman, local memory in Talapazo
Calcha18-27	woman, local memory in Talapazo
Calcha18-28	woman, local memory in Talapazo, encounters with anthropologist, memories of sufferings
Calcha18-29	woman, local memory in Talapazo
Calcha18-30	man, local memory in Talapazo
Calcha18-31	men, in El Puesto diasporic indigenous memories
Calcha18-32	children, comments on the drawings made on my invitation
Calcha18-33	man, local memory in Talapazo
Calcha18-34	man, local memory in Talapazo, UE/APS water and walnut project
Calcha18-35	man, local memory in Talapazo, UE/APS water and walnut project, community work at the old water reservoir
Calcha18-36	man, Talapazo deputy at the CIQ Council of Delegates, former guide in the Sacred City after the community recuperation, UE/APS beneficiary, local path of memory
Calcha18-37	man, cannot be beneficiary of UE/APS project
Calcha18-38	man, stone worker, territory exploitation, local memory in Talapazo
Calcha18-39	men, touristic guides in Quilmes
Calcha18-40	woman, schoolteacher in the Quilmes high school, former deputy of the village of Quilmes in CIQ Council of Delegates
Calcha18-41	man, embodied memory of community lands struggle before, during and after the civic military dictatorship, straw basket craftman

Calcha18-42	man, former deputy of the village of Quilmes in CIQ Council of Delegates, World Bank water project
Calcha18-43	man, diasporic indigenous memories
Calcha18-44	woman, local memory in Quilmes
Calcha18-45	man, local memories in Quilmes and El Pichao, former worker in archaeological site of El Pichao
Calcha18-46	man, World Bank project and heritage struggles in Rincon de Quilmes
Calcha18-47	women, artisans and commerciant in the Sacred City of Quilmes
Calcha18-48	men, post'lunch after community work at the Quilmes graveyard
Calcha18-49	woman, former deputy for the village of Quilmes Centro in the CIQ Council of Delegates
Calcha18-50	man, renown craftman and former worker in the restoration works at the Sacred City of Quilmes
Calcha18-51	woman, artisan in the Sacred City of Quilmes
Calcha18-52	man, stone artisan, local memory of Quilmes village
Calcha18-53	woman, local memory in Quilmes
Calcha18-54	man, descendent of the Chico family former owner of the land in Quilmes
Calcha18-55	man, former member of the ECIRA expert team

Total Research Participants: 55

OVERALL RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS: 85

Appendix C: Transcriptions

1. Tiwanaku

Name: Tiwa18-1

Interview date: April 2018

Transcription by Usziel De La Fuente (UMSA, La Paz)

§1: F.: Me gustaría empezar, un poco, por lo que es su experiencia personal como director del CIAAAT, un poco si me puede contar hace cuánto tiempo, digamos, está en el cargo y, bueno, empezando con esto.

§2: J.C.: Mi nombre es J.C. Amaru, soy el Director General Ejecutivo de esta entidad, denominada Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, Antropológicas y Administración de Tiwanaku, CIAAAT ¿no? Bueno, el cargo he asumido en junio de 2015, estaría aproximadamente ya como 3 años en esta institución, dentro de estos 3 años, un poco... es muy sui generis, digamos, mi asunción al cargo ¿no? Considerando de que las comunidades de Tiwanaku en algún momento han demandado al Estado Boliviano su participación y, un poco, pienso que habría que

hacer una mirada retrospectiva hacia atrás, estaríamos, más o menos, remontando por el año 2000, un poco más, por 1998, 99, en el que los actores sociales, para mí, el tiwanakota contemporáneo, reclama, no solamente la participación en la gestión de su patrimonio, sino, también, decidir los destinos y el convivir diariamente con este patrimonio, les ha dado mucha experiencia de posibilidades y además, también, de un ente que ha ido forjando, de un ente que ha ido revitalizando la identidad del tiwanakota contemporáneo, pero, también, no solo al tiwanakota contemporáneo, sino a los actores de la región circumlacustre, a nivel andino y aquellos, hoy denominados, aymaras y quechuas ¿no? Entonces en ese sentido, para mí, hay un punto de inflexión en esta etapa y el año 2000 se llega a manifestarse en una intervención del tiwanakota contemporáneo de su patrimonio contra la administración-gestión del estado

central ¿no? Un estado republicano con carácter muy centralista, si bien, Tiwanaku participaba de manera muy pasiva como trabajadores, como, llamémoslo así, mano de obra para intervenciones de investigación, de restauración, pero en ningún momento el tiwanakota podía decidir ni opinar sobre su patrimonio, entonces, en ese sentido, nace una, yo llamaría, un punto de inflexión, el año 2000 en la intervención, y sale un decreto supremo, que declara, de prioridad nacional, el decreto supremo, no me acuerdo ahorita, el número, es del general Hugo Banzer Suarez, y en el que se conforman 7 instancias, 4 instancias de la ciudad de La Paz y 3 instancias acá, estaríamos hablando del Viceministerio de Culturas de Turismo, de la Gobernación y de la UNAR, que era Unidad de Nacional de Arqueología, que era el brazo técnico del estado, las instancias que han conformado en Tiwanaku, estaríamos hablando de la CACOT, del Gobierno Municipal y Junta de Vecinos, entonces ahí, si bien se logra la participación, yo no diría en la decisión, todavía.

§3: F.: ¿Esto fue en el año 2000...?

§4: J.C.: 2000 ¿no?

§5: F.: Ya, antes de la intervención...

§6: J.C.: No, con la intervención.

§7: F.: ¿Con la intervención?

§8: J.C.: Con la intervención... y este decreto, un poco, rige desde el año 2000 hasta el año 2011, 10 años ¿no? En el que, si bien el tiwanakota contemporáneo participa de la administración, pero no tienen decisiones técnicas.

§9: F.: Porque en ese lapso de tiempo...

§10: J.C.: El brazo técnico era la UNAR

§11: F.: Era la UNAR, no existía el CIAAAT, claro.

§12: J.C.: No existía, existía CIAGSAT (Comité Interinstitucional de Administración y Gestión del Sitio Arqueológico de Tiwanaku), CIAGSAT se llamaba la instancia, Centro de Investigaciones y de Gestión y Administración de Tiwanaku, si no me equivoco, CIAGSAT ¿no?

§13: F.: ¿Y la...?

§14: J.C.: Entonces en esa instancia el cuerpo directorio en los 11 años se ha reunido como 4 veces o 3 veces ¿no? y, principalmente, el destino del criterio técnico era decidido por la Unidad Nacional de Arqueología que era el brazo técnico del estado, y la parte administrativa de los recursos estaba administrado por el Gobierno Municipal, el Gobierno Municipal ha decretado como recursos propios, ahí vemos, así cómo se tiene que poner, digamos, algunos puntos de observación a la gestión del estado, en la gestión, yo digo, de autonomía con el Gobierno Municipal, se declara como recursos propios y muy poco se da la pertinencia en conservación en lo que es la investigación del patrimonio, estos recursos al ser declarados como recursos propios, podrían ser utilizados en otros ámbitos de competencia del Gobierno Municipal ¿no? y ahí, para mí, también, coadyuvan las instancias internacionales como la UNESCO, en el que pide desde, más o menos, el año 2002, que se implemente un plan de manejo, que es una herramienta de gestión para el sitio y ahí el tiwanakota

contemporáneo no se conforma ya, solamente, con participar y observar cómo se decide el destino de Tiwanaku, sino empieza, para mí, a empoderarse de su patrimonio a través de su organización social, que sería en este caso el ente matriz, la CACOT, que es el Concejo de Ayllus y Comunidades Originarias de Tiwanaku, y empiezan a construir un decreto supremo, desde Tiwanaku en participación con las instancias del estado, Ministerio de Culturas, pero, principalmente, yo diría, bajo una evaluación de UNESCO en el que saca varias determinaciones desde el Centro del Patrimonio Mundial y señala de que Tiwanaku debe contar con una instancia que administre...

§15: F.: De participación local

§16: J.C.: Y de participación local, también ¿no? Entonces ahí, para nosotros, ha sido fundamental el monitoreo, ha sido fundamental el seguimiento de la UNESCO a Tiwanaku, y ahí empieza, para mí, gestarse este nuevo decreto supremo 1004 del CIAAAT y... inicia el año, más o menos, 2010, más o menos, y en esta gestión lo

que se hace es la construcción del decreto supremo y en octubre del 2011 se declara, sale nuevo decreto y abroga el anterior decreto, ahí nosotros vemos el punto de inflexión más importante de, lo que es ahora, la gestión de Tiwanaku, se impone, yo diría, a la viceversa ¿no? Si antes participaban 4 instituciones del estado, ahora participan 3 instancias de la parte local y 2 entidades en la ciudad de La Paz, en este caso, del estado central, el Ministerio de Culturas y la Gobernación.

§17: F.: ¿Entonces da la vuelta un poco por lo que era la cosa?

§18: J.C.: Da la vuelta, por eso yo le llamo un punto de inflexión significativa, entonces ahí los actores locales... por ejemplo, el Estado Boliviano, para sacar un decreto supremo, tiene instancias de filtro y existe una negociación entre las autoridades originarias de Tiwanaku, el Alcalde junto, directamente, con el Presidente y ahí logran poner el acuerdo en consenso de la nueva estructura del directorio del CIAAAT, entonces ahí se declara y, a partir de ese momento, entra en

transición, el Gobierno Municipal tendría que haber pasado al CIAAAT la gestión, la administración del sitio y, más o menos, en septiembre del 2013, se nombra el primer Director Ejecutivo, que ha sido el anterior señor Ludwig Cayo, con quien ha iniciado un poco la gestión y, en este caso, la... los primeros pasos de lo que es el CIAAAT, luego mi persona asume en 2000... junio de 2015 y empezamos a retomar con más fuerza y la ventaja de mi designación ha sido de las comunidades, ellos han mandado al Estado Boliviano, primero, presentando al directorio conforme al Decreto Supremo 1004 y el **presidente Morales**, la designación como director general ejecutivo, en ese momento se inicia, yo diría, un nuevo ciclo de una vida institucional que, probablemente, el tiempo nos dirá si las acciones que hemos hecho son correctas o no, dentro de los logros más grandes, lo que hemos hecho es reestructurar el CIAAAT, si bien estaban enfocadas actividades culturales, ahora hemos preferido hacer una reestructuración que esté más con brazo técnico, en este caso ¿no? hemos

reestructurado la entidad, un nuevo organigrama, un nuevo manual de funciones, un nuevo reglamento que son herramientas básicas de una gestión institucional y eso nos ha permitido hacer, a nosotros, enmarcarnos, también una gestión y pública, pero, principalmente, con controles de las entidades del estado, por ejemplo, el Ministerio de Economía, el Control General del Estado, Viceministerio de Inversión Pública que hacen directamente el control y las herramientas de gestión, el organigrama, manual de funciones y reglamento, es específico, permiten que nos podamos (embullir/engullir) en esa dinámica de gestión pública ¿no? Entonces eso un poco, transparenta muchas actividades y el destino de los recursos.

§19: F.: Y, volviendo un poco a ese cambio que se ha dado ¿no? Me parece importante, también, en la relación con la arqueología, con la idea, digamos, con el desarrollo, la implementación de la investigación arqueológica en el territorio, eso cree que hay, de alguna manera, se ha reflejado, también, en su

designación, porque, si no me equivoco, usted tiene una formación académica de arqueólogo ¿verdad?

§20: J.C.: Sí.

§21: F.: Entonces ¿qué cambio, desde su perspectiva, desde su formación académica de arqueólogo local, llamémoslo, qué cambios, digamos, usted ha podido observar, también, en la relación que se ha dado, desde la disciplina para la creación de este concepto de patrimonio que ahora se está manejando?

§22: J.C.: Para mí ha sido fundamental, primero, si bien la universidad me ha permitido formarme y sistematizar de manera técnica, pero, también, creo que el otro aliciente y fundamental, para mí, ha sido...

§23:

§24: F.: Entonces, me estaba diciendo su formación académica, pero no solamente esto, digamos, le ha servido para desarrollar su idea de arqueología, quizás.

§25: J.C.: Yo creo que hay que entender muchísimo de... Si bien, las entidades académicas nos

permiten formar como técnicos, aprendemos nuevos conceptos, aprendemos nuevas estrategias de posibles gestiones de experiencias concretas en otros contextos que son muy fundamentales y hay que valorarlas, sin embargo, creo, la diferencia que, nosotros hemos hecho, es ser de Tiwanaku, tenía la posibilidad de hablar de toda esta problemática en casa que han marcado, para mí, un rol fundamental ¿no? El hablar... que un tiwanakota les ponga una reflexión, les ponga observaciones de carácter técnico, ya no tanto, digamos, en términos técnicos que he aprendido en la universidad sino en términos, yo diría, técnicos también, pero de mi contexto de esta filosofía, de este jaqi andino que vive diariamente con su patrimonio, entonces creo que eso ha calado muchísimo en las autoridades y han apoyado un nuevo norte, yo diría, un nuevo norte en el que nos hemos planteado crear esta entidad con varias áreas ¿no? Si, hasta ese momento, había un director y habían dos técnicos, que se hacían cargo de todos, para mí, era, después de haber hecho el

primer diagnóstico como director, era imposible dar, yo diría, soluciones muy mínimas a problemáticas grandes ¿no? y ahí empezaba a plantear a ellos que era necesario tener un área de investigación, y esta área de investigación que tenga un equipo técnico que acompañe, por ejemplo, en áreas de arquitectura, en áreas de turismo, en áreas de conservación, en área de archivo-biblioteca, en área de registro y catalogación, que eran, para mí, de acuerdo a la naturaleza institucional, de acuerdo a los bienes que gestionemos, eran necesarios y básicos, y así lo hemos planteado y, a pesar de algunas autoridades de una oposición reacia a lo que yo había planteado, sin embargo, hay que pensar siempre que el tiwanakota contemporáneo y el, yo diría, el hombre andino del pasado nunca tenía una visión individualista, siempre ha sido con una visión colectiva, a pesar de la resistencia férrea de algunas personas, lo que ha permitido a consolidar esta institucionalización ha sido la decisión colectiva, y ahí han apoyado muchísimo en esta gestión, principalmente, las

autoridades originarias, en este caso, la CACOT, ellos han sido, para mí, los baluartes de enfrentar este proceso y si, en algún momento, con el anterior CIAGSAT se ha mostrado flaquezas de administración técnica, de decisión técnica desde el estado, ahora nosotros tenemos una decisión técnica autónoma, nosotros somos los que decidimos nuestro norte y creemos que ya a partir de la reestructuración institucional, ahora que tengo las áreas, ellos han elaborado sus propios planes y el año pasado, en noviembre, casi finalizando noviembre, los primeros días de diciembre, hemos logrado aprobar el plan de manejo en el que está, un poco, a líneas generales, el sueño y rasgos hacia dónde queremos ir en el futuro, y eso es, básicamente, el actor social, el tiwanakota contemporáneo, representada a través de su ente social que sería la CACOT, de un ente político, institucional, que sería el gobierno municipal y cívico, como es junta de vecinos ¿no? entonces, estos 3 actores han impulsado y han sido los baluartes en apoyarme en todas las líneas bases que yo he

proyectado, posiblemente, quizás hubiera sido resultados distintos si otra persona estuviese en mando de esta entidad y ahí, creo, también, nosotros como personas, pero, también, siempre enmarcados en el marco de la filosofía colectiva, yo, como Julio y como tiwanakota contemporáneo, digo, no tengo margen de error, es como un corral de ovejas donde tu compartes con ellas, puedes cambiar de cargo, un día estamos de autoridad, otro día estamos de base, pero ahí muchas veces en nuestro, nosotros le llamamos el taqi y el sarawi, que sería como una especie de camino y marca, los cargos que asumes demuestras con responsabilidad, eres una persona que puedes formar para hacer cargos mucho más grandes, pero si te equivocas en ese trayecto, yo diría, el castigo más tremendo, en esta filosofía, es, so sé si llamarle muerte social ¿no? en el que te cortan pero no tienes las posibilidades de aspirar a cargos mucho más grandes y en ese sentido mi persona tiene ese compromiso de todas las actividades que llevamos siempre en beneficio, primero el patrimonio y luego el tiwanakota

contemporáneo, entonces ahí creo que nosotros, también, retribuimos a ellos, sabemos que este patrimonio que durante más de 200 años de investigaciones y el tiempo que ha estado expuesto a la intemperie sufre de muchas patologías, entre ellas la conservación y hoy estamos encarando esta problemática de manera paulatina, en este, yo diría, dos años de gestión y ahora, como institución, hemos tenido grandes logros y grandes avances y eso, obviamente, el tiwanakota contemporáneo se siente satisfecho y que apoyan y que ellos, también, son partícipes de esta decisión, en ese sentido, mientras yo esté como director siempre voy a hacer mis actividades de manera participativa con la participación del actor local y, ese actor local, que se empodere más de su patrimonio y que sea consciente de su gestión y decisión a futuro.

§26: F.: Entonces, igual, se podría decir un poco, resumiendo lo que me viene diciendo, que ya el cargo, digamos, de director del CIAAAT se ha integrado dentro del conjunto de las autoridades de los

usos y costumbres, digamos del territorio.

§27: J.C.: Claro.

§28: F.: Y esto es bueno, me viene, también, el otro día, que estuvo ahí la fiesta del Colegio Posnansky, estaban varias autoridades y también estaba usted, o sea, en este sentido, digamos, me parece que éste integrado, digamos, es una institución que no está impuesta, sino que se va integrando en el territorio ¿no? y un poco, bueno, una preguntita sobre eso de la intervención que ¿no? como comentaba... contando, tiene un impacto enorme para lo que ha sido el desarrollo de la gestión del patrimonio, bueno ¿Usted estuvo presente, usted recuerda, digamos, lo que pasó durante esa intervención?

§29: J.C.: Personalmente, no, pero, sí mis padres ¿no? mis padres, era una estrategia que ellos habían organizado, que habían armado, de cómo, llamémosle, hacer frente al estado sin dañar su patrimonio, sin que, tampoco, intervenga... ni, tampoco, haya repercusiones en lo

que es el turismo ¿no? para mí, eso ha sido fundamental y una de las exigencias del estado hacia, yo llamaría, hacia Tiwanaku, era de que si nosotros queríamos administrar debían de ponerse sus arqueólogos locales, entonces eso era, yo lo veía, como un chantaje para ellos, pero para Tiwanaku ha resultado ser una fortaleza porque a partir de ese momento, las comunidades de Tiwanaku señalan de que, entonces, hay que mandar a estudiar jóvenes a La Paz.

§30: F.: Claro, o sea, también sirvió como para fomentar un poco.

§31: J.C.: Y una de esas personas que han enviado, estoy acá, asumiendo lo que ellos habían iniciado, siempre en el marco de una visión colectiva y en la ética del tiwanakota contemporáneo, de sus parámetros y valores y principios que están ahí en lo social.

§32: F.: Para, digamos, pasar al otro tema, que es un poco del... estamos hablando, pero, digamos, volviendo un poquito, me gustaría enseñar una foto, una foto que he sacado acá, me gustaría que me

podiera dar su opinión, un poco, si recuerda, un poco ¿qué es eso?

§33: J.C.: Sí... esos son los antiguos espacios que, antes de tener esta infraestructura, el museo cerámico y lítico, el ingreso era por el otro lado, el camino viejo era por el otro lado, antes de que el camino venga por este lado ¿no? y sabemos que, en la construcción de la red fundamental de vías a nivel del estado, estas vías no podían pasar por un área como es Tiwanaku, de alta sensibilidad y, para mí, eso refleja una parte de nuestra historia de la gestión institucional y, por qué no decir, del destino y el cambio de esa intervención de Tiwanaku.

§34: F.: Justamente, yo por eso estaba planteando esta fotografía ¿no? porque me parece un lugar que ahora está abandonado pero su abandono evoca, está evocando lo que ha pasado y, también, lo que ha precedido ¿no? porque esto, creo, que está muy relacionado con el proceso de enmallado, digamos, del sitio que se dio en el 75, si no me equivoco ¿no? que, bueno, por las conversaciones que tuve, en **pleno** trabajo, eso marcó un hito, como

usted estaba diciendo antes, también, la relación diaria entre la población y el sitio y, no estoy diciendo que esté equivocado, simplemente le estoy diciendo que esto es una... es seguramente un aspecto material, usted como arqueólogo, quién más, me puede entender, porque me llama la atención ¿no? porque es un aspecto material que, de alguna manera, está transformando las relaciones sociales ¿no? entonces ¿esa vieja boletería en qué año, desde qué año, hasta qué año, digamos, funcionó?

§35: J.C.: Mira, ahorita no tengo los datos en mi mente, pero debe ser, más o menos, hasta el año 95, más o menos, que ha estado funcionando por ese lado ¿no? posteriormente, el año 1996-97, si no me equivoco, es la que se construye, se amplía el Museo Cerámico y ahí empieza ya a cambiar la estructura, pero, también, influye muchísimo en la carretera internacional ¿no? la carretera internacional.

§36: F.: ¿Y eso se construyó en esos años igual?

§37: J.C.: Sí. Entonces, estamos hablando por los 90, más o menos ¿no? que se ha construido la carretera de arriba y, obviamente, la ruta, en este caso, de acceso al sitio cambia y, por ende, han cambiado, en este caso, lo que es el circuito y, lo que es ahora, las oficinas administrativas de los museos de Tiwanaku.

§38: F.: Y, también, otra preguntita, sería eso, que está justo acá atrás, me llamó la atención, en este caso, el hecho de que acá se haya, no sé si se ha caído o lo han quitado, porque acá ponía “Complejo Turístico Arqueológico” y ese vacío, me llama la atención porque, de alguna manera, quizás está reflejando un cambio desde una visión puramente turística a algo más, quizás, en la gestión del sitio, no sé si usted me puede dar algún dato más sobre eso, si sabe por supuesto y...

§39: J.C.: Mira, el Museo Lítico se construyó por los años 2002, más o menos ¿no? hasta el año 2005, creo que este panel se ha construido por el año, sí, 2005, si bien han puesto con ese nombre, desconozco, digamos, por qué han

bajado el resto de las letras, sin embargo, así como se puede ver, “Complejo Turístico Arqueológico”, hoy no solo es un complejo, hoy es un, yo diría, es un escenario, es un espacio que aglutina, que interactúa, que confluye esa diversidad ¿no? el sitio, para mí, uno de los aportes fundamentales que ha hecho el tiwanakota contemporáneo, es mirar de cerca la interculturalidad, la diversidad cultural que existe al interior de Tiwanaku pero, también, esa diversidad es una fortaleza, en este caso, confluidos, interactuados por la CACOT y, también, nos permite que, esa diversidad, podemos hacer relaciones de cualquier índole con otras, con otros municipios, entonces de ahí hablamos de una interculturalidad. Tiwanaku, para mí, muestra un espacio que nos ha permitido conocernos mucho más allá de lo que somos los tiwanakotas, las actividades, por ejemplo, el willka kuti y las otras actividades que hacemos en la gestión, nos permiten, cada vez, conocer más hermanos distintos a nosotros, pero, siempre en el marco del respeto ¿no? en el marco de la diversidad y yo no diría

que Tiwanaku es una ruina ni un complejo, es un espacio vivo, dinámico que ha interactuado en el pasado, hoy interactúa y va a interactuar en el futuro.

§40: F.: Justamente es por eso que la interculturalidad, viniendo un poco a lo que es el tema actual de mi investigación, todo esto es muy relevante, también, para reconstruir un poco la historia del territorio, a través de las instituciones que se hacen cargo del sitio central, pero, como le decía, cuando me encontraba la primera vez, lo que me gustaría ver, un poco ahora, son esta forma de cuidados del territorio que permiten, también, establecer relaciones más exitosas quizás, el proceso de identificación con el patrimonio ¿no? entonces, la pregunta que le hago es ¿cómo se está buscando de integrar esos conocimientos locales y, también, los usos y costumbres, me estoy refiriendo, por ejemplo, a la rotación de los trabajadores en las políticas de manejo participativo del sitio?

§41: J.C.: Tendríamos que ver varios elementos, en este caso ¿no? una de los elementos que,

sin duda, ahora se ha firmado y se ha apropiado que el tiwanakota contemporáneo siente y convive con su patrimonio, segundo, son los protectores de su patrimonio, hay una alianza y hay un sentimiento con su patrimonio ¿no? yo creo que, es la gran diferencia que hace con otros lugares, un ejemplo que pongo es Santa Cruz – Samaipata, los actores contemporáneos son actores que no se identifican con ese patrimonio, mientras tanto en Tiwanaku, quiérase o no, son los herederos de este patrimonio, si bien muchas cosas han cambiado, pero, en ningún momento en la parte, yo lo llamaría, de la psique o en la parte de la cosmovisión, no han olvidado su patrimonio, entonces, ellos tiene su propia lógica de enlace, su propia lógica de interactuar con el patrimonio, no en el marco de los términos técnicos que nosotros hemos aprendido, ellos tienen sus propios códigos estructurados que les permiten relacionarse con este patrimonio y, en ese marco, es lo que hoy se relacionan y es lo que nosotros, también, tenemos que aprender ¿no? si bien, podemos hablar de sensibilizar, de

concientizar de este patrimonio con los actores, pero, ellos tienen sus propios códigos sociales establecidos y eso, también, para nosotros, como técnicos, es pertinente aprender ¿no? Por otro lado, hoy el tiwanakota contemporáneo se siente partícipe, yo diría, cada día y cada mes, nosotros, como CIAAAT, vamos a rendir informes de nuestras actividades cada 30, cada 30 es la reunión ordinaria de las 23 comunidades, más 3 centros poblados ¿qué implica esto? Que los 12000 personas que vivimos en toda la jurisdicción municipal de Tiwanaku, se reúnen mensualmente cada 30, no solamente tocar temas de patrimonio, sino en gestión, desarrollo, proyectos como “Mi municipio”, proyectos con gobernación, proyectos a nivel nacional, entonces, esta forma de vincular de la entidad en la lógica del tiwanakota contemporáneo es un aliciente y una ventaja grande, en Bolivia, ningún otro museo, fuera de Tiwanaku, no rinde cuentas a la sociedad, pero, nosotros rendimos mensualmente, eso es incluirse en la lógica del tiwanakota contemporáneo.

§42:

§43:

§44: Quiérase o no, nosotros, si bien ahora, estamos priorizando la inversión en el patrimonio, pero, también, esa inversión tiene que coadyuvar, tiene que mitigar la situación social, económica, más que todo, del tiwanakota contemporáneo ¿no? tenemos, por ejemplo, hoy 31 personas que vienen de las comunidades de Tiwanaku y ellos, ahora estamos en la institución gestionando de que... hay que... el estado central, a través de sus instancias, tiene que reconocer que esta forma de participación, también, es legal, si bien, un poquito falta concluir la parte legal, pero, la legitimidad sí son protectoras.

§45: F.: ¿En qué sentido falta la parte legal?

§46: J.C.: Que el Ministerio de Trabajo tiene que reconocer esta forma de incorporar anualmente y de retirar personas en este caso, entonces, eso en términos legales y en términos de trabajo...

§47: F.: Términos de contrato, de trabajo sería...

§48: J.C.: Sería como masacre blanca ¿no? pero para que no se note esa figura y que es, más bien, la participación del tiwanakota contemporáneo a través de sus representantes sobre su patrimonio, es haciendo esta rotación del personal anualmente ¿no? entonces eso estamos haciendo, la gestión y esperamos que hasta primer semestre de esta gestión tengamos ya concretado y pueda ya legalizarse esa legitimidad que el tiwanakota contemporáneo tiene con su patrimonio. El otro aspecto son proyectos de conservación preventiva, tenemos alrededor de casi más de 70 personas trabajando temporalmente en el sitio y eso afianza mucho más al tiwanakota contemporáneo, porque viene a hacer trabajos de conservación, viene a hacer trabajos de mantenimiento, viene a hacer los trabajos y las necesidades que requiere este patrimonio, entonces, ahí vemos que el tiwanakota contemporáneo está conservando su patrimonio, si bien, tenemos como una supervisión, **guiaje** (guía) de los técnicos, en este caso, de los arqueólogos, de los profesionales,

sin embargo, hemos visto, en estas dos gestiones que hemos implementado este tipo de proyectos, el tiwanakota contemporáneo hace, con mucho cariño y esmero, lo mejor para su patrimonio de todo su conocimiento, una de las técnicas de conservación que vamos a compartir, también, con los seminarios que existen en el país es, por ejemplo, el **kurawara**, el **kurawara** es una técnica antigua que se ha utilizado en la construcción de sus casas, que hoy estamos incorporando en el sitio, entonces, eso es, también, aprender conservaciones y mitigaciones de infraestructuras del pasado, pero ahora incorporar en su patrimonio.

§49: F.: Muy interesante, claro.

§50: J.C.: Entonces, creo que, en ese sentido, hay un aporte fundamental del tiwanakota contemporáneo con su patrimonio y, por ende, los técnicos aprenden de esto ¿no? y con seguridad van a replicar en otros lugares y, por ende, eso sería el aporte de Tiwanaku, no solamente al patrimonio de Tiwanaku, sino al patrimonio del país.

§51: F.: Justo hablando de escala ¿no? estaba diciendo pues que pensaba que estaba diciendo “el patrimonio del país” y luego viene el patrimonio de la humanidad, porque **acá están**, poco, la siguiente pregunta era, un poco, esto ¿no? ¿qué rol? Un poquito ya me ha dicho que el rol de la UNESCO ha sido muy importante a la hora de implementar, también, una dinámica de participación con los actores sociales ¿no? un poquito más en esto ¿Qué está aportando la UNESCO, tanto al nivel de nuevas investigaciones como a nivel de, digamos, el tema que más me interesa a mí, es de la relación entre patrimonio y derechos humanos? ¿no? ¿Cómo piensa que la intervención de la UNESCO, también, digamos, implementa esta visión de relación?

§52: J.C.: Creemos que la UNESCO tiene, a través de uno de sus brazos, que se llama el Centro de Patrimonio Mundial y la cooperación internacional, es fundamental ¿no? nosotros hemos recibido este brazo técnico de la UNESCO a través de los profesionales, por ejemplo, que se

ha hecho el mapeo por primera vez en Bolivia y que se ha podido determinar por lo menos a unos 80 o 70% el tamaño real del sitio arqueológico de Tiwanaku, eso cambia la visión, eso cambia y es una herramienta de gestión que se convierte, tanto para nosotros y para el gobierno municipal, para redefinir las políticas de conservación y de protección del patrimonio ¿no? por otro lado, hemos recibido, también, de la UNESCO el gran aporte en lo que es la creación de un nuevo laboratorio ¿no? si bien, la entidad ha condicionado un espacio, sin embargo, todo el equipamiento, los primeros resultados es con la ayuda de UNESCO, así como en otras áreas, el laboratorio de arqueología y el laboratorio de, en este caso, de conservación y de registro de bienes, la UNESCO ha apoyado con el equipamiento con estos medios que hoy los técnicos están desarrollando las actividades y que muy pronto nosotros pondremos, también, en conocimiento de la sociedad estas experiencias que hemos iniciado en esta gestión, desde el año pasado más que todo, en ese sentido, para nosotros es

fundamental y ahí se siente de que el tiwanakota contemporáneo, que las instancias internacionales, como la UNESCO, otras entidades que velan la conservación, la protección del patrimonio, tienen, también, una incidencia, en este caso, en la visión del tiwanakota contemporáneo ¿no? y estamos muy seguros de que, así como las veces que han estado los de UNESCO acá haciendo, coadyuvando con trabajos técnicos, el tiwanakota contemporáneo siempre les ha abierto con brazos (los ha recibido con los brazos abiertos) y esperemos que esta cooperación continúe de UNESCO con Tiwanaku ¿no? porque creemos que, al ser declarado patrimonio mundial, también, es un deber de todos los habitantes y estantes de este mundo de conservar, en medida de sus posibilidades, la conservación y preservación de este bien que está declarado patrimonio mundial.

§53: F.: Por tanto, y a un nivel de escala, la penúltima pregunta, que quería hacer, era un poco, o más política, quizás, o sea, cómo desde el proceso de constitución

plurinacional que ha cambiado, digamos, un poco me lo estaba contando, también, antes ¿no? pero un poquito más a nivel específico nacional, o sea, cómo, también, el hecho de que el presidente participe, también, en rituales que se hace acá, el willka kuti y tenga muy en cuenta, digamos, ese patrimonio, pero, como usted ya sabe, también, en el valor icónico, digamos, de Tiwanaku, también, existía para el estado republicano anterior, digamos, entonces, ese cambio ¿cómo se ha advertido acá en el territorio?

§54: J.C.: Yo, quizás, podría ponerte 2 ejemplos ¿no? para hacerte una respuesta a su pregunta, primero, una cosa es que alguien que no es de Tiwanaku viene y te construye y te dice "esta es la historia de Tiwanaku" y el tiwanakota contemporáneo, que ha vivido y tiene una herencia de sus conocimientos de generación en generación, es muy distinto ¿no? encabezados, por ejemplo, en el estado republicano, Ponce Sanjinés hace de las excavaciones, reconstruye el sitio,

pero, en ningún momento el tiwanakota contemporáneo o el jaqi andino es parte de esa reconstrucción, nunca ha sido consultado, nunca ha sido preguntado ¿no? pero, sí sus iconografías, sí sus... algunos elementos patrimoniales son utilizados a nivel nacional para una visión nacionalista ¿no? cambia abruptamente con la asunción a la presidencia del hermano Evo Morales, en el que, primero, se cambia lo más estructural, la constitución y, en la constitución, hace apertura y de esa legitimidad que el tiwanakota contemporáneo que tenía con su patrimonio se legaliza con la constitución, la participación, principalmente, de los actores, lo que el gobierno, hasta ahora llama, los movimientos sociales ¿no? eso ha sido, para mí, fundamental y la participación del mismo presidente al ser un lugar sagrado, como es Tiwanaku, ha permitido, también, dar una priorización y generar políticas específicas sobre el caso del Decreto Supremo 1004. El Decreto Supremo 1004 no es que es en base de una evaluación, no, es una política de estado, de participación de los actores

sociales que se refleja a nivel específico, que el tiwanakota contemporáneo haya construido el destino y la visión del decreto 1004 es parte de una política nacional encarado, en este caso, por nuestro presidente ¿no? y en ese sentido, si antes venían investigadores que utilizaban ese patrimonio, utilizaban para buscar un, yo diría, una raíz común a nivel nacional, ahora el tiwanakota contemporáneo participa, decide y ve qué es lo que pasa con su patrimonio, creo que ahí es la gran diferencia entre lo republicano y el estado plurinacional.

§55: F.: A ver, última sería esa fotografía, esa ¿la conoce? Porque al ser honestos se la he robado, a ver... esta de acá. Que, también, me parece bastante interesante ¿no? porque está, bueno, es muy bello, digamos, evento que se ha llevó acá para... la semana pasada para el día del niño...

§56: J.C.: ¿Usted ha presenciado?

§57: F.: Sí, estuve, estuve un poquito. Con el Monolito Bennett que, también, es bastante importante por todo este proceso

de reapropiación del patrimonio ¿no? entonces, bueno, me gustaba esta fotografía porque ponía relación un poco, ese patrimonio que, quizás, se está recuperando por las nuevas generaciones, que se están apropiando de esto, ver un poco su opinión y con eso ya terminamos, digamos, como ¿qué expectativas hay para el futuro de este patrimonio?

§58: J.C.: No sé si podría resumir en 3 palabras, primero en el estado republicano, este patrimonio, es enajenado y prohibido para que el tiwanakota contemporáneo actúe, el hecho de enmallar, para mí, y no tener alternativas de relación de ese patrimonio con el patrimonio vivo ha sido un gran error ¿no? Si el actor actual de una generación que están entre 40, 50, que hoy son los que participan en la CACOT, hubieran tenido esta posibilidad de interactuar con su patrimonio, el destino y la visión actual sería distinta, lo que queremos es que, la niña que usted ve, es una niña, es un tiwanakota futuro, yo lo llamaría, participar desde esta edad con su patrimonio, sabiendo qué necesita,

sabiendo qué cosas hay que hacer, en qué hay que hacer más, para mí... inversión para conservar ese patrimonio porque, ella y yo, tenemos la oportunidad de disfrutar de este patrimonio y que nos fortalece en la parte de identidad, pero, seremos egoístas si no transmitimos estos valores a ellos, que las futuras generaciones, 3 a 4 generaciones no van a poder disfrutar en estas condiciones y para mí... que yo soy el director, al escuchar su discurso, la... llamaría, las palabras que ellos han utilizado en la explicación, realmente es una satisfacción grande, hay cosas que tú puedes hacer inversión, que puedes tener rédito pero hay cosas que no necesariamente se expresan en la parte monetaria y, para mí, la identidad del tiwanakota contemporáneo depende de transmitir esa identidad a sus generaciones futuras en base a este tipo de actividades, por eso hemos puesto "Compartiendo mi Cultura", su cultura del tiwanakota contemporáneo que está compartiendo con los chicos de la

ciudad, en este caso, que tiene una cultura ciudadana con el tiwanakota contemporáneo ¿no? Entonces, estamos seguros que ellos, cuando van a ser profesionales, van a ser directores, van a ser alcaldes, van a ser autoridades y, con seguridad, van a tener un panorama mucho más amplio, quizás, más técnico en decidir acerca de la gestión y administración de este patrimonio, ese es el objetivo y hasta hoy, para mí, es un éxito esta actividad que hemos iniciado la anterior gestión y en esta gestión que los chicos de la escuela ya estén haciendo el discurso de transmitir esos valores, esos elementos que son los mejores, es normal escuchar de los expertos, hablar sobre el patrimonio, pero no de niños, de su patrimonio. Entonces, ahí está, creo, para mí, resume la imagen todo lo que queríamos escribir.

§59: F.: Por eso lo he puesto al final. Bueno, muchísimas gracias don Julio por su tiempo y acá lo dejamos. Gracias.

§60: J.C.: A su servicio.

Name: Tiwa18-3

Place and Date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Usziel De La Fuente (UMSA, La Paz)

§1: Francesco: Entonces vaya contando un poco la historia de este lugar, cómo accedió a esta historia también, puede ser interesante.

§2: Sr.: Exacto, yo... muchas gracias, en este momento voy a detallar algunos... de repente los abuelos que han dejado o me han ido diciendo, qué relacionaba por acá, en este lugar, es **Poqopampa**. En el lugar que nos encontramos, en este momento, es el Titipuchu, Titipuchuni. Anteriormente por acá había los animalitos, el titi, como bien, se utiliza su cuerito, es más o menos similar... casi parecido al gato, entonces... el animal que no vive con el hombre, sino que es del campo, como la vicuña, algo así, entonces, es en los rituales donde (**se**) utiliza su cuerito, entonces ese animal vivía acá y este pocito que ve, acá... de este pozo tomaba ese animalito, de ese pocito tomaba ese animalito y otros animales más, porque a partir de este lugar ya empieza lo que es el agua, y también puedo detallar de que en este lugar, justamente es donde llega la **antahualla**, juntamente, con la que conocemos, el conejo el **tuyuhuaqu** justamente, a veces de repente aparece por acá el tuyuhuaqu, que está todavía...

vive, ¿no es cierto? Por acá, vive, entonces, eso puede ser uno y por otro, también, donde es... cuando empieza la época de lluvia y empieza (**a parar los arcoíris?**) por acá, mayormente porque esta agua es permanente, no (**se**) seca, baja pero no seca totalmente, entonces eso es lo que puedo detallar por acá y bueno, anteriormente, había otros especies más, como el sapo, la víbora, por acá, abundantemente había por acá, pero en estos últimos años, ya se ha logrado desaparecer esos animales y es donde vive, también, por acá, puedo decir, en época de lluvia llega a poner su huevito el pato, el choqa, el **chaka chaka** y es en época de septiembre, octubre también, llegan los animales a este lugar, los parihuanas, que son blanquitos con alas, medio naranjadita, todos esos animales, entonces es donde por acá trajina, por este sector y de repente, cuando ya es septiembre, octubre, empiezan a desaparecer, en ese momento no las hay. Bueno, en cuanto al pato también, existe año entero y el choqa también aparece en esas épocas donde pone su huevito, todo aquello, el chaka chaka, también, está año entero, pero cuando ya es helada ya se desaparece ese animalito. Ahora el tuyuhuaqu está constante por acá, siempre, no desaparece, de un lugar viene, si sacamos, en otro lugar aparece, entonces es lo que atrae, nos revelaban los abuelos, el antahualla, donde llega el animal, por decir, el ganado

vacuno y aparece al día siguiente muerto, muerto y quemado la piel, entonces es lo que puedo detallarlo. Yo, realmente, le puedo agradecer por la entrevista también, anteriormente... este lugar es reservorio más arriba, es reservorio del agua, cuando había sequía, entonces en ese trayecto han ido sacando la tierra a medida que el agua va bajando van sacando la tierra, va bajando van sacando la tierra, entonces es donde apareció restos del mar, restos del mar, yo puedo decir más abajo, para esa época de noviembre, más o menos, que llevo mi ganado, entonces, aquí hay un pozo y hay restos del mar, la arena de la playa, hay, entonces, bueno, de repente sería, tal vez puedo exceder, pero como bien lo decían y detallaban los... bueno el nombre mismo quiere decir Tiawanaku viene de Tiawañaku, más o menos abarcaba estos lugares, sería su orilla del mar, eso puedo decir, entonces, bueno es como lo ve por acá, es eso...

§3: Francesco: Entonces, según usted, le voy a hacer una preguntita, ¿Por qué...? ¿Le parece bien que esos lugares se cuiden, se protejan? ¿De qué forma se van protegiendo esos lugares?

§4: Sr.: Yo puedo decir... Mira, si yo lo tapo este pozo va a desaparecer completamente ¿no es cierto? Va a desaparecer ese pozo completamente, entonces... También es un poco sagrado, una vaca se cae acá, se enferma y se muere. No es sencillo en esta reserva... claro, de

vez en cuando toma el animal, así cuando está de sed llega y toma, pero así constante de ser tomada, casi no lo hago tomar, más bien más arriba tengo donde hay agua...

§5: Francesco: Donde hay agua para tomar, para el ganado...

§6: Sr.: Exacto. Entonces eso sería en cuanto a la conservación. Si logramos tapar, bueno, desaparecería, pero si lo hacemos roturar también desaparecería, digamos, los restos pequeños que hay como los huesos... todo aquello, porque de repente ese titi, por decir, ya ha sido viejito y, como cada animal, tiene su ciclo de vida y ha muerto, entonces quedó ahí adentro, quedó ahí adentro, entonces, eso me parecería a mí, digamos, conservarlo, conservarlo.

§7: Francesco: ¿Y le parece que conociéndose esas historias se podría ayudar a la comunidad, para tener un conocimiento sobre la importancia y el carácter sagrado quizás de este lugar?

§8: Sr.: Sí... Como dicen, anteriormente, por acá, en aymara diciendo painiwa, painiwa y es así, si vienes de ahí abajado, más abajo donde necesariamente se acaba el **umawama** cuando no llovía, cuando no llovía sacaban el **umawama** de ahí, de los pozos, entonces ahí abajo, a partir más abajo ya se parece así de oscuro, bueno, vas viniendo y ya se aparece así estos pequeños, así, pozos se aparecen, así, grandes se aparecen y, bueno, anteriormente me comentaban que habían fallecido personas también por ese... como ese chilkana, **niwa**, diciendo, o sea que tu... también tiene ese.. en otras palabras, lo que dicen anchanchu...

§9: Francesco: Susto

§10: Sr.: Susto... tiene... ese animalito mismo, el chaka chaka, que dice chaka chaka chaka, en época de lluvia, lo que dice ¿no es cierto? se escucha al fondo o sea que lejos se escucha, pareciera que está cerca, pero está lejos, entonces esos y otros tiene por acá, ese palli, o sea que se te puede aparecer... como una luz te puede aparecer anteriormente y tú puedes ir ahí, puedes caer mal, eso detallaba, pero estos últimos años ya no, ya no es tanto, digamos, ya no. Sí, de verlo, yo mismo lo había comprobado eso, uno de esos (días) se me hizo tarde y vine, entonces, directo, ya lo sé perder el pequeño camino que hay entonces... de repente se tropieza con eso, se tropieza con eso, entonces eso es lo que puedo detallar.

§11: Francesco: Está bien... bueno, si quiere contarme o comentarme, si le parece, también, otros lugares, que tenga conocimiento, que son también importantes acá de la comunidad.

§12: Sr.: De acá de la comunidad puedo detallar, tal vez, un chullpar que hay, bueno eso es en la primera zona donde...

§13: Francesco: Allá arriba, digamos...

§14: Sr.: Donde vive mi mamá, hay un pequeño cerrito que se llama Uchita y ahí atrás justamente hay un chullpar donde lo hicimos roturar y de ahí salió restos del humano, cráneo mismo, algunas costillas todo aquello, entonces de

repente, bueno, se conservó, bueno, es porque era conocido, digamos, si una niña se dormía ahí entonces entraba el chullpa, de repente salía los huesitos no más, eso me comentaba mi bisabuela, su abuela de mi papá, entonces eso, tal vez puedo detallarlo y tal vez sería eso en el lugar para que pueda ver...

§15: Francesco: Claro, no, no, por eso yo le preguntaba más como información porque se trata de informaciones que me van contando, y otro me cuenta otro y otro me cuenta otro, y así va un poco la investigación y eso, por ejemplo, nunca me lo habían detallado, todavía, así que se lo agradezco de verdad...

§16: Sr.: Sí, exacto... tal vez un poco me olvidaba de la antahualla... mi trabajo más, el ganado colocando siempre... bueno, nosotros nos protegemos con las botellas, puede ser de la cerveza, puede ser de la Paceña que hay, otras botellas, lo colocas algo encima... nos comentan los abuelos, hay que colocar siempre ustasiñapinau qispillu, el qispillo es esa botella, entonces cuando viene esa antahualla viene alumbrando, entonces necesariamente la botella refleja, el vidrio refleja ¿no es cierto?

§17: Francesco: ¿Y dónde lo pones esas botellas?

§18: Sr.: Y... Algo... bueno ahorita no hay, pero digamos...

§19: Francesco: ¿Pero cerca del ganado?...

§20: Sr.: Sí...no hay... bueno, no hemos recogido todavía la bosta, se recoge la bosta, en mi casa hay, montoncito y ahí encima se pone la botella. Cuando viene y refleja es como... otra parte estaría viniendo, entonces, está viniendo y puede chocar entonces desvía, ya no llega el animal, eso sería... una parte de protección... como si estaría...

§21: Francesco: Listo. Bueno, la otra, para terminar la formalidad de la entrevista, supone que yo le pida si quiere añadir algo o si quiere corregir... algo que hayas dicho

§22: Sr.: Más... De repente algo que me haya olvidado por acá detallar, por acá también... bueno, me imagino, como la arcilla lo mantiene el agua, entonces existen dos tipos de arcillas acá, la arcilla negra y la arcilla de tierra, color ladrillo, esas dos arcillas, me imagino que lo tiene humedecido esa arcilla, más al profundo, también, arena también ya es...

§23: Francesco: ¿Y esa arcilla, no sé si... también se utiliza como para... o utilizaba para vasijas,

para trabajos de artesanía con esa arcilla?

§24: Sr.: Anteriormente esa arcilla, bueno, me comentaban, es como una... ¿no es cierto? Cuando tú lo amasas, lo amasas y se vuelve fuerte, se vuelve fuerte, entonces de repente, como la oveja se rompería su pata, entonces lo forrarías con eso, lo forrarías y... bueno, no lo había hecho prueba esto, pero si...

§25: Francesco: Claro, le comentaron que se utilizaba para este uso...

§26: Sr.: Sí, sí, se utilizaba eso. Y por el otro lado, esa arcilla, bueno, acá, estas épocas, te agarra la fiebre, calentura, bueno, relacionado a la misma fiebre y calentura, entonces, el tos, todo aquello y bueno, yo mismo voy utilizando eso, cuando si me agarra eso y si no se me pasa esa arcilla lo bates, lo bates y te colocas como cataplasma, te colocas y eso te va a sacar, te va sacando la calentura y de repente se te pierde.

§27: Francesco: Dale, listo ¿Te parece que está bien?

§28: Sr.: Sí.

Name: Tiwa18-4

Place and Date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Usziel De La Fuente (UMSA, La Paz)

§2: Francesco: Lo que me gustaría un poco que me contaras es justo esto ¿Qué le gustaría a usted contar, transmitir a sus nietos, a sus bisnietos? ¿Qué le parece importante que ellos conozcan de acá? lo que ha sido su experiencia...

§3: Sra.: Mmm... Pero las wawas aquí no quieren venir, no le gusta este campo, le gusta la ruina no más (risa), la ruina, vienen a pasear pues, se van.

§4: Francesco: ¿Y qué le contaría...

§5: Sra.: ¿A mis hijos?

§6: Francesco: ... para que...? Porque la cuestión, o sea, mi investigación se trata de que, aparte de las ruinas, también acá, en Huancoyo, hay cosas para ver, para recordar ¿Qué le parece?

§7: Sra.: ¿Allá arriba, no ve?

§8: Francesco: Por ejemplo, cosas, ¿qué cosas?

§9: Sra.: Hay reuniones, para renegar no más voy arriba, están luchando del terreno, están peleando, "que es así", "que tiene que darme a mí" que dice... ay sonseras, yo este terrenito me va a tocar, yo me voy a ir dejando una

gente... Dejaré una gente, me voy, las wawas me llevan... Y ahora el terrenito, van a venir mis hijos, cuando vienen mis hijos, llegarán, se lo venderán a otra gente, así no más... ¿Qué van a...? Porque esta tierra es para trabajar... A quien trabaja la tierra le toca el terreno ¿no ve? Y ahora no pueden quitarme, la gente, facilito también, es mi trabajo de mí, mi sudor me he sacado en ahí, eso digo pues, señor...

§10: La gente no tiene que obligarme, "te vas a venir a este terreno, a este..." ¡No! A quien me gusta, gente, voy a dar no más ¿Por qué tiene que exigirme la gente? ¿Por qué? No quiero que me exijan, no les importa a ellos nada, de sus terrenos que se hagan otra cuenta, de mi terreno otra cuenta, yo digo así... Si pues caballero, yo protesto. Controlan otras gentes, más allá lo que venden, allá lo que crecen... lo que están viviendo... Terreno grande dice, 20 hectareas, 25, 18 hectareas, así viven ellos, de mi es chiquitito... Yo me he criado mis wawas como... aquí no más alquilo las vacas y crío aquí, me ha costado mi sudor, mi pulmón y no puedo dejar así, porque me siento de mi trabajo, eso digo señor.

§11: Francesco: Un poco las memorias, digamos, porque usted siempre vivió en este territorio, es esta tierra, digamos, siempre fue suya, de su familia.

§12: Sra.: En aquí, han nacido los doce en esta casita, en esta casita.

§13: Francesco: ¿Usted nació acá?

§14: Sra.: Yo he nacido en Tiwanaku

§15: Francesco: ¿En Tiwanaku? ¿Pero siempre vivió en aquí?

§16: Sra.: Aquí vivo... Con la reforma ha salido el terreno, con la Reforma Agraria

§17: Francesco: ¿Cuándo ha pasado eso?

§18: Sra.: Eso ha pasado en... Paz Estensoro era... de la gobernación ¿no ve? Paz Estensoro nos ha dado la tierra, no había estas casas antes.

§19: Francesco: ¿Antes cómo era?

§20: Sra.: Tierra vacío, no había casas, peladito era.

§21: Francesco: ¿Y usted dónde vivía?

§22: Sra.: Yo vivía en Tiwanaku, en mi pueblo. Yo me he casado, después nos hemos venido aquí. Yo no conozco a mi madre ni a mi padre, nada, yo soy huérfana, como un perrito me he crecido, por eso no sé... no me han metido al estudio, no me han enseñado, solo que unos... con mi trabajo... cuando ya he crecido, ya he crecido, me han llevado a La Paz he trabajado, de muchacha he andado, ya era jovencita, ya me he casado después con el hombre, ya me ha casado mi madrina, la que me ha bautizado, me ha dado terrenito, esto, en aquí estamos...

nos hemos casado, después aquí el terreno hemos hecho respetar, después con reforma han salido las casas, con Reforma Agraria.

§23: Francesco: Las casas ¿antes no había casas?

§24: Sra.: No había casas, peladito, nada, ni luz, nada, recién está habiendo luz, recién está habiendo televisión, hasta celular, todo ya hay ahora, todo. Ahora ya no hay como antes, ya no se visten, antes hilábamos con qapu (rueca) así, lanita, hilábamos, andando, cargado de mi wawita y pasteando ovejita, pasteando vaquita y nos vendíamos ovejita, nos comprábamos alguito, después ya han crecido las wawas, ya han entrado al estudio, a la escolita, al colegio, al cuartel, ya han ido, ya son gente, ahora ya se han crecido, se han ido, por eso mi hijo ya tiene su, su ala, se ha volado, donde se quedó, donde queda, ahí se ha quedado, ahí tiene sus casas, tiene su familiar, así ya estamos ahora, viejo ya están las wawas, yo también ya soy vieja, ya tengo que morirme no más, quiero morir no más.

§25: Francesco: ¿Y antes de que se muera, digamos... (risas)

§26: Sra.: Antes que me muera...

§27: Francesco: Antes estaba hablando de la crianza, de criar sus hijos, del esfuerzo que hizo para criar a sus hijos y criar esa tierra también.

§28: Sra.: Yo también he hecho respetar, en ahí nos poníamos

vaquitas, ovejitas, vendiendo eso nos dábamos plata, con eso mismo hacer estudiar, a la escuela, al cuartel, ya son gente no más las wawas

§29: Francesco: Entonces usted habla de hacer respetar, ¿cómo... qué significa eso?

§30: Sra.: A la escuela hay que entrar hay que ser directorio, hago respetar yo, mi marido no era así tanto, no le gustaba, “ah qué importa” dice, “qué importa”, “esta casa vamos a hacer”, “esta tu casa, es cárcel para mí, de cemento haces hacer”, “claro vamos a hacer así, ¿por qué no se puede?”, yo antes se estar temblando, “me va a reñir, me va a reñir”, no, ya las wawas al crecer, me ha dicho “hijita, vamos a hacer estas cosas, vamos a hacer trabajar la casa, voy a comprar piedra, voy a comprar, cemento, voy a comprar ladrillo, ya, hacemos hacer una casita bonito”, “ya”, se han crecido las wawas, se han ido, ya no quieren esta casa, se va a caer no más pues ya, ¿quién va a hacer respetar la casa? Eso digo yo, señor, pero ya, ya me he cansado, ahora sí estoy descansando, ya no quiero nada, me quiero morir no más siempre, ya no, ya no. Esta casa tiene su vaca, esta tiene su vaca, está amarrado ahí. Así no más, ya soy vieja, ya no quiero nada, no hay que ser ambiciosa también, más quieren, más... no. El Dios lo que manda nos ha dado... Así no más pues caballero.

§31: Francesco: Entonces, como decíamos antes, que de repente vienen sus hijos solo para ver las ruinas.

§32: Sra.: Vienen pues, “hemos visto mamá, bonito es...”, “está acabado, tanto está destrozado, como pozos...” Sí, mi esposo ha trabajado en la ruina, después que ha muerto mi esposo yo también he trabajado en la ruina, hay que sacar, hay que hacer zaranda, hay que hacer... los turistas vienen hay que hacer... nos saludamos, nos sacan fotos, estamos trabajando, así estábamos antes.

§33: Francesco: ¿Cuándo era eso más o menos? ¿Qué años eran?

§34: Sra.: Ese año era... Antes que ha entrado el Evo, antes que ha entrado el Evo, el Evo recién es presidente pues, el Sánchez de Lozada no sé qué, en esos años hemos trabajado

§35: Francesco: En esos años...

§36: Sra.: Hace hartos años ya...

§37: Francesco: Eso fue antes que... porque hubo la intervención acá de los mallkus

§38: Sra.: La intervención de los mallkus, (**han intervenido**), y ya con el Evo no más ya es esto, el Evo ya estaba presidente, esa vez han (**intervenido**), esa vez la intervención los mallkus...

§39: Francesco: ¿Qué...? ¿Usted recuerda un poco cómo pasó eso?

§40: Sra.: No pues... allá de una no más se lo han entregado, ya

entre todos los mallkus se han parado ya hemos entrado, hasta yo... yo he hecho también mallku, yo también he entrado

§41: Francesco: ¿Usted estaba allá? ¿estaba de autoridad cuando hubo la intervención?

§42: Sra.: De autoridad... Si pues... nos autorizan ¿no ve? Ya pues ¿qué vamos a hacer? De todo lado pues van, este es Huancollo, Kausaya, Achuta, Champi (Chambi), Pillapi, Yalariku, Huaraya, este es Achaca.

§43: Francesco: ¿Y por qué hubo esa intervención? ¿Qué es lo que se pedía?

§44: Sra.: Porque ya la han sacado, ¿por qué le hayan sacado eso? Porque no hacían parecer los trabajos, creo, uno no más se aprovechaba, de eso será pues... Intervención han tomado, ahora los mallkus ya agarran pues ahora, los mallkus trabajan en ahí.

§45: Francesco: Y antes que, nos cruzamos allá que había ese cartel...

§46: Sra.: Ese cartel ya, ese dueño lo ha vendido a la ruina, el terreno... Aquella lakayita ([construcción en ruinas](#)) que está viendo, ese muro, ese muro, esa es la dueña de esa tierra, del esqueleto que está parado ahicitos, eso es, desde ahí es su terreno, se ha muerto, el Pablo Condori se llamaba, se ha muerto, esos, sus tierras, es hasta aquí, si, hasta abajito, ahora hasta más allá es todavía, grave, antes había

tenido, cuando era hacienda, dice, antes, eso no he visto yo.

§47: Francesco: ¿No vio cuando había la hacienda acá, usted no estaba acá?

§48: Sra.: No. Yo esas veces haya sido wawa ¿qué será pues? Wawita haya estado, y tampoco, tampoco no haya nacido ¿qué será? Cuando era jovencita ya he visto esas cosas, el Pablo Condori vivía, hartas ovejas hay que pastear ahicitos, hartas ovejas, esa casa siempre había habido, esa casa, después no había casa. Esta hacienda ha salido del pueblo, en Tiwanaku vivían, ya ha salido la tierra, ya ha salido con, este... el Paz Estensoro ya, que nos ha dado la tierra, ya se han agarrado, ya se han poblado, ya se ha... dirigentes se han nombrado, “vos vas a hacer esto y vos vas a hacer esto” “andaremos del camino”, ya han andado y por eso ya se han hecho casas, ya se han salido del pueblo toditos, del pueblo el terreno se lo han vendido y ahora aquí viven, aquí otro vive, allacito otro vive, más allá otro vive, ya vivimos en campo. Este lugar es radio-urbano, pertenece al pueblo, no pertenece a arriba. Estas gentes por su querer se han ido arriba, “que tienes que hacer esto”, “que tienes que ser mallku”, “que tienes que ser junta escolar”, ya, todo he hecho, junta escolar he hecho, he hecho ganadería, he hecho todo lo que me han obligado, ya he cumplido. Ahora que se termine toda la gente de vuelta acá van a comenzar, hasta

mi muerte será ¿qué será? Eso ya no voy a ver yo, ya no voy a estar viviendo, ya me he de morir, digo yo, yo ya estoy a punto de morir ahorita yo. Así no más pues caballero.

§49: Francesco: Espero que no pues señora.

§50: Sra.: Así no más. Ahora tienes que ir, a otra parte vas a ir ¿no?

§51: Francesco: Sí, pero, bueno, me gustaría un poco, también es algo, digamos, que estoy tratando de entender, porque yo no conozco.

§52: Sra.: ¿Desde cuándo has llegado?

§53: Francesco: Llegué el me pasado, pero eso no da, por ejemplo, acá, bueno, mucha gente me cuenta, de que, por ejemplo, hay forma de respetar la tierra, por ejemplo...

§54: Sra.: La Pachamama

§55: Francesco: La Pachamama, por ejemplo, ofrendando, haciendo wajta ¿verdad? Entonces, quisiera un poco que se quedara grabado para que... ¿qué importancia tiene eso?

§56: Sra.: El presidente cuando ha llegado, el lunes en la mañana ¿qué día ha llegado el presidente aquí?

§57: Francesco: El lunes.

§58: Sra.: 5 de la mañana ha llegado ¿no ve? Del avión, cuando yo me estaba durmiendo en este cuartito (hace sonido) “¿quién está viniendo pues a mi casa?”, me he levantado, he salido, cuando el avión no más estado llegando allá, yo he visto, a la altura he subido, ya estas ruinas, atrás había estado, lleno de gente, lleno de mallkus ¿no ve?

§59: Francesco: Sí, también yo estaba allá.

§60: Sra.: Ah ahí has estado, yo no. Me dice mi hija, “lleno está, mamita, la ruina, mamita ¿por qué no has ido?” me dice, “ay no, está haciendo frío, yo no quiero ir”

§61: Francesco: Bien frío hacía esa mañana.

§62: Sra.: Frío era.

§63: Francesco: Helado estaba

§64: Sra.: Por eso no he venido yo, no puedo parar, frío no sirvo para... los pies me duele.

§65: Francesco: Claro. ¿Entonces qué tiene que ver eso con la wajta? Porque el presidente vino acá para hacer wajta esto, por eso dice.

§66: Sra.: Ha wajtado pues, pero, ha wajtado. Dice que se ha enamorado un juego de... ¿juego de futbol es no? ¿de dónde pues vienen esos autos? Lleno estaba el día domingo he visto yo

§67: Francesco: Sí. Era porque son unos juegos, era la inauguración.

§68: Sra.: Sí, eso ha debido venir a inaugurar

§69: Francesco: Entonces, había toda la gente ahí parada, para eso... deportistas...

§70: Sra.: Los demás no ha avisado, puro dirigentes era ¿no ve?

§71: Francesco: Puro dirigentes...

§72: Sra.: Ahora el alcalde de Tiwanaku no sirve, queremos sacar de rabia...

§73: Francesco: ¿Sí?

§74: Sra.: Sí, es muy ratero es.

§75: Francesco: ¿El alcalde de todo el municipio dice?

§76: Sra.: De Tiwanaku. Nunca no adelanta el pueblo, nunca ha dado

nada... ahí no más está. Ya soy vieja yo, ahí no más siempre he visto...

§77: Francesco: Y, por ejemplo, eso un poco la... porque le decía que yo no... son cuestiones que no puedo, no llego a entender ¿no? ¿Por qué, por ejemplo, es importante pijchar coca?

§78: Sra.: Esto es medicina, cuando nos da hambre, coquita hay que pijchar, cuando no nos da hambre, no también, así... (majchar/mascar), pijchar, pero que siempre hacemos la chacra, siempre coquita adelante... Hay que qojchar a la tierrita también pues, para sembrar la papa, ya para meter, la papa hay que poner, hay que challarse con alcoholcito, con vinito, ya... después la papa da, grandes, así grandes se comen... pero no se come papa, ya nos hace mal, ya no hay qué comer, verduras... está contaminado con toda la cosa, ahora sí que no hay caso de ni fruta, nada, contaminado estamos ya... Con todo fumigan, ya gastan, ya eso ya no sirve, eso hace dar a la gente cáncer, esas cosas ya no hay que hacer, caballero, da rabia, mejor es que esté ahí (...) no hay que poner nada digo yo, ahora este año han cosechado papa hartó, pero la papa cuando me como, acidez me hace arder así, acidez, ya no quiero papa, mejor voy a comer fruta... hasta la fruta está contaminado, está fumigado, cura para que no agusane ¿no ve? Hasta las gallinas, de dos meses ya están pelando, ya están cocinando... esta mi gallina 4 meses, 6 meses ya está aquí, recién está poniendo huevito, a los chiquititos para Todos Santos va a ser, va a poner huevito, de los chiquititos, para Todos Santos... Falta 4, 6 meses... me va a dar huevito, ese huevito voy a comer, me voy a hacer batido, lindo voy a comer (risas).

§79: Francesco: Pero hay que esperar.

§80: Sra.: Eso, hay que esperar, pero tiempito, porque con aire, libre está creciendo, no como los otros, pone su (...) ya hay que carnear, "ya son grandes", de dos meses ya carnean, eso no sirve, no nos da alimento, nos hace enfermar, nos hace dar cáncer, así es, eso no hay que comer, ni la papa hay que comer ya... con los abonos de la vaquita hay que sembrar la papa, este abono, de la ovejita su abono ahí en canchón, pero no tengo ovejita yo, allá su ovejita de la... su casita de la ovejita esa es. Así no más caballero, eso te he contado.

§81: Francesco: Eso de la crianza entonces también. La crianza, también, de los animales

§82: Sra.: Nuestro trabajo eso es rico pues, pero duro, de tiempo... de tiempo hay que hacer cocer, desde la mañana hasta las 12 tiene que estar hirviendo, hay que meter las verduras, zanahorita, nabito, las verduras lo que comemos, todo... pero, esas verduras, está fumigado también... todo... nada está bien desde hace años ya, por eso la gente está bien delicada, yo cuando era joven, no sé sentir nada, yo sé trabajar hartó, yo sé alzar cargas, ahorita ni una canasta no puedo alzar...

§83:

§84: 3.4

§85: Sra.: Así pasa... Yo digo el alma está pasando ¿por qué no se saluda? ¿saludando, qué cosa pues nos pasa? Nada. Buenas tardes, buenos días... se saluda, yo digo esas cosas con, este tiempo es malcriado, de toditas las wawas, hasta mis hijos, tal vez serán mis nietos así... yo le digo a mis nietos "No", "vas a saludar hijito", "señora buenas tardes, buenos

días, se saluda, pasando, o tía o tío buenas tardes, tío buenas tardes, tía buenas tardes, buenos días”, se saluda. Dios asqui churata* antes es, Dios asqui churata, me dice, antes, jumaru kamaraki, dice...

§86: Francesco: Jumaru kamaraki

§87: Sra.: Jumaru kamaraki

§88: Francesco: “¿Cómo está usted?” eso quiere decir.

§89: Sra.: Ukamau (así es) ... ¿Ya aprendiste aymara?

§90: Francesco: Poquito, poquito no más.

§91: Sra.: Este tiempo pueden puro castellano hablar las wawas, los chiquitos puro castellano, ya no hablan aymara. Esta casa, le digo, “por qué haces pasar trabajo pues yo”, callado no más, “¿no tienes oreja?, te estoy hablando”, “no entiendo”, “¿Cómo no

§92: vas a entender? De aymara hay que hablar también, de castellano hay que hablar, de quechua también hay que hablar”, yo les digo a las wawas así.

§93: Francesco: ¿Y qué le diría en aymara a los niños?

§94: Sra.: El niño no puede hablar de aymara, castellano habla, no puede, sus papás, sus mamás enseñarán de castellano ¿qué será? O el profesor haya enseñado.

§95: Francesco: ¿Y por qué es importante, entonces, hablar aymara?

§96: Sra.: Antes siempre de aymara hablábamos, porque nuestra mamá aymara era pues ¿no ve? Mi madrina, también, aymara era, aymara era... pero yendo a La Paz, a mí me han llevado a La Paz desde chiquitita, de sirvienta, de empleada y ahí he aprendido del castellano yo, en La

Paz, ya me he venido jovencita, después yo me he casado aquí, bailaban llamerada, bailaban morenada, bailaban quena quena, todo bailaban... Así no más pues caballero, eso te he contado ahí está, de bailar también, he bailado antes, yo me he casado de 23 años, mi esposo 25 había tenido, nos hemos casado, ya tenemos hijos, familia ya tenemos, yo tengo 12 hijos ahorita, 12, 5 está en el suelo, enterrado, 7 me viven... y me dicen la gente, “tía, estás bien firme tía”, mirando gente estoy firme, pero no sirvo para nada, ni para alzar ni para trabajar, ni para picotear, antes se picotear, se sacar papa, se trabajar, así se trabajar la cebada... se trabaja, no, ahora ya no trabajan así, son flojos la gente, de... De nada quieren ganar, quieren hacerse pagar, no hay fácil tener plata para pagar.

§97: Francesco: ¿Y eso tiene que ver, también, con el hecho de que no se hable aymara?

§98: Sra.: Sí, pues.

§99: Francesco: ¿Y por qué, por ejemplo... o sea, por qué? Digamos la... mi mente, digamos, lo que está pensando, también el idioma, el aymara tiene una conexión con el territorio ¿Verdad?

§100: Sra.: De aymara hablamos pues nosotros, grandes gentes, de aymara... “Nayaj saratwa” ... así nos hablamos, “sarxa...” así no más pues caballero, aquella casa me está mirando, mira... ¿Has subido ahí?

§101: Francesco: No.

§102: Sra.: ¿O haya ido a pasear su oveja? Allá está atenta no más...

§105: No puedo charlar otro más caballero, porque yo tengo que hacerme, tengo que lavar, la pila...

horas no más nos da agua, también
hay que recibir agua...

Name: Tiwa18-5

Place and Date: Tiahuanaco, May 2018

Transcription by Irene Delaveris (UMSA, La Paz)

§2: Francesco: Ya está grabando. Empieza por donde quiera.

§3: A: Eeee... ¡Iniciamos! Lo que es una información de nuestra comunidad, que es Huancollo, y pertenece a la provincia de Ingávi, del departamento de La Paz, Bolivia. Mi nombre es A Patia Paza, uno de los comunitarios de la comunidad de Huancollo, que durante mi juventud dediqué a mi comunidad. Trabajé algo para el desarrollo de la misma comunidad y dejé toda mi juventud en la comunidad. Conociendo su historia, sus orígenes, sus atractivos, su historia más que todo. También, sus sitios arqueológicos. También, sus potenciales en diferentes aspectos que tiene la comunidad.

§4: Primeramente, quiero dar una historia de esta comunidad; Esa comunidad fue una comunidad originaria. Una comunidad que

antes de 1955, 52, 53, mucho más antes fue una comunidad originaria. No estuvo ningún, eeee... nadie estuvo esclavizado, podemos decir. Llega la colonia, la conquista colonial y poco a poco van comprando las tierras, todo el sector de Tiwanaku. Llega a tener un patrón que dominaba desde Pillapi hasta las comunidades de Chuchicani mucho más allá. Entonces, llega Juan Pirua que es el hacendado de la comunidad de Huancollo; se apropia de la comunidad, como, la gente, había una resistencia de los comunitarios, pues, empiezan hacer abandonos. Hay gente que empieza a trabajar a favor del patrón.

§5: Fr: ¿Gente de la misma?

§6: A: De la misma comunidad. Y hay gente que no quiere trabajar, entonces, ¿Cuál es la situación? La situación es que, como tenían mucha fuerza los terratenientes, los coloniales, los colonialistas, empiezan a tomar poco a poco. Empiezan a hacer trabajar muy fuerte, con castigos. Entonces, algunos comunitarios no les gusta ese trabajo y abandonan la comunidad algunos, y algunos los

botan quemando sus casas, quemando sus casas, quitándoles. Entonces, eso es un despojo general. Resultado que continua la reforma agraria, van trabajando para los patrones y algunos comunarios se quedan y algunos se retiran y vienen a la población de Tiwanaku a poblar. La mayor parte de la gente se queda en la zona Sur, acá en el pueblo de Tiwanaku, cerca los sitios arqueológicos tan importante que tiene Tiwanaku.

§7: La parte de la pirámide de Akapana, Mollu Konto, otros sitios arqueológicos, que hoy está, pertenecen a Tiwanaku.

§8: Fr: ¿A Huancollo perteneces?

§9: Ag: A Huancollo, a Huancollo. Eeee, y hay una, una gran casa, una casa donde hacen cerca Tiwanaku, a Puma Punku, una casa de hacienda. Construyen otra casa de hacienda en la comunidad en el cerro de Qupallika. Desde ahí son dominantes. Esclavizan la gente y trabaja. En ese trabajo tan duro, la gente de la comunidad, empieza a, como decía, a abandonar los originarios. Y vienen de otras comunidades a

ayudar a trabajar, a cambio de trabajo en tierra. Bueno, otros comunarios vienen de Chuchicani, Causaya, de Llanarico, de otras comunidades, quienes prestan servicios en la comunidad de Huancollo. Y los comunarios de Huancollo se quedan un poco ocultos en la población de Tiwanaku.

§10: Antes que la Reforma Agraria se dicte, mucho más antes hay una pelea muy fuerte; los comunarios se unen, se reúnen, se juntan y comienzan a hacer un proceso contra el patrón. Un movimiento fuerte, los querían, como habían sido despojados, ellos empiezan a formarse un directorio, comienzan a mover, presentan documentos en contra del patrón. Pero hay otra parte que defiende. El patrón se defiende con otros comunarios que llegaron a Huancollo, los que más trabajaban. El resultado; el proceso va, hay discusiones, hay autoridades, hay secretarios generales, los primeros secretarios generales, comienzan a mover. Hay un movimiento fuerte.

§11: Ag: Ese movimiento lo hacen desde la población de Tiwanaku, para volver a sus tierras de origen.

§12: Fr: ... (no se qué dices) como apoderados

§13: Ag: Como apoderados, si. Y pa' otra parte el patrón también, se prepara. Entonces hay dos frentes en la comunidad, donde las dos frentes siempre entran en debate. Hasta que en el -52 - -53 llega la Reforma Agraria y les nomina, los comunarios se nominan ex - comunarios de la comunidad de Huancollo - ex - colonos de la comunidad de Huancollo. Se dividen en dos grupos.

§14: Fr: Después de la Reforma Agraria

§15: Ag: Después de la Reforma Agraria. Entonces, el secretario general de la comunidad Saturnino Limachi, empiezan a hacer actas y conformación de autoridades. Empiezan a hacer documentación, la titulación de la comunidad. Porque al final lo despiden, se van los patrones, porque la Ley de Reforma Agraria los despide. Eso ha sido una de las ventajas para el otro grupo, de los ex - comunarios originarios del lugar. La ventaja, la

oportunidad que les ha dado el vencimiento hacia los otros comunarios. Entonces, una vez que se va el patrón, los otros, el otro grupo decae un poco ¿No? Los...

§16: Fr: Los que llaman colonos.

§17: Ag: Los colonos. ¿Pero qué pasa con los colonos? A los colonos el patrón les deja el terreno bastantes grandes y amplios, de 30 - 40 hectáreas. Los regala. Pero mientras los otros comunarios de la comunidad, los originarios, llamados ex - comunarios, empieza también a defenderse y en la titulación hay una pugna muy fuerte. Pero también comienzan a tomar sus tierras de origen, las tierras de su nacimiento. ¿No? Donde nacieron ellos. Y incluso, hay una pelea entre colonos - ex-comunarios, porque, porque vuelven a sus lugares de origen. Sin embargo, el patrón los dota de este terreno. ¿Qué pasa en esta parte? La comunidad se divide en dos, decimos; los ex-colonos y ex - comunarios. Empiezan hacer los trámites ante INRA Nacional, con una autoridad de sindicalismo en la época -53, -54, -55, que, según

la historia que cuentan nuestros abuelos, pues, fue muy fuerte. Hasta había un fuerte choque. El otro bando llevaba bandera roja. El otro bando llevaba armamentos. Entonces, era muy fuerte este choque.

§18: Fr: ¿Y donde hubo? ¿O sea, hay un lugar?

§19: Ag: Es la pugna por la documentación, además los originarios quieren despojar a los que entraron con el patrón. La lucha va.

§20: Fr: Hay una lucha de fuerza por los documentos.

§21: Ag: Para la documentación.

§22: Fr: ¿No hubo materialmente una confrontación?

§23: Ag: Por la tierra y tanto por la documentación. Entonces, la pelea es que los colonos tienen más amplios terrenos y los otros quieren recuperar.

§24: Fr: Claro, ¿y los terrenos de los colonos? Me han dicho que era como el río.

§25: Ag: Exacto.

§26: Fr: Partía el río.

§27: Ag: Partía el río.

§28: Fr: Entonces, ¿La parte, digamos, hacía el cerro, el cerro Qupallika era de los ex – colonos?

§29: Ag: Exacto.

§30: Fr: ¿Y la parte de acá, digamos, hacía el pueblo era de los ex – comunarios?

§31: Ag: Ex – comunarios.

§32: Fr: Listo.

§33: Ag: Una mitad, casi todo no. Hay una mezcla un poco, pero habido una pelea, enfrentamiento como te decía, entre familias. Pasa el enfrentamiento y a través del Ministerio Ñuflo Chávez, a través del Ministro de la Presidencia, esa vez, de la época con Paz Estenssoro, se firma un documento, un acuerdo para la titulación. Un acuerdo entre la comunidad, a través del Ministerio de Asuntos Campesinos. Se firma un convenio, un acuerdo, para sacar la documentación.

§34: Fr: ¿Y esa documentación acaso...?

§35: Ag: Esa documentación, si con esa documentación se titula. Ahí consta bien claro en nuestras listas originarias muy antiguas; existen comunarios colonos

dotados por el patrón y ex – comunarios originarios, también ya con titulación. Pero originarios de su lugar de nacimiento.

§36: Fr: Claro.

§37: Ag: Para esto los ex – comunarios de la comunidad, originarios de la comunidad de Huancollo, incluso por el triunfo, por la ganancia que hicieron, con, con lo que estaba el proceso contra el patrón, premian a nuestro Ministro Ñuflo Chávez con una medalla de oro, en agradecimiento al triunfo de sus propiedades. Entonces, ¿Qué queremos decir? Que los comunarios originarios vuelvan a sus tierras gratuitamente sin ningún trabajo, sin hacer ningún trabajo, nada y los colonos se quedan de su sacrificio de trabajo regalados por el patrón. Esto continúa muchos años desde que se titulan y hay armonía, hay acuerdos, haya división de terrenos, ya tienen propiedades. Entonces, va, van adelante. Marcha la comunidad. Continúa entonces la comunidad con sus trabajos agrícolas.

§38: Fr: ¿Cuál es entonces el nombre de la comunidad?

§39: Ag: Se mantiene la comunidad.

§40: Fr: Pero no es comunidad, me decía que era como sindicato antes.

§41: Ag: Se mantiene con el nombre de la comunidad. Huancollo. Pero si hay dos grupos; colonos y ex – comunarios. Hay. Hay. Entonces, cuando hacen autoridades, hacen por colonos, tanto por ex – comunarios. Entonces hay un compartimiento. Hay un entendimiento. Eso marcha hasta las década, más o menos cuando yo llegué a ser autoridad, marca hasta la década - 80, -70, sí, -80, se marca ya.

§42: Fr: ¿Entonces?

§43: Ag: Entonces, ¿Qué pasa? Aparecen trabajos, aparecen obras, hay una unidad educativa. Ya se crea la primera unidad educativa eeee... en la parte de educación un poco, no había enseñanzas durante la colonia, pero ya funda una unidad educativa. Una unidad educativa en la década de 56 – 57 empiezan a formar ya. Pero esto es particular. No es enseñanza por el gobierno, sino es empieza a hacer

particularmente su unidad educativa.

§44: Fr: O sea, miembros de la misma comunidad que voluntariamente pasan clases.

§45: Ag: Pasan clases. Como mucho más antes era prohibido, pero el después, después de la Reforma Agraria empiezan ya también; hay enseñanzas, hay profesores que han enseñado alumnos que ahorita deben tener sus 75 años. ¿No? Que empiezan a enseñar particularmente. Así un poco contribuido con un poco de dinero, pero enseñan, aprenden a leer y escribir. Esos son los primeros alumnos que ahorita deben tener sus 70 a 75 años.

§46: Fr: ¿Y la unidad era esa casa amarilla?

§47: Ag: La casa amarilla, la casa de hacienda. Por un lado, la casa de hacienda era equipado. La casa de hacienda era equipado con muchas cosas, habían, vivían ahí, desde ahí hacían,... Según las historias de los abuelos dice que ordeñaban vacunos, ordeñaban ovinos, los explotaban a ellos, eran pongos de la tierra, los hacían cultiva, habían tractores, había

maquinarias, muchas maquinarias. Que después de irse lo dejó algunas cosas, pero también, como en todas las comunidades, siempre hay una división; los que estaban a favor, los entregaron el patrón, pa' que se lo lleve, ¿No? Entonces, queda muy pocas cosas hasta que se extermina. ¿No? Hasta el propio mayordomo era de una comunidad, Juan Condori. Entonces, esos también se llevan las cosas del patrón. Entonces, se empieza a destruir, ahora, ahora ya no existe, hay poca cosa que existe después de la época colonial.

§48: Entonces, el sindicalismo marcha y tenemos una gran obra. Conseguimos un proyecto grande en la década -80 por ejemplo, yo era Secretario General de la comunidad de Huancollo, empezando una obra de un hospital de medicina natural en la comunidad. Vuelve a dividirse. Vuelve a dividirse, porque, porque no les gusta trabajar a los que no quieren ser pongos. Ya tenían la costumbre no ser esclavos de la gente, no quieren trabajar. Entonces, se divide la comunidad,

nuevamente y la época -80, década -80. Entonces, se divide con la sub-junta de vecinos de la comunidad Huancollo, frente al Secretario General Huancollo.

§49: Fr: ¿Y la sub-junta es?

§50: Ag: La sub-junta es, es, se refiere a como si fuera urbano, radio urbano. Los fundadores son grandes personajes, que vivían en la ciudad. Personajes que tienen mucha importancia en la comunidad, que son... que eran también fuertes para la lucha entre más antes ¿No? Como había una división. Resultando que mi persona como autoridad lleva el proceso adelante y es cuando encontré y es cuando descubrí de que la comunidad verdaderamente tenía una gran historia. Una gran historia sobre todo lo que pasó, toda la lucha que hicieron, cómo documentaron, cómo presentaron sus solicitudes, qué les presentaron, porqué presentaron, porqué era la situación de la lucha. Entonces, porqué la condecoración. Entonces, creo que hubiesen ganado al proceso, el proceso los ex – comunarios, lamentablemente, pero, le cayó la Reforma. Entonces, yo haciendo la

historia, preguntando a todos los abuelos que ya no existen, yo encontré o traté de encontrar el acuerdo firmado. El acuerdo firmado entre la comunidad para conseguir las tierras con la carrera del sindicalismo uniéndose. Yo, yo... a los líderes de la sub-junta de vecinos, les dije: “¿a ver, donde está el acuerdo? ¿Por qué no estamos respetando el acuerdo?”

§51: Fr: ¿Pero ese acuerdo, físicamente lo tenían?

§52: Ag: Físicamente yo no he podido encontrar. Lamentablemente, el libro de actas lo perdieron en un congreso, un congreso nacional y no pude encontrar, Pero, sí he encontrado varios documentos de, de lucha entre la comunidad, contra el patrón y la lucha contra las dos comunidades. Por eso, tenía un expediente de tres cuerpos la comunidad de Huancollo, tres documentos, buen proceso seguido contra el patrón, contra comunarios y la titulación; todo un documento grande. Esa es la que se conoce, hasta ahora y se respeta. Poco a poco, viene, ahora ya viene a cambiar lo que es, tal vez, un poco originario.

§53: Bueno aparte de eso, de lo que he encontrado la historia, un poco de la comunidad que estamos viendo un poco la historia; el nombre de la comunidad – Huancollo. Hay dos versiones: Uno puede ser el Guanocollo, o un montón de abono. O puede ser Huancoullu, posiblemente había unos lugares donde criaban conejillos pequeños. Puede ser uno de esos dos.

§54: Fr: ¿Este nombre existía también antes que llegaste a la hacienda?

§55: Ag: Si, había.

§56: Fr: ¿Se conocía?

§57: Ag: Si, se conocía bastante.

§58: Fr: Eso, como Huancollo digamos

§59: Ag: Guanocollo o Huanullu, así que uno de los dos tiene que ser el origen de la comunidad. Ahora en su historia, hasta ahorita, ya es originario. Se comienza hacer trámites. Por qué hay documentación que antes tuvieron con la reforma agraria un título de dotación y de ex – comunarios con títulos diferentes. Tal vez, de razón de que a

nosotros nos preocupa, y ya que la mayor parte de nuestros padres se mueren, ya no son propietarios, ya no tenemos títulos. Entonces, de tal razón, que nosotros promovemos a que tengamos la documentación ya diferente. A partir del, nuevamente hicimos un trámite con INRA, y nos titulamos nuevamente ahora. Sin trámite. Ya en la década de los 80 o 90, ya, empezamos hacer el trámite. Pero, ¿cuántas comunidades hacemos estos trámites? Ocho comunidades de la jurisdicción de Tiwanaku y empezamos ya ser originarios. Títulos a nivel originario ya. Desde esa época, ahorita ya cambiamos el nombre ya con diferente participación. Cómo es el sindicalismo se queda...

§60: Fr: Ya, ¿cuándo se dio el cambio de nombre de sindicalismo? Si me puedes decir exactamente ¿qué quieres decir con sindicalismo? O sea, toda esta etapa anterior, para dejarlo claro.

§61: Ag: Bueno, la etapa anterior del sindicalismo, termina cuando ya cambiamos los nombres a títulos “originario”. ¿No? Se actualiza, ya de acuerdo a

nuestras leyes del país y hicimos un trámite en lo que es el INRA nacional, para que tengamos ya los títulos, títulos originarios. Hay muchos cambios en esa parte porque, realmente, eso de titulación ya no existe eso de “ex – comunarios colonos – ex – comunarios originarios”. Ya no existe, ¿no? Ya está unido en un solo, un solo grupo. Es una titulación originaria, de acuerdo a los,...Ya hay cambios de nombres; ya no están los papás y no están más los hijos y algunas ventas de terrenos y todo. Ya está actualizado. A partir de esto ya somos originarios. Ya no, ya no hay tanto, como en el principio había esta, esta división de ex – comunarios y colonos.

§62: Fr: Mmmm...

§63: Ag: Pero si en algunas veces, siempre algunas actividades sociales, algo, o alguna repartición que teníamos, ... tenemos una lista general que llevamos y se está cumpliendo aun todavía. Un acuerdo bien ya mutuo, ya no hay esa división, si ya es una autoridad originaria. Desde punto de vista ya son autoridades originarias también, ¿no? Ya no es

comunidad Huancollo, sino ya es ayllu originario Huancollo. Entonces, el título, la titulación de los documentos ya dice ayllu originario Huancollo. Entonces empieza a cambiar los sellos.

§64: Fr: Mmmm...

§65: Ag: ¿No? Ya es una comunidad que ya tiene sus autoridades. Ya no es solo, ya es *Chacawarmi*. Chachawarmi ya es autoridades que trabajan para la comunidad. Como las leyes de participación popular también hay apoyo, los trámites se hacen un poco más, ya se aumentan algunos proyectos. Entonces se movilizan. Ya no como antes, porque mucho más antes era muy burocrático el trámite en nuestro país. Ir hacer trámites en el Ministerio de Educación, otros ministerios deberías ir días para hacer algo para tu comunidad. Pero ahora con la ley de participación popular, ya no es tanto así. Sino ya hay un monto de dinero designado para la comunidad donde se empieza hacer obras. Como para la Unidad Educativa que formaliza, que ya tiene su ítem. Pues, después de la creación del primer Hospital de

Medicina Natural en la década de los ochentas, -83, cuando creamos y fundamos nuestro primer hospital de medicina natural. También, tiene su historia grande, que, que en realidad nos cuesta mucha, mucha, mucha, mucha, mucha, mucha lucha también. Hay gente que quiere trabajar. Hay gente que no te quiere trabajar. Por eso, en la, en la década, yo contaba como autoridad, no quisieron trabajar algunos, algunos quisieron trabajar, entonces, hay una, hay una parte que se queda que los que trabajan tienen su mano de obra en el hospital y los que no trabajan no tienen su mano de obra. E incluso se logra conseguir una personería jurídica, que son socios de Centro de Promoción Naturlógico Huancollo. El nombre del hospital no pues podemos lograr, porque no es posible. Debíamos tener médicos profesionales naturistas.

§66: Fr: Claro, no lo puedes llamarlo hospital.

§67: Ag: No permite la ley. Por eso se cambia el nombre a Centro de Promoción Naturlógico Huancollo. Entonces, este funciona. Trabajamos mucho tiempo.

Avanzamos. Levantamos la medicina natural y tradicional. Incluso hay hermanos que están, que trabajaron mucho. Son naturistas empíricos, pero sin profesión. Y después se logra capacitar gente. Se manda a los jóvenes. Nosotros trabajamos el hospital, hicimos de albañil, hicimos de secretario, hicimos de todo ¿no? para que esto vaya adelante. Incluso invitamos a muchos profesionales, quienes también abren el campo para que continúe este hospital. Ha funcionado, ha hecho servicios de atención. Incluso tuvimos un extranjero desde Holanda para que nos ayude en la parte científica. Entonces se coordina en la parte científica – natural. Es un trabajo muy sacrificado, pero la comunidad demuestra que, en Bolivia, en nuestro país, existe un hospital de medicina natural. Y decae un poco, porque también van decayendo. Ese mucho depende del financiamiento también. Tuvimos un financiamiento de IAF de FIA, que nos apoyó bastante en esa parte, pero también esa parte siempre debería estar.

§68: Fr: ¿Qué parte? ¿Perdón?

§69: Ag: IAFFIA (corrección "CAF" Banco Interamericano de desarrollo) es, Fundación Interamericano de desarrollo, quien apoya a este proyecto grande que se realizó en la comunidad de Huancollo. Entonces, hay una infraestructura, hay, se hace un buen servicio de salud. Y como la gente confiaba en la medicina; muy bien, nosotros aprendemos también mucho y conocemos las plantas medicinales, hicimos curaciones, hicimos atención de servicios. Marcha bien. Pero lamentablemente, eehh... después de acabado el financiamiento, decae. No, ya no hay un poco de avance, pero si hay gente que se ha capacitado para que pueda aprender sobre la medicina natural. Y incluso ahora mismo tenemos naturistas ya jóvenes que ya han aprendido sobre plantas medicinales. ¿No? El que habla también conoce las plantas medicinales bastante, pero no nos trabajado esa parte. Más en la parte turística, arqueológica, esos aspectos, pero si hemos apoyado bastante en lo que es

nuestra salud en la medicina natural. ¿No?

§70: Fr: Y Usted que se encontraba en esa época como autoridad de la comunidad.

§71: Ag: Claro, aparte de ser autoridad, también he apoyado como promotor.

§72: Fr: Claro, y ¿qué fue digamos eehhh...quién, eehhh.. el que empujó la realización de este proyecto? ¿Porqué en Huancollo, desde la comunidad surgió el interés para que se promoviera la medicina tradicional?

§73: Ag: Bueno, está promovida de unos hermanos de la comunidad de Guaraya; Rufino Paxi, y de nuestra comunidad Simón Quispe Flores, quienes eran promotores culturales de Tiwanaku. Yo también estuve en esa parte, en la: promotor cultural de Tiwanaku. Donde hacíamos mucha ayuda a las comunidades, incluso en la parte de alfabetización. Entonces, cuando estábamos alfabetizando a los de la jurisdicción de Tiwanaku, nos pareció mal enseñar otras cosas que enseñar nuestras cosas. Por eso dividimos en varios grupos.

Algunos promotores nos vamos como promotores culturales. Nos vamos a la educación. Otros se dedican hacer agropecuaria. Otros se dedican hacer la medicina natural. ¿No? Otros de la formación de mujeres. Entonces, eso nos lleva y uno de estos hermanos; Simón Quispe Flores, se anima hacer, este señor llamado Rufino Paxi, hace un encuentro nacional, un encuentro de naturistas en su comunidad. Ahí empiezan a fundar. Ahí empiezan a tomar el interés. Entonces Simón Quispe dice: "yo quiero hacer en mi comunidad. Trae el proyecto y se hace; cursos de capacitación, se hace encuentros, se hace diálogos y se empieza a incentivar. Entonces, la comunidad también quería activar y apoya. Hay apoyo. Hay minorías la que se dividen, la que no quiere trabajar. Porque cuando se empieza una obra grande, el trabajo los obliga, que no quieren trabajar. Pero sí se trabaja. Pero sí se logra hacer el hospital. Esa, eso lo que cuesta nuevamente la división en la comunidad. Pero si se trabaja, se realiza, y logra hacer el primer hospital. Tal vez, el nombre no hospital, pero después se nombre

el Centro de Educación y Promoción Naturología de Huancollo. Y ahora se ha trabajado con muchos jóvenes, se ha trabajado ahora con mucha gente. Incluso se ha hecho curaciones. Hay promoción. Hay capacitación. Hay todo. Hay encuentros. Hay varios, varias personas que pasaron por el hospital, por el Centro, son capacitados y ahí trabajan ahortita, en diferentes instituciones. Especialmente, en los diferentes, emm... como naturistas médicos, como Walter Álvarez, viene, apoyan. Ellos son de Curva Chajaya, entonces hay integración y apoyo de todo lado. Entonces ha trabajado bastante esa parte de medicina tradicional o medicina natural que llamamos ahora. Conociendo plantas medicinales, todo eso. Se logra conocer, se viaja a muchos lugares, a incentivar, a charlar. Se hace buena actividad ¿No? Y ahora mismo vuelve a trabajar todavía. Entonces, eso es una parte de lo que es la historia de la medicina.

§74: Fr: Mmm... Claro, y justamente por eso te estaba preguntando; ¿Qué importancia

tiene esas prácticas, llamémoslas tradicionales, como; la medicina, el conocimiento de las plantas, pero también, eee... quería referirme también, a toda la parte de música, digamos, de tradiciones, de prácticas agrícolas también? ¿Qué importancia tiene digamos para la continuidad, digamos, de la, de la comunidad, en cuento comunidad?

§75: Ag: Eee..., bueno, esa parte es bien claro lo que se conserva, lo que se preserva y lo que se practica es muy interesante. Porque se llega hacer en realidad la práctica con la planta. Se hace conocer nuevamente que las plantas medicinales son útiles para nosotros. ¿No? Y además, la religión, la religión empieza desde la comunidad, para el 21 de junio a Tiwanaku. Los primeros inicios del 21 de junio, del año nuevo andino amazónico, como lo llaman ahora, se empieza desde la comunidad de Huancollo, a la ofrenda a la Madre Tierra.

§76: Fr: ¿Y dónde se realizaba eso?

§77: Ag: Donde se ha realizado el primer ofrenda. Se peregrina a

Tiwanaku desde la comunidad e Huancollo.

§78: Fr: Ahh... ¿pero siempre a Tiwanaku se peregrinaba?

§79: Ag: Se empieza en la comunidad en nuestro cerro sagrado que es Qupallika, después en la ofrenda; la licencia en el hospital y se peregrina a pie a Tiwanaku al Templo de Kalasasaya, para recibir los primeros rayos del sol. Ese es uno de los más fuertes inicios de lo que es la comunidad. Eso se empieza a practicarse y llegan diferentes comunidades, aaa... se promocionan a turistas, o sea; se da valor.

§80: Fr: ¿Y cuándo llegó a practicarse eso? ¿O siempre se hizo?

§81: Ag: Siempre se ha practicado. Siempre se ha practicado. Muchos años se ha practicado, mucho, mucho. Siempre la medicina ha sido importante para la gente de todo Bolivia, de todo que ha sido Tiwanaku. Pero no lo han plasmado en actividad. El hospital plasma en actividad, practican, hacen conocer plantas curativas, esta planta es tanto. Y empiezan,

también, la religión, porque la religión acompaña a la medicina. Hay muchos secretos y cosas que cura. Que hoy en día... Que en esa época no había una ley. No había una valoración. Más bien, es criticado, a lo contrario, no lo dicen la medicina, sino le dicen, le tratan de brujos, le tratan de no son reales. Y sin embargo, el mundo aymara, el mundo quechua, seguían practicando, tanto la religión como la medicina. Entonces, ese valor que le da el hospital se difunde a todo el país y hasta el mundo, para que sepan que nosotros somos los primeros iniciadores en la historia de una planta medicinal. La comunidad empieza a tener su historia que difunde sobre la medicina. Y ahora mismos se va. Ahora con nuestras leyes se practica y mucho más confianza ya hay. Esas veces no había. Pero un primer Centro de Educación y Promoción Naturologo de Huancollo es un centro de conservación, preservación, conocimientos de plantas medicinales. Una de sus historias muy importantes es eso. ¿No? En cuanto la historia más importante, a veces, es crear la primer escuela. ¿No? Aahh.. que

ha tenido ¿No? Muy importante. La mejor historia es que la comunidad esta lucha, no contra los patrones. Ha sido un movimiento muy fuerte. Es por eso que han decorado, condecorado al ministro por el triunfo que han hecho, como comunidad. Y aparte de eso, bueno, geográficamente, vamos ir hablando otro día vamos informar qué cosas tiene, qué importancias, cuantos cerros tiene qué importantes son sus cerros. Más o menos la historia es hasta ahí. Una historia muy, muy relevante. Incluso para la documentación del saneamiento de la nueva originalidad, también se empieza a trabajar. La comunidad también es pionero este saneamiento de tierras para ser originarios, junto con las ocho comunidades que se ha hecho. ¿No? Entonces, es también pionero en esta parte del historial de la comunidad. Bueno, después tienes música, tienes danza, tienes sus sitios arqueológicos que lo vamos a ir narrando poco a poco, la parte patrimonial, la parte arqueológico. Y después contaremos las leyendas, danzas, músicas, alimentación; eso vamos a ir poco a poco plasmandole en la

grabación que vamos tener. También va a ir confirmando otros hermanos que conocen. Como va a ver varias entrevistas, va a ir comparando cual, cómo es en la historia de la comunidad. Quién un poco más sabe y quién no sabe o se han olvidado. Vamos a ver en el próximo grabación vamos apareciendo nuevamente para informar que va ser el siguiente paso. Pero damos la historia de la comunidad. Ese, ese es, una parte. Tal vez nos hemos olvidado algo, vamos a complementar.

§82: Fr: Muchisimas gracias.

Name: Tiwa18-6

Place and date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Agustina Ponce (IAM Tucumán)

§8: F: [...] estos acontecimientos que siguieron, entonces un poco ¿desde dónde se originó la reivindicación y qué pasos se dieron para eso?

§9:

§10: A: Bueno, lo que se ha visto en el municipio de Tiwanaku que tenemos nuestros antepasados acá en Tiwanaku de nuestros ancestros, entonces como tenemos de nuestros ancestros tenemos una parte que nos tocaba al municipio de Tiwanaku a veintitrés comunidades, que en el año 2000 yo era el *Mallko Cantonar* de Tiwanaku y entonces viendo todos los ingresos de las ruinas, nos proporcionaba un 15% a las autoridades originarias, a las 23 comunidades. Y había una deuda de mas de 150.000 -si no me equivoco- bolivianos que nos debía de unos tres o cuatro años, esa vez era en dinar. Entonces por

ese motivo, como Mallko Cantonar yo fui con mi director allá a la Paz para exigirle que nos deposite a nuestra cuenta para hacer la distribución a las diferentes comunidades que siempre se realiza con ese dinero algunas obras. No son grandes, como es un monto pequeño.

§11: De ese modo, que hemos ido exigiendo y exigiendo, no han podido depositar. Entonces, como no han podido depositar, ha habido, pues, ideas que aportar, cambiarlo, porque nunca ha mejorado hasta el momento las ruinas de Tiwanaku, es totalmente abandonado. Mas lo exprimen, más lo que sacan la plata, pero no hay... ¿cómo decir?... no hay la conservación en este Tiwanaku.

§12: Entonces de ese modo, nosotros hemos dicho que el gobierno municipal puede administrar, entonces nosotros podemos hacer una toma pacífica todas las autoridades originarias. Entonces de ese modo, hablamos con el alcalde, con el presidente del Consejo, que era el alcalde el Sr. Tito Flores y el presidente del Concejo era Lino Condori en esa gestión. Entonces nos reunimos y

bueno, pues, ellos también nos apoyaron. Y entonces de ese modo se ha hecho la intervención, en 6, si no me equivoco, el 6 de Agosto. Entonces era la intervención pacífica a horas 17.30 o 17, que en ese momento con una marcha lo intervenimos, lo tomamos las ruinas de Tiwanaku, lo decimos a los funcionarios que nosotros estamos tomando las ruinas de Tiwanaku por una deuda. Entonces de ese modo hemos intervenido para mejorarlo.

§13: Después de la intervención ha habido reuniones con viceministros, con tales, pero no han querido cedernos la deuda. De ese modo, hemos ya, la alcaldía saca boletos, todo estaba a nuestro... a la *administración* del gobierno municipal de Tiwanaku.

§14: Hicimos un plan de maestro para diez años que puede ir mejorando las ruinas de Tiwanaku. ¿Cómo era ese plan de maestro? El plan de maestro era en primer lugar mejorar las ruinas de Tiwanaku, destinar por lo menos un 70%, hacer toda la conservación que existe en los sitios arqueológicos. Con ese objetivo se ha hecho el plan de

maestro, por lo menos hacer tres años. De tres años, cambiarlo por lo menos a reducir ese... lo que está mejorando las ruinas y distribuir a las comunidades por lo menos unos 40 %. No a las comunidades todavía, mejorar el pueblo de Tiwanaku: sus calles, sus muros, como ancestralmente se ha hecho con adobes, con tierra; era mejorar, destinar 40%. Pasa sus tres años... sus tres años... y recién a las comunidades destinarlo. Entonces con ese objetivo se ha intervenido estas ruinas de Tiwanaku.

§15: Entonces como la autoridad originaria es apenas una gestión, entonces y no se ha podido ir más avanzando porque ya llegó el final de mi gestión y vamos cambiando con otras autoridades que le toca como autoridad originaria. Entonces de ese modo, que ya con tiempo venidero, ya le han hecho volver al estado.

§16: Esa es la intervención de Tiwanaku, que yo conozco ni bien los usos y costumbres, las normas que se proceden como autoridades originarias. Entonces hay mucha gente que no conoce, hay veces que no cumplen

entonces, como la *concesión* política del estado nos favorece a las autoridades originarias campesinos, entonces bajo las cuales es favorable a veces, conocerlo y vivir, como dice la *constitución* política de estado: uno, su propiedad, debe mantener con la función social y la función económica. Entonces yo cumplo eso, aunque vivo allá en el alto, pero yo cumplo acá.

§17: Yo empiezo, lo primero que he empezado, es en la comunidad, un dirigente que empieza a atizar el fuego, recién va asumiendo los cargos, esos son los usos y costumbres. Pero en estos últimos tiempos ya pierde eso, ya están perdiendo las normas, que cualquier persona que llega a la lista dice “bueno, le toca a tal”, le toca pero sin conocer, por eso hay fracaso en las comunidades.

§18: Si uno siguiera de nuestros abuelos bajo sus costumbres qué tal sería el pueblo indígena ir mejorando, y también es necesario conocer nuestras normas, la constitución política del estado que debemos ir conociendo y cómo debemos proceder: hay veces nos metemos en partes judiciales, en

parte penal, en parte civil, a veces nos metemos... nos pasamos... ¿no? entonces eso también hay que normarlo.

§19: Y hay veces que falta mucho acá capacitarnos los pueblos indígenas. Entonces eso ha sido de mí desde que he empezado mis cargos, llegué a ese cargo. Entonces con ese cargo también llegué a trabajar en el tribunal constitucional plurinacional en Sucre en 2017. Es decir, el Jefe de Justicia Indígena Originaria Campesina, que lo conociendo más en otros departamentos que más le conocen en las partes... pueblos indígenas que conocen bien las normas, las leyes. Entonces yo con la experiencia que he ido conociendo también voy compartiendo con otros mis... mis comunarios, que acá hay otra persona, siempre comparto que así debemos ser los pueblos indígenas.

§20:

§21: F: Muchísimas gracias!

§22:

§23: A: sí...esta bien?

§24:

§25: F: sí... si quiere, la costumbre de la entrevista siempre dice que al final el entrevistador pide si hay alguna cosa que quiera añadir o corregir. Entonces se lo pido, si quiere añadir alguna cosa o corregir... o si está bien...

§26:

§27: A: sí, sí. Eso es todo... Lo que tal vez me olvidaba, pero si hay alguna pregunta me quisieras, puedo responderlo si puedo...

§28: F: Bueno, la pregunta que le haría un poco sería qué opina ahora, me pareció entender que no está muy satisfecho con la dirección actual del sitio...

§29:

§30: A: Sí, en realidad, yo personalmente no estoy satisfecho viendo nuestros antepasados, todo se está acabando. En vez de estar mejorando las ruinas de Tiwanaku, aquí todos los sitios arqueológicos, están metiendo más funcionarios que hacer la conservación. Según comentarios que he escuchado "hay conservadores". No hay cuando conserven... y creo que han llegado los especialistas, pero yo no veo ninguna conservación. Y

posteriormente que va a ir acabando nuestros sitios ¿de dónde podemos recibir nuestros ingresos que, ahora 30%, están destinando a las comunidades originarias, se va a acabar, no va a haber ese ingreso. Es como dicen... si se acabaría *un gas en Chuquisaca*, ya no hay regalías. Entonces la misma cosa puede pasar. Entonces para conservar eso hay que ir mejorando mucho. Pero primero lo que yo diría, diría buena conservación, diría de ver buena conservación y recién podemos ya hablarlo, podemos destinar para provecho a las comunidades, tanto al pueblo. Entonces no estoy de acuerdo ni estoy satisfecho por que de que el dinero se extienda en otras cosas en vez de conservar nuestras ruinas de Tiwanaku.

§31:

§32: F: Dale. Y bueno... aprovecho otra cosita... porque, bueno, el trabajo que estoy haciendo ahora tiene que ver justamente como le decía de ese trabajo anterior que hice allá. Que me pareció entender, como me estaba explicando ahorita, ¿no?, que en realidad es algo simplemente para

exprimir ese sitio, pero falta como una identificación. Entonces el trabajo que estoy haciendo ahora también tiene que ver con eso. Porque mi idea es que después de esa anterior investigación fue la que esas políticas de conservación que se estaban actuando, en realidad no tenían una base. O sea, no tenían una base en lo que eran prácticas de cuidado con las cuales se pudieran identificar las comunidades originarias. Entonces, si me he explicado bien en eso y me pudiera, un poco, dar su opinión sobre tratar, digamos, de integrar prácticas de conservación, de cuidado a nivel comunitario con la conservación del sitio principal. ¿Cuáles serían según usted esas prácticas del cuidado del territorio y lo que se podrían llamar patrimonios de la comunidad? Por eso voy siempre preguntando a la gente qué lugares importantes hay acá, para tratar de buscar esa relación que existe, porque el patrimonio no es algo impuesto...

§33:

§34: A: claro

§35:

§36: F: sino que es algo que forma parte del propio ser humano, todo tiene patrimonio, todos los pueblos tienen patrimonio, todas las comunidades tienen patrimonio. Entonces, ¿qué sería según ustedes, lugares y prácticas que ayudarían en hacer entender que la conservación es algo -es una palabra muy de moda, pero ...- intercultural, digamos, ¿no?...

§37:

§38: A: sí. Bueno, hablando de "conservación", como tu dices, acá no solamente de los sitios arqueológicos, de las ruinas... como usted dice, acá alrededor de Tiwanaku tiene, pues, varias *leyendas*, aquí mismo en la comunidad, hablando de medicina tradicional que la gente mayoría de la comunidad se han promocionado sobre la medicina tradicional. Hablando de nuestras hierbas, de nuestros antepasados, de nuestros -ehm... se me fue el nombre de los Yatiris...-

§39:

§40: F: Amautas

§41:

§42: A: Amautas... entonces también de eso también se puede vivir, son como sitios arqueológicos. Acá también mucha gente tiene su actividad de los tallados, de los monolitos, de los tejidos, pero nadie no piensa en la promoción en eso. Por lo menos decirle a usted “ya estas en tercera edad, déjanos saber, capacítanos...” cómo podemos - como usted dice- no solamente vivir de las ruinas sino también podemos vivir en las comunidades con lo que tenemos. Entonces yo quisiera que, acá hay varias personas, y bajar sus *leyendas*, hacernos capacitar, aprender en *la cosa*, hay muchas señoras que tejen, tejían a pulso antes. Y esas ropas son los pues legítimos para frío, como para frío, pero ahora somos sintetizadas, ya no está hecho así. Entonces todo eso deberíamos ir rescatando, pero acá el gobierno central no piensan en eso, ni el municipio central no piensan en esa promoción.

§43: Yo mas bien diría, diferentes comunidades tienen sitios arqueológicos, allá donde hay blanco hay arriba hay [...] que hemos promocionado algunas

montañas, cómo los turistas pueden ir ahí, aquí hay uno para hacer rituales, este cerro pequeño, también se puede ir. Pero hay que ir conservando, hay que ir promocionando y posteriormente así podemos tener mayores ingresos.

§44: Entonces no hay acá, no hay eso para la mejora y yo digo que no va a haber, porque hay jóvenes q están entrando en la parte de *administración* y ellos van olvidando. Como usted acá viene a por lo menos a investigar, pero no tenemos la gente de eso. La gente mayormente nuestros, yo creo que llevamos a otro camino que mayormente estudian otras carreras, ya médicos, con derecho, en ese caso, porque acá no hay casi para vivir de ese modo. La gente ya no existe mucho mucho, han migrado a las ciudades.

§45:

§46: F: bueno... le agradezco mucho por su tiempo.

§47:

§48: A: ¿Francisco, no? si no me equivoco.

§49:

§50: F: si

§51:

§52: A: y a ver si le proporciono una fotocopia del plan maestro, en otra reunión sería. Se lo puedo traer para que pueda idear más cómo está hecho, por etapas.

§53:

§54: F: claro, ¿eso es lo que se hizo para la UNESCO o no? ¿o es otro?

§55:

§56: A: es otro. Claro, se ha hecho para el municipio. El municipio le hemos presentado al Ministerio de Cultura lo hemos presentado ese plan maestro. Lo presentamos pero solo han archivado, nadie lo ha tomado en cuenta.

§57:

§58: F: Claro.. en realidad eso me estaba olvidando... ¿ha tenido alguna importancia el hecho de que en el mismo año, 2000, se haya declarado Patrimonio de la Humanidad?

§59:

§60: A: Sí, sí, ha tenido mucha importancia, pero sobre la administración el gobierno central no nos ha podido dejarlo fácil. No nos ha facilitado porque ellos dicen "siempre tiene que estar gobernado por el gobierno central". Entonces han metido a la gobernación, Ministerio de Cultura y Ministerio de Educación y a las autoridades originarias y el municipio de Tiwanaku. Entonces hasta el momento están manejando *cinco, pues*, que están formando una comisión. Entonces el gobierno central siempre no nos quiere dejarlo. Es que también pasa, hay veces por la malversación no somos iguales las personas. Hay uno que tiene buen objetivo, pero hay otros que tienen malas intenciones de malversar los fondos seguramente de ese motivo debe ser que no nos facilitan fácil administrarlo. Entonces eso ha sido el motivo que... lindo hubiera sido que aquí administraría el gobierno municipal nuestro sitio. Lindo hubiera sido y conseguir provisionales por lo menos. Porque de esa época hemos conseguido becas para arqueólogos. Del momento que está Julio Condori y nosotros como

autoridades originarias le hemos
becado a Julio Condori y el otro....

§61:

§62: F: sí, me estuvo
comentando...

§63:

§64: A: Sí, ellos eran jóvenes
entonces. Como te irás a imaginar,
yo he autorizado para que
estudien con becas los
arqueólogos, antropólogos, todo
eso....

§65:

§66: F: claro, para que se formen
siempre desde acá.

§67:

§68: A: para que se formen y
administren nuestro pueblo, así.
Eso ha sido el objetivo, pero no
hemos podido llegar. No hay otra
persona que tenga con esa misma
idea, no?... Así que...

§69:

§70: F: Bueno, gracias Don
Alejandro.

§71:

§72: A: ya.

Name: Tiwa18-7

Place and Date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Agustina Ponce (IAM, Tucumán)

§3: F: ya, cuando usted quiera, señora, entonces...

§5: V: ya, ya. Yo le quiero comentar... eh... señor Francisco que esto que yo... que sé, mi padre... finado ha sido uno comunarios, comunario. Entonces, esta comunidad había sido en dos, más antes había sido comunario, comunidad Wancollo originario y pero después un patrón había llegado para comprarle unos cuantos personas, se había adueñado la tierra de Wancollo, la comunidad.

§6: Entonces, el... este presidente constitucional Víctor Paz Estenssoro había llegado entonces, el patrón se escapó y de otras comunidades... otros... de otra comunidad del... del lado habían venido a trabajar como de *kaosaya*, de *chuchicani*, de *kalullu*, así de otros lados a trabajar para el patrón.

§7: Entonces este es como un adiós del lugar, no habían querido trabajar para el patrón, no querían vendérselo su tierra, entonces de eso ya les había botao' el patrón. Y luego... cuando se ha escapado, Paz Estenssoro -presidente- llegó, ha ganado, entonces se había escapado el patrón y los común... los trabajadores se habían quedado lo que trabajaban para el

patrón a esta misma comunidad. Entonces Eh.... Mi padre y otros comunarios ya habían vuelto a Wancollo, como se ha escapado el patrón, y habían hecho sus herederos, sus documentos habían... de sus padres, de sus antepasados. Con eso ya han entrado, entonces.

§8: Esta comunidad estaba en partido en dos, entonces tenían *peleado* con mi padre con el otro lado, porque querían sacar a los trabajadores al otro lado: que se vayan a su lugar porque los dueños de esos lugares han llegado, pero no, tampoco no se ha podido. Entonces se han quedao' asentado esos comunarios que están en mitad en Wancollo de otro lado.

§9: Entonces cuando mi hermano -han pasaron años- mi hermano ha sido un saneamiento común, Leonardo *Laorá*, entonces, para eso ya se han unificado bien la comunidad, más antes siempre así, claro, estaban bien, pero siempre tenían eso de otro lado, otro también, así... miramientos había. Pero después cuando se ha hecho un saneamiento común, y es uno nomás Wancollo. Así es, señor Francisco, lo que puedo comentar desde que yo he... he sido niña había estado siempre así, como rencor con el otro lado, pero después, ya están ahora uno nomás. Eso es lo que puedo comentarle.

§11: F: entonces, voy a hacer una preguntita sobre eso, ¿no? porque

me parece interesante cómo se haya unificado la comunidad. A parte de los documentos, de la parte, digamos, más legal ...

§13: V: ya...

§15: F: ...¿no?, también antes me estaba comentando que se trató también de relaciones como de gente de un lado que se casaba con gente de otro lado, por ejemplo...

§17: V: sí sí sí.

§19: F: o...

§21: V: sí, de este lado como estaban el... de este lado "ex comunario" ya le llamaban. Y este otro lado es "ex colonos". Entonces sus documentos, nuestros documentos también eran, no era igual. Del otro lado eran dotación, ya le ha dotado el gobierno una vez, ellos ya tenían su *documentado*. De este lado "ex comunarios", así era, restitución, así le llamaban.

§22: Entonces este es documento originario. Entonces del otro lado con de este lado se casaron; la mujer se iba al otro lado, del otro lado venían también, entonces no se podía odiar ¿no ve? tampoco porque ya, ya son familia con este lado al otro lado, así.

§23: Así, así, así ha pasado el tiempo, a lo así, a... saneamiento común y ya se ha vuelto uno nomás.

§25: F: hm... dale... y entonces qué hm... porque ese trabajo que estoy haciendo también es un

poco para rastrear esas prácticas y lugares ehm... importantes para la comunidad, digamos que son lugares que cuya memoria es importante, digamos, para ... para que la comunidad sea una, justamente.

§27: V: hm... sí, sí...

§29: F: Entonces ¿me podría comentar un poco si usted sabe alguna... algún cuento, alguna historia sobre qué lugares, digamos, serían importantes en ese sentido?:

§31: V: sí, porque de este lado también, este... aquí... digamos, sitio arqueológico. *Nos entraron* a la comunidad, sobre la comunidad el Museo Tiwanako. Eso le puedo comentar, pero está a nombre de este... terreno del Wancollo, este Museo Tiwanako. Y eso es lo que le puedo comentar.

§33: F: ah, dale. ¿Y usted sabe un poco la historia sobre ese sitio cuando hubo la intervención de los Mallkus en el año 2000?

§35: V: sí, mi esposo era Mallku Cantonal en el año 2000...

§37: F: ah qué interesante...

§39: V: que del gobierno de allá venían los que trabajaban, los que ordenaban. Pero cuando ehm... cuando mi esposo era Mallko Cantonal ha hecho una intervención juntamente conmigo. Yo soy su esposa ¿no ve? yo le ayudaba a mi esposo que lo que tenía que ayudar. Entonces ha habido una intervención y este

museo tenía que... este ya no... tenía que salir adelante. Tenían, han hecho un Plan Maestro, así. Una intervención pacífica era, juntamente con el alcalde municipal de Tiwanako, los Mallkos, los comunarios, han hecho la intervención.

§40: Pero esto bien tenía que hacerse. Hay un plan ehm... este... Plan Maestro para hacer y pero los siguientes Mallkos no han hecho igual que proyecto como estaba proyectado, mi esposo dijo "esto tiene que ser así y así" juntamente con el gobierno municipal, pero como el gobierno municipal también es ya ha cambiado, Mallko también se ha cambiao', ahí también se ha quedao' el Museo Tiwanako.

§43: F: dale... dale. Entonces a ver si después puedo hablar con su esposo también sobre esa experiencia, porque sería interesante, digamos, poderlo registrar desde su propia experiencia, digamos, esto ¿no? digamos si estaba al cargo de esto. Y... entonces a ver... entonces, el sitio arqueológico me dijo ¿no? como lugar importante por supuesto para... para la historia de... de la comunidad también, tanto la historia pasada como la historia reciente, porque la intervención también es parte de la historia de la comunidad

§45: V: sí, sí

§47: F: ¿no? del proceso de reivindicación de derechos, porque en ese entonces ustedes dijeron

que eso también es parte de nuestra historia.

§48: V: sí sí sí sí...

§50: F: Y entonces, en este sentido ¿hay por ejemplo, otros lugares que... sobre... sobre los cuales existan cuentos, como le decía, que... un poco se transmiten de generaciones, que usted quisiera como seguir transmitiendo?

§52: V: hm... ¿cómo puede ser eso?

§54: F: por ejemplo, me comentaban... mucha gente me comentaba sobre la importancia del cerro *Qupallika*...

§56: V: ¡ay! Pero ese lugarcito no estoy al tanto. Cerro Qupallika, solo este... del sitio arqueológico y la historia que hizo mi padre, igual que Leonardo también...él... que ha saneado. Mi padre su nombre es Fernando *Laora* Maidana.

§58: F: bien...

§60: V: será que entre eso...

§62: F: claro, no, si es importante también su hermano me mostró documentos y el mapa, justamente, que se hizo a raíz de la... de la intervención, digamos, de su padre en ese sentido, ¿no? Eh... entonces, claro, eso seguro va a entrar porque parte de la historia, bien importante.

§64: V: podrías comentar con mi esposo también sobre la intervención arqueológica.

§66: F: ¡ya! Estaría lindo esto. Habríamos que ver, *así vamos [...]*

de su esposo en un ratito si no hay problema. Pero no quiero molestarlo, ahora que está trabajando.

§68: V: ah, ya, ya.

§70: F: entonces esperar un poquito nomás y... dale... entonces bueno esto sería nomás y... porque un poco... claro... ¿y usted siempre vivió acá, en esa parte, digamos?

§72: V: sí, en esta parte porque también tampoco este terreno es dotación, sino que yo me he comprado, soy lugar de nacido en aquí mis padres, pero yo me he comprado este lugar. ya... trabajando.

§74: F: o sea, sus padres vivían aquí mismo?

§76: V: no

§78: F: ah, no, no vivían acá...

§80: V: no, otro lado, donde vive mi hermano, ahí he nacido. Pero cuando yo me he casado, esta tierra yo me he comprado.

§82: F: ah, listo. Claro, sí, sí, no, para... hm... dale... también me estaban comentando un poco la gente sobre esos, esas vertientes que hay ahí en la pampa, en la pampa, al otro lado del asfalto.

§84: V: ah, sí... hay *misapujo* se llama es su nombre, pero hay doce pocitos que sale agua vertiente, pero ahí no puede ni entrar ni los ganados porque saben entrarse ahí. Es hondo, chiquito es, pero la vaca sabe perderse ahí. Entonces

tenemos que cuidar de... es parte de mis familiares ese lugar, pero por eso yo sé ir a visitar y pues *ver eso*, sí.

§86: F: misapujo...claro por eso, sí, me comentaban un poco que era un lugar peligroso, justamente ¿no?

§88: V: sí, sí sí, en la anoche llevaba, dice, una persona una fiesta. Ahí hay unas estrellas, como estrellas, que le dicen *nina antawalla*. Eso había llegado de allá y por arriba al hombre había salido a desaguar donde tomaban, donde se servían y el había llevado al misapujo. A este lado lo ha hecho perder la noche. Y a la mañana han venido a buscar muerto del misapujo y le han encontrado.

§90: F: hay que cuidarse de eso entonces...

§92: V: sí, hay que cuidarse. Porque antes mucho Nina Antawalla, dicen, eso caminaba. Cuando ya halla ahora luz ¿no ve? en la noche brillan, entonces ya no veo. Una vez casi me ha chocado a mi esa Antawalla. Antes no había ese luz electricidad.

§94: F: claro... eso....

§96: V: hm... entonces ahora casi ya no veo. Tiene que tener miedo a de noche eso ¿no? si quiere caminar aquí. *Aquí nomas ya está*, señor Francisco.

§98: F: está bien, gracias.

Name: Tiwa18-8

Place and Date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Usziel De La Fuente (UMSA, La Paz)

§1: Francesco: ¿Ya? Bueno, entonces ya está grabando.

§2: J.: Sí.

§3: Francesco: Lo que un poco, me gustaría, que me vaya contando, como le decía...

§4: J.: ¿Qué cosita será?

§5: Francesco: Será, un poco, desde su experiencia, desde lo que puede recordar, desde lo que le contaron sus padres, también, o su... personas que haya conocido, que ya no están, poco la historia de esta comunidad, de este territorio, ¿hace cuánto tiempo usted vive acá?

§6: J.: Yo vivo aquí desde el 80... no, 79, el año 79 he salido yo aquí, al campo y resulta que ese año mi... con mi pareja me he juntado y, entonces, por esa razón me he venido aquí, entonces, con lo que ha (finado) mi suegro, yo me quedé como yerno mayor aquí, y hasta hoy día haciendo cargos en la comunidad, lo que corresponde de hacer los cargos, usos y costumbres, he cumplido, también,

función social para el consejo educativo, igual, todo lo que es cumplir, he cumplido, después, también, he aprendido a hacer con yuntas, con toro, se hace arar así, entonces, aquí yo me he dedicado a agricultura, entonces, aquí yo trabajaba como 14 años, con yunta, arado, de ahí, poco a poco, ya ha ido cambiando el tiempo, ya uso tractor y ahora me radico, así de jovencito he aprendido todo, trabajar así, cosas para mantener a la familia, entonces, ya he tenido que aprender, zapatero, panadero, en panadero no se ganaba, en albañil ya me he metido, he estado en albañil, entonces, la historia, conozco la comunidad desde mi tiempo de... pequeño he sido, mis abuelitos siempre decían de que costumbres nunca van a olvidar, las costumbres son estos, por ejemplo, de este cerrito me han contado de que tiene un poder, Qupallika, tiene un poder y, dice... dice que tiene caballos blancos, después, me ha contado de este río, que tenemos en la lagunita, que, también, eso tiene un poder grande, tiene, por ejemplo, un gallo rojo, en su hora aparece eso, no es a cualquier rato, entonces, tiene pozos grandes, como tipo

cruz, así, entonces, de ahí salía los pescados y, ese lugar, es filtrante agua, entonces, me decía, mi suegro mismo decía, “no van a entrar”, “no van a jugar en ese lugar porque tiene cuento”, es verdad, no entrar, hasta ahora mismo, apenas que se cae un animal, alguien, entonces, siempre se lo come, lo mata así, se enferma y muere y, también, tiene dos pelados, gentes, eso me contaba y, hasta ahora mismo, ese se aparece a la 1 de la mañana, 12 del medio día, así, a veces aparece ¿no? y se pierde. También, tenemos otro, que es esta pampita, se llama **Misaphuju**, **Santonqo**, que es estas pampitas, son... hay filtrante de agua y esos lugares son, también, así, tienen nombre ¿no? Misaphuju es más allí, tiene más, varios pocitos y el agua sale de ahí, y por esas pampitas, aquí, bajando del camino, ahí abajito tenemos lagunitas, pequeños y... igual, también, tiene esos poderes, después, tenemos cerritos que tienen, este, nombres, **Copicollo**, por ejemplo, ahí arribita, después, tenemos más arribita, es... me he olvidado ahorita, más arribita es, arrinconadito, también, es...

también, igual, Aynoca, por ejemplo, ya has debido saber ¿no? Entonces, tienes **Willacontu**, también, tienes un pequeño cerrito, ahicitos, Willacontu, después tenemos otro... este río Tantuyo, tenemos eso, después tenemos otro aquí abajito, aquí del asfalto, del camino, ahicito es **Tacusa**, después de ahí, tenemos, más abajito es puentecitos, Taypichaca se llama eso, puentecitos pequeños hay, entonces Taypichaca, y **Challajawira** se llama eso, en aymara y eso antes había ese río constante, en tiempo de sequía entraba así, entonces, en ahí pescaditos sabe haber así pequeños, harto pescado hay, el agua nunca bajaba, había unas lagunitas pequeñas, constante, así, entonces, ahora ya más bien ha secado, ya ese ha sido el Taypichaca se llama, después, subiendo, del puentecito arribita, se llama **Kara Kara**, otro nombre también, tiene su lugarcito, su sectorcito, Kara Kara, pasando eso, tenemos otro, **Casarat Jutaña**, había sido a ambos lados, lagunitas saber haber, tiempo de agua sabe haber, y eso se casaraba, por eso se dice casarata

¿no? Se casaba el agua, desde el camino... digamos es este ¿no ve? Entonces, este lado lleno, este lado lleno, y el agua se casaba y era como... subía como un metro así, el agua, ahora en este tiempo ya no hay eso, después hay, pasando cerca al pueblo, casi a las ruinas, es Mollokontu tenemos, también es, hay una laguna grande, se llama Laguna de Pato, en aymara es, **Janqu patu lagun**, no sé, en aymara haiga sido, tienen nombres, después, tenemos Mollokontu, así un cerrito que es, aquí abajito, también, es, eso, después, tenemos una piedra mesa, sigue ahí, al lado del caminito, su mesa.

§7: Francesco: ¿Las vías?

§8: J.: Tiene un poder también, después, tenemos una piedra grande al entrar al este, del museo más aquí hay una piedra grande...

§9: Francesco: ¿Cómo se llama esa piedra?

§10: J.: Ese es... azulkkala se llama. Los abuelitos eso nombraban, azulkkala, o sea, en el castellano sería piedra azul, una piedra azul es ese, grande, después, tenemos el Akapana, más abajito tenemos Waña Jawira se llama, Río Seco se llama en

castellano, hay un riíto que entra, entonces, eso se llamaba Waña Jawira, en aymara y, en castellano, es Río Seco, así, después...

§11: Francesco: Esa **calanisa** que dice...

§12: J.: Sí, ese es, sí, el mismo es, es azulkkala. Después tenemos varios...

§13: Francesco: ¿Entonces qué...? Usted dice que...

§14: J.: Está tapado ese lugar...

§15: Francesco: ¿Esos lugares tienen poderes?

§16: J.: Poderes...

§17: Francesco: ¿En qué sentido? Si me puede explicar un poco eso.

§18: J.: De aquí... A este lo pagan, por ejemplo, dando unas wajt'as, ceremonia... recibe pues, entonces a estos adoran bien, eso es, después, a este lado Huancollo, ese es el sector que tenemos, después... ¿qué más tenemos...? Eso no más es ahorita, después, también, puede explicarse de los... cómo antes se chaqueaba con yunta ¿esos, no ve? ¿o no? ¿se puede, no ve?

§19: Francesco: Ya.

§20: J.: Ya, las yuntas, antes, se manejaba... el sembradío era pura yunta, con toros no más se hacía, entonces, se manejaba, arma,

yugo, reja, paja amarrábamos así para que abra el surco, al arado, entonces, metíamos así a sembradío, todo ¿no? entonces, el toro se amarraba con banderas, teníamos en milenas aquí con espejos, injalme así era, entonces, esa costumbre, ahora se está olvidando totalmente, ya no es costumbre... todas esas costumbres se ha koachado así, como una ceremonia se... para empezar la chacra se invitaba a la pachamama, con su mesita así, todo sabemos estar ahí. Ya no hay esas costumbres, los abuelos todo eso sabían pues, hacían estas cositas...

§21: Francesco: ¿Y por qué cree que se está perdiendo esa costumbre?

§22: J.: Es que ya ha aparecido, la maquinaria agrícola ya ha aparecido, entonces, con eso ya hacen arar, ya tenía sembradíos, ya... por ese motivo se ha perdido ya esa costumbre.

§23: Francesco: Pero, no se puede, no sé... lo que me viene por preguntar es ¿esas wajt'as, esas ofrendas, digamos, antes de empezar los trabajos de las chacras, no se podrían hacer igualmente con las maquinarias?

§24: J.: No. Es como decir, como una religión no más ya sembramos, antes se pedía del señor, una wajt'ita para empezar la chacra, las papas, por ejemplo, se curaba con cebito de llama, con eso, untu se llama, entonces, cada uno así, con wirakoa se amasa, masa se hacía, entonces, a pequeñitos se daba, entonces, curábamos papa, entonces, terminábamos de curar, una reza... una oración del señor, recién empezar a sembrar, entonces, a cada una hora se descansaba así, contábamos la papa igual, así de esos yutes, costales, costal antes se manejaba, así, tejido de lana de oveja, así, entonces se hacía sobrar poquito, unas 30 papitas o 20, al cálculo, entonces, se amarraba, se llamaba eso, lspallmama se llamaba eso, se llamaba el ánimo, entonces, sacábamos, curábamos con junto con wirakoa, así, vinito más, challábamos, entonces, eso curando se cuenta así, tipo pie de pajarito, a este lado 2, a este lado 3, así se contaba, entonces, salía, digamos, par, va a ser mal año y si sale, digamos, 3 así, entonces eso decía papa munda, papa semilla y

chuño, sacábamos antes, ahora, esa costumbre, después de que la maquinaria ha aparecido, ya ha perdido esa costumbre, ya somos como religión, nada ya, llegamos ya, papa ya vacían, tractor llega, surco saca ya... directo no más ya, termina, recogemos, ya vámonos, ya no hay ni pijchado de coca, nada siempre, esas costumbres se ha perdido y, también, de burro nos traíamos, el burro era... unos 4, 5 burritos, ahí la carga sabemos traer, puro en costales de oveja y, ahora, esa costumbre ya no hay, son puro yutes, ahora ya no hay ni burro, pura movilidad ya traemos, así esas cosas, ya es ahora y, igual en este... ¿cómo se puede decir ahorita? En tiempo de arar igual era, tiene un tiempo limitado no más eso, en mes de abril a mayo.

§25: Francesco: ¿Tiempo para qué? Perdón.

§26: J.: Para arar.

§27: Francesco: ¿Para arar?

§28: J.: Para sembrar. Entonces, ya tenemos ese tiempo terminado, apenas que el agua ya se va, ya hay que empezar...

§29: Francesco: ¿A hacer los surcos?

§30: J.: No, ya hay que roturar para sembrar papa, roturamos, después, ya en mes de septiembre ya hay que pasar otra reja, hay que, también, ya mover del otro lado, también, después otro, esquina a esquina, digamos, esto a lo así hacíamos, primera roturada ¿no ve? Entonces, ahora, segunda vuelta es a lo así, tercera vuelta es de esta punta, se empieza así, 3 veces al año se prepara la tierra, después, hay que llevar abono, abono hay que ponerle, entonces, recién la siembra, así es.

§31: Francesco: ¿En qué momento se prepara el abono?

§32: J.: Bien se preparaba, ahora, solamente roturamos con la maquinaria... el rato de sembrar, no más, lo hacemos rastrear, lo hacemos como... rastrear las khulas ¿no? entonces ya, directo a sembrar, ya no es como antes, entonces, esas costumbres se han olvidado...

§33: Francesco: Pero hay otras costumbres que siguen.

§34: J.: No siempre.

§35: Francesco: Por ejemplo, pijchar coca.

§36: J.: Esto sí, pijchamos coquita...

§37: Francesco: ¿Por qué piensa que esa costumbre, en cambio, sí se puede mantener?

§38: J.: En la siembra de papa era pues así... en una siembra, digamos, en una grande chacra, 3 yuntas, bien se trabajaba pues ese día y es costumbre, antes, llevar una olla de ají de fideo, nada de segundo era pues antes, su ají de fideo así, bien cocinado se llevaban, fiambre así, aparte papa **montarara**, papa pelada aparte, después, chuño aparte, tunta aparte y quispiña de quinua, esas cosas así, parte por parte saben llevarse, ¡ucha! Era fiambre así, ahora, ya no hay esa costumbre de fiambre, ni cocinar, ni nada, ya sembramos locamente cualquier hora, llega el tractor ya sembramos, ya listo, recogemos, un poco de refresco tomamos, ya nos venimos, ahora, en la siembra de papa, terminando, primero lo sembramos, primera mano, segunda mano es aporte, eso se llama qawar en aymara, entonces, eso ya tapa la papa, ya le sube tierrita un poco más, entonces, la papa florece lindo ya, después... Ahora curan con fumigación hacen, antes no había fumigador, nada siempre, no agusanaba

tampoco la papa, ahora, más bien, gusana están metiendo ya puro fumigadores, entonces, el tiempo de recojo es igual, nos pedimos del señor bien, yunta amarramos y abrimos el surco, y los que escarban ya con sus canastas, antes no era pues, ahora que es chuntillo, antes era **lijuana** (liwkana), se llama, bonito es liwkana, un palito y bonito, hecho así, entonces, ahí se amarraba con lazo el fierro, entonces, con su cuñita más, entonces, con eso no más escarbaban, con canasta, no faltaban de canasta, ahora esas costumbres de las canastas se ha perdido, ya manejan yute no más ya, yute así, papa lo meten, recorren, recorren, ahí lo dejan, otro yute agarran, así no más ya es ahora, esas cosas se ha perdido y muchas cosas que podemos charlar, hay hartas cosas que podemos recordar, por ejemplo, antes sabemos con... no comíamos tanto fideo, era como en sueños comer fideo, era pito, pito de grana, ahorita es... de aquellas cebadas puede dar producción ¿no ve? Entonces, machucábamos, entonces, sacábamos hartos, entonces eso se tostaba y se molía, y eso

tomábamos desayuno, con pito, ahora, después, nos cocinábamos mismo lagüita de eso, eso era más alimento, después, quinua, comíamos quispiña, después hacíamos sopita de quinua, molido la quinua, lagüita, eso con lechecita, así comíamos, después, chuño, chairito, eso, después, hay otro, chuchoca se llama, también, se muele de la misma semilla, peladito hay otro, semilla y eso molíamos, a la mitad le partíamos y eso se llama chuchoca, eso es más rico, después, hay otro, cañahua, cañahua se llama, eso se llamaba pito, eso comíamos, igual, así, pito nos hacíamos, el pesque, por ejemplo, el pesque es el más alimento ¿no? el pesque con leche, con ahogadito, así, quispiña, por ejemplo, sabemos hacer para fiambre, para desayuno, para todo era quispiña, se molía del... de piedra, ahora es moledora, pura maquinaria ya muelen, aquí, yo me lo tengo ese para moler, ahicito está, después, se muele y es original, ahora ya, como quieren ya lo hacen, entonces ya... esa es nuestra costumbre, también, hablando de las casas, es igual, aquella casita, por ejemplo, de paja, esa era moda

antigua, antes moda, así, moda siempre era, pero ahora, mucha calamina, calamina, la gente ya no hace adobe, antes así pisábamos **tajlayaj**, este de tierra, de eso no más la casa paraba, nada de estar manejando así, ladrillos, pero ahora ya no hay eso, ya han cambiado ladrillo, ya no quieren hacer adobe, ya no hay nada.

§39: Francesco: Y eso es importante para recordar

§40: J.: Eso hay que recordar, pero ya somos flojos ahora, hasta yo mismo, solito me hacía, ahora ya no puedo hacer, puro ladrillo ya ponen, ya ese... el adobe, antes, era así, de 60, 80 centímetros, aquella escuelita, por ejemplo, la pared antigua, así son y aguanta.

§41: Ladrillo es este tamaño, pared... eso no ya más es, 10 centímetros, con la estuqueada, más la... como 12 centímetros sale, pero ya no es como estas casas, caliente, estos son calientitos... Esas cosas se han perdido, ya no quieren hacer casas así, ya no traen... paja, también, ya no hay así. Antes, igual, hacíamos phala de paja, de aquellas pajas que están allí... recogíamos, eso hacíamos, torcelábamos, con eso no más el

ganado se manejaba antes, pero ahora esas costumbres ya no hay, ya es puro pita, goma, eso no más ya es, sí, esos son... igual del agua, ahora ya hay... tenemos ya pilas, antes, propio, nuestro pozo era hacer, tipo... en el patio o sino así, allá, en afuerita, pozo cavábamos y bien de ahí con **arrobitos**, **pilqueadito**, bonito, con tapita, de ahí nos tomábamos, ahora, ya no hay eso. De letrinas, igual, los abuelos antes, hacían un agujero y ahí no más hacían sus necesidades, ahora ya no hay eso, ya hay especiales, ya hay baños, sí...

§42: Francesco: Claro, pero...

§43: J.: Eso es lo que yo le puedo dar la respuesta de lo que está pidiendo ¿Qué más puedo recordar? No pues, eso no más, también, es... sí.

§44: Francesco: ¿Esas son las costumbres que se han perdido, digamos?

§45: J.: Sí, todo se ha perdido, todo. Hasta nuestros ganados, mismo, ya no es como antes, antes manejábamos corderos como 100, como 80, así teníamos, esos tiempos no había, este... fasciolas, así, ya hay ahora enfermedades para el ganado, en pastales

mismos ya hay, entonces el animal come eso y en el corazón, en el hígado, ya come, ahí crece, con la sangre crece y, entonces, el ganado, poco a poco, ya va yendo mal, mal, se enferma, ya no sirve para comer, nada, y con eso ya hemos acabado ahorita el ganado, ya no hay tanto, sí, ya poquito amarramos, unos 6, 8, así no más amarramos.

§46: Francesco: ¿Y, antes, había mucho ganado? Solía haber mucho ganado.

§47: J.: Sí pues, harto había... Todo lo, realmente ahora, ha perdido ya. Ha desaparecido hasta los sapitos, lagartos, víboras, todo animalito ha desaparecido, había conejitos, había en los ríos, sabe haber conejos, hasta esos por sí ha perdido, sí...

§48: Francesco: Entonces, una última preguntita ¿puedo?

§49: J.: Ya

§50: Francesco: Me está hablando ¿no? Muy interesante de esta costumbre, de antes, que se ha perdido, que usted recuerda, que antes se hacía, qué no se solía hacer ¿qué diferencia hay con, eso que llaman, usos y costumbres, ahorita, acá en la comunidad? O sea ¿Estos son costumbres, estas

prácticas, digamos, pero son distintas de los usos y costumbres, según dicen, por ejemplo, en el estatuto? ¿Qué diferencia hay, por ejemplo, con eso?

§51: J.: Por ejemplo, en este estatuto tenemos muchas cosas qué hablar, pero hay que arreglar muchas cosas, también...

§52: Francesco: Sólo van a hablar en la Asamblea ¿no?

§53: J.: En la asamblea hablamos, por ejemplo, tenemos problemas de los caminos, tenemos problemas de los linderos, digamos, con vecino, y esos... antes los abuelos se respetaban, de acuerdo, el lindero que es aquí, esto, del otro lado respetaban de este lado y al otro este lado, y así había un lugar para que camine la gente, es peatonal, entonces, la gente, ahora, hoy en el día, esta costumbre ya han hecho desaparecer, ya lo han cerrado todo esto, incluso este lado cierran, ya no hay, entonces antes no había, los abuelos antiguos se respetaban, aunque un poquito esto ha disminuido, y así, entre ellos solucionaban... ahora no hay eso, entonces, los usos y costumbres, antes, era pues puro personas mayores y de edades,

abuelitos, son mayores de edades, ellos manejaban a sus reglas, todo en su regla manejaban, usos y costumbres, que pase en la comunidad algo y algún problema que hay, entonces, esos ellos solucionaban, se entendían, charlaban así, entonces, de acuerdo al delito, también, ellos esas cosas quitaban, pero, como ya no hay esas cosas, con lo que ahora los jóvenes ya son despiertos, ya no hay esa costumbre, ya han hecho desaparecer. También, de autoridades igual, antes, era puro varones no más, puro personas mayores, así de 50 para arriba, esos eran respetuosos, eran más, esas personas... vos y... ¿cómo se puede decir? voz y voto tenían ellos, a nadie hacían hablar, a los... digamos, a los que tienen 30, 40 años, no les daba voz y voto, "no, voz eres llokalla, anda vos a aprender", así les decían, entonces, ellos no más tenían voz y voto y, después, el caso de los, aquí está, de los mallkus, antes era, como le digo, antes era pues, no era así uniformado, solamente manejaban ellos, ni chicote, antes no había chicote, así no más manejaban, con su chalinita,

cualquier chalinita, nada de ponchos así, ahora, ya tenemos poncho, lluchu, todo ya tienen...

§54: Francesco: ¿Y por qué se ha dado este cambio?

§55: J.: Este cambio ha habido... me acuerdo que de otros lugares originarios, con lo que ya se ha acabado con el, este... con la (ley) INRA ha cambiado esto.

§56: Francesco: ¿Con la INRA?

§57: J.: Originarios... antes era secretario general, no más, general, solo eso, ahora es pues, este... mallkus originarios ya, entonces, mallkus originarios se... eso han sacado, pues, ese reglamento han sacado del SIMACO, no sé de dónde ha llegado esto, entonces, de ahí ya ha habido poncho, poncho huairuro, poncho rojo, el uniforme ya han dictado.

§58: Francesco: ¿Y qué le parece? Porque esto, quizás, lo hacen para remarcar, que se trata de una autoridad originaria ¿verdad?

§59: J.: Sí, esa ya es autoridad originaria.

§60: Francesco: Entonces ¿Usted cree que es a través del poncho que se da la autoridad originaria o hay otras cosas quizás?

§61: J.: No, es el único.

§62: Francesco: ¿El único?

§63: J.: El único, tenemos autoridades del chicote 2, 2 clases de chicote, hay uno, es como esto, redondo, así trenzado, ese es para el mayor siempre, para el que es como, ahorita, como el presidente.

§64: Francesco: ¿El jiliri?

§65: J.: El jiliri siempre ¿no ve? Entonces, eso le dicen jiliri mallku, en aquí, por ejemplo, nosotros tenemos cantonal, el primero que guía es ese, a todas las comunidades, después, tiene sus seguidores, 4 subcentrales, entonces, esas 4 subcentrales, cada zona se maneja a su base y el que es el jiliri, siempre, ese maneja todo lado, entonces, en ahí ya ha salido la ley de los uniformes que tenemos que manejar, nuestro uniforme: pantalón negro, chamarra medio beige, medio negro, digamos, después, nuestro lluchu, nuestra chalina, nuestra chuspa y nuestro chicote, ese es, el chicote, también, es nuestro armamento ya, esa es nuestra arma ya, con eso no puedes levantar ni... a nadie ¿no? Esa es el arma que... dice, como un mallku ya es respetado, eso es ya una autoridad ya pues, respetado

siempre es... Nadie, aunque seas pequeño, "es autoridad" dice.

§66: Francesco: ¿Pero respetaban más antes, cuando era secretario general o ahorita que es mallku?

§67: J.: Claro, general, también, se respetaba, no tanto, pero.

§68: Francesco: ¿No tanto?

§69: J.: No, al general, se hace, cuando hay algún problema, ya se van, a la policía, la policía más valor era pues antes, ahora es secretario general el, jalja mallku se llama el quien arregla el problema, tenemos, por ejemplo, jalja mallku, aquí tiene, aquí debe estar.

§70: Francesco: Jalja mallku sería justicia

§71: J.: Justicia, ese es jalja ya, en aymara aquí, eso es justicia, antes era justicia, ahora es jalja mallku, entonces él tiene que solucionar, si no hay solución, a la base baja, en la base, la base no hay solución en la base, la base autoriza a la subcentral, y ya baja a otro subcentral ya, a otra autoridad, entonces, si siguen problemas, problemas, no se hacen caso, cantonal, al peke, al jiliri ya baja, el jiliri no hay solución, ya recién a la autoridad ya pasa, así es la ley, pero la mayor parte tenemos

nuestras autoridades en la comunidad, mallkus originarios, ese es nuestro... no podemos pasar sobre nuestra autoridad y es directo a la autoridad, que a la policía, algo... la comunidad es la que tiene que dar aval para que pase allá, mediante un informe, así.

§72: Francesco: Entonces, una ultimísima pregunta ¿Qué es que, según usted, hace que la comunidad esté unida, ahorita? ¿Qué cosas? Digamos, porque me contó que se ha perdido mucho, entonces ¿Qué es lo que sigue manteniendo unida a la comunidad?

§73: J.: Bueno, la comunidad está uniéndose con los mallkus siempre, la comunidad siempre con mallkus, y, ahora, tenemos, no es que mallkus no más, sino que tenemos otra autoridad que es que está... o sea, los mallkus es este, es para que haga sus trámites, para que vayan a alguna parte o donde sea, entonces, llega la reunión, nos comunica, así es, el que maneja la base es... hay otra autoridad, que es presidente de la zona, 4 presidentes en la zona tenemos, entonces, ellos se comunican con los mallkus y,

entonces, la presidenta inmediatamente ya se charla en directorio y nos comunica ya, mediante citación nos llama, hay alguna cosa, problemas, ya nos comunica, entonces, nosotros sacamos en la reunión las... sacamos, digamos, algún... alguna cosa ya, pasa el informe, ya pasa el presidente, ya, entonces, en la base grande, en la reunión grande ya, eso ya deciden, eso, entonces, nosotros lo que respetamos a los mallkus siempre, nuestra autoridad grande y, también, a las otras autoridades que son subcentrales, esos, más respetuosos, cuando llegan a la comunidad los visitantes, tenemos que recibir, también, "bienvenido"... así es eso... Pero nuestra autoridad siempre de la comunidad. Sí. ¿Qué más?

§74: Francesco: Listo, no sé si quiere añadir alguna cosa más

§75: J.: Sí.

§76: Francesco: ¿Qué le gustaría?

§77: J.: Algunas partes, tal vez, me he olvidado, pero...

§78: Francesco: Bueno, siempre pasa ¿verdad?

§79: J.: Yo eso no más, también, he aprendido, también, durante... desde que he despertado, a ser

pequeño, hasta hoy día. ¿Qué más? No puede ser más, eso no más.

§80: Francesco: Está bien, le agradezco mucho por su tiempo

§81: J.: Ahora del vestimento, también, estoy haciendo, del vestimento, antes, era pura oveja, como le digo, ahora los ponchos son huairuro y ya son de lana, eso están diciendo, va a haber, seguramente, algo para sacar, ya quieren hacer ropa originaria, origen siempre, de antes, lluchus, chalinas, pantalones, ponchos, todo de oveja, original siempre, hasta sombreros de oveja.

§82: Francesco: ¿Ese sombrero acá de oveja?

§83: J.: No, este no, la oveja no... Eso, después, tenemos, abarcas, antiguo se manejaba con antenitas, eso tengo, el año pasado he estado de mallku, también, entonces esas cositas nos hemos comprado, también, y es necesario para ir, cualquier lugar hay que viajar, entonces como tenemos nuestra danza de wakatinki ¿no ve? Quena uena, entonces, yo participo siempre pues ahí, me gusta siempre bailar de kusillo, wakatinki, también, la anterior hemos bailado, eso de

nosotros, esas dos danzas siempre manejamos.

§84: Francesco: ¿Y por qué son importantes esas danzas?

§85: J.: Ese ha nacido aquí siempre, ha nacido

§86: Francesco: ¿Ha nacido aquí?

§87: J.: Aquí ha nacido wacatinki, quena quena ha nacido, lindo era antes, aquí tenían los hombres unas plumas verdes, de loro siempre, entonces, eso bonito es hecho, cosido siempre, entonces, esas cosas ahora, se ha perdido, las señoras, también, igual cargaban aquí, esas plumas, así saben bailar quena quena, ahora ya no hay eso, toda vestimenta se ha perdido, también, ya. Así no más sería ¿Qué más tenemos en aquí? Alguito más, a ver ¿Qué más tenemos? A ver, a ver... Su tradición, ya sebes pues, el 22 de agosto tenemos nuestra fiestita aquí, que siempre llevamos... ya les ha contado ¿no ve? ¿Ya ve? Además, las mismas cosas te puedo repetir, sí, eso sería de mí todo.

§88: Francesco: Está bien, muchísimas gracias.

§89: J.: No hay por qué

Name: Tiwa18-11@

Place and Date: Huancollo, 29th
May 2018.

**Transcription and translation from
Aymara by Prof Juan de Dios
Yapita (ILCA, La Paz)**

F.- Según la experiencia de la señora, ee... un poco contarme lo que ella puede recordar su vivencia cómo era antes, qué cambios ha habido en la que se refiera en relación el territorio, aquí en la comunidad.

Hijo.- Mamita akham, siwa. Mä videyuw grawasini, mä video. Juma kuñtt'ätaw kunjamans nayra. Kunjamats jumax tawaqitäta ukhaxa. Kunanakas jichhax cambio utjawayxi. Nayrax kunjamansa. Ukat Jichha tiempox kunjamaxisa, kunjamtix nayrax sarnaqawinaka ukanak nayraqat kuñtt'äta.

Mdr.- Asint timpuki.

Hijo.- Kunjamansa patrón timpu. Jumanakax kunjams, sarnaqapxayataxa. T'aqhisiñanaw utjäna, jälla ukhamanaka, kunatix

sarnaqäwi, kunatix sarnaqapxta, ukaki kuñt'äta. Ukat videow grabasini. Uka mä documentow nanakatakis wali importante. Parlarakstanixa. Ukham siw. Juma ist'ätaw ukat napi jumarux intintiyxamaxa.

F.- Cuando quiera...

Hijo.- La pregunta, cómo era, comienza nomás.

F.- Si, entonces señora, ¿qué recuerda usted de cómo era antes, digamos, cuando usted era más joven, ee, cómo se vivía en cada comunidad?

Mdr.- Nayax asint timputaya. Asint timpuxa patronanakampiw trabajapxta nanakaxa, jawq'jata, nuwjata ukhamanaka. Asint uywa awatipxta waka.... Ukhamaruxa yapu lurapxta, tanto granti, wali jach'anak lurapxta, jach'anaka. Wakxa awatipxaraktwa phisqa pataka, iwijaraki mä quiniento ukhamaraki, phisqa patakarakiki, pataka, pä pataka, kimsa pataka, pusi pataka, phisqa pataka. Waka iwala pataka, pä pataka, phisqa pataka. Lichiraw...

ch'awañarakiw lichiraxa,
patronatakiw ch'awapxta
ukxa. Queso atipxta,
patronarakiw uka apasxaraki.
Ukhamaruxa khuchinak
uywapxta, jach'anaka mä pä
tunka, uka khuchinaka,
patronarakikiw apasxi,
patronaw apasxi. Yapunak
lurapxta, jach'anakpin lurapxta
nanakaxa nayra... lurta naya,
ajint jurtxa... asint nayaxa...
ukat asint lurasaxa ukar
uñatatta.

Ukxaru llamayupxaraktwa
ch'uqxa, tantu llamayupxta,
juypichapxarakta,
juypichapxta, tuntachapxta.
Patronarakikiw apasxi.

Janiw nanakaru ni miryu ni
kuna amparapkituti ni qullqi ni
kuna amparapkituti.

Ukhamakiw rawajapxta
nanaka, thanthita, awiriya ni
miryu. Suma issa uñt'apktini,
lap'axay ch'iñixay akhama.
Ukham nanaka asintan
sirwipxta. Asint timpuw ukham
sirwipxta nanaka asinta. Jan
manq'as manq'ata. Inti jalsut
inti jalantkama jan manq'ataw
nanaka qamapxta sirwipxta.

Patronaruw ukham sirwipxta
nanakax akhullitaki sirwipxta
nanakaxa. Ya, ukat ukharuxa,
uywanak uywarapipxta
apasxarakikiw. Yapunak
lurapxta apasxarakikiw.
Patronkamakiw apasi. Janiw
nanakar waxt'apkituti ni kuna
ni isi ni kuna. Ukham nanaka
rawajipxta. Jisk'itata naya
rawajawayta, rawajawayta
naya. Ukhamaw. Ukaki
rawajawayta nayaxa. Yapunak
lurapxta, uywanak awatipxta.
Ina phayapxta, ukan patronar
sirwipxta. Iwijanak
kharirapipxta, apasxarakikiw.
Kisunak atipxta apasxarakikiw.
Janiw nanaka ni kuna
uñt'apktti, ni kuna. Ukhamaw
nanaka suphripxta, akch'itata
supht'asta awichkama.
Ukhamaw suphriwayapxta
nanakax ukxa. Ukaki nayax
yatta.

Wawat nayax suphriwaytwa
tantu. Yapu lurapxta, uyw
uywachapta, waka iwija,
khuchhi, kawallunaka.
Ukhamanak nanakax
mirayapxta ukanak apapxta.
Ukanakak lurapxta nanaka,
ukhamaw. Wawitat ukhama.

Asint timpuxa, asintar
sirwiwayapxta nanakaxa.
Ukhamakiw.

F.- Ya...

Mdr.- Ukharux janiw nayaxa
iskuyla... jan uñt'ktti.
Patrunaruxa surmir asaqaşisa
qunqurt'asaw killt'añaxa:
Patrón, winus tiya, winus tarti.
Jan surmir asaqaşipan...
venga venga, iñya iñyu, q'ix
q'ix, así nomás pues. Ukham
jawq'apxiri naruxa, jan
arumtasiwi ukhamaw
jawq'xapxirix naruxa.

Jayat arumtañaw. Ukat nä uka
añchhichhax kuna maraxisa uk
armt'astwa añchhichha
Ukhanakat mawk'ita chijtayasa
utjawayi. Tantu suphriwayta
naya, ukch'itatpach
suphriwayapxta. Janiw
nanakax kun uñt'apktti ni
iskuyla ni kastillanu. Iskuyla
uñt'ir khititix qillqanixa nayraw
p'itsusini, khititix kastillanu
yatiganixa laxra kharsuña.
Ukhamanakänwa. Ukhax
janipiniw ni kunaw jan utjänti.
Ukat ukhata janiw nanakax ni
iskuyla no tiene kastillanu
parlañ yatti. Jawq'jata kurin ni

kuna ukhat uksarux yatiwayktti
kuna. Aka taykitax ukax janiw
kun yatti, janipuniw nax kuns
yatti. Patronan esclavopakiw
nanakax sirwiwayapxta. Ukat aka
Riphurmata, ukax istuwayxi
mawk'itas riskansawäpxta.

Hijo.- Víctor Paz Estenssorota.

Mdr.- Paz Estenssorota, Víctor
Paz Estenssorota, ukhata, ukhat
mawk'ita, poquito janiw
jach'akiti, jisk'itaki. Ya ukhata,
ukhata, ukhata, ukhataw
mawk'itas (ri)kupirawäpxta.
Janiw nanakax ni kuna
uñt'apktti. Janiw ni kuna suma
manq'asiña. Janiw (ya)tipktti
ni kuna (ut)jiti. Manq'asipxirita
ch'iw(a)... Janiw manq'añas
utjarakir'ikiti. Patronatak
rawajkawiw nanakax
puwrirukstawäpxta... Isita ni
kuna, ni sapatuw jan
uñt'añakiti. Akham q'ala
kayitukiw akhamakiw
akhamakiw, sarnaqapxta, ni
sapatu ni kuna, ni kunaw jan
utjiti allmiñakiw ni kamisa ni
kuna jan utjir'ikiti. Allmiñakiw
ukax mawk'itax utjixa.
Ukakiriwa janiw nanaka kun
jan uñt'apktti. Patronan
isklawupaw nanaka

sarnaqawäpxta. Janiw jichha jichhaw mawk'itas aka Paz Estenssoro, ukhat aksaru mawk'itakiw ukasa. Jichhaw más winu (ri)kupirawayxapxta. Ukch'akiw añchhita, piru armasisktwa akanaka janiw sum amtasxtti... Nayra wirachixaya.

Hijo.- Ruido...

Mdr.- Paz Estenssoro uka timputa ukat aksaruw mawk'ta parsilamintu uñt'apxta. Parsilamit uñt'apxta. Ukhat mä jisk'a uraqinakaw utji partjapxitu partjapxitu. Jäll ukhataw nanakax riskansawapxta. Janiw ni jawq'atas ni tuqitas istxapxtti ni kunasa riskansawapxtwa... Ukaw uraqinakxa mawk'it partiwapxitu Víctor Paz Estenssoro uka timpu.

Hijo.- Lugaranakasti.

Mdr.- Lugaraxa akaxa Takusa, Jisk'a Takusa, Jach'a Takusa, Takus Q'awa aukharuxa Challwan Q'awa, Q'araq'ar Pata, Kasarat Qhuthaña, Amay Asanjirani, Parki Challwa Q'awa, uka Asanjirani. Ukharu alayaruxa

Santa Ana, Wila Quntu, ukharuxa, Tiji Willki, Kunkan Qullu, ukharuxa akaxa Qupallika, khurixa Palasuyla, Palasuyla, Ch'aja Qala, Ch'aja Qala ukatpi k'ajaqalaxa... Akaxa Qallarmaya, río Qallärmaya, Jawir Jawira Qallarmaya ukaxa... Aka pataxa Injiñu (Ingenio). Aksapi ukaxa Suntu Nuqu. Ukhamawa.

Hijo.- T'ant'üyu.

Mdr.- Ukapi ukaxa Jawir T'antüyu.

Hijo.- Surixäw Misa Phukhu.

Mdr.- Surixaw aytxtwa.

Hijo.- Misa Phukhu janiw aytktati.

Mdr.- Misa Phukhu Asanjirani aka alayaw.

F.- nn

Hijo.- Kunats...

Mdr.- Akawjax mayaxa, Inkan Q'awa.

Hijo.- Kunats ukanakax ukham sutinix. Kuns ukanakax, kuna yächañanakas, siwa, ukaxa.

Mdr.- Ukaxa, ukax surtiniw pasayañaw. Aka Qupallikar ukaxa achachilanakar

pasayaña. Aka istirux
iwalarakiki achachilanakaru
awuyitanakar... Ukat uka khä
Palasuylaruxa uka misa
pasayañaraki. Asint timpun
ukax pasayaña. Surixawan
uka asint timpuna asint timpun
patronanakaw uka misanak
alani, ukat ukaxa
mastrunakampi layqanak
sañani jäll ukanakaw
pasayayiri ukaxa. Ukatakiw
ukax sutichata. Aka Injiñun uka
Injiñu iwalarakiki. Yatirinakaw
ukx pasayixa. Patronaw ukx
intikix ukanakar pasayanim
akanakar pasayanim.
Jilaqataw nayrax utjiri
mayutumu jilaqata. Uka
jilaqatanakaw p'iqix ukapi
pasayasinkix misanak
pasayanix. Ukatakiw ukax
sutinchata ukhama. Khä
aynuqa Santa Ana, Wila
Quntusa aynuqatakiw pasayan
ukaxa jan juyphi chhijchhi
utjañapataki, ukatakiw ukax
pasayani massrunakaw
pasayani jilaqatanakaw ukx
manti misanak alani, alkulanak
alani, winunak alani. Ukanaka
patronaw ukx pasayasinkixa,
Ukanak janiw nanakax kuns
yatipktti, jilaqata, alkanti,

mayurtumu ukanakaw utjäna
ukatx ukaw ukx luraskixa.
Janiw nanakax kuns lurapktti,
Ukatakiw ukax sutiñchata.
Ukarupi ch'allapxixa,
mastrunakapaw uk ch'allaski,
jan juyphi utjañapataki, sum
achuñapataki, uywax sum
mirañapataki. Ukatakiw ukax
q'uwañchaw... q'uwañchaniw
ukaxa. Ukamaw ukaxa. Janiw
nanakax kuns yatipktti.
Ukhamaw.

Translation

§1: F.- Según la experiencia de la señora, ee... un poco contarme lo que ella puede recordar su vivencia cómo era antes, qué cambios ha habido en la que se refiera en relación el territorio, aquí en la comunidad

§2: Hijo.- Mamita, dice así. Se va a grabar un video, un video. Tú le vas a contar cómo era antes. Tú vas a contarle cuando eras joven. Qué tipo de cambios hay ahora. Luego ¿cómo es el tiempo ahora? Primero vas a contarle cómo era la vida antes, esos.

§3: Mdr.- Solamente, del tiempo de la hacienda.

§4: Hijo.- ¿Cómo era en el tiempo de la hacienda? ¿Cómo vivían ustedes?

§5: Había sufrimiento, como eso, lo que es la vida, cómo vivieron sólo eso vas a contarle. Se va a grabar un video. Es un documento muy importante para nosotros, es lo que nos va a hablar. Así dice. Tú vas a escuchar, luego yo te voy a hacer entender.

§6: F.- Cuando quiera...

§7: Hijo.- La pregunta, cómo era, comienza nomás.

§8: F.- Si, entonces señora, ¿qué recuerda usted de cómo era antes, digamos, cuando usted era más joven, ee, cómo se vivía en cada comunidad?

§9: Mdr.- Voy a contarle del tiempo de la hacienda. Nosotros hemos trabajado con los patrones en el tiempo de la hacienda, chicoteado, pegado, algo así. Hemos pasteado ganados de la hacienda como vacas y ovejas. Además, cultivamos chacras extensas,

muy extensas, cultivamos. Pasteamos también quinientas vacas, y las ovejas lo mismo quinientas: cien, doscientos, trescientos, cuatrocientos, quinientos. Las vacas igual, cien doscientos, quinientos. Habían lecheras, se ordeñaban también ellas. Ordenamos esas para el patrón. Elaboramos queso y eso el patrón también se lo lleva. Por otra parte, criamos chanchos grandes unos veinte y éstos se lo lleva el patrón, el patrón se lo lleva. Cultivamos las chacras, grandes extensiones cultivamos antes... hice yo, el cargo de agente... luego cultivando en la hacienda, a ésa abrí los ojos.

§10: Sobre eso, cosechamos también la papa, tanto cosechamos y lo pusimos también para que hiele, luego para tunta lo pusimos. Lo mismo, el patrón se lo llevó.

§11: A nosotros nada, ni un centavo nos dio, ni dinero, nada nos dio.

§12: Nosotros hemos trabajado gratuitamente, con ropa vieja, triste, sin un centavo. Incluso, ropa nueva no conocimos. ¡Piojo...! ¡Liendre...! Así hemos servido en la hacienda. En el tiempo de la hacienda servimos así. Sin servirnos ninguna comida, desde que sale el sol hasta que entre el sol, sin comer vivimos y servimos. Al patrón le servimos así, sólo masticando la coca le servimos. Sobre eso, se los pasteamos los ganados y vuele a llevárselos. Cultivamos las chacras (la producción) se los vuelve a llevar. El patrón se los lleva todo para sí. A nosotros no nos dio nada, ni ropa nada. Así trabajamos. Yo he trabajado desde pequeña, de pequeña he trabajado. Así es. Sólo eso he trabajado. Hemos cultivado, hemos pasteado los ganados. Cocinamos y ahí servimos al patrón. Se los carneamos las ovejas, se los vuelve a llevar.

§13: Elaboramos los quesos, se los vuelve a llevar. Nosotros nada conocimos, nada. Así es

lo que hemos sufrido, desde pequeña tuve que sufrir, hasta que soy abuela. Así es lo que hemos sufrido nosotros. Solamente, sé eso.

§14: Tanto he sufrido desde niña. Cultivamos las chacras, pasteamos los ganados, vacas, ovejas, chanchos, caballos. Una variedad... hicimos reproducir y esos los llevamos. Nosotros hicimos todo eso. Así es.

§15: Así desde pequeños... en el tiempo de la hacienda, nosotros hemos servido a la hacienda. Así nomás es.

§16: F.- Bueno...

§17: Mdr.- Después escuela yo no... no conozco. Ante el patrón uno se quitaba el sombrero e se hincaba de rodillas para saludar: patrón buenos días, buenas tardes. Si uno no saludaba quitándose el sombrero, venga, venga, india, indio... ¡Q'ix q'ix!, así ellos me suelen son por no haberles saludado, ellos me suelen sonar.

§18: Desde lejos se saluda. Por eso yo ése... en qué año

estamos. En este momento me olvido. Desde esos años existe un poco de miedo.

§19: Tanto yo he sufrido, desde pequeña hemos sufrido. Nosotros no conocemos nada ni escuela ni castellano. Al que conoce la escuela...

§20: Quién escriba, se le va a sacar los ojos, quién aprenda castellano, se le va a cortar la lengua. Pues así eran. Entonces, nada siempre había.

§21: Nosotros desde entonces ni escuela ni hablar castellano sabemos.

§22: Castigo constante, nada más, desde ahí en adelante nada pude aprender. Esta abuela no sabe nada, nada siempre. Nosotros hemos servido nada más que como su esclavo del patrón. Entonces, desde la Reforma hemos descansado un poco.

§23: Hijo.- - Víctor Paz Estenssoro

§24: Mdr.- Desde Paz Estenssoro, Víctor Paz Estenssoro, desde ahí un poquito, solamente un poquito. Bueno, desde ahí,

pues desde entonces, hemos recuperado un poco. Nosotros no conocemos nada, ni tampoco comimos bien. No sabemos, tampoco hay algo.

§25: Solíamos comer *ch'iwa* (hojas de quinua) No suele haber comida. Nosotros nos hemos vuelto pobres por el constante trabajo para el patrón. De ropa nada, ni zapato se conocía. Se caminaba así descalzos, porque ni zapato hay, no suele haber ni camisa, nada, sólo había almilla, aunque poco. Eso todo, nosotros no conocimos nada

§26: Vivimos como su esclavo del patrón. No. Ahora sí, aunque un poco, desde Paz Estenssoro a este lado un poco. Ahora sí más o menos hemos recuperado. Es todo por el momento, pero me estoy olvidando. Algunas cosas no recuerdo bien. Es pues una vida de antes.

§27: Hijo.- Ruido...

§28: Mdr.- Desde Paz Estenssoro a este tiempo conocemos el parcelamiento un poco. Un

poco conocemos el parcelamiento. Desde entonces, hay terrenos pequeños que nos ha partido. Desde ese momento he descansado. Ése nos ha partido terrenos un poco en el tiempo de Víctor Paz Estenssoro.

§29: Hijo.- ¿Y los lugares?

§30: Mdr.- Estos son los lugares: Takusa, Jisk'a Takusa, Jach'a Takusa, Takus Q'awa (Grieta de Takusa). Después Challwan Q'awa (Grieta de Peces), Q'aq'arpata (Altura Pelada), Kasarat Qhuthaña (), Amay Parki (Cuesta de Alma), Challwa Q'awa, uka Asanjirani (). Después hacia arriba Santa Ana, Wila Quntu (Promotorio Colorado). Después Tiji Willk'i (Olla de Tiji), Kunkan Qullu (Cuello del Cerro). Después Qupa Lika (), más allá Palasuyla (Plazuela), Ch'aja Qala (Piedra Rajada?). Por eso se llama Ch'aja Qala. Este es Qallarmaya, río Qallarmaya, Jawir Jawira... Eso es Qallarmaya (). Éste es. Esto de arriba es Injiñu

(Ingenio). Éste de ese lado es Suntu Nuqu (). Así es.

§31: Hijo.- ¿T'ant'üyu?

§32: Mdr.- Ese mismo es pues Jawir T'ant'üyu (río Corral de Pan).

§33: Hijo.- Misa de olla, Surixäwi...

§34: Mdr.- Surixäwi ya he mencionado.

§35: Hijo.- No has mencionado Misa Phuku (Misa de Olla).

§36: Mdr.- La mesa de olla, Asanjirani está allá arriba.

§37: F.- ¿Por qué son importantes esos lugares, o sea qué... qué historia le recuerdan esos lugares?

§38: Hijo.- ¿Por qué...?

§39: Mdr.- Uno de este lugar es Inka Q'awa (Grieta del Inka).

§40: Hijo.- ¿Por qué se llama esos lugares... se llaman, así? ¿Qué ocurre, qué cosas se pone a esos?, dice.

§41: Mdr.- Eso, tiene suerte, hay que ofrendar. Se ofrenda a los achachilas de Qupallika eso. A éste igualmente se ofrenda a los achachilas y abuelitas...

§42: Se ofrece también a aquel Palasuylla. Esas ofrendas se las ofrecía en el tiempo de la hacienda. En el tiempo de la hacienda, los patrones compraban misas para ofrecer a Surixäwi y después, éstos los maestros, digamos los brujos (*layqa*), solían encargarse de eso. Para ello está nombrado, eso. Igualmente en el Injiñu (Ingenio). Los que se encargan de realizar la ofrenda, son los *yatiris*. Eso, instruyen los patrones, para que vayan a ofrendar a esos sitios. Antes habían los *jilaqatas* y mayordomos. Los son los cabeza, esos se encargan de ofrendar incluso las misas. Para ello están nombrados, así. Aquella aynuqa de Santa Ana, Wila Quntusa, para se ofrendan éstos, para que no hayan granizadas. Para eso hacen ofrendar, los *yatiris* se encargan de eso bajo la indicación de los *jilaqatas*. Van a comprar misas, alcohol, vino todo eso, pero el patrón se encarga de hacer ofrendar. Esas cosas no sabemos nosotros, los que saben son el

jilaqata, el alcalde y el mayordomo, esos habían, ellos se encargan de hacer todo eso. Nosotros no hacemos nada. Esos denominados para eso. A esos pues *ch'allan* (brindan) los *yatiris* se encarga de la *ch'alla*, para que no hayan granizadas, para que haya buena producción y los ganados se reproduzcan. Para ello, van a realizar la *coancha* (*q'uwancha*). Así es eso. Nosotros no sabemos. Así es...

Name: Tiwa18-12@

Place and Date: Huancollo, May
2018

Transcription and translation from
Aymara by Prof Juan de Dios
Yapita (ILCA, La Paz)

Sobr.- Kun satas, tía,
grabadoraruw. Ya Amay
Samaña, amta... samay Quri
Khulluni.

Tía.- Akachiqá akachiqaw... Quri,
Quri Khullunixa.

Sobr.- Quri Khulluni, khayax Amay
Samañachixaya, Amay
Samaña.

Tía.- Ya ya.

F.- Nn...

Sobr.- Ukatsti.

Tía.- Jichhast...

Sobr.- Parls parls, parl, sam.

Tía.- Jichhasti jichha, jichha
khayatay qalltayanixa, ¿un wi?
(¿no ve?).

Sobr.- (ji)say (ji)say say.

Tía.- Akaxa Tiji punku, ukatxa
Surixawa, Suxta Khulluni,
Suxta Khulluni, Quri
Wastunani, akachiqá,
akachiqá.

Sobr.- Ya, ya...

Tía.- Ukat khayax Ch'utu Qullu,
Ch'utu Qullu, khayaxa.

Sobr.- Ajä.

Tía.- Akax Khunu Qullu, Khunu
Qullu, khayapi Atipiri, khaya
qulluxa.

F.- Titiri (Atipiri)...

Tía.- Ukatxa, aka jach'a qullux, kun
sañaxisa.

Sobr.- Qupalika.

Tía.- Qupalika, ukhatxa
kunjamaxisa Wanka Pampa
aka Luranaka utjki kunacha.

Sobr.- Ya.

Tía.- Luranaka ...

Sobr.- Akhaki parl'tam tia,
akhanakaki, jiwás utjtán ukhaki
parl'tam tía.

Tía.- Ya ya.

F.- Entonces son lugares ...

Tía.- Khayäki ukx Ch'utu Qullu
anoxtaw ¿nu wi?, Ch'utu
Qullu.

F.- Ch'utu Qullu.

Tía.- Khaya qullituki uka, ukha
Amay Samaña.

Sobr.- Akhitaw Amay Samañaxa.
Uraqix iskina ukhapuniw.

Tia.- Ukatx ukakiw. Surix kunacha
khä iñchhi kawkharakisti Wila
Quntu aynuqa.

Sobr.- Aynuqa...

Tía.- Wila Quntu aynuqa, mä
saranaka wali sutin sutiniskiw
Kajun Qala... no si iñchhi
Laura utjki.

Sobr.- Mi tía está cansadita, pero
mi tía, está cansada, entonces
que...

F.- Nn...

Tia.- Laura utjki ukhax Qala
Phuch'u, Qala Phuch'u, Tijin
Tijin kunacha. Kun satas uka
phuch'u, tunka päni phuch'uti.
Kun sataxisa.

Sobr.- Janiw yatxtti.

Tía.- Ja...

Sobr.- Janiw yatxtti. Bien
entonces, hermano Francisco,
ha reconocido mi tía Pascuala
Huanca ee... lo que ha dicho
algunos rasgos, también mi tía
es un poco cansada también.
Yo tampoco no recuerdo
mucho, ¿no? Yo recién en
1965 he llegado.

Tía.- Wila Quntut aynachax jälla
iñchhiskiw Wila Quntut
aynachaxa, kun sataxa...
T'irita.

Sobr.- Nn...

Tía.- T'irita uka iñchhi Marcela utjki
ukhanakaxa.

Sobr.- T'irita...

Tía.- Nn... T'irita.

Sobr.- Son a veces lugares
místicos, lugares sagrados yo
creo que, aún no conocemos,
pero a través de este
documento a través de la tia
podemos llegar a algunos
hechos. Eso es lo que puedo
decir.

Tía.- Ukhamanakakiw...

F.- Nn...

Tía.- Ukhamanakakiw, caballero.

F.- Sonrie...

Sobr.- Eso nomás es te ha dicho.

F.- Eso nomás.

Tía.- Más allá harto había pero...

F.- Esos lugares, digamos son
importantes.

Sobr.- Son místicos...

F.- Son místicos que se puede preguntar cuál es la importancia de esos lugares.

Sobr.- Por qué, por qué son místicos, ¿por qué?

F.- Claro, claro, ¿de dónde viene eso?

Sobr.- Tenía.

F.- Claro, por eso digo un poco así, si se le puede preguntar, si le parece.

Sobr.- Pregunta nomás, yo te lo voy a traducir.

F.- Dale, señora, por qué son importantes esos lugares.

Sobr.- Kunats uka lugaranakax wali importex, siw, tía.

Tía.- Ja...

Sobr.- Kunats uka lugaranakax importantix, wali waxt'aña.

Tía.- Ukham sutinipinitanaw.

Sobr.- Aaa, ya...

Tía.- Ukham sutinipinitanaw, ukham sutinipunitanaw.

Sobr.- Ukat ukharusti.

Tía.- Ukham sutinakanipunitanaw, ukanakax.

Sobr.- Wali munañani.

Tía.- Nn... munañani

Sobr.- Wali poderosopxatapaw.

Tía.- Purirusunakapi Tijipanti tijipanti.

Sobr.- Algunos místicos que tienen un criterio poderoso, y hasta ahora sigue siendo.

Tía.- Q'upanakax iwala wali purirusu. Achakanakax wali anantt'asinkir, siw. Mä awkimp taykampiw ukan utjirix, siw. Karaju, sasa, may q'uraw phajantt'asirix, siw, hasta nina phichhampiw nayrax inchhisipirix, siw. Ninampi qalampkamaw jutantapxirix, siw. Sayt'apxam taykax, kuna kuna Manuni satänwa, siw... Luwisitan awuylupapachanay. Sayt'apxam kujurunaka karaju, may asta q'urawt'i lapx amayas qatatt'apachaw achaka thuqkataway, siw. Jaqixa, wali purirusuw akana.

Sobr.- Qupallika...

Tí.- Qupallikaxa. wali purirusuwa, ukhat ast kutjawayix, siw. Qawqxay anantaschisapäna wanqullunakxa. Jan uka kallis mistuña ukhama. Wanqullux janirak uka kallir jak'añati,

achaktuqiruxa. Ukhamanay
nn... Ukhamakiw, caballero.
Eso nomás es, caballero.
Q'araq'ar Pata.

Sobr.- ...

F.- Me imagino que si. Me podría
todo traducir lo que... un poco
la historia, señor Quintana.

Sobr.- Dice que la comadre
Achaka atacaba a Wanqullu.
Ese Qupallika era un cerro,
entonces que, habían venido
con todas sus fuerzas Achaka.
Qupallika, con sus hondas se
han defendido, dice. Un
Qupallika había matado a uno
de Achaka, agarrado de su
difunto se había escapado, a lo
que mi tía, dice, eso es lo que
puede recordar algo que
puedo traducir, ¿no?

F.- O sea que...

Sobr.- Es un, este Qupallika es un
poderoso, un señor un...
según la historia también sé de
que, es un aeropuerto
extraterrestre.

F.- Ya...

Sobr.- No sé, si hermano
Francisco ha pisado, ha

palpado... sino seguidamente
podemos ir también.

F.- ¿A esa Qupallika?

Sobr.- Nn...

F.- Sí, sí, me subí...

Sobr.- Es un plano, es un
aeropuerto, ¿no?

F.- Parece...

Sobr.- Esps, según dicen los
antepasados, era un área este
extraterrestre.

F.- Ya, y ¿cómo es la historia de
Qupallika señora, usted
conoce puede contar otras
historias?

Sobr.- Kunjāmas Qupalikax,
kunjamas misttawayi.

Tía.- Ja...

Sobr.- Kunjāmas misttawayi.
Kunjāmas aka Quqalikax, siw,
tía.

Tía.- Ukax ukhampunitānaw
ukhampunitānaw. Así siempre
es.

Sobr.- Así siempre he conocido,
dice.

F.- Así siempre... ¿Pero Qupallika
para otros eran lugares,
también hay historias...?

Sobr.- Comunidadanakasti, ja...

Sobr.- Hacienda ukhampunt
uñjapxtaxa.

Tía.- Ukhampini, akax wali
utachrantatanwa. Jichha
iskuylkamakichi, ukax Wanqull
asint utaw. Wanqull asint utaw,
sasa. Ukhan wali
ch'awañanakaw utjäna, waka
ch'awañanakaw utjäna. Iwij
awatiñanakaw asta patak
patakaw utjäna... allq'i iwijax
yaqha, wajcha iwijax yaqha.
Uka t'aqaratäki uka iwijax
yaqha. Urqunakax yaqha.
Ukhamanaw asint timpux.
Waka iwala, turunakax aparti,
iñchhix aparti, wawanakax
aparti ch'awaña. Harto había.
Nn... Ukhamanakänw, wali
rawajunw akana. Qalüyus
minusakiw... Qhipat ukanakax
juk'as rawajuwayxi. Yasta
Reformax jaquiptawayxiw.
Janiw rawajuñas utjixiti,
ch'awañas utjixiti. Kawkirux
uka iwijanakas sarchi.
Iwijanakax ukch'a pampaw
asta awatiñirixa. Wakas iwala,
turu wakanakax yaqha, wawan
wakanakax yaqha, wallq'i
wakanakax yaqha, ankutax
yaqhakhama. Harto había, aka

asint utana. Ukat Riphurmax
jaquiptawayxix, kawkirux uka
uywanakax sarchi, iwijas
wakas chhaqaratakixiw.
Jilt'anakx jaqikiw
kharirasiwayxi.

H.- Munirix manq'antawayxi.

Tía.- (ji)saya, mä kawalliruw, aka
kawalliruts minusa, sinti asta,
iñchhipuninwa leche mayak
ukax umt'asiskiri. Pä litru
kimsa litru apaqarapiñaxa,
jayp'ux lichki, arumirjax lichiki.
Janiw mä iwissa khariyirikiti,
nn... Ukat mä wawapaw utjiri
utjix, sasaw ukaw puriniriri,
(¿no?). Ukat iñchhi, chayrituk
phayt'ayarapix... kun satas
ch'awirinakaxa, pongo
satänwa uka pongonakaxa.

H.- Pongos.

P.- Ukax iñchhiriw, ukaw
phayarapixa. Wawax puriniw,
juwinaw, jach'a juwina. No
quiero eso, arucita quiero,
sasaw wawax jachaskir, siw,
ukhamak ukhamak wawa
jachayaskir, siw. Ukham ukat
asta rispachxpachay
wawaruxa.

Janiw... Ukataq(i) uywaxay,
jupax almistarurakichinxay.

Janixay jupax
patronakchintixa, patronax
Lapasankanay nn... Ukat
iñchhir kunas ukiri, janiw
wawarux iwij kharst'awawas
apayirikiti. Ukhamak manq'at
jiwaskiri, lichi mayak umaskiri
uka kawalliruxa Ukhamat sarxi
Lapasan sarnaqkawiruw
jiwxix, sasakiw sasipkiri.
Ukhamak lurawayäna.
Ukhamanakakïnwa

Sobr.- Cörtalo, Pancho.

F.- Gracias señora.

Translation

§1: Sobr.- ¿Qué se llama, tía? A la grabadora. Bueno, Amay Samaña (Descanso de Amaya), recuerdo... diga Quri Khulluni (Cordoniz de Oro).

§2: Tía.- Por aquí, por aquí es Quri... Quri Khulluni.

§3: Sobr.- Quri Khulluni, aquél es pues Amay Samaña (Descanso del Alma), Amay Samaña.

§4: Tía.- Bueno, bueno.

§5: F.- Nn...

§6: Sobr.- ¿Y eso?

§7: Tía.- ¿Y ahora?

§8: Sobr.- Dile que hable, hable. Hable.

§9: Tía.- Y ahora, ahora, comenzaremos con aquello, ¿no cierto?

§10: Sobr.- Sí, sí, sí.

§11: Tía.- Este es Tiji punku (Puerta de Tiji), después al lado de Surixana... Suxta Khulluni (Que tiene seis Codornices), Suxta Khulluni, Quri Wastunani (Que tiene bastones de Oru) por aquí, por aquí.

§12: Sobr.- Bueno, bueno...

§13: Tía.- Después, aquello es Ch'utu Qullu (Cima del Cerro)..., Cima del Cerro es aquello...

§14: Sobr.- Bueno...

§15: Tía.- Este es el cerro nevado, el cerro nevado, y aquél es Atipiri (Vencedor), Atipiri es aquel cerro.

§16: F.- Vencedor.

§17: Tía.- Después, ¿qué se llama este cerro grande?, ¿qué se llama?

§18: Sobr.- Qupalika.

§19: Tía.- Qupalika (JDY: Yo no entiendo el significado), después ¿cómo es? La Pampa de Huanca, aquí donde viven los Lauras o ¿qué es?

§20: Sobr.- Bueno...

§21: Tía.- Los Lauras...

§22: Sobr. Tía, habla solamente, de este lugar, solamente de este lugar, donde nosotros vivimos. Tía, habla solamente de este... de este lugar.

§23: Tía.- Bueno, bueno.

§24: F.- Entonces son lugares...

§25: Tía.- Aquello que es Ch'utu Qullu. Has anoto ¿no ve?, Ch'utu Qullu (Cima del cerro)...

§26: F.- Cima del cerro...

§27: Tía.- Aquel cerro pequeño, eso. Ese lugar es Amay Samaña (Descanso del alma).

§28: Sobr.- Este lugarcito es Amay Samaña, el lugar es siempre la esquina.

§29: Tía.- Después, eso nomás es. Suri (avestruz) o ¿qué es? Aquello... este, pues, ¿dónde

es? Wila Quntu aynuqa (ainoca del Promontorio Rojo).

§30: Sobr.- Aynuqa (JDY: chacra comunal o se castillanizaría como ainoca)...

§31: Tía.- Wila Quntu aynuqa (Ainoca del Promontorio Rojo/Colorado), hay más cada sitio tiene sus nombres: Piedra encajonada? No sé. Éste, donde vive Laura.

§32: Sobr.- Mi tía está cansadita, pero mi tía, está cansada, entonces que...

§33: F.- ...

§34: Tía.- Por donde vive Laura es Qala Phuch'u (Pozo de Piedra), Qala Phuch'u. Tijin Tijina (JDY: Yo no entiendo el significado) o ¿qué es? ¿Qué se llama ese pozo? Ese que tiene doce pozos... ¿Qué se llama?

§35: Sobr.- No lo sé.

§36: Tía.- ¿Como?

§37: Sobr.- No lo sé. Bien entonces, hermano Francisco, ha reconocido mi tía Pascuala Huanca ee... lo que ha dicho algunos rasgos, también mi tía

es un poco cansada también. Yo tampoco no recuerdo mucho, ¿no? Yo recién en 1965 he llegado.

§38: Tía.- Esto de Wila Quntu abajo, pues este... De Wila Quntu abajo, ¿qué se llama? T'irita (JDY: No entiendo bien el significado).

§39: Sobr.- ...

§40: Tía.- Por donde vive Marcela, esos lugares.

§41: Sobr.- T'irita (JDY. pueda que sea algo prendido o sujetado, porque *t'iriña* es prendedor...)

§42: Tía.- Nn... T'irita (Prendido).

§43: Sobr.- Son a veces lugares místicos, lugares sagrados yo creo que, aún no conocemos, pero a través de este documento a través de la tía podemos llegar a algunos hechos. Eso es lo que puedo decir.

§44: Tía.- Así nomás son.

§45: F.- ...

§46: Tía.- Caballero, así nomás son.

§47: F.- ...

§48: Sobr.- Eso nomás es te ha dicho.

§49: F.- Eso nomás

§50: Tía.- Más allá harto había pero...

§51: F.- Esos lugares, digamos son importantes.

§52: Sobr.- Son místicos...

§53: F.- Son misticos que se puede preguntar cuál es la importancia de esos lugares.

§54: Sobr.- Por qué, por qué son místicos, ¿por qué?

§55: F.- Claro, claro, ¿de dónde viene eso?

§56: Sobr.- Tenía.

§57: F.- Claro, por eso digo un poco así, si se le puede preguntar, si le parece.

§58: Sobr.- Pregunta nomás, yo te lo voy a traducir.

§59: F.- Dale, señora, por qué son importantes esos lugares.

§60: Tía.- ...

§61: Sobr.- Aaa bueno...

§62: Tía.- Así siempre había tenido el nombre, así siempre había tenido el nombre.

§63: Sobr.- Después, sobre eso.

§64: Tía.- Esos, así siempre había tenido el nombre.

§65: Sobr.- Muy caprichoso.

§66: Tía.- Nn... caprichoso.

§67: Sobr.- Se ve que hayan sido muy poderoso esos.

§68: Tía.- Pues, son poderosos con su Tiji, con su Tiji.

§69: Sobr.- Algunos místicos que tienen un criterio poderoso, y hasta ahora sigue siendo.

§70: Tía.- Los Q'upas igualmente, eran poderosos. Los Achacas, bien solían arrear para adentro, dice. Dicen que vivían ahí, dos personas mayores hombre y mujer. Diciendo, carajo de inmediato se solía colocar su honda en su cintura, dice. Pues, dicen que antes solían venir a la pelea todos con piedra y fuego. La mujer mayor les decía: párense, dice que algo de Manuni se llamaba. Ha debido ser el abuelo de Luisita. Párense cojudos carajo, de inmediato lanza su honda, el Achaka corría hacia arriba, arrastrando

el muerto, dice. La gente es muy poderosa, aquí.

§71: Sobr.- Qupallika

§72: Tía.- Qupallika es muy poderosa, desde ahí les hizo retroceder dicen. Cuanta gente de Wanqullo les hubiera hecho quedar. No se podía salir a hasta la calle. Tampoco los Wanqullos se asomaban a esa calle, hacia los Achacas. Pues así era. Nn... Eso nomás es caballero.

§73: Las alturas de Q'araq'ara (Lugar pelado?).

§74: Sobr.- ...

§75: F.- Me imagino que si. Me podría todo traducir lo que... un poco la historia,

§76: Sobr.- Dice que la comadre Achaka atacaba a Wanqullu. Ese Qupallika era un cerro, entonces que, habían venido con todas sus fuerzas Achaka. Qupallika, con sus hondas se han defendido, dice. Un Qupallika había matado a uno de Achaka, agarrado de su difunto se había escapado, a lo que mi tía, dice, eso es lo que

puede recordar algo que puedo traducir, ¿no?

§77: F.- ...

§78: Sobr.- Es un, este Qupallika es un poderoso, un señor un... según la historia también sé de que, es un aeropuerto extraterrestre

§79: F.- Ya...

§80: Sobr.- No sé, si hermano Francisco ha pisado, ha palpado... sino seguidamente podemos ir también.

§81: F.- ¿A esa Qupallika?

§82: Sobr.- Nn...

§83: F.- Sí, sí, me subí...

§84: Sobr.- Es un plano, es un aeropuerto, ¿no?

§85: F.- Parece...

§86: Sobr.- Esps, según dicen los antepasados, era un área este extraterrestre.

§87: F.- Ya, y ¿cómo es la historia de Qupallika señora, usted conoce puede contar otras historias?

§88: Sobr. ¿Cómo es Qupallika? ¿Hacia dónde se sube?

¿Cómo es Quqallika?, dice, tía.

§89: (Nota de JDY: Se dice alternativamente Qupallika o Qupalika...)

§90: Tía.- ¿Qué?

§91: Sobr.- ¿Cómo sube el camino? ¿Cómo es Quqallika?, dice, tía.

§92: Tía.- Así siempre había sido, eso. Así siempre había sido...

§93: Sobr.- Así siempre he conocido, dice.

§94: F.- Así siempre... ¿Pero Qupallika para otros eran lugares, también hay historias...?

§95: Sobr.- ¿Y las comunidades?

§96: Tía.- ¿Qué...?

§97: Sobr.- Así siempre han encontrado la hacienda.

§98: Tía.- Así siempre, ésta estaba cubierta de casas. Ahora solamente, hay escuelas. Ésa es la casa de hacienda de Wanqullo. Ésa es la casa de hacienda de Wanqullo, dicen. Había mucho de ordeñar, había vacas que ordeñaba. Había ovejas que se

ordeñaba, pues había cienes. Se separaba las ovejas preñadas. Se separaba las crías huérfanas. Las ovejas seleccionadas, ésas se separaba. Las ovejas machos se separaban. Así era en la época de hacienda. Las vacas igualmente, los toros aparte, este aparte. Las vacas aparte se ordeñaban. Harto había. Nn, así eran, mucho trabajo había aquí. Los de Qalüyu (Corral de Piedras) tenían menos trabajo. Después, ellos continuaron poco más. Finalmente, la Reforma lo cambió. Ya no había eso de trabajar, tampoco había eso de ordeñar. ¿Dónde se irían esas ovejas. Las ovejas se pasteaban en la pampa extensa. Igualmente las vacas, los toros se separaban. Las vacas con crías se **separaban**, las vacas preñadas se separaba, las vacas jóvenes se separaban...

§99: Así era. Harto había en la casa de hacienda. Después la Reforma lo cambió, dónde irían a parar los... tanto ovejas como vacas ganados se

desaparecieron. La gente los carneó el resto.

§100: Sobr.- Los que querían lo comieron.

§101: Tía.- Sí, había un caballero, menos que este caballero, era demasiado siempre, leche sólo solía tomar, un litro, tres litros se separaba para él. Por la noche leche, por la mañana solamente leche. No solía carnear ninguna oveja para él se lo hacía cocinar. Él tenía un hijo, decían. Ése solía llegar, para él se lo hacía preparar chayrito. ¿Cómo se llaman las ordeñadoras? Se llamaban pongo. Esas pongos...

§102: Sobr.- Pongos

§103: Tía.- Esas saben cocinar. El hijo llegó joven, joven alto, –No quiero eso- quiero arroz, diciendo, sabía llorar, dicen. Así nomás lloraba el hijo, dicen. Así ha debido despachar al hijo.

§104: No, tanto ganado, él era solamente administrador. Él no era patrón, el patrón estaba en La Paz. Después... la oveja carneada no suele mandar al hijo. Así nomás le sufrir de

hambre. Leche solamente tomaba ese caballero. De así se fue. Dicen que murió al estar caminando. Comentaban. Así nomás traduces... lo hacía. Eran así nomás.

§105: Sobr.- Córdalo, Pancho.

§106: F.- Gracias señora.

Name: Tiwa18-13@

Place and date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription and translation from Aymara by Prof Juan de Dios Yapita (ILCA, La Paz)

M.- Aksaruy qunt'asmamaxa, aksaruy qunt'asmamaxa.

Mj.- Walikiskiw.

F.- Un poco, la historia, qué recuerda de..., cuando era usted joven ¿qué, qué me podría decir de esa época?, digamos.

M.- Parlam, situti.

Mj.- Nn...

Mdr.- Jichha kunara(k) parlasti.

Mj.- ¿Qué cosa voy a hablar pues ahora?

F.- Eee, sobre su recuerdo, digamos de la... de su historia de aquí... ¿cómo era la comunidad, cuando la señora era más joven ee... qué cambio..., digamos la señora ha podido ver?

Mj.- Nayra asint timpünwa, sasa. Ukaki parlasmaxa.

Mdr.- Asint timpux asint waka, asint iwij awatiñakichinxay. Asint lurapxirita nanakax ch'awapxirítwa iwija.

Mj.- Patronaw utjänxa, samay. Patronaw utjän nayrax, sasa. Nayrax patronaw utjän saraktasa.

Mdr.- (Ji)say patronaw utjäna. Patronatak queso akch'aw atiñiri ques(o). Atipxta patronataki. Rikusan phayapxta, rikusana ch'irwarañaw, ukat patronar apayaña. Waka, asint waka awatipxta, asint iwij awatipxta. Ukhamaki, asint kawallu, asint khuchi, chachiriwa.

Mj.- Parlaskakimay kunanaks... parlaskakim.

Mdr.- Ukhamaki, uka pampanakax
ayjarirkamakīnw. Jichha
jaqikamakixiw.

F.- ¿Usted siempre vivió acá, en
esa casa?

Mj.- No...

Mdr.- Asint kawallu, taqi kunaw
utjiri patronan utaxa. Asta,
ukatpini ampar kharita
ch'awapxta. Iwijax waranqaw
ch'awañiri waranq iwija. Ukat
uka alministrarurax lichx
miriwa, phaltaskix wiltata
ch'awapxirīta. Ukat queso
atipxta akch'a. tampurjamaw
quesox atiña. Asint timpux
patronar apayañaxa. Wal
suphriwäpxta asint timpux
nanakaxa. Ukakiwa.

F.- Eso nomás, ya, entonces ¿no
vivió siempre en esa casa?

Mj.- No. Janiw, khaysan qamayäta,
samaya.

Mdr.- Ja...

Mj.- Janiw, qhipat akarux
jutawaytxa, asint lurasin,
samaya.

Mdr.- Khawsallankayätwa, akaru
awkch'ijaw apanituxa.
Chachajaw apanitu, ukat akan

asint lurtxa. Khayatpachänw
uraqijas, khä jaqiw apaqituxa.
Ukatpach lurayäta asintxa.
Asint wakax awatiskaña, asint
khuchi, asint iwija, asint
kawallu. Kawallus wat'aqirichī.

Mj.- Jiwayasax patronarux
pagañänwa, samay.

Mdr.- Patronatak asta, patronatak
ch'awkañakī iwijas wakas.
Patronatak ch'awañakīnw,
iwijas wakasa. Jää nanaka
uywa uñtapkayätti. Iwijajas
payitakīnw. Iwija uyun
qamaskiri. Asint iwij awatiri
asint wak awatiriw sarañaxa.
Wakas pikutan jachart'askiri.
Añchhjamakiw anantaniwasa
jutaña, ukat khayjaruw pampar
ant'aña, wakaxa
makhatasinkarakiw qhantaski.
Ukhamakiw, lurapxta asintxa.

Mj.- Asint iwij jiwayasas
pagañänw, samay.

Mdr.- Asint waka jiwixa pagaña,
asint iwija jiwixa pagaña,
ukhama. Janiw katuqasirikiti.

F.- Después de hacienda ¿qué
pasó?

Mj.- Hacienda pasxix,
mallkunakarak lurañax, sama.

Niño.- Hacienda pasxi ukhasti.

Mdr.- Ja...

Niño.- Hacienda pasxi ukha.

Mdr.- Pasto...

Niño.- Pasxi ukha.

Mj. Hacienda tukusxi ukha...

Mdr. Asint tukusxixa, kuna asint
utan chacha phuqänwa.
Ch'uñu, tunta.
Kamachasisipkchixa,
Tukusiski ukhamaki.

Mj.- Ukat mallkunakarak luraña...

Mdr.- Asintax tukusiwayxchi.
Víctor Paz Estensorakis
apaqawaxixa, ukaw
apaqxchixa, ukaw aka
uraqinak churawayxapxitux.
Ukatay uraq katusxapxtxa.

F.- Reforma.

Madr.- Víctor Paz Estensoroy...

Mj.- Reformaxay utjpachänxa.

Mdr.- Ja...

Mj.- Reformaxay utjpachänxa.

Mdr.- Uuh ukhamakiwa. Ukakiwa.

Mj.- Ukat mallkunak lurawayaskta,
sama.

F.- Ya tiene la tierra, después de la
Reforma verdad, ya se hizo
comunidad.

Mj.- Sí.

F.- Dale. Entonces otra preguntita
sería: ¿Qué lugares
importantes existen acá?
¿Qué... Qué sitios, digamos
con... que tengan algún valor
para la vivencia de acá?

Mj.- Terreno nomásps. Uraqiki
iriñsjamax asintatxa uraqiki
katxapxtaxa iriñsjama, ¿no
ve?

Mdr.- Ukakpi ukak iriñsjam
katxapxta uraqiki katxapxta,
patronax sarxchi almisturas
sarawayxchi. Iskapxchi.

F.- Ya, y ¿qué lugares como Tiji
Punku como Qupallika...?
¿qué lugares importantes
usted podría comentar?

Mj.- Aka Surixawin utjta, samay...

Mdr.- Surixaw ukham
satakipuniskatanaw
Surixawiw Tixiw, sasa.
Khamakpin ukx yatiskta
nayasa.

Mj.- Si, desde antes dice Surixawi,
mi mamá no sabe decir...

Mdr.- Surixaw Qulluw, sasa, Tixiw tixiw, sasa. Ukhamakpin yatista. Surixaw, sasa. Kunatpin uka Suraxawi sutichasisipkchi. Nayra timputxay ukham sutipachaxa

F.- Y ¿qué importancia tiene esos lugares?

Mj.- Así nomás tenemos...

Mdr.- Asint timpux asta asintatak luraskañaki. Jä yapuchasipkiriktti. Asintataki ch'uqis llamayuña. Asta asintataki asta ch'uñus ch'uñutaskaña. Patronatak ch'uñutaskaña ukhamakipiniñwa. Tuntaskaña patronataki patronatakikipini lurapxtxa. Jää... nanaka uywa uñt'apkayätti. Patronatak lurañakñwa. Iwijas uyun qamt'askiri, wakas pikutan jachart'aski. Asint ut tuqik jalxapxtxa. Asint iwijaxay awatiñachixa, asint wakaxay awatiñachixa. Ukakiwa.

F.- E ¿pero no conoce, por ejemplo una historia sobre...?

Mj.- Eso nosotros igual también ese nombre nomás siempre conocemos Tiji Punku, dicen. Nosotros Tiji nomás decimos,

algunos dicen Tiji Punku. No sabemos por qué será así con ese nombre, los tatarabuelos deben saber.

F.- Nn... pero es un lugar importante, así me comentaban...

Mj.- Aaa si Surixawi Tiji Punku, así nomás siempre.

Mdr.- Ukham qullukipini.

F.- Entonces, ¿no saben por qué será importante?

Mj.- No sé, por qué será, eso no sé... nuestros tatarabuelos haygan hecho con ese nombre, haygan puesto, nosotros no sabemos.

F.- Me comentaban también que a ese lugar donde se se se waxt'a. Se hacen ofrendas.

Mj.- Nnn... hacemos, mis abuelos saben decir este es achachila... mis abuelos saben besarse así, pero sabe decir: Surixaw achachil, Tiji achachila, así sabe decir mi abuelo. En agosto sabemos hacer. Después saben decir (para aquellos): willk'is, wali t'urun willk'i, no sé, así sabe ch'allarse mi abuelo.

F.- Allá, allá en el Tiji.

Mj.- Nn...

F.- Ajá...

Mj. Nn... así sabe decir.

F.- La señora podría comentar sobre eso, su mamá.

Mj.- Si, puedes preguntar nomás.

F.- Ya, ee doña Ignacia algo ee hace waxt'a en Tiji...

Mj.- Tiji punkurux waxt'ayañati, siwa.

Mdr. Ja.

Mj.- Tiji Punkur waxt'ayañat, siwa. Antes, no van a acercar, sabe decir mi abuelo. No van a llorar, sabe comerse, sabe decir.

F.- ¿Qué hace, cómo?

Mj.- No van a cercar, en ese cerro no van a llorar nada, sabe decir mi abuelo.

Mj.- Waxt'ayañat, samay. Achachilanakar waxt'ayañati.

Nino.- Achachilanakar waxt'ayañati, siwa.

Mdr.- Janiw achachilanakar waxt'aykiti. Janiw yatktti ukxa.

Niño.- Si, mi abuelo sabe decir, así.

Mdr.- Awuyluw yatina, ukxa. Janiw yatktti, ukxa.

F.- Usted no hace.

Mdr.- Nä... jani achachilanakar churayirikti.

F.- Ee... ¿sabe hacer en otro lugar, no, no, no...?

Mj.- Nosotros no siempre, nn... no sabemos waxt'ar, siempre dice waxt'ar, ¿no...?

F.- Ya.

Mj.- Si antes, abuelos sí. Sabe decir estos achachilas, sabe decir aquello es Tiji achachila, sabe decir.

F.- Ee bueno, puedo preguntarle ¿por qué, digamos, se ha perdido esa costumbre?

Mj.- Esa costumbre... nosotros no llevamos esa costumbre.

F.- Ya ee... bueno, alguna cosa, porque esta grabación va a ser devuelta a la comunidad.

Mj.- Nn...

F.- Entonces para que los niños dentro de algunos años lo pueda mirar. Entonces

¿alguna cosa que quería añadir para que quede grabada para que ellos conozcan? Digamos para cuando sean mayores, ¿alguna cosa piensa que es importante como transmitir?

Mj.- Aa... Está bien entonces.

Mdr.- Kamsisa.

F.- ¿Si alguna cosa más quería añadir?, decía.

Mj.- Eso nomás, qué cosa vamos a decir, pero para los niños está bienps.

F.- Señora, quería añadir alguna cosa para los niños para decirles... para que quede grabado.

Mj.- Wawanakatak uka walikiti. Naya ukak jaytawayiristi, samaya.

Mdr.- Ja...

Niño.- Intintiyam chha....

Mdr.- Wawanakatak uka herencjam.

Mj.-Wawanakatak uka herenciaki jaytawayäxa, sama. Uka palabrak sawayirista, sama.

Mdr.- Wawanakatak ukakiw palabra, ukakiwa. Wawanakar ukakiy jaytawayxaxa. Uka palabraki. Nietos... Allchinakaw ukaxa, akas allchhi akaki wawajaxa. Allchhinakaruki jaytawayaxa, jiwxchixay naxa. Allchhirukiy jaytawayxaxa.

F.- Listo, terminó.

Mj.- Sí, eso nomás sería.

F.- Eso nomás sería. Está bien, gracias por su tiempo entonces. Les agradezco mucho.

Translation

§1: M.- Deberías sentarte a este lado, deberías sentarte a este lado.

§2: Mj.- Está bien nomás.

§3: F.- Un poco, la historia, qué recuerda de..., cuando era usted joven ¿qué, qué me podría decir de esa época?, digamos.

§4: M.- Me dice que hable.

§5: Mj.- Nn....

§6: Mdr.- ¿Qué cosa voy a hablar pues ahora?

§7: Mj.- ¿Qué cosa voy a hablar pues ahora?

§8: F.- Eee, sobre su recuerdo, digamos de la... de su historia de aquí... ¿cómo era la comunidad, cuando la señora era más joven ee... qué cambio..., digamos la señora ha podido ver?

§9: Mj.- Antes, era tiempo de hacienda. Debes hablar eso nomás.

§10: Mdr.- En el tiempo de hacienda, se pasteaba las vacas y ovejas de la hacienda. Nosotros solíamos labrar y ordeñar a las ovejas en la hacienda.

§11: Mj.- Dile pues que había patrón. Diciendo que antes había patrón. Pues, tú has dicho que antes había patrón.

§12: Madr.- Sí, había patrón. Solíamos hacer queso, así, de este tamaño. Para el patrón hacíamos.

§13: Cocimos requesón... se exprime el requesón, luego se envía al patrón. Las vacas de

la hacienda pasteamos, pasteamos las ovejas de la hacienda. Igualmente, se pasteaba los caballos, los chanchos que eran harto.

§14: Mj.- Habla nomás.... más... segui hablando.

§15: Mdr.- Así nomás, esas pampas eran puramente bofedales. Ahora está poblada de gente.

§16: F.- ¿Usted siempre vivió acá, en esa casa?

§17: Mj.- No ...

§18: Mdr.- En la casa del patrón de la hacienda solía haber caballos y de todo. Ordeñamos, aunque con la pastimada. Se solía ordeñar mil ovejas, mil ovejas. Después el administrador mide la leche, si falta, se solía ordeñar de nuevo. Después hicimos los quesos. Así grandes. Como un tambor se hacían los quesos. En el tiempo de la hacienda, se enviaba al patrón. Nosotros hemos sufrido mucho en el tiempo de la hacienda. Eso nomás es.

§19: F.- Eso nomás, ya, entonces ¿no vivió siempre en esa casa?

§20: Mj.- No. Yo vivía en aquel lado, dile pues.

§21: Mdr.- ¿Qué?

§22: Mj.- No, después me vine aquí, cumpliendo las labores de la hacienda. Dile pues...

§23: Mdr.- Yo viví por allá, mi suegro me ha traído aquí. Mi esposo me trajo, por eso tuve que trabajar la hacienda aquí. Desde allá eran mis terrenos, aquel hombre se lo apropió. Yo hacía desde ahí la hacienda. Se pastaba las vacas, los chanchos, las ovejas, los caballos de la hacienda. Los caballos de la hacienda solían lanzar sus coces.

§24: Mj.- Se pagaba al patrón, si moría algún animal, dile pues.

§25: Mdr.- Todo el tiempo se ordeñaba las ovejas y vacas para el patrón. Todo el tiempo se ordeñaba tanto ovejas como para el patrón. Nosotros no teníamos los ganados. Yo tenía nada más que dos ovejas. Ésas solían estar en el

corral. Se iba a pastear las ovejas y vacas de la hacienda. Mis vacas solían estar llorando amarrada en la *picuta*, se venía como este momento después de arrear mis vacas hacia aquella pampa, ellas de por sí venían. Pues así nomás hicimos la hacienda.

§26: Mj.- Cuando morían las ovejas de la hacienda, se pagaba, dile pues.

§27: Mdr.- Se pagaba cuando moría una vaca, igual si moría una oveja. Pero no se solía recibir.

§28: F.- Después de hacienda ¿qué pasó?

§29: Mj.- Cuando ya terminó el tiempo de la hacienda, se cumplía el cargo de *mallku*, dile pues.

§30: Niño.- ¿Y después de que pasó la hacienda?

§31: Mdr. ¿Qué?

§32: Niño.- Cuando pasó el tiempo de la hacienda...

§33: Mdr.- Pasto...

§34: Mj.- Cuando ya terminó el tiempo de la hacienda...

§35: Mdr.- Cuando ya terminó el tiempo de la hacienda, estaba llena de productos en la casa. Había chuño, tunta. Qué los harían. Se acabó en la nada.

§36: Mj.- Después se cumplía el cargo de *malkku*.

§37: Mdr.- Se ha terminado el tiempo de la hacienda. Pues Víctor Paz Estenssoro los hizo parar, ése ya los quitó. Ése ya nos dio los terrenos. Desde ahí poseemos los terrenos.

§38: Mdr.- Pues Víctor Paz Estenssoro...

§39: Mj.- Ha debido haber la Reforma, pues.

§40: Mdr.- ¿Qué?

§41: Mj.- Ha debido haber la Reforma pues.

§42: Mdr.- Así nomás es. Es todo.

§43: F.- Ya tiene la tierra, después de la Reforma verdad, ya se hizo comunidad.

§44: Mj.- Sí.

§45: F.- Dale. Entonces otra preguntita sería: ¿Qué lugares importantes existen acá? ¿Qué... Qué sitios, digamos

con... que tengan algún valor para la vivencia de acá?

§46: Mj.- Solamente los terrenos. Agarramos solamente los terrenos como herencia, como herencia, ¿no ve?

§47: Mdr.- Por eso pues, tomamos los terrenos solamente como herencia, nada más eso, porque el patrón se fue, hasta el administrador se fue. Él se escapó.

§48: F.- Ya, y ¿qué lugares como Tiji Punku como Qupallika...? ¿qué lugares importantes usted podría comentar?

§49: Mj.- Vivo en Surixawi, dile pues.

§50: Mdr.- Así, Surixawi, siempre se había llamado. Surixawi Tixi (), se decía. Yo lo conozco así siempre eso.

§51: Mj.- Si, desde antes dice Surixawi, mi mamá no sabe decir...

§52: Mdr.- Se decía cerro de Surixawi, y Tixi Tixi (). Yo conozco así siempre. Yo escuchaba decir Surixawi. Por qué siempre lo nombrarían así. Supongo, que desde

antes ha debido existir así el nombre.

§53: F.- Y ¿qué importancia tiene esos lugares?

§54: Mj.- Así nomás tenemos...

§55: Mdr.- En el tiempo de la hacienda, se dedicaba el nada más que para la hacienda. No cultivábamos para nosotros. Más la cosecha de papas era para la hacienda. Incluso, elaborar el chuño para la hacienda. Se elaboraba el chuño nada más que para el patrón. Así nomás siempre era. Elaborar el chuño. Igual siempre sólo para el patrón. Nosotros no teníamos los ganados. Sólo se trabajaba para el patrón. Las ovejas permanecían en el corral, las amarradas en la picuta lloraban. Nosotros, íbamos hacia la casa de hacienda solamente, porque tenemos que pastear las ovejas. Además tenemos que pastear las vacas de la hacienda. Eso es todo.

§56: F.- ¿pero no conoce, por ejemplo una historia sobre...?

§57: Mj.- Eso nosotros igual también ese nombre nomás siempre conocemos Tiji Punku, dicen. Nosotros Tiji nomás decimos, algunos dicen Tiji Punku. No sabemos por qué será así con ese nombre, los tatarabuelos deben saber.

§58: F.- pero es un lugar importante, así me comentaban...

§59: Mj.- Aaa, sí Surixawi Tiji Punku, así nomás siempre

§60: Mdr.- El cerro así nomás siempre.

§61: F.- Entonces, ¿no saben por qué será importante?

§62: Mj.- No sé, por qué será, eso no sé... nuestros tatarabuelos haygan hecho con ese nombre, haygan puesto, nosotros no sabemos.

§63: F.- Me comentaban también que a ese lugar donde se se se waxt'a. Se hacen ofrendas.

§64: Mj.- Nnn... hacemos, mis abuelos saben decir este es achachila... mis abuelos saben besarse así, pero sabe decir: Surixaw achachil, Tiji achachila, así sabe decir mi

abuelo. En agosto sabemos hacer. Después saben decir (para aquellos): willk'is, wali t'urun willk'i, no sé, así sabe ch'allarse mi abuelo.

§65: F.- Allá, allá en el Tiji.

§66: Mj.- Nn...

§67: F.- Ajá...

§68: Mj. Nn... así sabe decir.

§69: F.- La señora podría comentar sobre eso, su mamá.

§70: Mj.- Si, puedes preguntar nomás.

§71: F.- Ya, ee doña Ignacia algo ee hace waxt'a en Tiji?

§72: Mj.- ¿Se ofrece al Tiji Punku (Puerta de Tiji)?, pregunta.

§73: Mdr.- Qué

§74: Mj.- ¿Hay que ofrecer ofrenda al Tiji Punku?, pregunta. . Antes, no van a acercar, sabe decir mi abuelo. No van a llorar, sabe comerse, sabe decir.

§75: F.- ¿Qué hace, cómo?

§76: Mj.- No van a cercar, en ese cerro no van a llorar nada, sabe decir mi abuelo.

§77: Mj.- ...Dile, si hay que ofrecer. Si hay que ofrecer a los achachilas.

§78: Niño.- ¿Si se hace ofrecer a los achachilas?, pregunta.

§79: Mdr.- Yo no hago ofrecer a los achachilas. Yo no... eso.

§80: Niño.- ...Eso lo sabe el abuelo.

§81: Mdr.- El abuelo sabía eso. Yo no sé eso.

§82: F.- Usted no hace.

§83: Mdr.- Yo no sé hacer dar a los achachilas.

§84: F.- Ee..... ¿sabe hacer en otro lugar, no, no, no...?

§85: Mj.- Nosotros no siempre, nn... no sabemos waxt'ar, siempre dice waxt'ar, ¿no...?

§86: F.- Ya.

§87: Mj.- Si antes, abuelos sí. Sabe decir estos achachilas, sabe decir aquello es Tiji achachila, sabe decir.

§88: F.- Ee bueno, puedo preguntarle ¿por qué, digamos, se ha perdido esa costumbre?

§89: Mj.- Esa costumbre... nosotros no llevamos esa costumbre.

§90: F.- Ya ee... bueno, alguna cosa, porque esta grabación va a ser devuelta a la comunidad.

§91: Mj.- Nn...

§92: F.- Entonces para que los niños dentro de algunos años lo pueda mirar. Entonces ¿alguna cosa que quería añadir para que quede grabada para que ellos conozcan? Digamos para cuando sean mayores, ¿alguna cosa piensa que es importante como transmitir?

§93: Mj.- Está bien, eso para los niños y niñas. Yo puedo dejar solamente eso, dile pues.

§94: Mdr.- ¿Qué?

§95: Niño.- Hazlo entender, a ver.

§96: Mdr.- Para las guaguas como herencia, eso...

§97: Mj.- Voy a dejar como herencia eso, para las guaguas, dile. Esa palabra nomás quiero dejar, dile.

§98: Mdr.- Esas nomás son las palabras para las guaguas. Esas nomás son. Sólo eso voy a dejar para las guaguas, esa palabra nomás. Ésos son los nietos, incluso éstos. Sólo ella es mi hija. A los nietos sólo voy a dejar eso, por que yo ya voy a morir. Sólo a los nietos voy a dejar.

§99: F.- Listo, terminó.

§100: Mj.- Sí, eso nomás sería.

§101: F.- Eso nomás sería. Está bien, gracias por su tiempo entonces. Les agradezco mucho

Name: Tiwa18-14

Place and Date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Usziel De La Fuente (UMSA, La Paz)

§1: Don V.: ¿Sobre qué debo exponer?

§2: Francesco: Bueno, yo empezaría, un poco, sobre sus recuerdos, un poco de la... de su... de cuando era niño de acá... ¿cómo era? Un poco ¿qué puede recordar? También, según lo que le han contado sus padres o gente mayor de esa época, y así ver un poco cómo ha cambiado, hasta ahora, también cuénteme un poco sobre su experiencia. El otro día me ha dicho que usted estuvo viajando ¿no? y recién vuelve, entonces, también, un poco rastrear eso.

§3: Don V.: Sí, yo... mi nacimiento es en 10 de marzo en 1955. Usted sabe que, a partir de 7 años, 8 años ya viene recordando, pero, mientras antes...

§4: Francesco: Claro.

§5: Don V.: No se recuerda ¿no? Bueno, cuando yo he estado aquí, en Huancollo, mi nacimiento es de

aquí, luego... Siempre como de costumbre ¿no? Pasteando chanchitos, ovejitas, también ayudando a nuestros padres y madres, el niño aquí en el área rural, desde que comienza a caminar ya siempre está dedicándose a ayudar a su padre, a su madre ¿no? como siempre en repartir las ovejas para ordeñar y pastear, recoger los chanchitos, dar comida al chanchito, y ahora ha cambiado mucho ¿no? porque la oveja era deprimidora de forrajes, arruinaba, ahora está más dedicada en lechera, pero más antes, según las historias de nuestros ancestros, criaban harta llama, pura llama ¿no? que sus pezuñas no son dañinos, también come con cariño, no es como la oveja que deprime todo ¿no? Y, según la historia de nuestros padres, siempre han contado que la llama era un medio de transporte, de carga, yo creo que antes que la colonia debe ser puro llama, no tengo tan fundamentado, una vez con la colonia llegó, entonces han utilizado burros, caballos, vacas y actualmente no existe el nombre en aymara, no hay ni oveja, creo que no hay, no sé, tanto no sé, pero también de mi

actual profesión, la medicina existía, ha nacido junto con el ser humano ¿no? La medicina tradicional o natural, como la coca, las hierbas, hay un filósofo que dice “que tu alimento sea tu medicina y tu medicina sea tu alimento” ¿no? Yo, dedicándome en esta profesión de naturismo, recuerdo siempre esto ¿no? también esta medicina tradicional, natural ha sido transmitido de generación en generación ¿no? No ha habido universidades, aunque ahora ya existe ¿no? Muchos médicos académicos en esa época de que, cuando yo tenía 15, 16, 17 años, discriminaban a los que practicaban con la medicina tradicional, natural ¿no? Como el uso de hierbas, de greda, hasta de piedras cuarzos, el uso de agua en sus 3 estados con fines terapéuticos. Aunque algunos médicos académicos, también, nos colaboraban y nos contaban, “esto es así, esto es así” ¿no? y algunos siempre discriminaban, incluso nuestros ancestros que han practicado esta medicina ancestral han dicho que no acaparemos todo, todo en general, porque los médicos académicos van a tener envidia y cuando llegó

la (CONUNI), incluso a los mejores médicos tradicionales, digamos, un acto... lo que manejaban, al naturalista lo han quemado vivo, porque les superaban en... en la prevención más que todo ¿no? tu sabes que la medicina natural es más preventivo que curativo, aunque en algunos casos alcanza hasta atenciones secundaria y terciaria, en algunos casos ¿no? Y esa es la historia que tenemos ¿no?

§6: Francesco: Y usted como... si me puede contar un poco ¿Cómo es que llegó a aprender ese conocimiento?

§7: Don V.: Es de los abuelos, antepasados, llevaban a los jovencitos para... Los jefes digamos, los yatiris para que vaya ayudante, a eso le llamaban, oficial ¿no? “Este oficial ha debido venir” dice, de la colonia, ha debido tener otro nombre antes, siempre manejaban jovencitos porque los ancianos, curanderos y... que practicaban esta medicina ya están cansados, actualmente yo mismo ¿no? Porque para hacer cebo de llama con hierbas hay que usar batán y cuando utilizo mucho batán fuerte ya no avanzo, ya

duele al día siguiente, entonces igual necesito un joven de 18, 20, hasta 30 años que el batán utilice ¿no?

§8: Francesco: ¿Qué es el batán? Perdón.

§9: Don V.: Es una piedra, un batán ¿no? Uno grande y uno chiquito, en aymara le dicen taykajan walimansu puchasti waliloke, dice ¿no?

§10: Francesco: Para...

§11: Don V.: Es que, sobre una madre grande, la hija es loca y baila, por ejemplo, para moler ají...

§12: Francesco: Es para moler...

§13: Don V.: Entonces es un batán grande que muele. Agarraban el romero, agarraban cualquier hierba, molían finito y luego agarraban el cebo de llama, amasaban y con eso es con lo que friccionaban, akapiñauk'uk'ta k'uthaña ¿no? A los lugares afectados, a todo el cuerpo, actualmente ya se (sujestica/sujestionada) ¿no? Se muele, se... Se sigue utilizando el cebo de llama, el untu, entonces ya se utiliza la vaselina, como la ciencia ha avanzado, la

tecnología, todo, a la gente le gusta más finito, se utiliza vaselina blanca sólida, se muele, se filtra, ya se hace pomada, porque antes era directo, amasando, cuando haya habido vaca, con cebo de vaca o con cebo de oveja, amasando directo al cuerpo.

§14: Francesco: ¿Entonces usted aprendió con una persona mayor, que le enseñó?

§15: Don V.: Exacto. Y de nuestros abuelos también, recuerdo siempre, como el Simón Quispe vive, ahorita no sé, mi mayor, está en Santa Cruz, el Policarpio Flores, Crisóstomo Choque de aquí, Paulino Quispe, Hilarión Quispe, hay artos ancestros que enseñaban también ¿no? “Así vas a hacer”, o si no aprendía mirando, actualmente se puede decir ¿no? Nuestra metodología es observacional, observando ¿no? Aunque, digamos, actualmente, ya se sabe por qué ¿no? antes de la colonia seguramente han debido saber todo lo que hacen, los médicos académicos, cuando yo ya trabajé con la medicina tradicional, siempre preguntaban “¿qué hace ese tu greda?”, y no sabíamos qué hace ¿no? pero

mejoraba a los enfermos, “¿qué hace tu vaporización?”, igualmente mejorábamos, pero no sabíamos qué hacía ¿no? Las cataplasmas de greda... aymara siempre ha sido práctico y al último la teoría, pero al final con las capacitaciones que hemos tenido con algunas instituciones que... gracias al Walter (Waldo) Albarracín, también ¿no? Cuando era Jaime Paz Zamora, ha peleado mucho, junto con los kallawayas y con los yatiris de las áreas rurales, de todo el país ¿no? Y se ha logrado capacitarse hasta la fisiopatología ¿no? Hasta las propiedades de la hierba, como lo digo, nuestra metodología es observacional entonces uno aprendía, mejoraba al enfermo o prevenía de las enfermedades, pero no sabíamos por qué prevenía, por qué mejora, qué elementos químicos tiene.

§16: Francesco: Entonces para usted ¿qué es lo que hace que esta memoria, digamos, siga estando viva?

§17: Don V.: ¿Diga?

§18: Francesco: ¿Qué es lo que hace, digamos, esta metodología observacional, digamos, que usted

dice? Es también como parte de la memoria, de una memoria que se va transmitiendo, entonces ¿qué cosas, según usted, es importante rescatar de esta metodología para que se siga manteniendo, digamos, esta transmisión?

§19: Don V.: Mejor es mantener todas las metodologías, por ejemplo, estoy llamando a los jóvenes, pero a veces, debido a que estamos llegando al minifundio y con el avance de la tecnología y con el avance la de ciencia, ya el interés económico ¿no? el interés personal, porque antes no había ese interés económico, sino trueque ¿no? Por ejemplo, si yo voy a tratar o curar, entonces venía un día a secar cebadita, venía, ayudaba a escarbar, un mutuo apoyo de profesión a profesión, pero actualmente es ya mercantilista, individualista, ya no hay ese común, de compartimiento ¿no? ahora ya, si uno, una hora pierde, entonces ya tiene que cobrarse de esa hora, hasta nosotros mismos ¿no? Porque si le tratamos así con apoyo no se va a poder mantener este ambiente ¿no? Necesita para limpieza, necesita para

alimentarse, con la actual tecnología ¿no? Pero dentro de las aymaras siempre ha sido un ayni...

§20: Francesco: ¿Ese es el término?

§21: Don V.: “Hoy para ti, mañana... Hoy para ti, hoy, mañana por mí” ¿no? si uno está enfermo entonces iban a curar y lo rescataban lo poco que tenía, entonces hay momentos que de su producción ya lo iba ahí a colaborar, yo mismo he practicado cuando he aprendido a mis 25, 20 años así ¿no? Pero, también, ya no se puede mucho con los... con la economía que necesitamos para mantenerse en nuestra... en nuestro hogar ¿no? Yo quisiera que se rescate todas las, todas las tecnologías que... no tecnologías, digamos, todas las prácticas ancestrales y actualmente, como la Nueva Constitución Política del Estado reconoce estos saberes ancestrales y con eso reivindica todas las costumbres ¿no? Sin salirse del marco de la ley también, y tenemos libertad de practicar todas esas sabidurías ancestrales que ya tenemos ¿no?

§22: Francesco: Y, a propósito de esto, un poco... estos usos y costumbres que también se... digamos, es una expresión que se utiliza mucho, la estuve escuchando de la asamblea ¿qué importancia tiene eso? O sea, sobre todo ¿qué son esos usos y costumbres? Si me puede...

§23: Don V.: Sabemos bien que los usos y costumbres no va a olvidar las tradiciones, como ahorita le estaba mencionando, la metodología sería observacional, mirando no más, entonces no se olvida, pero con el avance de la ciencia, también, yo creo que hay que acelerar un poco ¿no? Porque estamos creo en un tiempo matemático, todos bien apurados, estresados, deprimidos, no nosotros no más, no más, más bien aquí tranquilo, hasta en la ciudad se oye bocina, “maestro apúrate”, cuando hay trancadera, en general no sé si es que el mundo está girando rápido o porque no queremos llegar rápido, todo, hacer cosas rápido, pero, el tiempo ya no nos permite y siempre los usos y costumbres son... Le puedo dar un ejemplo, por ejemplo, cuando atiendo en mi

consultorio, entra el paciente y directamente a diagnosticar, sus tratamientos, en la ciudad, también, no practican eso, mientras aquí, en el área rural o en las comunidades uno te lleva a atender, primero es un matecito, algo y luego la coquita, igual se tarda una media hora ¿no? Ya no se puede calcular el tiempo, cronogramar el tiempo, como decir “a esta hora va a entrar a amparu kumaptairi, a esa hora va a entrar en nikimpi apataña, otro va a entrar en kajtapiña, suskuslus waliptayaña”, pero mientras va a la casa te da un matecito o un chuñito con queso, un motecito de aba, lo que sea, en un platito, te sirves eso, luego la coquita, a veces el refresquito y luego recién al enfermo... y esos usos y costumbres es muy bueno ¿no? Un buen trato, un compartimiento, lo cual se charla, se concentra, se averigua del cliente, cómo se ha enfermado, por qué, cómo vamos a hacer, y la medicina académica en eso sí ¿no? un médico llega y directamente a tocar, puede ser nervioso, en el naturismo esa práctica de esas costumbres es muy bonito, pero lo que pasa es que se pierde tiempo, se pierde

tiempo, ya pasó una hora, con el que estás charlando, y también, este ayuda al enfermo, la parte, la parte psicológica, está en su casa... hasta en el parto mismo ¿no? está en su casa, en su patapi, con kunjurjicito, viene, está tranquilo, mientras actualmente ya está generando ¿no? Llega con el parto... un enfermo llega y se asusta, si es barro, ha pisado, ha manchado y ya está perdiendo sus energías que tenían que tratarse, una cosa, entonces, este... ventajas y desventajas, no todo, digo, puede ser desventajoso o ventajoso, pero mientras en su casa están, que es piso de tierra, están acostumbrados, tranquilo el parto, a su lugar el enfermo mismo, mientras llega aquí y ya ha manchado el piso, se pone incómodo, “estoy manchando, ahora qué me dirán”, otra idea ¿no? Como si se estuviera asustando, así, poniéndose nervioso. Actualmente la nueva generación ya consta ¿no? Porque las cosas están de pintura, porque antes eran de tapear, donde pasaban las energías, el techo, techo de paja, de paja, y muchos criticaban que vivían sin ventana, “que tengan ventanas”, pero si en

el campo está todo el día pastando ganado, llama en el sol, no necesita ventana... en la tarde llegas y cocinas, ya entra a la cama y al día siguiente al sol... y la paja, también, es ventilado ahí... la tierra, el pachamama, que es tapiado, adobe, tiene poros, respira, mientras este látex, el cemento es lo que rompe las energías ¿no? Y le diría, alguna pregunta...

§24: Francesco: Bueno, este, sí, me hizo pensar un poco, porque acá, en estas conversaciones que estoy teniendo ¿no? Otra pregunta que le haría es ¿qué lugares, digamos, importantes, existen en la comunidad? Porque, como usted sabe, otro, digamos, objetivo de este trabajo es el de hacer un mapa de esos lugares importantes, entonces, por un lado, le pediría si me puede, también, decir qué lugares importantes existen y luego, muchas veces ¿no? Me dicen que estos lugares tienen poderes, tienen energías, como usted estaba diciendo, entonces si me pudiese un poco aclarar, porque es algo que no llego a entender ¿a qué se refiere eso de...?

§25: Don V.: Primera mismo, en la comunidad Qupallika es más energético ¿no? y yo creo que también las puntas de esos cerros, porque Qupallika está en central en la mayoría... incluso para... cuando no llovía, para traer el agua de lluvia, siempre se concentraban en Qupallika, que, las otras costumbres ¿no? que ahí dan mesas, ofrendas telúricas o traen sapos pelados del lugar, traían de Ichilla, otro que traían de Chakaere, de Chunkallani entonces ahí esperaba, y también cuando quiere helar, todo allí salían de rodillas. Los ancianos, antes, cuando caía helada, cuando granizaba, tenían otro tipo de religión ¿no? No creo que haya sido, también, el cristianismo porque... Y eran más cariñosas, los ancianos ¿no? Llamaban a los qatawawas, decía ¿no? A los hijos de madres solteras, a los hijos de que... de las separadas, hacían rezar en la noche y hacían rezar de día, entonces, a ellos hacían comer, hacían... daban refresquito así, como, por decir, actualmente que es Dios ¿no? O sea, Akapacha, Manqhapacha, Alajpacha... “Estamos sirviendo así a los pobres niños, como se

puede”, más o menos ¿no? “y ahora no nos hagamos caer helada, granizada...”, eso hacían los ancianos de la comunidad y hacían rezar, enseñaban a rezar, pedían... hacían pedir perdón, del Pachamama, rodillas... eso es lo que he visto en mi costumbre ¿no? Qupallika, pero parece que todos los cerros, en las puntas, siempre hay un aire medio diferente ¿no? Se va, respira y cambia nuestro... nuestro aire, digamos, ahorita estamos cansados, ahí vamos, hacemos unas respiraciones y luego nos sentimos con más energía, ya no cansados, se nota eso ¿no? Pero según dice, que en Qupallika hay 3 focos energéticos, uno en dos puntas y otro al medio, lo cual no puedo sentir todavía, yo creo que siento en toda Qupallika, también de cada... su espiritualidad de cada persona, de cada persona, de cada ser humano... Después el Mamaniri, siempre había ido a cosechar hierbas y se siente, se siente... se toma siempre aire diferente, allá en Achaka también, el Quimsachata, en lugares donde cae agua, eso lo podría decir, hay otro, el Misaphuju, no estoy enterado, les han debido hablar, donde la

Silveria Condori, que hay también, dice, 3 tipos de agua, uno granizada, uno helada y otro de lluvia, muchas veces sortean y van a traer eso cuando no llueve, por equivocación traen la... el agua de la granizada, entonces cae la granizada más fuerte, aquí también, donde el José a ver... No, no me recuerdo el nombre, donde el estanque, donde la torre, ahí al frente, otros 3 focos de agua, igual son, dice ¿no? Agua de helada, agua granizada y agua, agua de lluvia, de ahí también sacaban ¿no?

§26: Francesco: ¿Entonces eso...?

§27: Don V.: Ahora con el tiempo se están enterrando, porque aquí había otro, allí... No sé, los animales se están taqueándose con barro, ya no cavamos también.

§28: Francesco: ¿Entonces, esos lugares con poderes serían donde uno se puede, digamos, comunicar, quizás?

§29: Don V.: Sí, porque ahí van a concentrarse, a pedir lluvia, incluso si no llueve, todo el año madrugan ahí concentrándose.

§30: Francesco: Ya, está bien. Bueno, no sé si quiere añadir alguna cosita más, que haya dicho o quiera cambiar, eso, digamos, forma parte de la costumbre de la entrevista, siempre al final pedir si quiere...

§31: Don V.: Todo, todo, todo es esto lo que puedo decir, tanto de la medicina natural, ancestral, también de los usos y costumbres, también les haya dicho, también ¿no? la costumbre de los mallkus actualmente es igual, primeramente, su coquita, después una oración para comenzar reuniones o cualquier evento y luego ya en ejecución del evento o ampliado... Hasta nosotros mismos ¿no? a veces una pijchada de coquita, una chiwanchadita a pachamama y luego a trabajar y cuando estamos cansados, también, siempre las hojas sagradas de la coca, la coca no falta en nadie. Otra cosa que quiero decir, también, ahora que me estaba olvidando, antes habían sabido tener en tinitas, tachos, calderas, ollas de barro todo tipo de hierbas, actualmente ya no se está practicando, cuando yo iba a

curar a un enfermo, entonces, kulla quepija utiu, sacaba todo ahí.

§32: Francesco: ¿Cada familia, digamos, tenía sus hierbas?

§33: Don V.: Cada familia, cada familia, con su hierba, entonces ahí tenía el ajo, ajo del monte, ajo del castillo, romero, chachacoma, puputa, todos esos, ahora que se va a domicilio ya no se está practicando, no sé por qué se está olvidando y si algunas practican, ya no cambian las hierbas, si este año ha comprado, como la naturaleza nos ofrece anual, entonces antes cambiaban, lo más acudido para comprar estas hierbas era en Natividad, San Andrés, después, la feria de Ramos de El Alto, si no han utilizado, ahí iban y compraban y cambiaban todo su qullaquepi

§34: Francesco: ¿Qullakaipi es...?

§35: Don V.: Qullaquepi es un... qulla es medicina ¿no? quepi es bultito, entonces actualmente ya no se está practicando eso, porque se ha visto, "sí, tengo" dice, "¿y en qué año has comprado?", "ya ha debido pasar 2, 3, 4 años..."

§36: Francesco: No se cambia cada año...

§37: Don V.: También, este... está haciendo olvidar la misma tecnología, se dedican a la lechería, entonces, más dedicados a la lechería, digamos, a sus actividades que realizan, y se olvidan de su qullaquepi. Bueno, eso sería todo hermano Francisco ¿no?

§38: Francesco: Ya pues, bueno, gracias por su tiempo, entonces, don V..

§39: Don V.: Y a usted también las gracias.

§40: Francesco: Y bueno, me hizo pensar, antes ¿no? o sea, esto estoy trabajando, le estoy tomando tiempo de su trabajo entonces le tengo que contribuir un poco... Entonces cualquier cosa que necesite...

§41: Don V.: Cualquier cosa de tratamiento...

§42: Francesco: No, cualquier cosa que necesite, también, usted, como de ayuda que pueda darle, por favor...

§43: Don V.: Algún material de escritorio, mucho nos falta... Tal vez para ducha casera, yo puedo hacer, hacer manguera, estoy

practicando porque de calaminas sabemos hacer para no gastar energía ¿te voy a indicar?

§44: Francesco: Ya

§45: Don V.: Como intento, a ver vamos... Ese es costumbre de nuestros abuelos, de práctica a práctica, no siempre la economía...

§46: Francesco: Claro, no, por eso me hizo pensar antes, estoy diciendo, bueno...

§47: Don V.: Sí, pero, aunque seguimos practicando, pero ya no se puede también mucho ¿no? porque de dónde ya podemos vivir.

§48: Esto estoy intentando a la tina para hacer ducha solar, por mientras, porque esto he hecho de calamina, una hoja de calamina y pintando en negro, da buenos resultados, aquí encima ponerlo, bajar, así, una manguerita, caserito, de calamina, y hacer soldar su lorito, aquí mismo cortando su paso de llave y calentado, ducha... a ver, vamos a ver si ha calentado o no, sino tendría que ser de calamina... No, no calienta.

§49: Francesco: No, se quedó bien frío.

§50: Don V.: No calienta, a ver de qué tiempo calienta, entonces mejor voy a tener que hacer de calamina no más. La idea era, le voy a indicar allí cómo, también una chimenea hay que sacar ahí, pero ya tenemos entrada por lo menos y estamos invirtiendo en eso.

§51: Esto sale afuerita, entonces aquí voy a sacar una chimenea de calamina, hasta afuera y ahí mismo instalar esa ducha solar, tal vez no va a ser posible, pero si es de calamina, calienta, voy a tener que hacer recorrer ahí, y ahí se puede duchar antes de entrar al baño a vapor, yo, en La Paz, siempre hago dar una duchita antes de entrar al vapor o a la tina, ahorita el térmico es lo que no resiste a la ducha, o sea que, aflojo la ducha, apenas 2, 3 minutos, salta el térmico, el Jorge teme que nos cobren mucho porque son 90 focos, entonces, queremos esperar hasta que... algo más, una fuente de entrada y luego hacemos adaptar... La economía

es lo que manda para todo también ¿no?

§52: Francesco: Eh... Bueno, claro.

§53: Don V.: Así es hermano, jilata Francisco.

§54: Francesco: Listo.

Name: Tiwa18-15

Place and Date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Usziel De La Fuente (UMSA, La Paz)

§1: Francesco: Bueno, sí. Seguir conversando como...

§2: Don F.: ¿Como lo estuve haciendo?

§3: Francesco: Como lo estuvo haciendo, exactamente, justamente de esto se estaba... estábamos hablando, un poco ¿No?

§4: Don F.: Yo te digo... mí experiencia del campo yo te puedo decir ahorita ¿No ve?

§5: Francesco: Ya, claro pues.

§6: Don F.: Mira, sabes Pancho, claro, nosotros vivimos aquí, para subsistir la vida ¿No? Y, como te digo, siempre con los ganaditos, mayormente, mayormente con los ganados y tampoco ganamos mucha plata, para subsistir la vida no más, para subsistir... no sale mucho ¿No? Pero hay, por lo menos, para comer nada más, por demás, para ahorrar, no hay, esa es la experiencia del campo ¿No? Entonces, aquí, como te digo, más necesitamos forraje, a veces

necesitamos, también pues, tecnificación para vivir más... tal vez, más este ¿No? o para sembrar más grande las cosas, para sembradíos, porque aquí a pulso no hay caso pues cómo avanzar, ahora, en estos tiempos, más bien ya hay máquinas que están apareciendo, entonces, con eso, más bien, ya un poquito estamos acelerando en trabajar, ahora, siempre nos falta el transporte para recoger a un lugar ¿No? Por ejemplo, estas cebadas tengo que meterlo allá...

§7: Francesco: Allá bajo el techo.

§8: Don F.: Allá bajo el techo y, un poco más grande necesitamos esos y en el campo necesitamos para... en estos tiempos, tiempo de helada, necesitamos, pues también, establos para los ganados, va a venir la helada entonces, también, consume pues físicamente a los ganados y ya no hay mucha leche, se seca, en estos tiempos es así, ahora tiempo de lluvia, igual, necesitamos establos para el ganado, como aquel frente ¿No ve? Es la otra comunidad y tienen ya, ellos, un poquito, han aprovechado, más antes, con los proyectos que ha dado el gobierno, entonces, han

aprovechado, pero mientras, más bien, esta comunidad, un poquito, nos hemos atrasado y poco tenemos, pocos tenemos esas casas de... Así es.

§9: Francesco: Entonces, me estaba comentando, antes, que usted se vino acá...

§10: Don F.: ¡Ah! Sí.

§11: Francesco: Por su esposa, digamos, para contar hace cuánto tiempo pues...

§12: Don F.: Yo vivía pues... vivía en la otra comunidad, porque mi papá, también, es de ese lado, entonces, mi esposa de este lado, como te digo, aquí era su casita de su abuelita, este muro.

§13: Francesco: ¿Más allá?

§14: Don F.: Ahí vivía, ese...

§15: Francesco: Ah, ahí atrás.

§16: Don F.: Aquicito, sí, ahí vivía su abuelita, ahí ha vivido mi esposa, entonces nos hemos conocido y luego ya, después de vivir con ella, tiempito ya vivo acá, ya en este lado, como 30 años debe ser.

§17: Francesco: ¿30 años?

§18: Don F.: 30 años más o menos, desde la juventud más o menos, ya ese tiempo vivo en este lado, entonces, aquí ya he hecho, también, cargos en la comunidad.

§19: Francesco: Ya.

§20: Don F.: Claro, como siempre hay mallkus, así...

§21: Francesco: Claro ¿Usted ha hecho...?

§22: Don F.: El año pasado estaba con cargo, también, yo, con cargo estaba el año pasado.

§23: Francesco: Me puede decir, un poco ¿Cómo funciona eso de los cargos?

§24: Don F.: O sea, que rotación viene, digamos, antes había 12 miembros en la comunidad para toda... para toda la comunidad, digo, para un año, entonces, o sea, que de vocal hasta jiliri mallku tienes que cumplir, los 12 cargos, ahora ya han reducido a 8 no más, 8 no más ya, pero igual están haciendo 2 represen... 2 cargos, como 2 cargos están haciendo, en eso hemos quedado, también, la comunidad, eso es porque todas las comunidades de aquí tenemos que terminar con los cargos.

§25: Francesco: ¿Es obligación, a todos les toca?

§26: Don F.: Es obligación.

§27: Francesco: ¿Y va por lista?

§28: Don F.: Por lista viene.

§29: Francesco: ¿O sea, a cada uno le toca este año...?

§30: Don F.: Digamos, después de terminar el cargo, descansa unos 2, 3 años por lo mucho, después, otro cargo ya viene, otro cargo ya viene, eso, también, hay que cumplir, eso, así no más es la vivencia de la comunidad.

§31: Francesco: ¿Tanto hombres como mujeres?

§32: Don F.: Sí. Así no más la vivencia de la comunidad.

§33: Francesco: ¿Y otros usos y costumbres? que dicen.

§34: Don F.: Usos y costumbres, donde más o menos, en la comunidad, usos y costumbres, hay que asistir a las reuniones, hay que... algunos acontecimientos hay, digamos, dentro de la comunidad, también, hay que estar en ahí, hay que estar en ahí, hay fiestas, por ejemplo ¿No? Hay inauguración de algunas obras, hay que estar en ahí, eso es los usos y costumbres, eso.

§35: Francesco: ¿Estar presente?

§36: Don F.: Estar presente, estar presente, eso es, cumplir, hay reuniones, por ejemplo, cuando uno cumple, digamos, está con cargo tiene que ir diferentes lugares, asistir a las reuniones.

§37: Francesco: Claro, ahí cuentan cosas, eso también...

§38: Don F.: Hay congresos y reuniones quincenales, hay reuniones cada 30, cada mes, a eso hay que... sí o sí hay que asistir, esos son los usos y costumbres...

§39: Francesco: Usos y costumbres, listo.

§40: Don F.: No hay que los usos y costumbres ¿No? Así es, así es la vivencia de acá.

§41: Francesco: Y, entonces, bueno, la otra cuestión por la que me acerqué, lo de Misaphuju.

§42: Don F.: ¿Misaphuju?

§43: Francesco: Si me puede contar, un poco, desde lo que usted sabe.

§44: Don F.: Sí, aquellos tiempos, los abuelos que vivían más antes, ellos tenían... a nosotros nos contaban no más, también, no vivíamos con ellos esos tiempos ¿No? Pero, según ellos, dice que era pues, este... el Misaphuju, es un lugar muy, digamos, sagrado ¿No? ahí nunca faltaba agua, entonces, cuando uno entraba, entonces, enfermaba, algo pasaba, eso es el comentario antiguo y, digamos, el Misaphuju, digamos, atrae a la gente, digamos, atrae cuando, digamos, de noche vos, digamos, te pierdes

o, antes no había luz, ahora hay luz, no había celular, nada, entonces, uno, digamos, de noche se venía, digamos, y de por sí lo atraía, al lugar lo llevaba, entonces, ahí aparecía finado ya el este, el hombre que cayó ahí ¿No? Eso era historia antigua ¿No? porque según los abuelos, nosotros no hemos visto, era poderoso dice, hay lugares poderosos, tal vez eran endemoniados, pero eran sí, dice... en aquellos tiempos debe ser, nosotros nunca hemos visto.

§45: Francesco: Y entonces... porque hay varios, de esos lugares con agua ¿No?

§46: Don F.: Sí, hay pocitos.

§47: Francesco: ¿Hay pocitos?

§48: Don F.: ¿Se ha fijado?

§49: Francesco: Sí, por eso digo, porque me habían descrito así Misaphuju, entonces, encontré uno, “¡Ah! Esto debe ser Misaphuju”, luego encontré otro “¡Ah! Eso debe ser Misaphuju”.

§50: Don F.: Justo en esta pampita es, en esta pampita, donde aquel ganadito, ahí abajito es, ahí abajito es, hay unos pocitos ahí.

§51: Francesco: ¿Y los otros, no tienen nombre no más?

§52: Don F.: No tienen nombre.

§53: Francesco: ¿Sólo esa de allá es...?

§54: Don F.: Eso es, acá abajo, ese es el Misaphuju. Ahí era vertiente, continuamente antes, pero ahora, en estos tiempos... porque ya se han secado, por ejemplo, yo tengo pocito aquí abajo y nunca se secaba, ahora se ha secado ya, vertiente también.

§55: Francesco: Se ha secado ¿Por la lluvia?

§56: Don F.: Por la lluvia no, es que el calor, también, es fuerte en estos tiempos ¿No ve?, entonces ya se seca el agua.

§57: Francesco: ¿Y otros lugares, por ejemplo, que usted haya tenido conocimiento que...?

§58: Don F.: ¿Fuera de acá?

§59: Francesco: O, también, de acá.

§60: Don F.: ¿De acá, pero otro lugar?

§61: Francesco: Claro, que tengan cuento, al igual... como ese Misaphuju, digamos.

§62: Don F.: Sí, hablando del cerrito, también, del poderoso, del cerrito de Qupallika, alguien, tal vez, te ha debido comentar ¿no?

§63: Francesco: Claro.

§64: Don F.: Ese es el... ese es, digamos, ese cerrito, es más,

digamos, estimado ¿No? por lo... con los este... siempre hay... es como un cerrito de la comunidad, propio, nosotros no tenemos otro cerro, allá, también, hay otro, pero este es donde más... está mentado ¿No? como se dice... como si estuviéramos alabando, así, el cerro de Qupallika. También, según ellos, los abuelos antiguos decían de que antes llegaban los ovnis ¿No? como siempre... hay ¿No ve? Ovnis que... platillos voladores, siempre dice que llegaban ahí, también.

§65: Francesco: ¿Y usted sabe de dónde nació, un poco, ese cuento? Es algo, un poco, que... porque muchos me dijeron esa historia ¿No? es como un aeropuerto, como una pista de aterrizaje ¿Verdad? entonces, bueno, empecé a preguntarme, un poco ¿De dónde saldrá?

§66: Don F.: Eso, eso, por eso, como te digo, esos comentarios, salió pues de los abuelos...

§67: Francesco: De los abuelos.

§68: Don F.: Porque nosotros no hemos visto pues ¿No? Tampoco ¿No? pero, es poderoso, dicen, también, ese lugar, poderoso, más que todo, los que han vivido más antes, entonces, ellos son los que,

también, comentaban a nosotros, comentario sobre comentario ¿No? con lo que vivimos aquí, entonces, antes no había nada, grabadora, nada ¿No ve? y ahora muchos de ellos ahora ya se han perdido pues, ya no hay, ya no hay esa... esa generación de esos abuelos, ya no, todos se fueron pues, nosotros ya último quedamos, algunos más... algunos mayorcitos más, después, ya viene más personas...

§69: Francesco: Claro, otras generaciones.

§70: Don F.: Otras generaciones.

§71: Francesco: Y, según usted, por ejemplo, Qupallika ¿Se podría decir que es la misma cosa que el sitio, allá de las ruinas, de Tiwanaku?

§72: Don F.: Casi es lo mismo, puede ser, puede ser, porque, también, hay unas piedras puestas ahí, pero no sé si lo ha puesto gente o ahí siempre habrá sido, porque, también, en aquellos tiempos, antes de la reforma, ahí era pues, ex hacienda, ex hacienda, ahí vivían los patrones, ahí vivían los patrones, ahí estaban alojados, entonces, todo de este... esta comunidad, dice, era vacío no más, los que servían,

digamos, para el patrón vivían en los rinconaditos de la comunidad no más, alejados, no muchos, algunos cuantos no más, por eso es que ese lugar está así ¿No? ahora lo han destruido, porque más antes estaba muros, así, abandonados había, ahí vivían los patrones, antes del 50, más allá del 50.

§73: Francesco: Claro.

§74: Don F.: Después del 53 ya cambió todo ya.

§75: Francesco: Claro, con la reforma.

§76: Don F.: Ya, con la reforma ya ha venido ya...

§77: Francesco: Y allá, en su comunidad de Achaca, usted pudo... o sea, era como acá, también ¿Había hacienda o era distinto?

§78: Don F.: Había, había igual, el mismo patrón manejaba allá al rincón...

§79: Francesco: ¿El mismo?

§80: Don F.: Dice que manejaba el mismo, yo no he visto ¿No? pero mis padres, mis abuelos me contaron, el mismo dueño, dice, que manejaba la hacienda de la comunidad o ese, los 2, dominaba, porque ahí, dice que servían mis padres, mis abuelos, esos,

entonces, sin sueldo pues, sin sueldo, sin sueldo, así, gratuitamente, y al paso, garroteado, garroteado, eso es el asunto que pasó antes con nuestros padres, abuelos, han sufrido mucho pero, los patrones se han aprovechado en esos tiempos, la plata que se llevaban aquí hacían, igual, los ganados, dice que había, ovinos por rebaños, vacas igual, en un lugar no más dice que cuidaba, para el patrón, no para ellos, eso era el asunto de aquellos tiempos, ahora, después de la reforma ya, bueno ya se ha parcelado los lugares, entonces, cada cual ya tenemos nuestras parcelas y ahora con el saneamiento ya tenemos... ya está a nuestro nombre.

§81: Francesco: Claro, antes estaba el nombre de sus padres supongo, acá estaba al nombre de los padres de su esposa, sus abuelos.

§82: Don F.: Ya no, nombre de abuelo era, del abuelito era esto, entonces, nosotros ya hemos sacado a nuestros nombres.

§83: Francesco: ¿Con el saneamiento? Eso fue hace 10 años, más o menos ¿No? me comentaba.

§84: Don F.: Sí, eso es.

§85: Francesco: Listo, entonces, bueno, si quiere añadir alguna cosa o corregir algo que haya dicho, eso es como las costumbres de las entrevistas siempre al final hay que preguntarlo, para...

§86: Don F.: No, está bien, está bien así.

§87: Francesco: ¿Está bien así?

§88: Don F.: Está bien, está bien así, no, no hay otra, no hay otra.

§89: Francesco: Listo, perfecto, entonces acá lo dejamos, gracias por su tiempo.

§90: Don F.: Gracias.

Name: Tiwa18-16

Place and Date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Usziel De La Fuente (UMSA, La Paz)

§1: F.: Que hay que empezar con... ¿por qué se llama Huancollo? Huancollo ¿Por qué se llama Huancollo? Como me dieron esa forma, digamos, de entrar en la conversación. Entonces, para usted ¿Cuál es la versión, digamos?

§2: Don F.: Huancollo dice que este... hay dos estes... wanu qullu, ese wanu, digamos, ese montón ese wanu, como qullu, como este... como montones, wanu qullu, otros dicen wanku qullu, wanku, conejo, hay conejos silvestres, entonces, aquí abajo hay pues hartos conejos, por eso es, Huancollo, wanu qullu, wanku qullu y eso pues ¿Cuál sería? No sé yo pues.

§3: F.: Digamos que hay 2 versiones.

§4: Don F.: Es wanu qullu o wanku qullu, de ahí viene Huancollo.

§5: F.: Dale. Y ¿Desde cuándo, digamos, existe, Huancollo, como comunidad?

§6: Don F.: Desde antes, siempre había sido Huancollo, cuando el tiempo de patrón, Huancollo siempre ya conocía.

§7: F.: ¿También, o sea, cuando era hacienda, cuando había patrón?

§8: Don F.: Sí, Huancollo.

§9: F.: ¿Se llamaba Huancollo, igual?

§10: Don F.: Sí, Huancollo igual, Huancollo no más. Después Huancollo ya hacienda, ahora ya hay, antes hacienda, después del 52 ya han cambiado. Antes este lado no más trabajaban, del río a este lado, trabajaban hacienda, aquel lado para patrón era.

§11: F.: Entonces, a ver si entiendo, del río, acá donde estamos...

§12: Don F.: Hasta ese lado.

§13: F.: ¿Era de los comunarios?

§14: Don F.: Comunarios... trabajadores para los patrones. Asintake se llamaban.

§15: F.: ¿Cómo se llamaban?

§16: Don F.: Asintake.

§17: F.: Asintake.

§18: Don F.: Asintake.

§19: F.: ¿Los que trabajaban para el patrón?

§20: Don F.: Sí. Eso, entonces, después de revolución ya han

llegado... antes habían abandonado pues sus padres, sus abuelos, ya han llegado después ya. Después ahí han hecho casa ya. Ya hemos vuelto arto, arto, ahora ya estamos 200... 100 tantos, casi 170 más. Antes había sido unos 25, así no más, cuando yo trabajaba en la hacienda.

§21: F.: ¿Antes, o sea, el tiempo de la hacienda, 25 no más eran?

§22: Don F.: 25... No, también, algunos llegaban, dice, algunos ya se escapaban.

§23: F.: Claro.

§24: Don F.: Así no más se escapaban. Después ya no, ya se ha reformado, ya no.

§25: F.: ¿Y usted recuerda ese tiempo en que se dio el cambio, digamos, con la reforma?

§26: Don F.: Sí, sí, más o menos recuerdo ya, porque ahí ya tenemos parcelitas, allá tienen propios ganaditos. Ya no sembraban papa, ya antes para patrón no más ya trabajaban pues, después nuestro lugar ya, después poco a poco, también, a veces, no producía, a veces años.

§27: F.: Ya.

§28: Don F.: Ahora, de ahí, también, nos sabemos comprar hasta este... para papas, cebadas,

para ganados, después, también, a veces años cuando llueve, también, da pues bien, bien productos, pastos altos para ganado, para este año, por lo menos, bien ha dado.

§29: F.: ¿Y este año cómo ha sido?

§30: Don F.: Bien, bien. Hay comida para los ganados, hay para personas, también, hay productos, papa.

§31: F.: Claro ¿Y en ese... en esa época de la reforma, del 53, ya llegó más gente o siguieron los que estaban acá? ¿Cómo pasó eso?

§32: Don F.: Sí, más gente ha llegado.

§33: F.: ¿Llegó más gente?

§34: Don F.: Ya todo... ya no hay pues campo ahora, todo ya tiene parte, parte, parcelas.

§35: F.: ¿Antes había menos casas?

§36: Don F.: Menos casas, pero grandes terrenos, unos 30, 40 hectáreas, ahora ya 5, 6 así hectaritas.

§37: F.: ¿Para cada familia?

§38: Don F.: Para familia, nosotros... mi padre tenía... había tenido 30 hectáreas, nos hemos partido 4, ya nos hemos dividido a 7, casi 8 así, hectáreas. Entonces

ahí, algunos de La Paz llegan, entonces ya no quieren vivir, entonces compramos también terreno, me he comprado, mitad, de 2 hectáreas y medio.

§39: F.: ¿Y usted vivió siempre acá o se movió?

§40: Don F.: Recién he llegado, aquí atrás estoy, de mi casa, ahí es su parcela de mi padre, detrás del cerro.

§41: F.: ¿Detrás del cerro?

§42: Don F.: Sí, ahí.

§43: F.: ¿Allá era la parcela de su padre?

§44: Don F.: Ahí he ido, enero he ido, ahora entonces he regresado, hasta diciembre, también, voy a estar aquí.

§45: F.: ¿Entonces, cambia, digamos? Está un poco allá y un poco viene acá.

§46: Don F.: Sí, así.

§47: F.: ¿Y se puede preguntar de qué depende, digamos, este cambio, o sea, por qué está un tiempo allá y en invierno acá? Si no me equivoco.

§48: Don F.: Invierno, porque aquí agua, también, hay, cerca del río. Allá atrás seco, no hay agua.

§49: F.: ¿Entonces para el ganado no más?

§50: Don F.: Para el ganado. De ganado no más vivimos, no trabajamos nada.

§51: F.: ¿Y siempre fue así, o sea, siempre el ganado fue el recurso?

§52: Don F.: Sí, si da, de leche, de leche vivimos, de leche a la empresa PIL damos, entonces, cada quincenal llegan para comprarse algo, entonces ya, con eso vivimos.

§53: F.: Claro. Entonces, bueno, me estaba contando, un poco, de ese cambio que ha habido con la reforma ¿no? y, también, me han contado, estuve leyendo un poquito, también que, en esa época, también, hubo como enfrentamientos, entre colonos y comunarios.

§54: Don F.: Sí así era...

§55: F.: ¿Se acuerda un poco eso?

§56: Don F.: Porque estaban peleando, ellos ya querían quitarse esto más, porque este lado... este era de mi abuelo, de mi padre, de los que han trabajado desde las haciendas, no querían dejar también, algunos han seguido juicio, todo, pero han perdido.

§57: F.: ¿Han perdido?

§58: Don F.: Para trabajar hacienda llevaban pues, por ejemplo, mi papá había sido de

Caluyo, de Causaya, de Yanarico, así llegaban...

§59: F.: ¡Ah! De otras comunidades...

§60: Don F.: De otras comunidades

§61: F.: ... venían acá para trabajar en hacienda.

§62: Don F.: Para trabajar para patrón

§63: F.: Para patrón.

§64: Don F.: Así llegaban pues. De Huancollo ya se hayan escapado pues, dice que se han ido pues, en la noche salen cargados, todos saben irse, por eso el patrón sabe necesitar y por eso llegaban ya a trabajar para patrón, le haiga dado, también, unas parcelas, "ahí van a vivir" diciendo, donde iba el patrón ya ahí se han quedado.

§65: F.: ¿Entonces, usted, en su infancia, vivía allá en la parcela de su padre?

§66: Don F.: Sí, ahí.

§67: F.: ¿Al otro lado?

§68: Don F.: Al otro lado vivía yo.

§69: F.: Entonces, después de que hubo, digamos, este problema, digamos, entre las 2 partes de la hacienda ¿Cómo se llegó a conciliarlo, digamos?

§70: Don F.: Por este, para sacar título ejecutorial, allá juntas ya se

han conciliado ya, para toditos han llegado título ejecutorial, el Paz Estensoro, Víctor Paz Estensoro, ha dado, esito se han conciliado, ya después seguían viviendo así, ex-comunarios, ex-colonos, ahora ya último, cuando ahí este... el Evo, juntos ya somos, de una sola comunidad ya hemos hecho alzar otro título

§71: F.: ¿Y eso...?

§72: Don F.: Otro título.

§73: F.: ¿Y ese otro título cuándo se ha dado? Eso, la personería jurídica sería ¿o no?

§74: Don F.: Sí, personería jurídica, cada parcela tenemos ejecutorial, también.

§75: F.: ¿Y eso ya se dio con la reforma...

§76: Don F.: Sí, otro teníamos.

§77: F.: ... con la otra reforma agraria, digamos?

§78: Don F.: En nombre de nuestros padres, ahora ya está, con nuestro nombre ya ha salido pues.

§79: F.: ¡Ah! Claro, cambia.

§80: Don F.: Ya cambia. Nuestros padres ya están abolidos.

§81: F.: Entonces ahora cómo... o sea, uno de los aspectos que, también, me gustaría rastrear, es cómo esa memoria sirve para

tener junta la comunidad, digamos, para hacer este vínculo entre las varias personas ¿Cómo piensa usted que se ha dado, digamos, este proceso para que ahora la comunidad funcione como una familia, digamos, como una sola persona?

§82: Don F.: Sí, así ya somos, junto ahora ¿no? todos juntos somos. Hay algunos, también, quieren dividir, pero no, somos siempre unidos somos, unidos trabajamos, todo.

§83: F.: ¿Pero en qué, o sea, qué cosa, qué prácticas, qué lugares hacen que estén unidos, digamos? Si me he explicado.

§84: Don F.: Pero este... trabajo no más pues, hacemos murallas, sillas, también, aquella capilla hemos hecho, así unidos.

§85: F.: ¿O sea, esos trabajos de... comunitarios, digamos?

§86: Don F.: De la comunidad.

§87: F.: ¿Y cómo se le llama a este, tiene un nombre, digamos, para expresarse?

§88: Don F.: Entonces, también nos ayuda, nosotros como contraparte ponemos nuestro trabajo, a veces cuota, también, alzamos.

§89: F.: Claro, pero estaba preguntando, si no me equivoco es ayni, como...

§90: Don F.: Ahora ya estamos olvidando ayni, antes sabemos hacer, para recoger cebada, ayni ya unos 3 juntamos ahí, ahora ese ayni ya no, porque sólo también hacemos, hay máquinas para cortar, para segar, ya solo no más se hace.

§91: F.: Entonces, digamos ¿Ya se va...?

§92: Don F.: Antes con mano no más se hacían ayni para... uno otro día, también, para otro día, también para ellos.

§93: F.: ¿Y ahora ya no se hace, digamos, ese trabajo más en comunidad porque llegaron las máquinas?

§94: Don F.: Sí, para segar también hay, uno solo ya termina pues.

§95: F.: ¿Entonces es más rápido, digamos?

§96: Don F.: Más rápido.

§97: F.: ¿Pero, usted cree que se necesita, como, recuperar este valor del ayni, o ya es algo que no sirve, porque ya están las máquinas, digamos?

§98: Don F.: Sí, podemos, pero seguimos haciendo a veces, así,

un día para él, las 2 máquinas hacen, otro día para él, también, para mí, así. Sí, pero no harto, unos 2, así ayni.

§99: F.: Claro. ¿Y hay otras prácticas, digamos, como parecido a eso del ayni que, también, sirven como para ese sentimiento de comunidad?

§100: Don F.: Sí, como este... junto, también, trabajamos, cuando hay la escuela, hay trabajo para comunidades, eso claro, juntos trabajamos.

§101: F.: ¿Y qué significa eso, de trabajar juntos?

§102: Don F.: Es también la unidad, nos reúne pues el trabajo, también.

§103: F.: Claro. ¿Y tiene valor político, también, digamos, esto?

§104: Don F.: Sí, algunos políticos vienen, también pues, aquí. Así cuando están en reuniones, así, trayendo sus refrescos, tanto... ahí apoyamos.

§105: F.: Claro en ese sentido. Entonces usted, como... Digamos, mi trabajo, lo que yo estoy haciendo es sobre patrimonio cultural ¿Verdad? ¿Qué...? ¿En qué sentido cree usted que Huancollo, qué patrimonios culturales, digamos, usted cree

que se puedan identificar acá en la comunidad?

§106: Don F.: ¿Patrimonios?

§107: F.: Digamos, lugares importantes, lugares que mantienen historia... o, también, prácticas, como música, canciones, danzas.

§108: Don F.: Sí aquí hay una danza, waka tinti, quena quena, en San Pedro bailan quena quena, sí...

§109: F.: ¿En la fiesta de San Pedro? ¿Dónde tiene...?

§110: Don F.: Sí, San Pedro.

§111: F.: ¿En junio?

§112: Don F.: Sí, en junio. Después, este... cuando hay algunas, algunos... ¿Qué se llama? Cuando algunas fiestas, entonces, así todo lado... con este, reúnen así, todo, 23 comunidades hay también, en alguna ocasión, entonces van, también, waka tinti, eso también. En Huancollo pues bailan.

§113: F.: ¿Y a nivel de lugares, digamos, usted puede, no sé, puede decirme si hay algún lugar? Por ejemplo, hay parcelas de uso común ¿no?

§114: Don F.: Hay, hay, en Aynoca, ahí hay, Aynoca.

§115: F.: ¿Aynoca?

§116: Don F.: Usan como... todos tienen qallpitas, ahí siembran.

§117: F.: ¿Y por qué, o sea, por qué será que se da que ese lugar sea de uso común? ¿Fue por casualidad o hay una, alguna razón, digamos?

§118: Don F.: Se ha este... Cuando han llegado, ahí sobraba ese lugar, no tenía dueño, entonces, "Ya, uso común que sea Aynoca", sí, ahí hemos ido a trabajar a partir, ya han partido iguales, pero ahora no, algunos tienen harto, algunos poco tienen, así. Hay que tienen terrenos grandes, más grandes tienen, terrenos chiquititos tienen, no tienen en Aynoca, sus qallpas.

§119: F.: O sea, que no todos tienen...

§120: Don F.: No todos iguales, no todos iguales, no. Hay otros... 2 Aynocas tenemos, allá otro, aquí arriba uno, Marka Pata se llama cerca de Tiwanaku...

§121: F.: Y otro...

§122: Don F.: (...) se llama aquí arriba, también,

§123: F.: ¿Y son todos lugares de uso común, digamos?

§124: Don F.: Sí es uso común.

§125: F.: ¿Y qué quiere decir Aynoca? Me dijeron este nombre, pero no sé qué querrá decir.

§126: Don F.: Es Aynoca porque todos sembramos ahí, por qallpitas, así partido, para sembrar.

§127: F.: Ya, entonces Aynoca, digamos, quiere decir en partes iguales, más o menos.

§128: Don F.: Uso comunal.

§129: F.: Uso comunal ¿O sea, esto quiere decir?

§130: Don F.: Aynoca, sí, eso quiere decir. Ese cerrito, también nos este... Qupallika.

§131: F.: ¿El cerro?

§132: Don F.: Sí.

§133: F.: Qupallika

§134: Don F.: Sí... hasta deporte, este... llevan, este ¿Qué se llama?... "Equipo de Huancollo: Qupallika", sí, su nombre lleva.

§135: F.: ¡Ah! ¿De fútbol?

§136: Don F.: Equipo de... de fútbol, equipos, los 2 equipos hay, entonces, los 2 Qupallikas, Segundo Qupallika, Primer Qupallika, nombre de ese cerrito.

§137: F.: ¿Y qué importancia tiene ese cerrito para la comunidad?

§138: Don F.: Es así un este... como patrimonio, también pues

ahí, ahí van a rezar cuando no llueve, ayunando van allá arriba.

§139: F.: ¿Allá? ¿Dónde está la cruz?

§140: Don F.: Sí, sí, ahí van.

§141: F.: ¿Por qué se elige este lugar?

§142: Don F.: Ese lugar también... buen este dice hay ¿Qué se llama? “Energía hay” diciendo.

§143: F.: ¿Energía?

§144: Don F.: Antes, dice que contaban los... llegaban así, este dice... gente, sí, de platillo volador llegaban, dicen. Ahí arriba como pampita es.

§145: F.: ¿Y quién cuenta esa historia?

§146: Don F.: Antes, mi padre me ha contado

§147: F.: ¿Su padre le contaba eso?

§148: Don F.: Así chiquititos gente saben llegar dice

§149: F.: ¿Qué allá llegaban platillos voladores le decía?

§150: Don F.: Sí.

§151: F.: ¿Y queda alguna cosa de esta historia?

§152: Don F.: Sí hay, por eso ya llaman Qupallika

§153: F.: ¿Por eso se llama Qupallika?

§154: Don F.: No, no. Qupallika es este... copa es este, lagarto en aymara.

§155: F.: ¡Ah! ¿Copa es lagarto?

§156: Don F.: Copa... entonces, así parecido, así colita tiene

§157: F.: Ah... Porque se parece a un lagarto dice...

§158: Don F.: Así, entonces llica es grida (greda), adentro grida, arcilla.

§159: F.: ¿Llica es arcilla?

§160: Don F.: Llica.

§161: F.: Llica

§162: Don F.: Copa-Llica, llinki. Antes habían hecho tejas, este... patrones urna había habido.

§163: F.: ¿Allá? ¿Allá cerca?

§164: Don F.: Sí, llica es greda, arcilla

§165: F.: Ah...

§166: Don F.: Dice Qupallika, copa lagarto...

§167: F.: Copa lagarto... Quién, dónde está la arcilla.

§168: Don F.: Arcilla, Llika, Qupallika...

§169: F.: Entonces, bueno, los artesanos, por ejemplo, que trabajan arcillas...

§170: Don F.: Sí.

§171: F.: ¿Iban a buscar la materia allá?

§172: Don F.: Sí. Venían a buscar.

§173: F.: ¿Venían a buscar? ¿Ya no hay?

§174: Don F.: Hay todavía, se atajan. Hay todavía arcilla.

§175: F.: ¿Todavía se encuentra?

§176: Don F.: Se encuentra.

§177: F.: Entonces claro, entonces claro, ese sería un lugar importante para recordar.

§178: Don F.: Sí.

§179: F.: Eso es un poco lo... el trabajo ¿no? ¿Qué lugares son importantes para recordar?

§180: Don F.: Eso no más es... este. Eso también, al sur hay vertiente, al sur vertiente.

§181: F.: El agua de vertiente

§182:

§183: Don F.: Una fiesta tenemos el 22 de octubre de Asunta.

§184: F.: ¿Cuál?

§185: Don F.: Asunta, es Asunción también.

§186: F.: ¿Cuándo es?

§187: Don F.: El 22 de agosto.

§188: F.: ¿El 22 de agosto? ¿Es una fiesta de acá de la comunidad?

§189: Don F.: Fiesta del patrono de la comunidad

§190: F.: ¿Cuál es el patrono de la comunidad?

§191: Don F.: Virgen de Asunta, Asunción, Asunción.

§192: F.: ¿Virgen de Asunción? Pero allá en la iglesia hay 3, digamos, estatuas, allá el altar, hay una virgen y luego hay otra

§193: Don F.: Ahí hay cruz en Qupallika, no hay nada, pero es cruz, solamente esa cruz hay.

§194: F.: No, no, digo de la iglesia, hay 3 imágenes digamos, una será la virgen de Asunción ¿Y los otros dos?

§195: Don F.: San Juan bautista el 24 de julio. Antes fiesta eraba, fiesta eraba también, ahora ya no hay, no, se ha perdido ya, bailaban también en este, en San Juan.

§196: F.: ¿El 24 de junio?

§197: Don F.: Sí.

§198: F.: ¿Y se perdió un poco de eso porque entró ya lo del willka kuti? Quizás, puede ser.

§199: Don F.: Ah, sí de eso, pero sí, de ahí se ha perdido, ya no... Ya no festejan. Entre la misma Asunta es el otro...

§200: F.: ¿El 22 de agosto entonces hay otro?

§201: Don F.: El 22 de agosto.

§202: F.: Es otra festividad

§203: Don F.: Las 2 vírgenes son, el otro grande el uno chiquitito.

§204: F.: ¿Y qué se hace en ese tiempo?

§205: Don F.: No, hacen un este, como altar, entonces, sacan, dan la vuelta, ese día, la fiesta.

§206: F.: ¿Allá en donde la iglesia o en otro lugar?

§207: Don F.: No, en la iglesia, en la plaza da vueltas

§208: F.: ¿En la plaza, ahí, donde la iglesia?

§209: Don F.: Así cargado, bailarines más.

§210: F.: Dale. Y a ver si usted sabe, si me puede contar ¿Hay alguna canción, digamos, que sea... que le han contado, que le solían contar sus padres o sus conocidos, un poco, para establecer una relación, también, con estas festividades o con el tiempo de siembra o de cosecha, digamos, si hay alguna canción o algún cuento quizás?

§211: Don F.: Canciones no hay, debe haber, pero algunos se han finido, no he practicado yo.

§212: F.: Claro, no, por eso digo, importante... O sea, yo pregunto porque yo estuve leyendo, quizás y para... O sea, comparación con otro lado, siempre hay como estas canciones o músicas que hacen

como una relación con el territorio, con la agricultura, con los campos.

§213: Don F.: Antes cuando este, bailaban, también, ahí arriba, en la noche, cuando la helada ha querido caer, todo se despeja, entonces, bailan esta noche ya, Cachu se llama, Cachu con tinquillas, entre jóvenes, las cholitas, se juntaban, en la noche bailaban.

§214: F.: Bailaban para que no...

§215: Don F.: Para que no caiga la helada

§216: F.: ¿Para que no caiga la helada?

§217: Don F.: Sí, en tiempo de lluvia, como cuando ya despeja, entonces ya, saben llamarse al famoso Cachua, diciendo.

§218: F.: ¿Cachua...?

§219: Don F.: Cachua, con pinquillada

§220: F.: ¿Cachua con pinquillada?

§221: Don F.: Bailan con pinquillada. Así también, saben ir, saben cantar también. Toda la noche saben amanecer. Eso no más recuerdo.

§222: F.: Listo, entonces, lo dejamos acá, o ¿quiere añadir alguna cosa?

§223: Don F.: Eso no más sería.

§224: F.: Eso no más, está bien, está bien, bueno, le agradezco mucho por su tiempo don F..

§225:

§226:

§227: F.: Pero, efectivamente, la historia del hospital, también me ha llamado mucho la atención, un poco. ¿Usted recuerda un poco cuando se construyó?

§228: Don F.: Mmm... Este ¿Qué año era? El 82 o 3 creo q era, entonces el Simón Quispe, mi tío también se ha traído una turista, Melquiades Istori, entonces nos ha pasado cursos, cursos de medicina natural, hemos ido allá, cerros buscar, todas las plantas nos ha hecho conocer, “Esta planta se llama eso”, “Esta planta para esta enfermedad”, para todo nos ha mostrado, entonces, unos cuantos cursillos hemos hecho, después ahí... Entonces por qué no... Él nos dijo, por qué no podemos hacer un hospital de medicina natural , ya nosotros hemos acordado “Ya, haremos” diciendo, “podemos trabajar”, hemos empezado, entonces ya, él ha hecho un proyecto, se había aprobado con proyecto, se llamaba FIA, norteamericano era, eso nos ha ayudado, pero antes

hemos hecho construcciones, después se ha aprobado. Después nos hemos dividido también, 2, unos no querían trabajar, algunos ya querían trabajar, entonces este lado se ha apartado, “Nosotros al. vecinos vamos a pertenecer a Tiwanaku”, junta de vecinos, aquel lado sindicato, los que trabajaban, nos hemos dividido en 2, después todos los que hemos empezado, eso no más hemos acabado, pues, yo he trabajado como albañil, yo he hecho el cemento, no teníamos no cemento, nada, no teníamos para comprar cemento, entonces ya, piedrita con barrito hemos puesto el cemento, ahí está, sigue parado hasta ahora. Hemos hecho...

§229: F.: O sea ¿La construcción que está hasta ahora, es la que ustedes hicieron?

§230: Don F.: Yo he hecho, nosotros también hemos ayudado, mi hermano el Antonio, él, Víctor, también él, hay otros ya, se ha... Cuando se ha acabado el adobe, nosotros sabemos hacer, unos 3000 adobes para... Ya hemos empezado, entonces yo me voy a quedar, diciendo, entonces ya está techado, entonces de ahí se ha aprobado el proyecto, ya ha

comprado calaminas, todo materiales así, esa institución FIA, nos ha ayudado.

§231: F.: ¿Y qué era esa institución FIA?

§232: Don F.: Melquiades Istori es, ha sacado.

§233: F.: ¿Quién?

§234: Don F.: Una turista, Melquiades Istori se llamaba, se ha sacado, después ya... Eso también quería aprovecharse, bien este ha llegado, bien paradores, más querían hacer trabajar, "Pero si no quieres estar me lo voy a llevar al naranja y al Oruro, me voy a desatar, me voy a destichar, con ejército me voy a traer, me voy a hacer destechar, entonces, a Oruro voy a llevar" diciendo, ahí también había ya... Para techo ha comprado, después ha comprado movilidad, motos y se ha llevado, después se ha perdido así no más nos hemos quedado, sólo techo no más, después ya, hasta Oruro han ido a buscar, le han encontrado, ese Melquiades Istori, han puesto a carcel, también, a San Pedro, ahí ya, se haya salido o se haya muerto, ya debe tener edad. Después ahí han este... El padre Paz Jiménez, había un, de esta comunidad era, párroco era, ahora

ya no, se ha muerto ese nos ha orientado, entonces "Ustedes pueden sacar" entonces, como asesor, " Así les voy a ayudar" diciendo, entonces a la misma FIA han hecho proyecto, de ahí mismo han... Nos hemos... Nos han... Ayuda hemos sacado, entonces ya hemos terminado con obra fina, todo, planchada, fachada, había también este, una ¿Qué se llama? Para pagar, para enfermos, para pacientes.

§235: F.: ¿Y por qué es importante para usted...

§236: Don F.: Se llama rimo... Rimuneración (remuneración), para los que trabajan.

§237: F.: ...que haya este centro de medicina tradicional que dice...?

§238: Don F.: Después, primer hospital Aymara.

§239: F.: Claro y ¿Qué importancia tiene esto para usted?

§240: Don F.: Así ¿No? Venían pacientes de toda parte, de La Paz, Desaguadero, Taraco, de Aroma, provincia Aroma, también, venían, había harto, después ¿Cuándo era? Cuando ese financiamiento se ha terminado, ya no quería trabajar nadies, ya así no más se ha quedado, ahora de

vuelta ya está, han hecho refacción, pero de vuelta, así no más se estaba quedando, pero la gente, unos querían trabajar pero, otros se envidiaban, ya no querían, “Yo no más voy a trabajar”, después se ha quedado, también, de vuelta, ahora ya, de vuelta ha empezado, va a funcionar de vuelta.

§241: F.: ¿Y es importante para usted que esté este centro de medicina indígena?

§242: Don F.: Es importante para que vengan los pacientes, es importante, hasta yo también, voy a ir antes, hay baño de vapor, hay este... ¿Qué se llama? Hay masajes quiroprácticos, sí, es importante, eso había, ahora va a haber también, van a venir también.

§243: F.: ¿Y para mantener ese conocimiento, digamos, de plantas, estaba diciendo, también, eso ¿Le parece importante?

§244: Don F.: Es importante, porque todo... Las plantas... Antes tomaban así, sultana, cafecito, ahora ese matecito recogemos, si hay uno, tomamos. Sí, sí, así no más es el este, el hospital, puedo contar.

§245: F.: Listo.

Name: Tiwa18-17

Place and Date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Francesco Orlandi

§1: don D.: Cómo usted quiere que te explico?

§3: F.: Como decíamos antes es un poco hablar sobre lo que usted dijo. La forma en que viven acá. Por ejemplo las actividades...

§5: don D.: Yaps, en este mes ya tiempo de helada entramos. Ya la helada tiene que empezar, y no ha empezado nada. Solamente yaps esperando hasta... por lo menos en junio ya tiene que haber la helada. Pero no hay nada pues. [saludo a la esposa que se larga a vender al mercado de Tiwanaku] Con los animales nomás estamos luchando.

§7: F.: Qué quiere decir eso de luchar con los animales?

§9: don D.: Pasteando... hay que amarrarlos. Hay que traer a hacer tomar, todo el día hay que hacer...

§11: F.: Y esto es una lucha con los animales?

§13: don D.: Claro con los animales estamos luchando ahí. Estamos trayendo, estamos llevando para amarrar. Así nomás estamos, cada año pasamos. [los dos hacemos mmhh] sale leche y un poco ordeñamos, ya está, a la lechería también llevamos, en las

mañanas. En las tarde igual también.

§15: F.: Y esto sería...

§17: don D.: Con esto trabajamos. Este es mi trabajo... NO TENGO TRABAJO [enfatisa]

§19: F.: Bueno es duro trabajo igual

§21: don D.: Duro, durito es!

§23: F.: Justamente es un trabajo que es la parte que me interesa rescatar...

§25: don D.: Con la lecheritas [vacas lecheras] no hay más pues.

§27: F.: ... es un trabajo que te conecta con el territorio.

§29: don D.: [...] hay que recoger cebada. Luego hay que traerlo, igual como aquel [indica] hay que traer taoqueada. Así hacemos aquí.

§31: F.: Y por ejemplo qué cambios... desde su experiencia qué cambios ha habido desde antes, digamos, a ahora en estos trabajos.

§33: don D.: Ah antes no había estos. Ni alfa, ni avena solía haber. Solamente paja nomás, así seguido [indica con su mano] Ahora mejor, ya hay pasto para sembrar; hay este... qué es que se llama... [...] avena ya hay. Este mes sembramos ya. Antes no había... granita nada más [...] solamente cebada eso nomás sabía haber. [...] colocamos ya alfa, ya produce, esta nos ha salvado. Aquí no hay nada...

§35: F.: El alfa es este verde que se ve ahí?

§37: don D.: Alfa es este verde aqüicito, yaps

§39: F.: Ese ahí bien chico?

§41: don D.: Así ya crece, de este tamaño [indica con las manos, en dirección del suelo]

§43: F.: Y cuando se siembra eso?

§45: don D.: Cuando es noviembre. cuando llueve bien. Así hay que meter [hace como que siembra con las manos]. y se [cosecha] cuando crezca ya... Esto es.

§47: F.: Entonces en esta temporada digamos...

§49: don D.: AHORA NO, NO NO - Ahora no hay, como ya está la helada, ya no hay no..

§51: F.: Entonces más bien se dedica a eso que decía de luchar con los animales?

§53: don D.: Eh claro, hay que llevarlo... Pero hay que tener [cuidado] es peligroso [me avisa con el dedo índice levantado] ... Uff cuantos se han muertos de los ganados! Cuando come, se hincha la barriga y ya está muerto.

§55: F.: Los ganados mueren?

§57: don D.: [...] ya no sale aire pues [se toca la garganta para indicar que el aire no sale.]

§59: F.: Entonces que hacen para...

§61: don D.: Precauciones hay que tener [avisa con el índice] No hay que pastear nada, yaps. Hasta que sea un poco más grande, o si no cortada recién hay que darle. Cuántas veces han muerto! Han matado... bien grandes lecheras han muerto. Peligroso es!

§63: F.: Y qué tipo de cuidado hay que tener?

§65: don D.: ehh hay que tener muchas precauciones para pastear. Así es.

§67: F.: Por ejemplo hay algunos lugares donde sea mejor pastear?

§69: don D.: Mmmh hay algunos que así, este pasto nada más es. Pero no es.. tiempo de la lluvia ya vamos a ir . Estos huecos que hay, en el tiempo de la lluvia nomás produce. Cuando es helada, ahorita ya está blanco se ve. Como ya está helando, seco julio es pues. Tenemos que sufrir hasta llegamos... Mayo como ves es esto. Junio ya no va a llover, poco. Julio, agosto, septiembre, hasta octubre [cuenta los meses con sus dedos] Cuatro meses hay que sufrir. Después desde el final de octubre ya llueve y a diciembre un poco verde es. Así es aquí. Aquí el altiplano es el más alto de todo el mundo es. Ya debe saber usted, no?

§71: F.: Bueno sí por el aire que me falta. ... [risas]

§73: don D.: Estamos nosotros a más altura del mundo, casi de todo el mundo. Algunos en el mundo

estamos a nivel del mar estamos, no? De qué país es usted?

§75: F.: Yo de Italia

§77: don D.: Ya ve de Italia.. oh como islas estamos

§79: F.: Son 20 mts sobre el nivel del mar, acá estamos 4000mts

§81: don D.: 4000? No casi 6000 estamos

§83: F.: Claro pues los cerros grandes

§85: don D.: Los cerros, como así es.

§87: F.: Entonces estoo.. hay algunas... ehh... algunas prácticas, digamos, que se hacen como digamos de ofrenda? Yo estuve leyendo un poco sobre la historia, sobre las ceremonias que se hacen

§89: don D.: Los que hacen ceremonias aquí es [indica en dirección del sitio arqueológico] Nosotros también hacemos ceremonias. A la pachamama hay que darle.

§91: F.: Me podría comentar un poco sobre esto si puede?

§93: don D.: Pachamama ahí con este coquita, hay una misa que hay preparar. Usted has visto no? Unos dulces, unas misas que le hacemos paquete. Hay que poner en una bosta [excrementos de vaca para prender fuego], o si no igual que este lenha [toca el banco en el que estamos sentados] y hay que quemar y ya

§95: F.: Y esto es lo que le llaman wax'ta?

§97: don D.: Wax'ta a la pachamama. Pa' que llueve, pa' que no haya granizada, pa' que no haya helada mucho . Para eso es eso.

§99: F.: Entonces en esta temporada también se hace?

§101: don D.: Este no, casi ya no. Tiempo es cuando es mes de diciembre. Cuando sembramos todo, ahí hay que este dar.

§103: F.: Y hay algun lugar en especial donde se dan estas ofrendas?

§104: don D.: Sí sí sí. Aquí no más [indica en frente]. Cada lugar, algunos hay, en sus patios se usan así lugares. Cada persona será pues. Los que quieren dar, los que no quieren no sé..

§106: F.: Y ustedes acá, con su familia sí dan ofrendas

§108: don D.: Nosotros damos. Pa' que haiga, para que produzca la papa por lo menos así [indica con sus manos el tamaño de la papa esperada]

§110: F.: Y si me puede decir, dònde sería el lugar donde lo hacen?

§112: don D.: No aquí nomás pues [indica enfrente con su mano] Ahí es donde se ha caído el relámpago puees

§114: F.: Allá donde está la ceniza?

§116: don D.: Yaps.. cuando caminas ya te enfermas, por sí. Un dolor de cabeza, o algo te pasa...

§118: F.: Cuándo?

§120: don D.: Cuando caminas por ahí, si pasas. Así es

§122: F.: O sea que no se puede pisar?

§124: don D.: Así es, este lugar así es, este lugar...

§126: F.: Entonces dónde está exactamente este lugar?, así no lo piso.

§128: don D.: [levantado el brazo en dirección del lugar] Aquí nomás es, donde está eso medio verde seco, ahicito es. Pero todo por allá hay. Yo casi no los conozco. Me están avisando, llegando ahicito, hay un relámpago me dicen. Ay yaps, hay que challar con purito.

§130: F.: Entonces ahí donde cae el relámpago hay que challar?

§132: don D.: Pa' que no nos pase nada, así hay que hacer. Cada año da miedo también puees, cuando llueve shh kkk así llega puees!

§133: [imita ruido tormenta]

§134: F.: Claro, entonces hay que tener cuidado?

§136: don D.: Mucho cuidado, con fé hay que caminar aquí Con fé hay que caminar aquí!

§137: [se lleva la mano al pecho, y dibuja una cruz en el aire]

§138: F.: Si pues, yo no conozco por eso le pregunto.

§140: don D.: Así es este lugar. Después ya se pasa la lluvia y estamos bien pues. Tranquilo, bien. Pero siempre con nuestras sembrareras[?] con precauciones.

§142: F.: entonces esto se hace también cuando se siembra?

§144: don D.: Cuando sembramos así es. Claro está bien tranquilo. Si bien la lluvia también cae bien así [mueve el brazo para indicar la gran cantidad de lluvia que cae] Cuando llueve, que no venga granizo,pucha... nos jode también puees! Al alfa bota, le machuca. Después a veces tarda de salir, cuando la granizada lo este. Así es este lugar.

§146: F.: Entonces, pasando a otro tema le decía que otra cosa que me gustaría rescatar como acá estamos muy cerca de las ruinas...

§148: don D.: Ah sí [mira en dirección del sitio arqueológico] la de los arqueólogos?

§150: F.: Claro... Me podría contar un poco desde su experiencia, qué ha sido de esta relación con estos arqueólogos?

§152: don D.: [...] hay entierros también. Entierros hay también. Entierros... aquí es solamente puro entierros nomás es. Algunos entierros ya tienes, algunos vacíos nomás tenemos. Aquí no hay mucho, algunas piedras de estas así cuadrados, como estos lugares hay también.

§154: F.: Y usted me dijo que también estuvo trabajando allá en las ruinas?

§156: don D.: Sí sí excavaciones hemos hecho también.

§158: F.: Y en qué periodo, qué época fue eso?

§160: don D.: Esto era dos mil... 1987 ha empezado.

§162: F.: Este era el proyecto...

§164: don D.: Este era el proyecto de Wila Jawira. De John.. no.. Alan Kolata! Ese otro era John Johnson.. [Janusek le digo] Janusek este era si.

§166: F.: También trabajó con este?

§168: don D.: Cristina, después hay otros arqueólogos también.

§170: F.: También trabajó con Cristina Hastorf, allá en Taraco?

§172: don D.: En Taraco fue el primer año. El último año ya me he ido hasta Pillapi hemos ido, de Pillapi hasta Guaqui.. Ah no, con un arqueólogo de La Paz, que de Bolivia nomás creo que era...

§174: F.: Oswaldo Rivera?

§176: don D.: No el otro, otro. Con Oswaldo en Puma Punku hemos trabajado. No sé con la arqueóloga esta hemos ido hasta Taraco, de Taraco a Guaqui, de Guaqui hacia este... Andamarca. Allí encontramos un vaso de piedra en el museo debe de estar.

§177: [con las manos da a entender el tamaño grande del vaso]

§178: F.: Y qué actividades hacían?

§179: don D.: Excavaciones. Dos por Dos [dibuja con la mano la cuadrícula de excavación]

§180: pero adentro no es como eso, es piso tierra firme, arenoso. Solamente hay una vasija de piedra, cerquita nomás, 15/20 cm nomás. Por adentro ya no, tierra eso nomás es, firme.

§182: F.: Y que le parecieron estos trabajos?

§184: don D.: Bien, bien, bien nomás. Estaba bien nomás. Apenas una semanita nomás hemos estado ahí. De ahí nos hemos ido a otro lugar, también a excavar. En un cerro ahí había un entierro de unos cinco lugares: uno, dos, tres, cuatro y cinco entierros así[los cuenta indicando en frente, como si los tuviera ahicito] Esto también hemos trabajado...

§186: F.: Y qué le parecía, si le puedo preguntar, excavar estos entierros?

§188: don D.: Bien nomás! Me gustaba excavar.. con brochita... con una... ahí los señores traían una medio como [con la mano, curvando el dedo, indica como excavaba] con eso hay que rasparlo pa' que... no jodemos al hueso!

§190: F.: Pero había algún problema con excavar estos huesos?

§192: don D.: Sí hay pues, olores fuertes, peligrosos.. pucha.

§193: Pero yo como tenía, solía llevarme traguito, puro [alcohol puro], con ese ya el olor nada pues [hace como que toma un trago] Lo peor es cuando se agujerea al hueco, el olor sale [pone cara de peligro, asco, incomodidad]

§194: F.: Y esto puede dar problema?

§195: don D.: Puede que te hace borracho y ya quieres pelear, así es!

§196: Con los otros pucha si tomas, algún amigo que te invita: "Señor quiere venir mi hija está casándose"; o una fiestas morenadas van a bailar, vas a tomar y después te vas a pelear, vas a discutir.

§197: Así es cuando sacamos, cuando trabajamos ese hueso humano!

§198: F.: Entonces es el olor que te hace emborrachar?

§199: don D.: Oh eso es feo, eso es feo. Casi no tomamos, pero siempre para empezar sí, un puro siempre me llevo. O si no el señor arqueólogo lo pide. Ya sabe! "Señor John tienes que traer un trago de estos". Y lo trae siempre. Así un poquito. "Pero no te lo vas a tomar!" "Ah y claro" Lo tomo y con eso ya está bien

§200: [se lleva la mano a la boca como para tomar, y después al pecho para decir que entró en condición para trabajar]

§201: Y sigo trabajando después ya. Pasa eso también puees! Para picotear duro es eso. Así sabemos trabajar en las ruinas.

§202: F.: Así trabajaban en las ruinas.

§203: don D.: Así sabíamos trabajar en las ruinas. Hoy livianito, sentado despacio.

§204: Antes trabajaba yo en el año 70/80 como carretillero nomás, golpes [...] picotean como locos los machos. 40 por 40 saben entrar

§206: F.: Dónde fue eso?

§208: don D.: [indica el sitio arqueológico] En las ruinas también pues, para sacar [...] donde está el monolito Ponce, ahí atrás esto estaba todo saqueado [?] de tierra. Ese año pues lo han descubierto pues. Años 60 ese tiempo nomás han empezado.

§210: F.: Y usted estuvo trabajando también en ese tiempo?

§212: don D.: Jovencito todavía. Como ayudante. Carretillero se llaman, llevando la carretilla [me muestra el gesto de llevar la carretilla] De ahí estoy viniendo yo.

§213: Después en el 87 como maestro me han ascendido. Eso ya moderno excavaciones es, no ya como antes brutalmente. Porque

ahí sale collares, puntas de flecha, conoce no? Y después cernimos {muestra el movimiento, la práctica de cernir} ya sale lindo todo lo que aparece ya.

§214: F.: Entonces le pareció que ha habido en los arqueólogos de antes, en la época de Ponce...

§216: don D.: Ah eseee [se lleva la mano a la boca, como a limpiarse del escupitajo que se merecía Ponce] Quizá conoce al Gregorio Cordero, ya se ha muerto. Este era el arqueólogo, con este sabemos trabajar golpe nomás. Con el Ponce

§218: F.: Y he visto por ejemplo hay un video, se lo puedo mostrar ahorita, lo tengo acá...

§220: don D. A ver a ver a ver... [...] debe ser del año 80 y... por ahí debe ser... '70. En estos años hemos trabajado también con el Ponce, el Gregorio Cordero, ya ha muerto ese, un buen caballero era.

§222: F.: [muestra la grabación de la televisión francesa en blanco y negro que me pasó el Don Mario]

§224: don D.: Ese tiempo debe ser. Ya veo el Akapana estaba como tierra nomás estaba.

§226: F.: Ehh se ve muy poco por el sol...

§228: don D.: Eh sí obscurito es [hace sombra con su gorra en el celular para poder ver mejor] Aquí ese templete nosotros no hemos trabajado, otros este han trabajado. Yo lo he visto excavado

siempre. Ese el templete subterráneo es.

§230: F.: Por ejemplo ahí se ven unas imágenes que me impactaron bastante. Acá trabajando duro con picota.

§232: don D.: Ah ese es [...] este los soldaditos están trabajando donde KereQala ahicito están trabajando. O Putuni será, ese lugar están trabajando. Ahí una piedra estaba caída han podido hacerlo parar solamente con [...] largo estaban jalando los soldados. Limpieza estaba ahí creo [?]

§234: F.: Aquí están jalando una piedra?

§236: don D.: Sí, y a dónde estaba caído? ... No se ve bien ... Los soldados han venido, de Guaqui eran estos.

§238: F.: Y qué hacían estos soldados?

§240: don D.: Pues eso, estaban con la limpieza apurados, picoteando ahí.

§242: F.: O sea, trabajaban los soldados? O les hacían trabajar?

§243: don D.: No, no, no. Los soldados a pata han venido. Este he visto yo. Estaban ahí una limpieza nomás es que daban [enfatisa "limpieza"] Eso lo más fuerte que daban [...] como 5x5 estaba pues, así cuadrado 5 metros así cuadrado [muestra amplitud con las manos] y sacaban tierra, directo algún camion le cargaban, y la iban a echar a los

huecos, fuera ya sacan. [pausa] Eso yo he visto [expresión facial puede indicar sufrimiento por la rapidez con la cual los soldados sacan fuera la tierra desde el área arqueológica]

§244: Después ya en el 86 ya no es así. Ya es un trabajo moderno [se refiere con las manos a la “setacciatura” ya mencionada antes] despacio hay que picotear, hay que trabajar. Yaps, si se picotea con golpes como ese tiempo, ya le vamos a matar al hueso humano [lo cuenta como chiste, con la sonrisa] Ahí aparecen huesos, ollitas [mira hacia el sitio] o sino como tachitos, como vasos lo que sería parece, sí. “Monolos” [monolitos] estos no los he encontrado. Lo que he encontrado, que creo que es, pero no tiene figura, partido es [con la mano muestra sobre su cuerpo la altura en que está partido el monolito] debe estar en el museo también este. En la entrada de la Akapana esto es. Esto es en el 80, dos mil y ocho o siete, este año debe ser. Después hasta 2009 he trabajado, 2010 ya no.

§246: F.: Hasta el 2009 estuvo trabajando?

§248: don D.: Después de eso ya a los animales nomás me dedico. Como ya no hay pa mi trabajo de esto. Desde los 60 ya trabaje de eso.

§250: F.: Usted recuerda el periodo que dicen de la intervención, allá por el año 2000?

§252: don D.: El 2000 ese año pues, [usted quiere saber] [la intervención] de los mallkus, no?

§254: F.: Usted recuerda eso?

§256: don D.: Sí 2000 qué era? dos mil y uno, dos mil, este año era la intervención de los co[muneros] de los mallkus nomás lo han intervenido...

§258: F.: Y porqué, porqué hicieron eso?

§260: don D.: Porque los campesinos ya quieren adueñarse, pues! El que se beneficiaba era el estado nomás de las ruinas. Era como jefe el Ponce, y el Gregorio Cordero, estos nomás era los jefes de las ruinas. De eso han intervenido. También esa persona ahicito, cuando era mallku él se ha intervenido... quizá conoce,

§262: F.: Él era mallku en ese entonces?

§264: don D.: Él era el mallku mayor, jach'a mallku, mallku central, ese mallku era.

§266: F.: Ah! Mallku central, mallku cantonal era?

§268: don D.: Si ese era pues. De ese con todos los mallkus han intervenido las ruinas.

§271: don D.: De ahí ya de a poco a poco se ha calmado después, este, sigamos nosotros trabajando. Desde 2010 puro mallkus están trabajando ahora, puro comunidades, cada [una] de las 22, 23 comunidades, 23

personas cada comunidad entre dos entran a trabajar. Pues a mí ya no me permiten. “Ya eres de edad” eso no?

§272: Pero ya no hay excavación! Solamente, entran a trabajar pero estos pajitas nomás, pa’ sacar pajas, donde es hueco ahí rellenan, si ese pared está hueco otro adobe le ponen, cambian las paredes... Ya no excavan, ya no hay maestros! Los que sabían bien de maestros son unos cuantos nomás, y han muerto algunos. Por eso [gesto de tomar trago] tomando de más, por ser sano [??] tampoco no se enferman ni nada, así yendo borracho a algún río se cae y, ahy, y ya mueren. Por eso yo casi no tomo, estoy tomando pero con precauciones, [no estoy regresando a cuatro patas ni na’.. ??] La mayoría han muerto pues de los maestros.

§274: F.: Entonces usted me decía que esta parte de las ruinas antes eran de la comunidad de Huancollo?

§276: don D.: No. Siempre había sido las ruinas siempre del Estado. Del sendero [?] a este lado nomás es de Huancollo. Más antes cerca de Kantataita, hasta ahí dice que era de Huancollo [acá dice algún “no sé” acerca de la titularidad de las tierras justo afuera del complejo arqueológico. Cfr. con el tipo que me mandó a fotografiar los mocones de la reforma agraria...] De ahí ha sido Huancollo, desde ahí ha sido. Antes claro hasta ahí había sido Huancollo, hasta el

Museo, atrás del Museo, Huancollo esta ha sabido ser antes. Después ya como lo han vendido, el viejito de al lado le ha vendido al Estado, hasta ese [amarillo ?] que está parado, hasta esto recto hasta ahí [muestra con el brazo en dirección del Museo. Será la parte expropiada?] abajo todo el del Estado, yaps, de las ruinas ya. Esta también es de las ruinas [indica con la mano su parcela donde estamos conversando] como hay muchos entierros, solamente entierros hasta el ?? de este casa, de aquel casa, de aquel casa, hasta ahí nomás es [con la mano muestra las casa limitando con el área resguardada] Más allá ya no hay. Ahí arribita hay una casita, hasta ahí nomás es. Más allá ya no hay, tierra firme... No hay más. Así nomás es que vivimos.

§277: Cuando es lluvia, aquel laguna [indica dirección “lagunas de los patos”] pucha, da miedo de noche como el agua sabe salir. Pero este año no ha llovido mucho, poco nomás pues no hay agua.

§278: F.: Y estas lagunas que están por allá...

§280: don D.: Por allá nomás entra, así nomás es este [con la mano indica espesor terreno?] creda ese nomás es. Rápido el agua ahí se colga, se detiene y se baja por el canalcito ahí.. ahí donde está ese auto, ya no está. Esto nomás estos dos lagos allá lo has visto, más allá también ahicito... De ahí encimita nomás

baja, nada más. Aquí ya no hay yps agua. Más antes, uh de día y noche sabe llover. A ver qué año? '86 era, '85, '86 y siete, hasta '88 ha llovido fuerte. Aquel lago, aquí estaba ese otro lago, aquí atrás también lago... pucha en el medio del agua sabíamos estar! De ahí ha rebajado. Está lloviendo pero ya no como en estos tiempos. El año ochenta y ese, cómo es que se llama? Ochenta y dos, ese año no había, tres años, cuando era la guerra, quizá haigas visto, guerra con Gran Bretaña con Argentina?

§282: F.: Ya, sí... Ochenta y ..2 [decimos juntos]

§284: don D.: Ese año había guerra por las Islas Malvinas, no? [F.: Exacto] Ese tiempo aquí no había nada. Cuando el flor de la papa está así [se agacha para mostrar, flor de la papa indica que está lista para cosechar], no hay papa. Había "alis"[??] pero no hay papa. Así es este lugar. Casi tres años hemos sufrido esta vez. Hay una cebada, quizá conoce q'ala grana se le dice, [F.: No.] grana, grana, pelado, se llama q'ala grana, ese lo vemos siempre, ahicito nomás hemos sacado puro pito! [énfasis en pito] Pito es ?? nomas eso sabemos comer. Ese tiempo, casi tres años hemos sufrido. No hay ni papa, ni chuño, nada.

§286: F.: Porque había mucha lluvia? No porque había poca lluvia...

§288: don D.: No, por la guerra pues. Humos que enferman han

venido porque la guerra lo habrá traído. De este año ya no ha llovido.

§290: F.: Entonces, había la guerra por las Malvinas [don D.: claro, con la Argentina no ves que és?] y que pasaba acá?

§292: don D.: Ps eso, no hay nada. Ni lluvia, nada, no ha llovido.

§294: F.: Por causa de la guerra?

§296: don D.: Claro. Pues el humo, con qué químicos lo haigan disparado, lo haigan largado pues. De ahí ya no ha llovido. Unos cinco años hemos asado así, nada. Después en el 86 ya ha empezado a llover ya. En ese tiempo fuerte [con la mano muestra la fuerza de la lluvia que cae] [...] ya había papa, todo hemos producido. Ese año así ha sido. Ahora este año siempre está lloviendo poco, no siempre, mucho. Por eso está la [?? indica donde tiene el agua para sus ovejas que estaba casi seco como mostró al llegar a su casa] no hay nada, agua no hay. Esa tierra de ahí [la del laguito donde toman agua sus animales] me parece que han sacado para construir Akapana.

§298: F.: Por eso se forman estos huecos?

§300: don D.: [indica con las manos los laguitos formados por la tierra removida para construir Akapana] Estos huecos, aquí llevaban tierra pues para construir Akapana.

§302: F.: Esos dos lagos de allá también?

§304: don D.: Todos todos. De aquí, ese aquicito, aquí atrás han llevado tierra pues. Antes!![mucho énfasis con la mano como a decir hace mucho mucho tiempo] Para la Akapana. Debe ser antes de mil... 1400. Ese tiempo creo debe ser. O antes de cristo creo habían sido, habían trabajado.

§306: F.: En esta época entonces?

§308: don D.: De esta época son. De aquí han llevado para Akapana, y ahí también donde ese lugar, la Puerta de la Luna... Así es. Así te puedo contar.

§310: F.: Dale, una última preguntita, que es lo que le dije antes... Por qué están estos vasos allá?

§312: don D.: [indica en dirección de la casa de adobe en ruina detrás de él] Cuáles? Estes? [F.: Claro] Ah no pa' que parece que a veces hay gente.

§314: F.: Para qué?

§316: don D.: Para que parece que a veces hay gente.

§318: F.: Ahh para que parezca que haya gente allá?

§320: don D.: Por eso he puesto este pared, esa olla de cienes es [se refiere a la antigüedad de la olla?]

§322: F.: Y de qué eran estas paredes antes?

§324: don D.: Eran este... canchón de las ovejas. Pa' las ovejas. Yo me he hecho [F.: usted lo hizo?] para las ovejas, como ese otrito que ves acá. Pa' la cebada poner, pa' eso era. Ahicito era mi casa.

§325: Como te estaba explicando que me ha llegado el rayo, el relámpago, por eso ya me vine aquicito. [F.: Porqué ya no podía pisar alla...] Ya no se podía pisar, algo te hacía enfermar, me decían "no tienes que recorrer a otro lugar pa' tu casa", me decían {...}

§326: F.: Y entonces construyó su casa acá?

§328: don D.: Desde que pasó el rayo, ni un año! Esto me pasó en dos mil y uno. Antes ahicito vivía pues. Y luego aquí. Ya son 18 años que me cambié aquí. Así nomás señor!

§330: F.: Y bueno, le agradezco mucho por su tiempo. Espero que haya disfrutado, o por lo menos que no lo haya molestado demasiado!

§332: don D.: Esto te puedo contar señor.

Name: Tiwa18-18

Place and Date: Huancollo, May 2018

Transcription by Usziel De La Fuente (UMSA, La Paz)

§1: F.: Bueno, listo.

§2: Bueno, entonces, don L., la... digamos, los asuntos que queríamos abordar en esa, en esa conversación es, un poco, si me podría contar desde su experiencia, desde su conocimiento y sus recuerdos, ¿Cuál es, un poco, la historia de esta comunidad? de ese territorio.

§3: Don L.: ¿Huancollo?

§4: F.: Ya.

§5: Don L.: Bueno, yo nací en acá, aprendí mucho de mi papá, que se ha finado ahora, él nos contaba de que, anteriormente, él en su época, había sido apoderado de esta comunidad, la persona que manejaba esta comunidad, de ahí, un poco, este... según la historia, nos decía, pero, también, existe papeles, muchos papeles, donde por los años 1870, esto siempre era una comunidad, Huancollo, era siempre, después, más tarde llegaron, la servidumbre, que eran los patrones, precisamente esta casita, ésta, son de los patrones, ahí se ha complementado la escolita.

§6: F.: ¿Eso no era?

§7: Don L.: No. Ésta es, es.

§8: F.: Esa sí, esa amarilla, digamos.

§9: Don L.: Ésta y esa.

§10: F.: Esa.

§11: Don L.: Estas son ya nuevas.

§12: F.: Esa es nueva. Dale.

§13: Don L.: Esa época donde los comunarios en aquí trabajaban, hacían trabajar los patrones de forma forzosa, forzado, sin remuneración, algunas veces hasta castigado, decían ¿no? Y es cuando por los años 33 a 35, 1930, 33, 35 era la guerra del Chaco, mi papi fue a la Guerra del Chaco, vuelve, acaba la guerra en 1935 y el gobierno, según mi papá, nos dice, nos cuenta de que saca una ley, donde aquellos que han ido a la guerra, hoy son beneméritos, que han ido a la guerra y que han sido despojados por los patrones, pueden volver a sus tierras, pueden volver y eso es, uno de ellos es mi papá, conjuntamente con su hermano, entonces, ahí es donde empieza una lucha entre los patrones y mis padres, mi tío, en ese caso su hermano, se pelean, se meten en un juicio ¿no? Se meten en un juicio y, bueno, es la que mi papá ha sido el que ha ganado la mitad de la comunidad, o sea, les ha sacado a los patrones, porque estaba respaldado como ex-combatiente, estaba respaldado por una ley del gobierno ¿no? Entonces, es por eso este... de esa manera, ya llega en los años 50, la reforma agraria, la reforma agraria, entonces donde

poco a poco, se les saca ya a los patrones, gente que hacía trabajar de forma forzosa y se hace la titulación. Se hace la titulación a todos los que vivían, se reparten las tierras.

§14: F.: ¿Cuánta gente había, en ese entonces? más o menos.

§15: Don L.: En el listado este, de esa época son 115, 115 se han podido titular, en forma general en Huancollo, 115, pero estaban nombradas de 2 maneras, una mitad, la que ha ganado mi padre, eran los ex-comunarios, ex-comunarios, y la otra parte era los ex-colonos, los que han empezado a trabajar, los que se han sometido.

§16: F.: ¿Y la parte, digamos, que pertenecía a los comunarios? ¿De qué lado están, digamos?

§17: Don L.: De este lado, del lado oeste.

§18: F.: ¿Hacia el pueblo?

§19: Don L.: Hacia el pueblo, perfectamente. Entonces llega la titulación, convive la comunidad, convive la comunidad hasta ahora, pero este, en el año 2005... 2005, 2006, 2007, se hace un nuevo trámite, una regularización de documentos en la... en esta comunidad, porque en la antigua reforma agraria medían, dice, con pitas, cuerdas, las propiedades estaban medidas de esa manera, con pasos, no era coincidente el título que ha otorgado el gobierno y la superficie, era... había una variación de 2, de 1 hectárea,

entonces, ahora, en el 2005 iniciamos un nuevo trámite, para regularizar, para que sea lo que dice el título que sea la superficie, o la superficie lo que sea el título.

§20: F.: ¿De la comunidad?

§21: Don L.: De la comunidad.

§22: F.: ¿De toda la comunidad?

§23: Don L.: De toda la comunidad, entonces, precisamente yo he encabezado ese trámite para toda la comunidad.

§24: F.: ¿Ese saneamiento, digamos?

§25: Don L.: Ese saneamiento, no solamente para Huancollo, más otras 7 comunidades, con eso 8 total, yo he podido llevar adelante ese proceso, este ¿por qué? Porque había mucha gente, también, que se quejaba, por entonces, en el inicio, en el 2005 yo era subcentral de la zona centro y hay gente que se quejaba, indicándo que hay muchos abogados que les estaban pidiendo sus documentos para podérselo sanear, pero era para sacarles dinero, pero en el momento no les entregaba nada, es... Había mucho, mucho de esto, por esa situación, por esa demanda un poco hemos visto la manera de poder sanear para todos, sin que exista esa gente que esté abusando a la gente.

§26: F.: Digamos, sin intermediarios.

§27: Don L.: Sin intermediarios, directamente con el estado, con el INRA.

§28: F.: ¿Y eso fue respaldado por alguna ley nacional?

§29: Don L.: Sí, estuvo respaldado por un decreto supremo y por un... por un convenio, por un convenio que se hizo con el sector de los trabajadores del agro con el gobierno, un convenio y un decreto supremo, entonces, es de esa manera, cuando concluimos el 2008. El 2008 se hace la entrega a cada comunario, sus nuevos títulos, pero exactamente lo que dice el título, lo que dice la superficie. Lo rescatable de ese, de ese saneamiento fue de que, con la titulación de los años 50, eráramos (éramos) dos partes, ex-comunarios, ex-colonos, había cierto miramiento ¿no? “ustedes son esto” decían, o la otra parte, “no, ustedes son esto”, pero el que tenía mayor razón son los ex-comunarios, entonces, había cierto miramiento, cierta discriminación. Con este último proceso de saneamiento lo hemos borrado esa situación, o sea, ya no hay ex-comunarios, ya no hay ex-colonos.

§30: F.: ¿O sea, hasta 2008, seguían habiendo esas situaciones?

§31: Don L.: Esas situaciones, sí. Entonces con este proceso, como la comunidad tiene su data desde 1780... 1880, antiguo, entonces es una comunidad originaria, entonces eso es lo que hicimos

reconocer al gobierno, una comunidad originaria y sus pobladores, también, originarios, entonces...

§32: F.: ¿Sin que importe que algunos eran colonos y otros...?

§33: Don L.: No, nada. Entonces la comunidad se llama, legalmente, Ayllu Originario Huancollo, ya no es comunidad, es Ayllu Originario Huancollo y los comunarios somos toditos originarios, ya no hay distinción, murió, murió esa situación. Eso es en el tema... actualmente vivimos así, todos unos, ya no hay esa pelea, pero este, como antes se habían titulado 115, nuestros padres, hoy nos hemos titulado 175 y varias propiedades están en co-propiedades, también, entre hermanos, los que no pudieron... los que han decidido sanearse entre... en co-propiedad. Eso es en cuanto en relación a la historia, un poco, legal de la comunidad. En otros aspectos, en los otros temas, por ejemplo, en el tema, a ver, en el tema, en este tema de lo que es los bienes de nuestros antepasados, se dice que en Huancollo, era desde la pirámide de Akapana, correspondía a Huancollo, pero como el pueblito ha ido un poquito creciendo, no había documentos, entonces, ha ido perdiendo esa situación, también, hoy por hoy, hoy por hoy, es la... el área declarada como área 3, como Patrimonio de la Humanidad, el... La pirámide de Akapana es el área 1, Puma Punku es el 2 y nosotros tenemos dentro

de la comunidad el 3, el Mollo Kontu, el área 3, importante, un área importante. Todos, ese sector, tenemos mucha... muchísima importancia en lo que es de la vivencia de nuestros pasados.

§34: F.: Y de qué forma, digamos, antes, si puede recordarlo, cuando, como usted decía, la pirámide de Akapana, esa área era de... pertenecía digamos a la comunidad, algunos me han hablado de que hasta que se llegaba a cultivar en Akapana, igual he leído, también, que se hacían celebraciones en Akapana, en este sentido ¿cree que con la declaración con esto que enmallaron el sitio se ha perdido un poco esta relación con las cosas de los antepasados, lo que usted decía?

§35: Don L.: Sí, sí, así es, así es. Bueno, en ese aspecto, no solamente Mollo Kontu, hay otros lugares, también, dentro de la comunidad, muchos varios lugares, si en ese, en ese caso, yo, también, he participado en muchos trabajos de excavación arqueológica...

§36: F.: ¿Acá en el territorio? ¿En la comunidad?

§37: Don L.: Sí, aquí dentro de la comunidad, en el área 1, en el área 2, como también, en Chiripa, ahí también.

§38: F.: ¿Eso fue como un proyecto...?

§39: Don L.: Cristina... de la señora Cristina Hastorf

§40: F.: ¡Ah! ¿Cristina Hastorf?

§41: Don L.: Sí. Yo he trabajado con ella en Chiripa, varios... 3 años o 4 años.

§42: F.: ¿Y qué le pareció, un poco?

§43: Creo que ya lo tengo que dejar ¿no? ¿Podemos seguir un poquito más?

§44: Don L.: Sí, sí, sí.

§45: F.: Y estaba diciendo ¿Qué le pareció participar en esos proyectos?

§46: Don L.: Realmente hermoso, conocer... conocer lo que es la arqueología, hermoso realmente.

§47: F.: Pero en términos, digamos, de participación entre sus investigadores que venían y las comunidades ¿Qué le pareció, digamos?

§48: Don L.: Bueno, más que todo el conocimiento.

§49: F.: ¿O sea, hubo una devolución de lo que se estaba investigando?

§50: Don L.: Sí.

§51: F.: De los resultados.

§52: Don L.: Los resultados, sí, sí, sí.

§53: F.: ¿Lo devolvieron?

§54: Don L.: Sí, lo devolvieron, sí. Pero, también, el conocimiento, por ejemplo, en la parte técnica

hay en... En Tiwanaku hubo muchas personas que han aprendido, el manejo del laboratorio, varias cosas, yo me he especializado gracias a la señora Cristina en el dibujo de piezas arqueológicas... de un fragmento de cerámica se le puede dar el total, o sea, es importante también, mucha gente ha aprendido aquí, mucho, lo que es la arqueología, desde que estuvo Alan Kolata, ha trabajado mucha gente en aquí.

§55: F.: ¿Cómo se llama el proyecto ese de Alan Kolata?

§56: Don L.: Wila Jawira, Wila Jawira, sí.

§57: F.: Eso, también, interesó acá a las comunidades más bien interesó más que el área arqueológica, digamos.

§58: Don L.: Sí, porque Alan Kolata hizo una prospección, una prospección de toda esta área, de todo, de todas las comunidades, minucioso, entonces, ahí en sus libros indica de que en este lugar en Huancollo hay en esta parte, en esta parte...

§59: F.: Listo, entonces, pero bueno ¿Ustedes ya sabían que había estos lugares o fue Alan Kolata quien lo descubrió?

§60: Don L.: Conocíamos poco, sí, pero es Alan Kolata la quien nos han... un poquito, más abierto, el interés, el conocimiento, nos han abierto muchísimo.

§61: F.: Listo, bueno. Igual lo tengo que dejar ahora.

§62: Don L.: Ya. ¿Qué otra pregunta?

§63: F.: No, yo seguiría preguntando más, pero no, no quiero interrumpir sus actividades, digamos, ya, entonces, sí lo podemos dejar acá porque no quiero molestar en este momento.

§64: Don L.: Podemos continuar en otro rato. No hay problema.

§65: F.: También, porque igual estuvo hablando de que hay documentación, digamos, que su padre pudo recolectar de la antigüedad, digamos, de 1970.

§66: Don L.: Sí, sí.

§67: F.: ¿Por ejemplo, existe copia de esta documentación?

§68: Don L.: Sí, sí, hay archivos que con el nuevo proceso de saneamiento con una resolución del gobierno se archivan esos documentos, están archivados en el INRA.

§69: F.: ¿En el INRA?

§70: Don L.: Sí, ahí están. Se archivan definitivamente, porque hay otros... otras leyes que han hecho que pueda regularizarse todo de una nueva manera, de una nueva forma.

§71: F.: Ya. ¿Entonces, ustedes tienen copia o sólo está en el INRA?

§72: Don L.: Partes, en partes, unas partes, pequeñas partes, partes importantes, donde la gente de esa época quería saber el

documento, porque sí hubo un juicio.

§73: F.: Claro, por eso estaba diciendo, porque, por ejemplo, bueno para mí, si pudiera documentar esos documentos podría ser algo, bueno, importante, también, para la investigación, porque yo soy arqueólogo de formación, pero más es algo material que queda de esta época, que queda de estas luchas, sobre todo, aparte de toda la real importancia, deriva de justamente de que fueron papeles importantes para la... el reconocimiento, digamos, de la... del territorio ¿no? Entonces si pudiese acceder...

§74: Don L.: Sí. Yo tengo plano de esa época, antigua, el plano, cómo se ha dividido las parcelas, quiénes eran los propietarios, con nombres, hoy por hoy, ninguno existe ya, hay unito, el señor que está aquí, que también... del fondo, es muy antigua esa persona, ese fue el titular en la reforma agraria, hoy también, con el nuevo saneamiento, él mismo.

§75: F.: Que es el único, digamos, porque si no solo... se aumentaron los hijos, digamos.

§76: Don L.: Sí, sí, sí, los hijos, tengo esos planos, puede acceder a eso, yo lo tengo.

§77: F.: Entonces sí, lo podríamos dejar acá por el momento.

§78: Don L.: Ya.

§79:

§80:

§81: F.: Bueno, luego le voy a sacar una foto más linda, digamos. Entonces “Plano de replanteo de la comunidad **Huancollo**” se escribía en ese entonces.

§82: Don L.: Entonces como le explicaba anterior, esto era el... los ex-comunarios otro listado, ahí está mi papá, no. A ver vamos a ver, ahí está, Fernando Laura, yo soy L. Laura, él es mi papá, él es el que ha encabezado a todo este grupo, pero, también, se titularon los que han venido a trabajar que eran los ex-colonos.

§83: F.: Y, digamos, mirándolo acá en el mapa, ¿dónde estaban los ex-comunarios y los ex-colonos?

§84: Don L.: Este es el río, es en este sentido, el plano es al norte, toda la vida al norte, este es el río que baja de arriba.

§85: F.: Sí.

§86: Don L.: Del río, más o menos, a este lado, hacia aquel lado...

§87: F.: Ya.

§88: Don L.: Es este listado, entra un poco más por acá, por acá entra, este sectorcito, entonces, toda esta parte, los ex-comunarios, eso fue la división anteriormente, esto es...

§89: F.: ¿Eso es la antigua carretera, la que pasa detrás de las ruinas, digamos?

§90: Don L.: Sí, esta es la antigua carretera, esta es la riel, ahorita el asfalto pasa, más o menos, por aquicito, por aquicito, por aquí.

§91: F.: Ya, entonces ¿Cortó todo eso, digamos?

§92: Don L.: Cortó, sí.

§93: F.: ¿Y se construyó ya en los años 90 el asfalto?

§94: Don L.: Sí, sí, entonces, de esa manera estaba estructurado la comunidad, ex-colonos, campesinos y ex-comunarios, eso son los que han recuperado, estos son los que han sido notados, sí, entonces, había una cierta discrepancia donde estos decían “nosotros somos del lugar”, claro que eran siempre, también. Estos, también, pero simplemente han venido del lado de las comunidades aledañas, Causaya... entonces había esta cierta discrepanción, a veces, dentro de la comunidad, entonces, es por eso, también, este... la nueva regularización de documentos con eso hemos... ya no es comunidad, sino el Ayllu Originario Huancollo.

§95: F.: Claro. Me estuvo comentando el otro día.

§96: Don L.: Sí, esto, “Ayllu Originario Huancollo”, ese es el único nombre que lleva todita la comunidad, todita la comunidad, entonces, ya no hay este grupo, tampoco hay ya este grupo, eran 4 grupos, más o menos, esto pertenecía a los pequeños aquí, estos son los pequeños de acá, entonces, termina, ahora somos el Ayllu Originario Huancollo. Tenemos otro plano de esta, ya con nombres ya...

§97: F.: ¿Eso que está en la casa?

§98: Don L.: Esa.

§99: F.: Dale, ese grande mapa.

§100: Don L.: Esa, esa. Yo la tengo uno en este tamaño, pero no la he podido encontrar, está en algún lugar guardado, el original tengo, yo lo he... yo lo he manejado ese tema.

§101: F.: Claro.

§102: Don L.: Ese plano, todo, entonces, eso era la comunidad de Huancollo, la antigua, entonces, los títulos antiguos de la reforma, con las que ha dado, algunas que las tengo, esto es de mi papá, mi papá había tenido 2 nombres.

§103: F.: ¡Ah! Por eso digo, Genaro

§104: Don L.: Genaro, sí.

§105: F.: Antes se llamaba Fernando Laura.

§106: Don L.: Sí. Quería mostrarte su declaratoria, también, de benemérito, yo lo tengo, su declaratoria de benemérito de la Guerra del Chaco, cómo se ha declarado, su testimonio.

§107: F.: Claro, que me comentó que eso fue importante también...

§108: Don L.: Importantísimo.

§109: F.: Como para tener como... influencia, también, para...

§110: Don L.: Influencia, este grupo ha tenido esa influencia, mi padre ha sido uno de los beneméritos y aquí hay unas 5

personas que han sido beneméritos, han hecho fuerza.

§111: F.: Ya.

§112: Don L.: Sí. Esto, los títulos...

§113: F.: Y me comentaba el otro día, perdón, que en la lista, digamos, originaria sigue habiendo una persona que está titulada, también, en la lista de ahora, digamos.

§114: Don L.: Sí, sí, sí, le voy a mostrar.

§115: F.: ¡Ah! Está por este lado.

§116: Don L.: Víctor Aduviri.

§117: F.: Víctor Aduviri.

§118: Don L.: Víctor Aduviri: tiene 23 hectáreas, esa es la persona que hace ratito, le saludó.

§119: F.: ¡Es don Víctor! Ah...

§120: Don L.: Él... él es.

§121: F.: **Es serio** pues.

§122: Don L.: Él es Víctor Aduviri, es una de las personas que se ha titulado en la antigua reforma, ahora también.

§123: F.: Ya.

§124: Don L.: Sí, pero, como le contaba, aquí tiene 23 hectáreas ¿no? Entonces su... ha variado, su... porque ahora se ha medido con equipos de punta ya, con otro nivel.

§125: F.: Claro con otra... con otra cosa, está bien.

§126: Don L.: Eso, esa se ha medido. Entonces, esa... él es y,

actualmente, él es, también, se ha titulado ahora, también. Interesante esa parte.

§127: F.: Y acá otra cosa que me llama la atención que Aynoca...

§128: Don L.: Sí, le voy a explicar eso.

§129: F.: Claro.

§130: Don L.: La comunidad está en ese sentido... estas Aynocas es, son de uso comunitario, todas estas personas que se han titulado, toditas estas tienen en acá a... está dividido por tablones, por tablones de 50 metros por 100, de 30 metros por 50, distintos tamaños, entonces, está por líneas, 1 línea, 2 líneas, 3 líneas, 4 líneas, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 líneas parece que hay, entonces, todas estas personas tienen hasta 4, 5, 6 tablones ¿Por qué? Porque este lugar, es un lugar muy productivo, el suelo, la tierra, muy productivo, es distinto a este lugar, es muy productivo, arriba, que esto queda hacia arriba.

§131: F.: Sí, estuve porque allá fue la ceremonia de la Cruz.

§132: Don L.: Sí, de la Cruz, eso, perfecto, ahí, entonces todas estas personas, se cultivan acá papita, principalmente la papa, viene la helada, este lugar es un poco protegido, entonces...

§133: F.: Se conserva mejor...

§134: Don L.: Se conserva mejor, entonces, toditos tienen sus qallpas, nosotros le decimos sus qallpas o leguas, también, le

decimos, todos tienen, todos, actualmente con la nueva... con la nueva titulación, esto se ha respetado, se ha respetado, tal como es se ha mantenido.

§135: F.: Se ha mantenido.

§136: Don L.: Se ha mantenido y las leguas mantienen los hijos, de todos esos que eran titulares, anterior, los hijos, por ejemplo, de Fernando Laura, yo lo mantengo.

§137: F.: Ya.

§138: Don L.: Sí, yo lo mantengo y así sucesivamente todos los hijos están manteniendo eso, en acá, sí, se mantiene, es un lugar muy productivo, son de 100... Acá dice... A ver ¿Cuánto era? Área en hoja, 145 hectáreas, eso dice la antigua... las antiguas medidas, hoy es 114 hectáreas, donde se ha medido exactamente, entonces, ahí está la diferencia que, antes, no lo medían exactamente.

§139: F.: Claro.

§140: Don L.: Entonces, lo legal ahora es 114 hectáreas, ahí está el área escolar, también, 10 hectáreas, este donde estamos ahorita, ya se llamaba siempre, en la antigua reforma agraria ya se ha denominado "Área escolar".

§141: F.: Claro, aquí está, "Área escolar".

§142: Don L.: Eso, "Área escolar".

§143: F.: Sí.

§144: Don L.: El río, el área escolar, la escuelita. Entonces, eso es la forma cómo se ha

mantenido la documentación dentro la comunidad. Lo que dice, cerquita a Tiwanaku, esta es, lo que era parte, también, de esta... esa, esta, esta, esta...

§145: F.: Donde está la otra escuela ahora, claro, porque acá pasa la riel y acá está... sí.

§146: Don L.: Entonces ¿Qué pasó para que esté aquí la unidad educativa de Tiahuanacu? Dentro... en esta parte que queda Tiahuanacu este... llega un proyecto grande del gobierno, entonces, el gobierno dice "A ver, dispongan de un terreno" ¿no? Al alcalde, esa situación, "Dispongan de un terreno" y en Tiahuanacu no existe esas dimensiones, una hectárea, no existe ¿no? Precisamente los lugares que, más o menos, puede estar una unidad educativa, entonces, como Huancollo, pertenece a esta propiedad, Huancollo, aquí un poquito conversamos y en una reunión general se dice de que sí la educación es importante y mucha gente, de los que están en están en este lado, en esta parte, les queda cerca acá, no acá, porque aquí es lejísimos, entonces, se aprueba un acta, se dice, entonces, nosotros... "Nosotros vamos a dar esta superficie".

§147: F.: Esa superficie.

§148: Don L.: Porque Tiahuanacu no pudo sacar ni el alcalde, entonces, el proyecto estaba por retirarse a otro municipio, entonces...

§149: F.: Entonces, para no perder ese beneficio.

§150: Don L.: Para no perder, nosotros hemos consolidado esta, esta superficie, entonces, ahí está la escuelita, mucha gente se beneficia.

§151: F.: Claro, claro.

§152: Don L.: Mucha gente de las comunidades de Huancollo, Achaca, **Waraya** vienen, **Chavichico** vienen...

§153: F.: El pueblo mismo...

§154: Don L.: Todo el pueblo.

§155: F.: Claro.

§156: Don L.: **Casachuta**.

§157: F.: Claro.

§158: Don L.: Mucha gente se ha beneficiado.

§159: F.: Sí, sí. Que bien.

§160: Don L.: Así es.

§161: F.: Y las ruinas, a ver, quedarían...

§162: Don L.: Las ruinas están aquicito.

§163: F.: Aquicito.

§164: Don L.: El área 1.

§165: F.: Ya.

§166: Don L.: Akapana está aquí.

§167: F.: Sí, sí, sí.

§168: Don L.: Aquicito está el área 2.

§169: F.: Es Puma Punku.

§170: Don L.: Puma Punku y esto es el área 3 que es el Mollo Kontu, que se ha modificado totalmente, entra esta parcela más, este el 10A más, esto el 10A más, uno solo ahora.

§171: F.: Dale, pero eso ya es pueblo ¿no? ¿O sigue siendo Huancollo?

§172: Don L.: Sigue siendo Huancollo, sí, sigue siendo, aunque hay una solicitud del pueblo para que esto entre al área urbano, porque recién van a definir, están definiendo el perímetro urbano, entonces, una vez haciendo eso, quieren que esto entre, pero de alguna manera, también, puede ser a futuro, conveniente para la comunidad eso, porque el área 1 que está dentro del área urbana, el área 2, mucho depende... a veces hay mucha interferencia de lo que es el CACOT, el Consejo de Ayllus y Comunidades Originarias, que agrupa 23 comunidades, entonces, si esto entra, entonces, igual las 23 comunidades... comunidades del norte, del oeste, no tienen nada que ver con esto, entonces, van a querer entrar también, entonces, eso es lo que la comunidad, un poquito, cuidamos de que no pase a depender del área urbana, esté donde esté es igual área arqueológica, protegido, la comunidad no puede hurgar, nada, respeta, entonces, es para poquito resguardar.

§173: F.: Claro.

§174: Don L.: En beneficio de la comunidad, para el futuro también.

§175: F.: Sí, sí, sí... está bien, está bien.

§176: Don L.: ¿Qué otra pregunta más Francisco?

§177: F.: No, bueno, muchísimas preguntas, aprovechando del mapa, pero no sé ¿Me quería mostrar esos 2 documentos primero? Y luego voy haciéndole preguntas con el mapa, porque ya...

§178: Don L.: Sí, esto... Los títulos originales, antes, eran estas. Estos, es de uno de mis hermanos, Modesto Laura, esto era de Víctor Paz Estensoro, entonces, cuando tú hacías perder esto, te daban esto, mi papá lo hizo perder el original y le dieron esto, esto. Esa era la forma, antes, esos son los títulos, pero los originales que tenían toditos los comunarios. Esto, esto, también, es un título, a ver, esto, también, es un título que corresponde a este lugar de los Aynocas.

§179: F.: Aynoca.

§180: Don L.: Sí. Es un conjunto, esto. Habla de los límites al norte con María Laura, a este lado, acá, acá.

§181: F.: Sí.

§182: Don L.: María Laura, después, al este... al sur con Achaca, ahí está Achaca.

§183: F.: Claro.

§184: Don L.: Sucesivamente, los 4 colindantes, a este lado, también, es Achaca, a este lado es los comunarios, estos.

§185: F.: ¿Entonces, como el título para el uso colectivo sería?

§186: Don L.: El uso colectivo, sí. Hoy se mantiene esas situaciones, se respeta, eso quería decirle, pero ahora ha cambiado las cosas. Antes, también, el gobierno a los comunarios les entregaba este título, el único que le garantizaba el derecho de propiedad, entonces, el comunario es el que hacía otro trámite para que esto se registre en derechos reales, en derechos reales, entonces, mucha gente, también, no ha hecho ese segundo paso, entonces, por ahí se ha quedado así no más, pero hubo respeto. Actualmente el nuevo título ya viene con... ese nuevo título viene... lleva su plano individual, con una medición exacta.

§187: F.: ¿Esta es el área de la comunidad, esa marcada?

§188: Don L.: Este es mi título.

§189: F.: ¡Ah! Ese es su título personal.

§190: Don L.: Primero mi esposa, luego mi nombre, le estoy hablando de...

§191: F.: ¡Ah! Claro, son todas las parcelas y esa... dale, sí, sí.

§192: Don L.: Esto ya es... ya tiene una medición muy exacta, lo que dice la superficie, dice el título, pero, también, lo bueno del

gobierno, del actual gobierno, es que ellos mismos lo han hecho inscribir a derechos reales y nos entregaron con folio real, completo...

§193: F.: Entonces, cuando uno va a registrar, directamente tiene el derecho real.

§194: Don L.: Ya está, ya está registrado, ya está registrado, eso es lo de bueno, también, del actual gobierno, ha pensado mucho también en... porque mucha gente, antes, no sabe qué es derechos reales, no sabe cómo hacer los pasos, entonces, se quedó ahí. Entonces, ahora completo.

§195: F.: Es un resguardo más, digamos.

§196: Don L.: Vale, Evo vale. Evo vale.

§197: F.: Evo cumple, como poner la cancha

§198: Don L.: Evo cumple, sí, Evo cumple.

§199: F.: A ver, un poco, lo que quería aprovechar, digamos, para verlo, acá en el mapa.

§200: Don L.: Ya.

§201: F.: Entonces, acá tenemos el río Tantuyo.

§202: Don L.: Tantuyo.

§203: F.: Ese... ¡Ah! Esa es otra parcela que está como metido en el río, ahora ya se habrá cambiado ¿no?

§204: Don L.: Este es el... sí, querían hacerlo, pero esta es una lagunita, una lagunita, aquí, hay, también, superficie cultivable, digamos, para forraje, todo, pero hoy lo obviamos nosotros, porque esto resulta ser una lagunita.

§205: F.: Es... ¿Dónde está...?

§206: Don L.: Acá, acá, aquí, bajando.

§207: F.: Que hay una cascadita.

§208: Don L.: Sí.

§209: F.: Le saqué una foto el otro día porque me pareció bien lindo.

§210: Don L.: ¡Ah! ¿Ha ido?

§211: F.: Sí, sí, sí...

§212: Don L.: ¡Ah! Entonces esa, esa es esto.

§213: F.: Es esa. A ver si la encuentro la foto.

§214: Don L.: Es una vertiente, hermoso.

§215: F.: Sí. Yo escuché ruido del agua y me acerqué.

§216: Don L.: Porque el río, ese río...

§217: F.: Esa es.

§218: Don L.: Esa.

§219: F.: Entonces claro. ¿Y tiene algún nombre?

§220: Don L.: Ese es el... ¿Qué se llama...? Pero el río es Tantuyo. Éste viene desde el cerro, desde este cerro precisamente. Tiempo de lluvia éste va lleno de agua,

pero actualmente ya está seco éste.

§221: F.: Claro.

§222: Don L.: Hasta esta altura ya está seco, entonces de aquí pa abajo ya hay agua porque hay harta vertiente acá, baja esto.

§223: F.: Claro. Sí, a ver, un poco lo que quería aprovechar, le estaba diciendo, ver si lo podemos identificar, acá en el mapa, si usted me puede decir algún lugar que sea importante, digamos, o sea, esos lugares significativos de lo que hablamos que de alguna manera se van transmitiendo en las historias, en los cuentos, si de alguna manera podríamos verlos acá. ¿Cree que podría ser una buena...?

§224: Don L.: Sí. Hemos hablado de este.

§225: F.: Claro, Aynoca, Aynoca.

§226: Don L.: Es importantísimos, es importantísimo. Hablamos... a ver, a ver, a ver...

§227:

§228: Tenemos el área... A ver, el área que es donde está la sala de (¿...?)

§229: F.: Ya.

§230: Don L.: Tenemos ahí 5 hectáreas.

§231: F.: ¿Qué también son de uso común?

§232: Don L.: Sí, de uso común. Ahí entra... ahí está el cementerio general de la comunidad...

§233: F.: Donde es la iglesia, digamos.

§234: Don L.: Sí, la iglesia, la plaza.

§235: F.: Sí.

§236: Don L.: Bueno, esa parte sería una parte importante, también, eso.

§237: F.: Ya.

§238: Don L.: Acá, un poquito, a ver ¿cuál es esa parcela? Pareciera... la laguna... un poquito difícil de ubicar.

§239: F.: Si bajamos por aquí, cruzando... No. Sería cruzando el río. No. Sería por ese lado del río.

§240: Don L.: Terreno de iglesia, terreno de iglesia, es 2, 700, 2 hectáreas 700, pero ahora resulta ser 5 hectáreas y fracción. ¿... a qué número corresponde? A ver, terreno de iglesia. No dice que número, pero tiene que ser, éste.

§241: F.: Por aquí, más o menos ¿verdad?

§242: Don L.: Éste tiene que ser, el 42, 42A, a ver, vamos a encontrarlo ahorita, aquí tiene que estar o sino está por este lado.

§243: F.: 42A.

§244: Don L.: 42A, Francisco. Aquí...

§245: F.: Bueno, no se preocupe, no. Sino, sólo, más que nada, para saber, digamos, los... para saber los...

§246: Don L.: Ese es...

§247: F.: Y luego ya lo puedo tomar los puntos yo, digamos.

§248: Don L.: Ese es un punto importante. Ahí está ahora el spa, también.

§249: F.: Claro.

§250: Don L.: Está el hospital de medicina tradicional, también.

§251: F.: Digamos se respeta un poco la continuidad de uso común ¿no?

§252: Don L.: Sí.

§253: F.: Porque al final el spa, también, es de la... bueno, estuve escuchando que ahora van a hacer con personería jurídica, pero sigue siendo una institución, llamémosla, importante para la comunidad ¿verdad?

§254: Don L.: Sí. Entonces, esa es una parcela respetada, también, el... Así, muchos años, habían pensado los mayores de que todos los comunarios, estos, tengan ahí una partecita, también.

§255: F.: Como en Aynoca, digamos.

§256: Don L.: Sí, pero ya no para cultivarla, para poder hacer una casita, porque ahí está la placita ¿no? Si va a ver, existen algunas casitas en ahí.

§257: F.: Sí.

§258: Don L.: Entonces, es producto de eso, los lotecitos, porque mucha gente... antes las reuniones se hacían hasta muy

tarde, no había luz, ahora sí ya tenemos luz.

§259: F.: ¿Y se hacían allá mismo las reuniones, antes?

§260: Don L.: Sí.

§261: F.: ¿Y dónde, o sea, al aire libre o había una estructura?

§262: Don L.: Más antes, más antes era acá, había un ambiente aqicito que era de esta misma, ahí se hacía, después se ha subido ahí, pero no había todavía energía, esas veces, entonces, mucha gente, también, viene de la ciudad, también, a asistir a las reuniones, entonces...

§263: F.: Para que se...

§264: Don L.: Acaba la reunión tarde.

§265: F.: Claro.

§266: Don L.: Entonces, por ese lado se ha pensado de que se pueda otorgar pequeños lotes de 10 por 15.

§267: F.: Claro, para hacer una casita para que uno se pueda quedar

§268: Don L.: Una casita. Quedarse aquí. Entonces a raíz de eso, también, nace la placita. Esa parte es una de las importantes.

§269: F.: Ya.

§270: Don L.: La otra, este 48, seguramente ahora está con otro número, este es una parcela comunitaria, también, colectiva, esta. Esta es la continuidad de Mollo Kontu, aquí han hecho

muchas investigaciones arqueológicas porque es totalmente... hay mucho vestigio arqueológico, así. Entonces, éste es de uso comunitario y la comunidad ha indicado de que... en reunión general, de que en acá no se puede construir, no vamos a construir, sólo cultivamos, igual está dividido en partecitos, pero sí ya para cultivar.

§271: F.: Para cultivar.

§272: Don L.: Son grandecitos, 30 por 20...

§273: F.: ¿Y la decisión, digamos, de no construir, fue a raíz de la arqueología, de lo que estaba...?

§274: Don L.: Correcto, sí. Pensando en la protección, porque, porque, finalmente a futuro es bien importante, también ¿no?

§275: F.: Claro.

§276: Don L.: bien importante. Eso. Otra de las parcelitas que tenemos importante, hoy por hoy, es esto, esto.

§277: F.: Que está en frente de Puma Punku, digamos, más o menos.

§278: Don L.: Sí, al frente. Una de las parcelitas que, anteriormente hubo un trámite a medias, una persona acá del pueblo, que había iniciado un trámite, sin consulta a la comunidad, entonces su trámite no concluyó, pero estuvo por concluir, pero no concluyó.

§279: F.: ¿Y qué quería hacer?

§280: Don L.: Quería, seguramente, quería concluir ¿no? Pero en el camino se le encontró un comprador y se lo vendió. Se lo vendió y parte de los vacantes más, parte de los vacantes más, pero con la nueva regularización, con el saneamiento lo... se titula nuevamente para... a nombre de la comunidad, a nombre de la comunidad, igual de su colectivo, sí, pero estuvo... muchas personas interesadas en ahí, uno de ellos es un tal señor Dante Escobar, es un señor que ha trabajado, creo, que en la caja, algo por ahí, pero ha estafado una millonaria plata de los trabajadores, a los que han ahorrado su plata y con esa plata...

§281: F.: Se quería comprar aquí.

§282: Don L.: Se compró, se compró. No solamente acá, compró en desaguadero, en Achaca, en los Yungas, en todo lado, el gobierno lo recogió, pero nosotros hemos hecho titular antecito a eso, entonces, tenemos un derecho de propiedad, la comunidad, hoy por hoy, es ya, como está cerquita al pueblo, el pueblo viene creciendo por el asfalto que va por más arriba, por acá.

§283: F.: Sí.

§284: Don L.: Viene creciendo, entonces, la comunidad ha visto por conveniente urbanizarlo, y todos tienen, todos los comunarios tienen.

§285: F.: ¡Ah! Es... ¿Cómo se llama esa? Urbanización Villa...

§286: Don L.: Asunción

§287: F.: Asunción.

§288: Don L.: Ese.

§289: F.: Entiendo, que hay una canchita también.

§290: Don L.: Sí. Ese.

§291: F.: Entonces eso es de la comunidad, comunitario ese territorio.

§292: Don L.: Comunitario.

§293: F.: ¿Y se realizan actividades, algunas reuniones?

§294: Don L.: Sí. Otra propiedad ¿A ver, de cuál te puedo hablar? Te puedo hablar de esta propiedad, a ver, esta, sí, esta 36, ahora ya está con otro nombre, esto ya está unificado, el 37 y el 36, está unificado con la nueva titulación. En esta parte la mitad es propiedad del Consejo de Ayllus y Comunidades Originarias de Tiwanaku.

§295: F.: La CACOT, ya.

§296: Don L.: La CACOT, tiene su propiedad en Huancollo, la que está amurallada con ladrillo.

§297: F.: Justo antes del desvío.

§298: Don L.: Eso, eso. Eso, también, es una propiedad, bueno, para futuro también, los que son dueños son las 23 comunidades del municipio de Tiwanaku.

§299: F.: Digamos, son lugares que se resguardan.

§300: Don L.: Se resguardan, sí.

§301: F.: O sea, todavía, no hay nada, digamos, pero la resguardan para...

§302: Don L.: Sí, que está en reserva. Había un proyecto muy ambicioso, había un proyecto a diseño final, pero no lo han ejecutado, no sabemos por qué razón, pero a futuro se piensa que sí se va a hacer. Mucha gente, son 23 comunidades, las autoridades.

§303: F.: Claro. Ponerse de acuerdo, también, está complicado ¿Verdad?

§304: Don L.: Sí, así es. Así es Francisco.

§305: F.: Que bien, que bien. Claro, entonces, también están las curvas de nivel, digamos, que indican... eso sería Qupallika, me imagino. De atrás.

§306: Don L.: Sí. Sí, Qupallika, esto.

§307: F.: Claro.

§308: Don L.: Esto.

§309: F.: Que, también, está dividido en parcelas.

§310: Don L.: Sí. Qupallika, también, está dividido.

§311: F.: ¿Sigue estando dividido en parcelas, también?

§312: Don L.: Sí, sí, sí, se ha mantenido eso, se ha mantenido. Lo importante que aquí en Qupallika, hoy ya tenemos el tanque de almacenamiento de agua, es el único lugar elevado

que tiene la comunidad, entonces, de ahí es de donde se distribuye a todita la comunidad.

§313: F.: Claro, porque así baja, tiene presión.

§314: Don L.: Tiene presión pues. Tenemos otro más arriba, también, uno para la parte de arriba.

§315: F.: ¡Ah! Creo que lo vi, es una casita azul, media azul creo.

§316: Don L.: Sí, eso, sí. La comunidad consume, tiene agüita por bombeo, o sea, no tenemos agua por gravedad como Achaca, tiene mucha agua del cerro... por gravedad, nosotros gastamos energía, mensual se paga en acá, para cubrir el consumo de energía.

§317: F.: Está bien, bueno, le agradezco muchísimo por enseñarme esto, le pediría si puedo sacar una foto del plano.

§318: Don L.: Sí, con gusto.

§319: F.: Y a ver si la podemos sacar para que salga bien.

§320: Don L.: Claro.

§321: F.: Porque esto...

§322: Don L.: Interesante.

§323: F.: Es bien interesante, la verdad.

§324: Don L.: Hay otro anterior a esta, eso le decía, desde los años 1870, 80, anterior a esto, sí existe, pero no tenemos, ya nadie lo ha guardado.

§325: F.: ¿Pero puede estar en el INRA o en algún archivo?

§326: Don L.: Sí, sí, eso afirma muchas personas de que... esto, esto está en una tela, pero el anterior estaba en un cuero, cuero, el actual está en papel porque ya, ya hay sistema digital...

§327: F.: Claro.

§328: Don L.: Ahora está en papel, en esto, entonces, antes era en telas porque se manejaba mucho esto.

§329: F.: Claro. Cambia el material como se van circulando la información ¿no?

§330: Don L.: Sí, sí.

§331: F.: Eso es bien interesante, también. Pero bueno, lo voy a buscar, porque la semana que viene estaré en La Paz, entonces, voy a ver si puedo acceder al archivo del INRA para ver si igual tienen algún resguardo sobre estos documentos...

§332: Don L.: Sí.

§333: F.: Igual en el archivo de la...

§334: Don L.: El historial, el historial más al fondo, si usted accede al archivo, si le... si hace el INRA que usted acceda, puede pedir el expediente 1090, esa es...

§335: F.: 1090

§336: Don L.: Sí, esa es...

§337: F.: Esa es de Huancollo.

§338: Don L.: Sí, esa es de Huancollo, esa es la grande que aglutina casi al... un 96%, de todos estos, es el expediente, es el 1090, después hay otros, también,

pequeñitas, 7 de la comunidad, 7 o 6.

§339: F.: ¿De expedientes?

§340: Don L.: Sí. Y las otras son pequeñas, ya son casi individuales, de 2 comunarios, de 1, así.

§341: F.: Dale.

§342: Don L.: Pero el 1090 es la que agarra...

§343: F.: En general.

§344: Don L.: En general. Si accede a eso va a conocer.

§345: F.: Claro. No, también, por eso igual se queda alguna información que acá no se ha podido mantener y puedo sacar copias para devolverlas, también, y eso podría... Y que, igual, si puedo hacer un pedido al archivo del INRA, si funciona como el archivo éste, que está en la 6 de agosto, digamos, es suficiente con hacer una solicitud, estoy diciendo que estoy haciendo un trabajo de investigación...

2. Calchaquí Valleys

Name: Calcha 2017-1

Place and Date: San Miguel de Tucumán, 13 July 2017

Transcription by Ana Victoria Leiva (IAM, Tucumán)

§3: DG: te voy a pedir que cuando tengas los resultados que seguramente vas a tener un documento final de esto que me lo puedas hacer llegar, que a nosotros eso nos sirve, es como un documento como una herramienta para nuestra tarea, nuestra lucha, saber cómo se está mirando desde afuera también

§4: **E: es importante claro**

§5: DG: yo no cobro ni nada por la entrevista, pero si mínimamente esa devolución me entendes que sirve para la organización, para las comunidades

§6: **E: estupendo y claro yo lo que puedo hacer ahora en estos dos meses, porque estos dos meses están financiados por una beca del gobierno argentino, entonces tendré que devolver, por las condiciones de**

la beca tengo que entregar un documento y entonces ese mismo documento si está bien lo puedo quedarse un poco lo que he hecho y van a estar ahí resultando las entrevistas que vaya haciendo y un poco lo que he estado mirando durante estos dos meses que va a servir para plantear una investigación más adelante. Y esto es relevante porque como le decía el aspecto que yo voy a investigar es el tema de la consulta, del consentimiento, desde quien investiga se obtiene no tanto el hecho de consultar y entonces hacer participar a la gente digamos, no se interesa sino encontrar la forma de un punto intermedio, un acuerdo sobre lo que se va a investigar, entonces es muy importante para mi tener una retroalimentación sobre lo que vaya haciendo durante el progreso, estaría muy bien digamos

§7: DG: muchas veces nosotros podemos tener todo el conocimiento en la práctica o la experiencia, ahora cuando uno está en esta disputa, podemos

decir de lograr el reconocimiento del derecho nosotros vamos a distintos organismos entre ellos los estrados judiciales y ahí se manejan con papeles, con resultados, con investigaciones, con documentos y estas cosas nos sirven a nosotros para armar nuestra defensa, nuestras propuestas, reclamamos también, porque nosotros no contamos con esta parte que ustedes tienen, que es la cuestión técnica.

§8: E: entiendo, y para empezar un poco con las preguntas, yo tengo algunas preguntas escritas aquí, pero bueno lo vamos conversando. Bueno si primero quería si me pudiera un poco dibujar el contexto de los derechos indígenas en el noroeste, en Tucumán en particular, desde tu experiencia, o sea cuales han sido desde tu lado la historia del activismo de los pueblos indígenas, cuales han sido los puntos clave hasta el momento.

§9: DG: si yo hago una mirada hacia atrás en mis 15 años no existía ni un artículo constitucional ni una ley que hable del derecho indígena, durante todos estos

cuarenta y pico de años, no es que lo haya hecho solo sino con un montón de gente, dirigentes, incluso gente que ya no está, hemos ido logrando un marco jurídico que podemos decir importantísimo en nuestro país. A nivel país con el respaldo de la constitución de 1994, hemos estado en las discusiones del convenio 107 para reformarlo y que vengan el 169, hemos participado en las discusiones de declaración de naciones unidas, en todas esas andanzas hemos estado, a nivel de región Noa de nuestro país se ha ido avanzando en alguna de nuestras provincias en legislación, y en alguno organismos estatales o mixtos que trabajan sobre la temática indígenas. En la provincia de Tucumán hemos logrado en el 2006 incluir un artículo en la constitución provincial que es muy parecido al texto de la constitución nacional e incluso avanza un poquito más sobre la definición en nuestra relación con sobre el territorio, nuestra relación con la pachamama.

§10: E: en qué sentido han avanzado?

§11: DG: el texto nacional no define o no hace mención a esta relación especial que es lo que plantea el artículo 149 que es una mirada especial, diferente de lo que son otras sociedades respecto a la pertenencia al territorio, al manejo de esos bienes, a la valoración que se le da al territorio. Que no es una valoración tan económica, no es un recurso económico, sino que es un bien que nos da vida, que nos permite vivir y que hay que realmente respetarlo.

§12: E: y un poco materialmente porque nosotros arqueólogos, yo me incluyo dentro de los arqueólogos aunque veamos cosas muy distintas jajaja pero si lo que me parece interesante de la arqueología que si quiere después lo podemos conversar, es la mirada a lo material, porque la arqueología estudia lo que queda entonces desde lo que puedes recordar a parte de la ley alguna cosa digamos más física que se haya quedado en estos años de lucha por el reconocimiento? No sé si me estoy expresando correctamente.

§13: DG: si, bueno este cambio, este avance también ha tenido algunas cuestiones en la práctica, en todo sentido, en la cuestión educativa, de relacionamiento con los organismos del estado, hasta hace algunas décadas era imposible en las escuelas hablar de nuestra cultura, hablar de que existíamos, de que había leyes, que los maestros debían valorar los conocimientos que traen los chicos de la casa, cosas que hace 2 o 3 décadas era imposible. En el tema arqueológico ya que lo has tocado, también durante mucho tiempo, las últimas guerras calchaquíes que han sido en 1660, aparte de ahí como que se hace una negación muy grande de la existencia de nuestro pueblo y con ello el idioma, de hecho se prohíbe el idioma y con ello todas las manifestaciones culturales que han sobrevivido a nuestra época es gracias a que la gente estuvo aislada, no tenían contacto con el resto de la sociedad, pero si hubo una marcada intencionalidad de ocultar, de negar, de minimizar y de comercializar lo que era valorable económicamente. La arqueología ha cumplido una función tétrica que es el huaqueo

de nuestros bienes antiguos, nuestras tumbas de nuestros mayores y eso es una cuestión no resuelta todavía, creo que los profesionales, la ciencia tiene que hacer un mea culpa de sus errores, que han sido funcionales al ocultamiento que ha planteado el estado. Los estados nacionales son una continuidad de lo que ha ocurrido en la colonia, en la invasión hispánica y la ciencia muchas veces ha sido funcionales a eso, la arqueología fundamentalmente no?, la arqueología siempre ha hablado del pasado, del pasado como cosas, no solamente de los restos mortales de nuestros mayores como una cosa, una cosa a estudiar, una cosa a exponer, una cosa a vender, una cosa que tiene un valor simbólico o patrimonial para el estado, pero una cosa muerta no sujeta a un derecho ligado a los pueblos que hoy vivimos. Todo eso está recién empezándose a discutir, en otros países no sé cómo será, aquí en nuestra provincia, en nuestro país hay grandes museos estatales que todavía tienen una mirada negacionista de estas cuestiones y una mirada que el patrimonio, ese

patrimonio es perteneciente al estado y que no se debe devolver a nadie, es una tarea, es una lucha. Hoy se está discutiendo y hay experiencia en el museo de la plata de devolución de restos humanos recién, lo material, lo artístico todavía no se ha empezado a discutir creo, al menos que yo sepa. Aquí en la provincia tampoco, si bien hay una corriente de profesionales que están empezando a ver la cosa de otra manera, a relacionarse con nosotros, incluso hubo unos avances en la comunidad de Quilmes con el instituto de arqueología de la universidad de acuerdos para hacer una cosa conjunta, para un control y eso, todavía creo que la propia universidad no tiene muy asumida esa cuestión de sus formas de trabajo, la universidad incluso el CFI, las instituciones que financian ese tipo

§14: E: Que es el CFI?

§15: DG: Es un organismo que financia ese tipo de investigación, incluso la propia UNESCO tiene concepto de que un patrimonio tal de tal lugar es una cosa a preservar y que nadie la puede

tocar, nadie puede intervenir más que esos organismos, cuando ahí existe gente, existen pueblos milenarios y la experiencia de Humahuaca es tristísima en ese sentido, no se logra preservar el bien con una declaración de la UNESCO, eso no sirve, no es bueno eso, si no hay una intervención de los propios pueblos, que lleva muchas discusiones y lleva muchas idas y vueltas y muchas veces los tiempos políticos de los organismos del estado, de los gobernantes y de las instituciones no están dispuestos a transitarlos, las comunidades tienen que discutir, discutir hacia adentro, después se ponen de acuerdo en desacuerdo, vuelven otra vez y ese es el camino que finalmente lleve a un manejo responsable del patrimonio. Nosotros en Quilmes estamos discutiendo con el estado provincial el manejo de la Ciudad Sagrada, ahora eso los tiempos son diferentes, los intereses son diferentes y muchas veces hay colisión de esos intereses, pero es un desafío muy interesante porque creo que con la participación y la responsabilidad que el estado mismo asume a través de sus

leyes como protector del patrimonio y nuestras organizaciones, nuestros pueblos asumiendo responsablemente se puede manejar creo con responsabilidad esos bienes, ese patrimonio sin caer en la comercialización o en el mercantilismo de nuestra cultura, de nuestros bienes incluso en los restos humanos de nuestros mayores.

§16: E: bueno nos hemos adelantado mucho a las preguntas que iba a hacer jajajaja pero bueno quizás luego podemos volver, porque es muy interesante sobre todo por esa conexión que has hecho directamente sin que yo hiciera las preguntas sobre el tema del derecho y el patrimonio. Pero bueno relacionando un poco con esto que decías sobre todo porque ahora en papel están todos unos protocolos que el estado y los organismos del estado, las universidades, por lo menos dentro del ámbito público, porque entiendo que dentro del privado puede haber otras cuestiones, incluso si están dentro del ámbito legal en

el país, entiendo que dijiste unas fechas de implementación desde lo que está escrito en papel y lo que efectivamente se gestiona, se practica en la comunidad y justamente el tema del consentimiento me parece relevante en este aspecto porque es una herramienta que debería permitir esta participación también una especie de ajuste de cuentas con el pasado de alguna manera, porque tu estas responsabilizando desde tu visión de vivir en conjunto con el estado para incluir a una parte de la población a quienes se habían denegado estos derechos, entonces tú con esto no solo deberías ir hacia adelante sino que la mirada debería ser como una forma de reparación para las injusticias y entonces la pregunta es un poco como crees que está funcionando, si está funcionando, como se maneja la consulta, de qué forma se obtiene el consentimiento de las comunidades, si se obtiene el consentimiento de las comunidades, sobre todo en el tema de los proyectos de

patrimonio pero también en relación con otros temas, acá es muy relevante el tema de la minería y entonces también esto que estabas diciendo de la UNESCO muchas veces sobre todo en los últimos años, esto es lo que estaba viendo yo en mi trabajo anterior, se hace mucho hincapié en hacer participar a la gente sobre todo en el proceso de preparación para dictar patrimonio mundial y es muy interesante porque el programa que quieren implementar son como las 5 6 del patrimonio y es para hacer creíble este patrimonio y es un poco como si a través de esta participación ellos se limpiaran un poco las manos, o por lo menos así yo lo entendí, entonces esto sería un poquito al pregunta, como todos estos discursos a nivel internacional, antes mencionabas que participaste en la discusiones para la reforma de la convención de la UNT que también marca un hito porque es la única herramienta con valor vinculante que tienen los pueblos indígenas contra los estados, como ves tu este tema de la implementación? Como se

puede hacer para que se reduzca? Y también quizás la pregunta es de qué forma? Porque muchas veces para estos artículos este reconocimiento o sea esta brecha es consecuencia de reconocimiento y entonces para hablar esta pregunta sería cuales son los límites y las perspectivas del propio movimiento indígena?

§17: DG: si es verdad que en el papel esta medianamente establecido y que el estado y sus gobiernos no se dan por enterados, pero falta la implementación hay una brecha entre el papel y la práctica, hay que transitar ese camino, el tema es como se lo hace, hay que instrumentar, reglamentar las formas, cuales son las formas? Con quienes se discute la consulta, que organizaciones? Porque también es verdad que nuestros pueblos no están, en muy pocos lados están organizados más allá de sus comunidades, entonces si es un tema que afecta a varias comunidades como se hace?. Yo creo que va a tener que haber distintas instancias de

consulta, nosotros estamos por plantearle al estado tucumano, estamos por presentar una propuesta para que aplique, se implemente la consulta desde la unión diaguita, interviniendo la unión diaguita como organismo macro y luego cada comunidad afectada o si hay varias comunidades bueno participan ellos. Porque también pasa eso que no saben cómo hacerlo, muchas veces aparecen dirigentes o se hacen reuniones, el estado hace reuniones con algunos dirigentes que no tienen demasiada representatividad y eso se lo toma como una consulta. Ah no yo ya me he reunido con ellos, y eso ya lo toman como una consulta y no está escrito en ningún lado como deberían ser los pasos de una consulta, eso es lo que está faltando, entonces desde los propios pueblos creo que estamos tratando cada uno de avanzar con algunas propuestas, ojala que lo logremos, en el caso nuestro concretamente la vamos a presentar al gobierno provincial, lo estamos hablando que saldría una resolución para que en todo proyecto sea estatal o privado que afecte los intereses de la

comunidad tenga que haber in proceso de consulta y ahí tendrán que sentarse también estos organismos que financian esas investigaciones o esos estudios o todo lo que tenga que intervenir va a tener que sentarse ahí me parece, porque que nos pasa hasta ahora concretamente con el tema arqueológico, nosotros podemos decir no, no estoy de acuerdo como comunidad pero el arqueólogo a quien le pide el permiso? No está establecido como son los pasos de la consulta, y eso es sujeto a sentarse, discusiones, las propuestas que tengamos desde las organizaciones de los pueblos y el estado poniendo su opinión y llegando a acuerdos, porque en el tema concreto de Tucumán y debe ser en todo el país no tengo entendido, pero nosotros podemos decir que no estamos de acuerdo a una investigación arqueológica pero el arqueólogo va y pide el permiso a la universidad y al estado provincial y la obtiene y lo mismo va y hace la investigación entonces esas cosas no están consensuadas, no están equiparadas y no están trabajadas todavía.

§18: E: entonces el siguiente paso que van a optar es proponer desde su propio movimiento

§19: DG: ante la inacción del estado son las organizaciones las que tienen que proponer, en el caso nuestro de la unión diaguíta estamos trabajando un documento para proponer al gobierno provincial un protocolo de consulta.

§20: E: y bueno volviendo un poco a lo que estábamos hablando antes sobre la relevancia del patrimonio cultural, me llamo mucho la atención lo que has dicho lo que llaman patrimonio y este es un tema que estoy pensando mucho porque se trata de quien define y como se define el patrimonio no? Pero bueno llamamos patrimonio a estas cosas materiales pero también desde lo material también transmiten una forma de relación con el pasado que se va transmitiendo, o sea la palabra patrimonio me gusta bastante aunque tenga acepciones o se maneje de manera muy opresiva a veces porque es el derecho de

los padres viene del latín, y significa el derecho de los padres, o sea el derecho de los padres frente a la generación del futuro, o sea es más que derecho de propiedad se trata de responsabilidad hacia los demás, entonces creo que también puede ser una forma de encontrar una forma consensuada de manejar esto, pero esta es mi idea, como se podría definir el patrimonio desde una visión indígena en este sentido?

§21: DG: nosotros hablamos de patrimonio y justamente del patrimonio como bien vos los decís no es solamente lo material, sino es el conocimiento que ha producido ese material y ese conocimiento puede estar que estamos vivos, entonces hasta donde el estado debe atribuirse potestad sobre ese patrimonio, en todo caso yo creo que hay que llegar a acuerdos para que el patrimonio se conserve, para que no se pierda, para que se fomente los conocimientos, se valoricen en ese sentido el estado puede cumplir un rol muy importante en las preservación o cuidados

porque también hay muchos peligros, es verdad que se trafican piezas arqueológicas, que se usurpan que se hacen huaqueos y muchas veces las comunidades por si solas no logramos evitar, entonces ahí el estado tiene que intervenir y con una visión también entendiendo lo que significa ese pasado, que es el pasado para el estado, para la sociedad que vive en ese estado, para la sociedad que vive en esta provincia. Es muy común hablar de patrimonio pero hablar desde una visión turística, ah ahí hay un sitio arqueológico y yo voy a llevar el turismo para que vaya a visitar, es decir desde una mirada como economicista, es esa la mirada o tiene q haber un mix de conservación, de valoración y también que produzca un redito económico por decirlo así para esa comunidad y para el estado mismo, pero tiene que haber discusiones sobre el manejo porque hay otras discusiones que son mucho más profundas sobre todo el conocimiento y todo lo intangible que esta sin discutirse. Hay un convenio de la biodiversidad que establece un artículo pero tampoco se lo aplica, entonces vienen las que negocian

las semillas, los que negocian las plantas medicinales, todavía está muy propenso a la manipulación, tanto los conocimientos como las propiedades de las las plantas y de los animales.

§22: E: un poquito nomas profundizar sobre esto de los conocimientos que decía no? Porque quizás es ahí donde es más complicado encontrarle el acuerdo incluso con todas las buenas intenciones que puedan tener los arqueólogos para ser efectiva esta colaboración con las comunidades, pero muchas veces estos conocimientos no estaba equiparados porque siempre va primando los conocimientos científicos y menos con respecto a la relación que se establece desde la comunidad con el pasado, entonces el límite que le veo yo a estos discursos sobre la arqueología colaborativa e incluso arqueología indígena como lo llaman una forma de colaborar con las comunidades es justamente esto porque al final lo que está haciendo es lo mismo de investigar el pasado como decías antes como cosa

muerta nomas y simplemente tachando la casillita que si tengo el consentimiento de las comunidades para ser este trabajo, como se puede hacer, si se puede hacer lograr este mix? Como pueden los conocimientos del pasado que son el patrimonio de las comunidades esta forma viva de conservar el pasado con respecto a la arqueología, como puede esta vida contribuir a cambiar la muerte que estudian los arqueólogos, si se puede hacer de alguna manera? O si alguna vez has pensado en esto?

§23: DG: yo creo que algunas cosas se pueden hacer y hay otras cosas que no se deberían hacer, las comunidades saben que sus cementerios estuvieron ahí siempre y ellos han respetado, pueden pastar sus animales ahí pero nunca van a tocar nada o tienen determinados lugares que no se puede tocar, ahora va un arqueólogo y no le interesa eso si hay un lugar que no se puede tocar, si lo ha identificado y con ver eso de la investigación y va y saca, el otro tema es los resultados de

eso, donde van a parar, a quien benefician? No digo tanto económicamente. Por ej. nosotros tenemos casos, cuestiones por toda una historia de negaciones hoy la justicia para lograr defender nuestros espacios territoriales estamos planteando que los sitios arqueológicos son parte de nuestra posesión ancestral y que llega hasta nuestros días y ahora eso requiere opiniones técnicas y en ese sentido yo creo que si es importante la tarea de los investigadores, de los arqueólogos, pueden hacer un aporte importante a nuestra lucha a nuestra tarea de reivindicación, hasta ahora son muy pocos en el relevamiento que se ha hecho territorial de las comunidades de esta provincia si hemos trabajado con estudiosos, pero hasta ahora hay bibliotecas llenas de tesis, de maestrías y no sé qué cosas sobre nuestro pasado, sobre toda nuestra cultura y sin embargo están arrumbados ahí en bibliotecas, no vuelve, no vuelve al interesado.

§24: E: de qué forma esto, o sea se conformarían digamos con el libro, como puede funcionar

efectivamente para que sea efectiva esta devolución de los resultados? Porque muchas veces estos resultados se publican en artículos de revistas, libros, monografías, o sea esto serviría, estos son los resultados que ustedes?

§25: DG: yo antes de empezar la entrevista te he planteado, es eso vos haces una investigación, se supone que es seria, que está avalada por la ciencia de la universidad, por la ciencia que reconoce el estado, ahora esas cosas se nos exige a nosotros para decir bueno contame porque sos descendiente diaguita, bueno poco menos tenés hacerte un ADN yo tengo que demostrar que si tengo continuidad histórica, parte de eso es bueno ha venido un francés que ha hecho un estudio que dice, que ha hecho análisis, ha hecho cuestiones técnicas que demuestra que si hubo presencia de nuestros mayores en nuestro territorio, que hay una continuidad que otro estudio complementará la cuestión de los saberes, todavía la cerámica que se hacía hace 500 años la sigue haciendo un Delfín Gerónimo hoy son las mismas

técnicas y eso poder demostrar nuestra continuidad histórica porque lo que dicen ahora es estos son indios inventados, son indios truchos, no son diaguitas, entonces como la ciencia puede aportar en eso, con esas investigaciones. Si se colecciona, si se sacan piezas arqueológicas porque tienen que ir a parar a Bs As y nuestros niños no pueden reconocer en su pasado porque no tiene un lugar donde estén las piezas producidas por sus antepasados. Porque tengo que ir a pagar una entrada al museo de la plata para ver lo que han hecho mis mayores? Me entiendes, esas cosas son las que no me cierras, no entiendo, por supuesto siempre se han hecho así, deberían cambiar.

§26: (Silencio prolongado de ambos)

§27: **E: unas cuantas preguntitas mas sobre todo para ir un poco más en detalle de Quilmes, entonces primero si me puede contar por lo que has vivido tu como se ha desarrollado este patrimonio de Quilmes, que relevancia tenía antes de que se creara el parque**

arqueológico, antes que se empezaran las investigaciones, para la comunidad que relevancia tenía este sitio y siguiendo un poco los paso que ha tenido la lucha para el reclamo hasta el momento como se está manejando desde la comunidad y como son esos pasos?

§28: DG: la gente mayor siempre lo tuvo como un lugar especial, podías pasar, podías andar por ahí, para ellos era el Fuerte Viejo, era una ciudad antigua donde sabían que había lugares ceremoniales, sabían dónde estaba un cementerio, sabían muchas cosas sobre eso y también hubo durante mucho tiempo previo a la reconstrucción porque esas tierras se enajenaron desde fines de 1800 entonces quienes eran los que tenían papeles o decían tener derecho sobre esas tierras eran dos familias, esas familias que hacían, a los huaqueros que venían a buscar piezas les cobraban un derecho de entrada y esos iban a excavar en la ciudad sagrada y así sacaron miles de piezas hasta que viene el estado y dice que lo van a reconstruir de

interés cultural y de turismo y le expropia 200 hectáreas a estos tipos y hace la reconstrucción y ahí pasa a ser una cuestión turística reconstruida sin mucha opinión o participación profesional, se hace muchas veces pircas o paredes donde no había, esas cosas no? Quilmes creo que no tiene demasiados estudios científicos de cómo era la ciudad sagrada, se han sacado cientos de piezas ahí diciendo que se iba a hacer un museo de sitio, han llevado a Colalao, han llevado a Tilcara y de ahí han desaparecido las piezas, el responsable de la investigación se ha mandado a mudar y ahí se acabó la historia. Después viene el 92 la concesionan a un particular, ese particular se pone a hacer un hotel dentro del mismo sitio, se ocupan muchas piedras de las propias viviendas se excava en el propio lugar se mete una piscina ahí y así estuvo hasta el 2007. La comunidad desde el 2002 que era por 10 años que se vence la concesión, metemos un amparo y ahí logramos una resolución de la justicia, y a pesar de esa resolución la persona estuvo 5 años más sin permiso del estado, sin pagar canon, sin nada y hasta

que la comunidad tuvo que sacarlo de ahí. A partir de ahí se inicia todo un proceso y una discusión con el estado provincial para ver cómo iba a ser el manejo, que eso también es una cuestión compleja, muy complicada porque se tiene que discutir la cuestión simbólica, la importancia cultural, la importancia espiritual que tiene ese lugar con lo que ya está hecho, abierto al turismo, es un icono del turismo en la provincia, en el país si se quiere, las ruinas de Quilmes entonces creo que no las podríamos cerrar, se nos vendría el país encima si las cerramos, entonces como manejarlo? No hay experiencia, hemos tratado de buscar experiencia y no las hay, y bueno en el medio todavía es el 3 interviniendo en las internas porque tenés los intereses del estado, juicios con el estado y eso hizo muchos problemas internos en la comunidad que hasta hoy no logramos resolverlos, yo creo que si va a llegar a un buen punto pero si hay que seguir discutiendo esta cuestión del manejo porque vuelvo a la discusión inicial, el estado con su aporte y con su técnica y sus leyes no puede hacerse a un lado de su responsabilidad y nosotros

como comunidad como herederos de ese patrimonio tampoco, entonces yo creo que hay que llegar a un punto de acuerdo para el manejo, manejo responsable, no sé qué haremos con ese hotel, el estado desde su mirada turística dice hay que abrirlo al hotel, no sé hasta dónde vamos a llegar con esa discusión, ojala que logremos generar una experiencia para otros pueblos que pueda ser equitativa tanto para nosotros como comunidad como para el resto de la sociedad, que haya preservación que no se siga depredando ese patrimonio ese lugar, que la información que se dé que sea una información responsable, lo más cercana a la verdad posible, porque también hay que tener en cuenta que en el pasado, en el momento de las guerras calchaquíes hay poco escrito y escrito de una mirada del vencedor. Y es un desafío muy interesante y ojala nosotros como herederos, como comunidad estemos a la altura de poder asumirlo junto con el estado, y ahí juega un papel muy importante los profesionales. La universidad con sus ciencias puede aportar mucho, ojalá.

§29: E: entonces vamos que está muy al día esto, no está nada cerrado

§30: No, recién empieza, esta discusión recién empieza, no hay experiencia no sabemos

§31: E: el reclamo se produjo contra el empresario bajo que capítulo digamos? Aparte entiendo que el tipo estaba ocupando ilegalmente el territorio y esto viene más sobre el término de propiedad, pero en término de la visión de la comunidad de qué forma se reclamó la herencia de este bien cultural para la comunidad?

§32: DG: bajo la propuesta de un mayor respeto, de ahí viene la definición de ciudad sagrada, siempre fueron ruinas de Quilmes. Ahí planteamos la definición de Ciudad Sagrada porque entendemos que es así, por los lugares que hay, por la sangre derramada, por los lugares ceremoniales por los restos de nuestros mayores que están ahí lo planteamos así, además de la cuestión de participación en los resultados económicos, como puede ser que todo ese resultado

que es producto de nuestro pasado vaya a una familia, cuando la comunidad no tiene agua potable, no tiene caminos, no tiene sistema de salud, no tiene escuelas en condiciones, ese es en síntesis la propuesta, que los resultados sea para eso, principalmente en la conservación del sitio. Nosotros hemos llegado a 13 puntos de acuerdo con el estado provincial, con el ente Tucumán turismo, lo principal era lo que resulte económicamente del majeo del sitio tenía que ser un gran porcentaje para la conservación del sitio y después que vaya para cuestiones que resuelvan las problemáticas de la comunidad de hoy, esta que te acabo de nombrar.

§33: E: y bueno volviendo un poco al tema de la relación entre profesionales con la comunidad. Me cuentan que hubo una mesa redonda con Quilmes desde el instituto de arqueología no sé si participaste en la mesa redonda y bueno que te pareció básicamente como forma de aportar un poco, de enfocar el tema de la colaboración

§34: DG: me parece que ese es el paso, habrá otros mejores tal vez, pero yo creo que ese es el camino la discusión el sentarse y poner sobre la mesa los intereses de cada uno como ve uno que le parece y cómo ve el otro. Yo no estoy planteando que no exista más la profesión o que los profesionales de arqueología se vayan, sino tienen que cambiar la actitud, no es un tema que me tiene que resolver mi problema profesional mío, mi título y mi librito y mi situación económica, estas tocando, estás trabajando y estas interviniendo en una cuestión que va más allá de lo personal, estas interviniendo en un pueblo, en un pasado nuestra historia como pueblo pero también una historia como provincia, como nación, en una historia que todavía no ha cerrado, en un exterminio, en un genocidio estas interviniendo en el caso de aquí de Tucumán, entonces creo que tiene que cambiar esa mirada, decir bueno como mi trabajo como arqueólogo puede aportar a esa historia, en hacer que el estado asuma esa deuda histórica no digo con plata o si con plata que pongan con, hace rato hablábamos de los museos,

con un buen museo de sitio, que siempre han dicho si las cosas van a quedar aquí, donde están las cosas que han sacado de Quilmes y quienes han sido participe de eso? Los profesionales, los arqueólogos entonces que dejen de joder que no me vengan con el verso de que defienden el patrimonio si no hacen esas cosas, sino plantearos algo que quede en el lugar porque esas piezas en el museo de La Plata o en Francia o donde sea que han ido a parar no tienen sentido solas expuestas en una vidriera sino en el lugar de donde han sido sacadas, cuando correspondan sacarlas y si no corresponde déjela ahí porque por algo la han enterrado nuestros mayores entiendes? Yo creo que eso puede, si hay ese cambio de actitud desde la misma disciplina, desde la universidad, desde esta mentalidad de resolverlo todo y estudiarlo todo y hay ese cambio y sirva a lo que hoy es la lucha de los pueblos yo creo que hoy podríamos trabajar muy bien.

§35: E: claro por eso preguntaba antes que tipo de resultados, aparte del librito que muchas veces el investigador produce

por su carrera profesional, por eso decía antes de llegar al resultado estos resultados tienen que se producto de esta alianza que puede haber entre distintos intereses

§36: DG: Exacto, un pronunciamiento hacia el estado sobre determinadas cosas, un pronunciamiento de cómo debería ser una declaración de patrimonio de la UNESCO, porque vienen de allá con un formulario que hay que llenar, reuniones que se hacen, eso le llaman consulta y después vienen los resultados como Humahuaca, la valoración de las tierras como no está resuelta el problema territorial de las comunidades se expulsan a las comunidades, se valoriza la tierra, van otros a comprar.

§37: E: y con respecto a la UNESCO ahora acá también pasa por Tucumán ya fue declarado efectivamente un tramo de Qhapaq Ñan esto les afecta a ustedes como pueblo diaguita?

§38: DG: afecta a una comunidad y por lo tanto afecta a la nación diaguita, no sé cómo, ha habido

muchas reuniones pero no ha habido demasiado acuerdo y la cosa a avanzado, avanzado avanzado y la han declarado pasa eso también con los organismos que por más que uno se oponga finalmente avanzan y terminan haciendo las declaraciones y chau, entonces no sé cómo se va a trabajar la Cuidacita, el tramo ese de la Cuidadita que fue declarado, ojala que no traiga problemas.

§39: E: bueno como volviendo a esto de las alianzas el tema lo estuve hablando el otro día con Belén de Andes, no sé si la conoce

§40: DG: Si, sí.

§41: E: Justamente esto desde mi mirada que soy italiano me parece muy relevante por un tema de las discusiones que se hacen de los derechos indígenas me parecen muy relevante para cuestionar los derechos humanos en general como se han dado, como han evolucionado y justamente también lo hable con ella el tema es como desde Argentina que tiene una tradición muy fuerte con el tema de la memoria

histórica, o sea de hacer de la memoria una herramienta para los derechos, o sea cómo ve usted esta alianza entre el estado? Porque muchas veces se le da más relevancia a un genocidio que a otro? Siento hablar en estos términos pero muchas veces se trabaja más la dictadura mientras que el genocidio indígena el reconocimiento de los derechos indígenas es más como una concepción que hace el estado hacia los indígenas y no como este producto de una búsqueda que ha interesado a toda la población en general y tú crees que puede ir por ahí esta forma de buscar alianzas, o sea hacer que esta equiparación entre memoria tenga manteniendo la diversidad, tenga la mima fortaleza para producir cambios en la sociedad?

§42: DG: yo creo que sí, nosotros tenemos buenas relaciones con la gente, con los organismos de derechos humanos, ahora muchos de ellos no son estatales, la mirada estatal es diferente, es más clientelista y es más, si uno ve las provincias el panorama con los

pueblos originarios es realmente de exterminio, todavía el estado esta continuando con lo que hizo Roca o hizo antes Colon o Pizarro, es lo mismo con otros métodos, con otras herramientas, con otras armar, también la negación del espacio territorial, la negación de la vida, de los medios de vida es exterminio, es genocidio y es estado todavía no ingresa eso todavía, no sé si lograremos dar vuelta esa mirada y la mirada de gran parte de la sociedad, que todavía para gran parte de la sociedad, el indio es el problema, cuando el problema es el que ha venido de afuera, el indio es el problema y no ven la hora que realmente desaparezcamos. Entonces se tiene que hacer mucho trabajo, tiene que ver no solamente las instituciones del estado sino muchas instituciones de la sociedad civil y en ese sentido los organismos de derechos humanos si están acompañándonos mucho, ojala. En realidad como decís vos se ve la historia parcialmente, se ven los 30 mil desaparecidos de las últimas décadas con toda razón y ahora no se ve millones de

hermanos exterminados donde se asienta el estado

§43: E: aparte de los números, si se quisiera hacer pasar digamos que algunos exterminios fueron necesarios de alguna manera para llegar a donde estamos hoy mientras otros hay que buscar la verdad y en esta búsqueda de la verdad esta alianza con la comunidad puede provocar estos cambios positivos dentro de la sociedad en general

§44: DG: Ojálala, yo creo que el estado fundado sobre realidad, porque si tiene que cambiar de forma de ver las cosas, tiene que cambiar su historia que ha sido contada de determinada manera. Si vemos los héroes que platea el sistema educativo nacional (hay un corte en el video)

§45: DG: Parados sobre genocidios, sobre exterminio y con esa mentalidad se ha fundado el estado.

§46: E: O sea que hay mucho por hacer

§47: DG: Hay mucho por hacer creo y en ese sentido hay discursos más frontales pero muchas de nuestras

organizaciones no estamos planteando retroceder en el tiempo sino finalmente poder asumir algunas deudas para poder vivir mejor no se hay no sé cuántos millones de hectáreas en manos de extranjeros sin embargo a los pueblos originarios no le pueden devolver las tierras donde viven, hay una mentalidad estatal que promueve eso.

§48: E: Claro, dale, bueno lo que me faltaría si pudiéramos yo haciendo mi investigación también me he planteado el tema de obtener el consentimiento. Me gustaría tener un poco tu opinión para saber si se puede mejorar (entrega papeles al Sr, Delfín) esto es lo que yo quisiera proponer a la hora de hacer la investigación en el campo, proponer esto como módulo de consentimiento por un lado está la cuestión burocrática, porque a mi dentro de la universidad una vez que hago un trabajo de entrevistar a la gente me piden que tenga el consentimiento de las personas involucradas en la investigación y por otro lado es también el tema este de

investigación entonces hacer este documento lo más consensuado posible, lo más efectivo para que mis intereses como investigador y lo que yo pueda ayudar para la contraparte, no estoy hablando de asistencialismo sino de mi investigación lo más participado posible. O sea hacer resaltar en lo que yo voy a escribir, en el resultado de mi investigación hacer resaltar las distintas voces las distintas contribuciones que junto con mi idea me ayudaron a tejer este esfuerzo, hacerlo más colectivo.

§49: DG: y a esto se lo puede aportar?

§50: E: si claro esto te lo voy a dejar, porque están mis contactos y los de Marisa y explica también un poquito como estoy planteando la investigación y los términos que quisiera proponer a los participantes. Algunas cosas están dadas por los protocolos que tienen en la universidad, el anonimato tiene mucho en cuenta a la hora de hacer la investigación y también el consentimiento de que se puede

retirar dentro de un tiempo establecido, hasta el término de la investigación, porque yo tengo que terminar esta tesis hasta septiembre del año 2019, entonces la persona entrevistada tiene derecho de quitar el consenso, de revocar el consentimiento hasta esta fecha porque después de esta fecha toda la documentación que yo haya aportado para esta tesis va a estar colgada para que otro investigador pueda consultarla si lo desea de forma anónima, no va a estar escrito que Gerónimo a dicho esto y esto, es texto de la redacción de la entrevista que voy a escribir y básicamente es esto, explica un poco las preguntas que voy a hacer en relación a lo que conversamos y bueno eso y esta sería el acta de consentimiento que se debería firmar, hice copia (le entrega un acta al entrevistado)

§51: DG: me lo dejas para leerlo y después lo conversamos

§52: E: claro claro esto era un poco lo que te quería dejar, no va en detalle es más general

§53: DG: lo que yo si quisiera dejar escrito es esto de la devolución, porque ya nos ha pasado otras veces, de si si bueno el acta...

§54: E: Esto para mí es muy importante

§55: DG: Hagamos un compromiso, hagamos un compromiso, tal fecha termina el estudio y se hace la devolución, también sirve a nuestra organización

Name: Calcha 2017-2

Place and date: Amaicha del Valle, August 2017

Transcription by Francesco Orlandi

§1: La comunidad de Quilmes nace hace 40 años, en su comienzo fue muy duro, muy difícil. Eran tiempos de dictadura militar, donde el gobierno nacional y el gobierno militar estaba formado por militares. Entonces, estaba prohibido todo lo de las organizaciones, más si eran indígenas. Se lo veía como algo subversivo y eso nos costó mucho con el tiempo demostrarles que nosotros hemos seguido organizándonos, reuniéndonos, luchando por nuestras necesidades.

§2: Ahí pudimos demostrarle al Estado, a la sociedad que no éramos un grupo clandestino. Sino que luchábamos por nuestros derechos, para hacer valer nuestros derechos como pueblo indígena. Fue como un logro, porque al estar prohibido tuvimos que tener permiso de la policía, todo un proceso era para reunirnos.

§3: Cuando pasó el tiempo y vino el gobierno democrático, esto tuvo más repercusión a nivel nacional, de organizaciones indígenas. Después cuando se modificó la constitución de la nación y de la provincia nos empezaron a tener más en cuenta. Hemos empezado a figurar en el mapa. Anteriormente era un poco nuevo

parecía que era un oportunismo, algo que resurgía por reclamar de una manera violenta. Se confundían con otras agrupaciones de la sociedad. En Argentina hay muchos grupos humanos que se organizan para llevar adelante una tarea, alguna lucha, alguna gestión y que a veces el objetivo no se parece a la comunidad indígena. Nosotros siempre hemos estado orientado hacia la tierra principalmente, donde nosotros vivimos, habitamos. Y luego los recursos que están manejados por nosotros, como la leña y el agua. Es decir, todo lo que llamamos Pachamama, la madre naturaleza. Entonces hemos estado defendiendo nosotros esta postura hacia la Pachamama y hemos podido demostrarles a la sociedad y al Estado mismo, a las fuerzas de represión a los militares a los policías, que nuestro objetivo fue siempre luchar por nuestros derechos. Nos hemos ido separando de otro grupo, de la visión que había sobre nosotros. Eso nos llevó algún tiempo y fue muy difícil el comienzo. Entonces la gente que estaba en ese comienzo con nosotros, que estaba acompañándonos, a veces con miedo, a veces medio indeciso, con el tiempo nosotros no teníamos oposición interna cuando comenzamos porque éramos un grupo pequeño y a nadie le interesaba si nos llevaban presos ni nada de eso. Para nosotros, el bautismo, como decimos nosotros, fueron los calabozos, yo he estado preso y todos los dirigentes que ha comenzado ha estado preso. En el

tiempo de la dictadura. Entonces eso hace que no cualquiera quería ser dirigente porque es él que tiene que ir preso, enseguida lo busca la policía

§4: Con el tiempo se ha ido perdiendo ese miedo, la organización ha ido creciendo, se ha ido aumentando, se ha ido desarrollando algunos proyectos, se han conseguido algunos recursos de la provincia, de nación o de algún otro tipo de organismo. Y ahí ha empezado el interés, el interés de ese grupo de personas por manejar eso, por ver esos recursos, por ver eso que la comunidad, o la organización tenía algún recurso, algún respaldo. entonces, ahí nace la oposición, nace por el interés realmente, no por trabajar, no por luchar. Hasta hoy la oposición nunca ha tenido ningún interés de trabajar o de hacer mejor las cosas sino de agarrar esos recursos.

§5: -Esto más o menos en qué período se desarrolla

§6: Lleva más o menos 20 años el nacimiento de la oposición. Primero anduvimos 20 años tranquilos, tratando de organizarnos buscando que... como a la gente le costaba reunirse, acercarse. Y después ya hace como 20 años nace una oposición. Y también aprovechan los partidos políticos, es decir las facciones políticas contrarias al tema tierra. Es decir, integradas por terratenientes, gente que reclaman las tierras donde nosotros vivimos. Es notable cómo la oposición se une a cualquier peligro, a cualquiera ambición por

el solo hecho de hacerle la vida imposible a la comunidad, a los dirigentes que tienen una firmeza, o tienen una trayectoria. Porque aquí no cualquier dirigente tiene una trayectoria. La trayectoria, es decir, se habla de liderazgo, se habla de algún tipo de cuestión que se ha creado un esfuerzo, que realmente lo sigue la gente, gente que ha tenido apoyo, tiene apoyo de una masa de una mayoría. A esos los persiguen los otros porque quieren de alguna manera estar en este lugar. Y a esos lugares solamente se los gana trabajando. Hay casos de dirigentes que han asumido, o que han surgido de la nada, que han caminado, que han dormido en la estación, que han tenido frío, han tenido hambre, han tenido un pasar no nada lindo, sino un pasar bastante duro y que hoy tengan la fuerza, el apoyo de la gente y eso causa envidia realmente, llama la atención.

§7: Hay muchos que quieren estar en ese lugar porque a parte tienen una falsa idea de que uno maneja plata. Muy mucha plata. Aquí el político le llena la cabeza a la gente, le dice cosa le aumenta. El político es mentiroso. Le hace creer al otro que no "mirá lo que está haciendo aquel..." Pero resulta que en la realidad cuando uno viene de entrañas, cuando uno viene de abajo, uno tiene que soportar encima todo eso, soportar las calumnias, las injurias. Por ahí, yo digo, la Pachamama o Dios, por ahí es pródigo con uno porque uno puede demostrarle a la gente que no es así, que no es que haya tanta plata ni que haya mentira

preparando algún cuadro realmente de mal estar, de bulería, de mal intención. Hay una lucha que se lleva y que muchos lo siguen, porque si uno estaría solo sería muy difícil. Tenemos el apoyo de mucha gente que nos ha ido conociendo a través del tiempo, y que es un respaldo. Entonces, por ahí podemos volverles a demostrar realmente a nuestra gente que nos acompaña, que no es la cosa como lo pintan los mentirosos sino que es una lucha difícil pero que con el tiempo tiene su recompensa.

§8: -Qué papel ha tenido y ha jugado la ciudad sagrada en la organización del trabajo interno hasta esta forma de poder ir explotando la ciudad sagrada.

§9: Nosotros cuando comenzamos a organizarnos, por otros lados, por otros medios, se llamó a licitación, y alguien se hizo cargo, un empresario se hizo cargo del sitio arqueológico e hizo a sus anchas, hizo y deshizo, engordó sus bolsillos, principalmente. Puso bien a su familia, puso negocios por otro lado, invirtió la plata que sacaba de ahí en otros lugares, trató de forjarse un porvenir.

§10: Mientras tanto nosotros hacíamos gestiones por derecha. Gestiones ante el Estado, ante diversos organismos, para lograr tener alguna participación y llegar a manejar ese sitio. Hasta que llegó el Gobernador de la provincia a crear un decreto en el año 2007 para desalojarlo al señor que estaba ahí porque ya había cumplido una concesión y seguía estando como 5 años después

seguía estando ya de ojito. Entonces ahí el gobierno sacó un decreto para desalojarlo, y nosotros, conociendo ese decreto, empezamos a hacer fuerza, hicimos un corte de ruta y vino el gobierno y lo desalojó.. cuando nos vio a nosotros que estábamos protestando en un corte de ruta que llevaba aproximadamente 15, 18 días.

§11: -Ese corte de rutas fue como resultado del proceso de organización?

§12: Sí, claro! Y había gente que estaba en contra de nosotros, y que estaba apoyando al empresario que no quería que se desaloje a este señor. Esa gente después se ha unido al empresario que empezó a financiar por bajo el poncho viajes, cosas trenzadas con otro... Es algo que por ahí yo no sabría demomento explicarlo muy bien, porque tiempo al tiempo. El tiempo dará la razón y se podrá descubrir cómo fueron las artimañas que después nos usurpan el sitio a nosotros. Y el gobierno se hace el bárbaro, cuando nos usurpan el sitio, el gobierno mira para otro lado. La justicia, los jueces, si uno va a denunciar cuando nos usurpan a nosotros, se hacen los distraídos y se hace muy difícil realmente hasta la fecha poder reclamar nuevamente al sitio a través de la justicia, porque la justicia no nos da ningún apoyo. Entonces el mismo Gobierno, el mismo Turismo, cuando nos usurpan, ellos apoyan realmente

§13: - Eso fue en el 2013?

§14: Nosotros lo tuvimos durante 5 años, 6 años, del 2007 al 2013. Entonces el Estado por lo visto no estaba muy conforme con nosotros, y el mismo Estado acompaña, así disfrazadamente, acompaña a los que usurparon.

§15: [corte]

§16: De Turismo han nombrado una persona para que se haga cargo, realmente se iba a realizar un trabajo, una ampliación. Y han nombrado de Turismo a una persona encargada para que dé la vuelta, venga.. y este se ha dedicado a jodernos a nosotros.

§17: - Y quién era esa persona?

§18: Un tal Reyes... venía de Turismo, como un encargado de Turismo para vincularse con Turismo y ver la necesidades que había.. Ese ha trabajado para que usurpen los otros, ese la noche antes, días antes de la usurpación él andaba llevando gente en un vehículo... Por eso realmente el tema... el tema para nosotros es que el estado ha contribuido para que nos usurpen el sitio y después hacerse los bárbaros. Por eso no podemos decir que tenemos confianza en el Estado. Nosotros habíamos confiado en que se iba a hacer una obra, nosotros hemos luchado contra unos malditos realmente que no querían que se haga la obra. La obra la llevaba a cabo Turismo de la Nación con Turismo de la Provincia, iban a hacer una inversión ahí, que al final algo se ha hecho todavía no se ha completado la obra esa que se llamaba "Centro de Interpretación", iba a ser un

remodelamiento del sitio arqueológico y que nosotros hemos hecho aprobar con un 95% de nuestra gente, llevando asamblea. Y los usurpadores digamos que eran un 5, un 8%, cuando nosotros estábamos luchando para que se apruebe la obra, los usurpadores estaban luchando para que no se haga la obra. Qué gracioso el papel que se jugaron, porque luego lo usurpan con el apoyo de esa gente.

§19: - Por la noticias que leí sí lo van a construir ese centro de interpretación.

§20: Sí lo están llevando a cabo. Hace poco yo fui a Turismo, yo estaba enterado de que lo iban a inaugurar ese e iban a posicionar a esa gente que ha usurpado. Y pregunto si era así, me dicen totalmente que no. Y que después le pregunté también a gente de gobierno cómo va a ser la situación esa, eso tenemos que regularizar. Tiene por un lado que regularizarse la situación de la organización de la comunidad, la comunidad tiene que re-estructurarse y tiene que hacerse cargo realmente del sitio, por el Estado... Esa es la postura oficial, ojalá que sea así. Después de una mala puede ser que venga una buena.

§21: Pero creo que por lo menos hasta ahora, estoy dispuesto digamos a esperar, a respetar, a creer realmente, a confiar que sí se va a dar de una manera correcta, que no haya acciones fuertes ni por parte de nosotros, ni por parte de los otros, ni por parte del Estado. Hay un entendimiento, un

diálogo y que podamos en el día de mañana poner en función el sitio, y que podamos mejorar el sitio, y que sea para el bien de quienes lo visitan, principalmente, y para nosotros gente de la comunidad también que haya una entrada, un recurso y que también pongamos cuidados nosotros porque esto está bastante desmejorándose.

§22: Así que eso realmente por el momento hay una esperanza nada más, no sé si va a ser así o no va a ser así, va a venir otro golpe de estado, el gobierno va hacer lo que le parezca, no podría yo poner la mano en el fuego por nadie. Le diría que o sí estoy diciendo a mi gente, "tranquilos, esperemos, veamos las cosas que hay que hacer, pero no avancemos de ninguna manera violentando nada para que no entorpecamos el camino que según el Estado se va a llevar adelante.

§23: - Por qué dicen ustedes que aprobaron por mayoría una propuesta para este centro. Saben si esta es la propuesta que aprobaron o se está llevando adelante otra.

§24: Es ésta, nada más es que.. hay algo digamos que es entendible. El empresario que estuvo anteriormente, que según él ha hecho inversiones ahí, y que el Estado le ha quedado debiendo, y ahora digamos quiere que le den una recompensa. Él quiere que el Estado le ponga una X suma de dinero y que él se retira y no molesta a nadie.

§25: - Eso sería por las obras, por los derechos de propiedad intelectual

§26: Eso está pendiente eso. Yo realmente me enteré por boca de ellos es que lo único que quieren es cobrar eso, que el Estado le pague esos derechos que ellos quieren cobrar por las cosas que han dejado ahí, y por otras cuestiones más, no sé que otros asuntos más quieren cierta cantidad de dinero, quieren cobrar eso y luego se retirarían y no molestarán más. Entonces hasta este momento, no hay mal que por bien no venga, después que nos usurpan el sitio a nosotros, se maneja entre empresario y grupo usurpador, y luego realmente se entran a pelear entre ellos, entran a distanciarse. Entonces eso es lo que de alguna manera da lugar a que nosotros podamos acercarnos.

§27: Los otros empiezan a ser como un abanico, empiezan a dividir los recursos, se pelean por el interés que hay ahí por lo que se recauda, todo el mundo quiere llevar esos recursos. En un primer momento parece que han dado la mano estaban todos contentos, vamos a andar bien, vamos a ser felices, y llega un momento en que hay uno va y manota, hay otro va y manota, y ven que una bolsa de gatos. La vida tiene esas cosas, por ahí nosotros nos hacen ver ahora que no fue tan.. cuando usurpan y hacen alarde que van a manejar muy bien, que van a distribuir esos recursos, y que estos estaban yendo a saco roto, hoy realmente pueden demostrarlo

como si hubiera un llamado a la justicia para que hagan una rendición de cómo se han gastado los recursos y todo es totalmente un desastre, un desorden que no hubo nunca un desorden como lo tienen hoy. Y para que se peleen entre ellos, los mismos gatos se pelean entre ellos, a mí me consta porque estuve hablando con la gente, con ellos con los participantes, digamos, con los cabecillas si quieres, había unos más pícaros que los otros. Y eso durante dos, tres años ha vivido toda la correntada de los recursos, de los caudales, directo para el bolsillo de él. Así que ya han sacado a eso ... eso no va a para hasta que no quede nada.

§28: -en el período que ustedes estuvieron manejándolo, podría decirme cómo se organizaban?

§29: Comenzó de la nada, cuando tomamos posesión del sitio no funcionaba el hotel, no funcionaba la hostería, es decir confitería, solamente el sitio arqueológico. Entonces se pone una alcancía como una forma de colaboración. Algunos ponían \$5, otros \$10, otros \$2, otros cincuenta centavos. Y había gente para que atiende, gente para el mantenimiento. Prevalentemente había que regar, con el camino que da acceso ahí, por ahí viene un creciente y lo lleva, hay que hacer zanjas, se busca gente para que trabaje. Cuando nos dimos cuenta, lo que se recaudaba, lo que la alcancía recaudaba no daba para pagar la gente esa que estaba trabajando en el mantenimiento.

§30: - Y de Turismo no le daba nada en ese periodo?

§31: No, no. Entonces se pone ya un mensual, se crea una entrada, que después se la ha ido aumentando. Entonces se ha hecho algunas cosas, bastante ayuda digamos a la gente que se fracturaba, que tenía problemas, que estaba enfermo. Otros para comprar herramientas para trabajar en caminos en otras comunidades. Huba bastante apoyo hacia la gente, los comuneros. Nosotros también teníamos algunos problemas con el tema minería y otras cuestiones, se ha gastado algunos pesos viajando, sosteniendo la lucha en contra de la minería. Hemos tenido problemas con la minería bastante graves como comunidad.

§32: Entonces durante este tiempo en que nosotros hemos tenido recursos, nos hemos movilizamos con estos recursos, lo hemos tratado de distribuir y que el trabajo también sea distribuido que sea para todas las comunidades. Así que dentro de todo capaz que ha sido poco, capaz que necesitaba ser más equitativo, que alcance a más personas, pero al no tener las otras áreas que no estaban funcionando por ahí la recaudación a veces era muy pobre... Hay gente a veces que no iba, o corría viento y ya no subía al sitio... Son las temporadas de invierno y verano nomás, después hay otro tiempo que se mantiene nada más, lo que se gana es para la gente que está trabajando. pero se necesita hacer más inversión, para que haiga más recaudación

hay que hacer más inversión. y hasta la fecha sigue así. Hay que invertir realmente en construir un mercado artesanal, un mercado grande, para que este mercado pueda abastecer, vender todos los artículos que se producen por esa zona. Teníamos como un proyecto de ampliar más, que alcance a más gente.. por el momento ha quedado ahí en suspenso eso. Pero no está perdido.

§33: -La relación que se ha dado de la comunidad con los arqueólogos que han venido a trabajar a la ciudad sagrada para posibilitarlo como recurso para explotar. Qué me puede contar de eso.

§34: Por el año 1977 digamos que se descubre ese sitio, toma interés el gobierno provincial. Y a través de la Comuna de Colalao del Valle empieza los trabajos de restauración, de reconstrucción. Cosa que fue muy criticado con el tiempo, porque ese sitio arqueológico no tendría que haber sido reconstruido, tendrían que haber dejado como estaba lo que había. Se han puesto a armar de nuevo y hay mucha parte que fueron armadas, y eso no favorece, hay mucha gente que no está de acuerdo con ese tipo de actividad que han hecho.

§35: Esto lo hizo el gobierno con la dirección de un arqueólogo que han traído, no sé de dónde habrá venido el hombre ese, de apellido Pelissero, que se llevó las mejores piezas realmente ese. Porque iban excavando, cada vez encontrando vasijas, cosas muy valiosas, y claro la llevaban a la Comuna y

después se las llevaba para él. Después han vuelto a traer unas piezas rotas, las piezas sanitas, las piezas más importantes nunca más las volvieron a ver. El Pelissero ese se llevó más del 50% de las vasijas, de las obras que han encontrado de mucho valor. Se hizo a las disparadas y sin control de ninguna institución que controle día a día cuál era la actividad que se cumplía ahí. Así que cuando se hace la reconstrucción, la excavación, cuando medio se lo descubre al sitio, no había todavía en la mente de la gente, de las comunidades, del pueblo, no había una mente de importancia. Ese sitio fue muy saqueado durante muchos años, durante 50, 100 años por diferentes aventureros que venían a ese lugar, y como estaba alejado, entraban, buscaban, cavaban, andaban un par de días ahí, y la gente ni bolilla le daba, nadie se interesó en decir "este sitio nos pertenece, no lo dejemos saquear".

§36: -No había ese sentimiento de pertenencia con el sitio?

§37: Es decir era una ciudad antigua que estaba ahí digamos abandonada. La sociedad no tenía en la cabeza que eso tenía una importancia, realmente... Así que tanto la sociedad, la Provincia, el Estado, y nosotros como comunidad... Cuando empezamos a organizarnos nosotros, cuando empezamos a meternos en la cabeza que pertenecemos a un pueblo indígena, y que tenemos un pasado, y que tenemos esto y que tenemos aquello. Nos hemos

enterado, se ha conocido un poco más de la resistencia de los Quilmes ante la invasión, entonces empieza uno a cobrar valor por aquello que es de mi pueblo pasado. Recién empieza en todos nosotros en darle importancia que no tenemos que permitir que venga cualquiera a seguir destrozando esto.

§38: -Para que se alcanzara esta conciencia fue importante haber participado de esta reconstrucción? Influenció esta búsqueda en darle una importancia propia a este lugar.

§39: Si. Cuando nosotros por un lado, recién buscando la posibilidad de organizarnos y tomar conciencia de que pertenecemos a un pueblo antiguo, a un pueblo indígena, empezamos a tomar conciencia, y empezamos a darle importancia a las cosas, a todo lo que nos rodea. Nosotros en su momento lo hemos vivido como cualquier ciudadano como que nuestro pasado no tenía, no le habíamos dado ninguna importancia. Hasta la misma tierra, que había otros que decían que la tierra era de ellos. Entonces uno vivió sometido dentro de su misma tierra. Cuando empezamos a descubrir cosas, y empezamos a caminar, a conocer alguna historia, como es el caso de la Cédula Real, que es un documento que fue entregado en reconocimiento por los españoles a los pueblos indígenas hace 300 años.

§40: Lo de la Cédula Real se conoce en 1973. Durante el Parlamento de Amaicha. Se sabía

de la Cédula, pero se hablaba como que era algo de Amaicha. Y es cuando se descubre que no, que la Cédula Real también tiene Quilmes. Ahí empieza la organización, ahí empieza la importancia, y poco a poco eso duró 15, 20 años, en tomar conciencia, tomando interés por nuestro pasado en general. Por nuestros sitios arqueológicos, no solamente las ruinas de Quilmes, sino otros sitios más también. En lo que es el aspecto de nuestra cultura en general, se empieza a darle importancia recién, hasta ese momento la verdad que uno había vivido dentro de algo propio, de algo de uno, y que nosotros mismos, nuestros abuelos, nuestros padres, nunca le han dado importancia si aquí venía uno de afuera y decía "dónde hay cosas, dónde hay vasijas", así que terminaban llevándolo para que cave el tipo donde había.

§41: - Entonces ustedes sabían que había estas vasijas?

§42: Claro claro, uno andando por el campo puede ver, encuentra algo. Cuando ha venido algún gringo, se lo llevaba al gringo para que vaya a cavar ahí, no sabiendo que nos estaba destrozando nuestro pasado, nuestra historia. ... Durante muchos años, esto ya viene de nuestros abuelos, de nuestros bisabuelos, y andaba gente jodiendo por acá pero nunca nadie... Hoy en día si llega uno enseguida lo barreamos!

§43: - Ese fue primeros encuentros

§44: Así nace el interés por el indio, por lo nuestro, por las tierras

por las plantas, por todo lo que nos rodea. Ya realmente por nosotros, todo tipo de actividad que se llegue a realizar nosotros no estamos de acuerdo. Cualquier cosa, viene un cazador, baja un tipo con arma le dice "señor usted a dónde va, por qué ha venido a matar nuestros animales?" En cambio anteriormente era una cosa que era normal. Así que esto, en la organización tiene que haber una tarea muy grande de, una concientización muy grande, y poco a poco hemos ido llegando a los chicos, a la escuela a mucho lado, para tratar de verdaremente crear una conciencia para que se supere todo lo que hay hasta ahora.

§45: -Ustedes como comunidad no tuvieron ninguna relación con el sitio cuando estuvo manejado por el empresario.

§46: Al contrario, hemos tenido choques y desencuentros [con Cruz] No coincidíamos realmente con muchas cosas que estaba haciendo esta gente que estaba ahí. Nos parecía que estaba usurpando algo propio, algo nuestro. Tenía que terminar. Y eso bueno, ahora está entorpecido el camino porque el empresario todavía no está afuera, está reclamando cosas. En algún momento fue muy violento, la fuerza que ellos tenían unidos al mismo Estado y a otras cuestiones más, hacían que en algún momento llegó a agarrar a algunos nuestros, gente de la comunidad, le han pegado una paliza lo han dejado frito. Hoy mismo no están en condiciones de hacer estas

cosas, ellos mismos reconocen que estuvieron mal, y que no es el camino ni la forma para lograr lo que ellos quieren lograr, cobrar algo o por lo menos morir en paz..

§47: -Recuerda algo de la mesa de trabajo entre la UNT, la comunidad india, el ente Tucumán turismo sobre ecomanejo.

§48: Nosotros hemos empezado también una charla con los arqueólogos antes que hemos tomado posesión del sitio, hemos empezado una charla y hemos firmado un convenio con el Instituto de Arqueología de Tucumán y tenemos hasta ahora una relación realmente, y los arqueólogos no van a tocar nada aquí si no es con el permiso nuestro. Tenemos un par de personas que estuvieron haciendo una tesis doctoral absolutamente con el permiso, con la aprobación de la comunidad, y que han vuelto con el material, lo han entregado, y siguen trabajando siempre con el acuerdo de la comunidad. Entonces, los arqueólogos, aquí de la provincia, son respetuosos de la comunidad y no dan ningún paso si no han conversado con la Comunidad. Porque más allá del gobierno, los arqueólogos están con las comunidad. No pueden decir yo voy con un permiso del gobierno, no señor aquí en esta comunidad tiene que estar con el permiso nuestro. Tenemos que comunicar a los arqueólogos para que ellos realmente tomen carta en el asunto cuando se trata de algún hallazgo, de alguna cuestión así que, o de algún trabajo que hay que hacer, así que ponemos de

manifiesto realmente que para empezar a trabajar tenemos que reunirnos, conversar, y acordar; nada más.

Name: Calcha17-3

Place and Date: Amaicha del Valle, August 2017.

Transcription by Agustina Ponce (IAM, Tucumán)

§3: E: ¿Empezamos? Bueno, este... la característica principal de Amaicha del Valle, particularmente de esta comunidad indígena es que Amaicha nunca perdió su gobierno tradicional. Ha tenido una continuidad histórica de cacicazgos, jamás ha perdido eso, a pesar de las persecuciones en tiempos de la dictadura y todo eso. Siempre hubo caciques, siempre hubo un gobierno indígena. Entonces es el único.... Es la única comunidad de todo el norte que

siempre hubo un gobierno indígena.

§4: Entonces, la verdad que eso facilitó muchísimo las cosas. Según los momentos que se vivían, era más interno o externo, ¿no? este... a veces nosotros ahora visibilizamos la comunidad un poco para afuera, pero hubo tiempos en tiempos de la dictadura que la verdad que no era posible eso, entonces se trabajaba internamente, más interno a la comunidad.

§5: Entonces, todo lo que nosotros hemos recibido, es una herencia que hemos recibido, de todo punto de vista: punto de vista territorial, cultural, social, ¿no?, políticamente también, entonces la verdad que eso nos ha caracterizado en todo el Valle Calchaquí, en el norte de Argentina.

§6: Entonces cuando yo entro acá... este... hace ya ocho años, y la verdad que era un buen momento político, estaba difícil la situación, nuestros patrimonios, nuestras peleas internas eran durísimas, entonces...

§8: F: De las comunidades?

§10: E: De las comunidades... Entonces la verdad, dicen que para ser cacique uno tiene que tener 49 años. Tenía 38 años. Tenés que pasar las 7 etapas de tu vida para...para serlo. Entonces el Consejo me llama y me pide que me presente a unas elecciones para ver si pudiéramos ganar y había una cierta esperanza en uno... yo salía de una crisis asmática terrible, así que bueno... así como estaba le *servía* (risas) hasta que me recuperé. Y la verdad que en ese proyecto que uno ha hecho el desafío grandísimo, nos llevó tiempo recuperar la institucionalidad de la comunidad y la credibilidad. Habíamos perdido mucho eso, sinceramente.... Organizarnos internamente... un grupo de personas extraordinarias hemos tenido, tengo trabajando todavía.

§11: Así que la verdad que no hemos proyectado [sic], hemos hecho muchas reuniones para ver hacia dónde íbamos, hacia cómo cuidar nuestro patrimonio que teníamos: nuestras tierras, nuestros recursos naturales... eh... según lo que teníamos a dónde queríamos ir, cómo buscar

un autodesarrollo propio interno, cómo crear fuentes de trabajo internas para nuestros jóvenes, todos los jóvenes nuestros se iban fuera de la comunidad a buscar trabajo porque no había.

§12: Entonces, todo es una discusión de ver cómo se preparaba una rendición a futuro como comunidad. Entonces el desafío fue importante. Así que la verdad que nosotros hicimos un proyecto propio, en base a nuestros propios valores, donde se ha llamado el Sumaj Kausay: el buen vivir de los Amaichas, que es buscar cómo autodesarrollarnos sin perder el equilibrio con nuestra Madre Tierra. Así que bueno, hemos hecho grandes desafíos, difíciles, que nos costaron mucho y la verdad que sí hemos logrado cosas concretas y que hemos visto que sí se puede. Sí se puede y no lo va a hacer una sola persona. Es una continuidad que debe hacerse como proyecto comunitario, como proyecto de vida. No puede pensarse que una persona va a lograr todo, eso es una mentira. Entonces sí el proyecto tiene que subsistir a todos los tiempos porque se vé que... se vé y se

palpó y se vé la realidad que su distribución es mucho más justa y equitativa el proyecto comunitario y el proyecto de la comunidad.... El problema del mundo es la distribución que está concentrada en unos cuantos. Y este proyecto comunitario, uno se da cuenta que es una mejor distribución, es lo más justo y equitativo, que nuestro sistema propio de gobierno indígena que cualquier otro sistema de afuera.

§13: ¿No? siempre corre la ventaja de oportunismo, el individualismo, el egoísmo, entonces termina matándolo al comunitario. Así que esas cosas, la verdad que sí hay valores que están en la comunidad, que a veces se intentan perder. Uno trata de fortalecerlos en las escuelas en los niños, en los jóvenes, para que eso no se pierda y poder transmitirlo.

§14: Yo estoy convencido. No tengo la menor duda de que, en base a la experiencia que uno ha tenido concreto, no tener nada y empezar a trabajar en proyecto comunitario, con una bodega comunitaria que hemos podido hacerlo, vemos que el sistema sí

funciona y que es mucho más justo que cualquier otro.

§16: F: claro, que hay espacio [...]

§18: E: que hay espacio y que la gente puede lograr su fuente laborar y que su gente puede lograr su equilibrio interno, que puede estar en mejores condiciones de vida, ¿no?, y que sí es un proceso más largo que el capitalismo. El capitalismo quizás tenga soluciones más rápidas, pero sinceramente no te soluciona nunca jamás la cuestión de fondo. No te va a solucionar.

§19: Entonces no tengo dudas, no te lo soluciona, no, te destruye. Entonces... (risas)

§21: F: bueno, ya lo estamos, lo estamos viendo bien...

§23: E: ¡exacto! entonces, la verdad que... falta el mate.... Entonces... esas cosas es que uno... lo hace con el... nosotros hicimos cuestiones, como se dice "camino al andar", es muchas cosas que no estaban dentro de la ley y la verdad que para nosotros eso sí... nunca hemos estado adentro de la ley como pueblos indígenas, siempre hemos estado afuera de la ley, jamás se pensó en

nosotros. Cuando se legisla para un país, para una provincia casi nunca se contempla a los pueblos indígenas, es una sola mirada para todos, ¿no?, muy homogénea, muy discriminatoria todavía. Es decir es una ley, su política pública en consecuencia es igual. Entonces, por eso pensamos nosotros que esta cuestión de la diversidad cultural, esta cuestión...este... está en buscar esta identidad propia cultural tiene que ser reflejada en acciones políticas concretas, ¿no?. En una política pública concreta donde tenga varias miradas, ¿no?.

§24: No se puede pensar, ya, en estos tiempos de un estado homogéneo. Ya desde el 2017 que estamos y ya no nos podemos dar ese lujo. Sin embargo...este... todavía siguen pasando, ¿no? Entonces son las puertas nuestras de los pueblos originarios donde tenemos que pelear por esos espacios también políticos donde podamos hacer visibilizar o tener nuestro espacio para que se respete esa diversidad cultural. Y esa es la riqueza de un país ¿no? ser respetuoso de esa gran diversidad cultural. Entonces, esa

asimilación forzosa cultural que ha pasado durante años y años ¿no?, que eso mató culturas...

§26: F: claro...

§28: E: hubo un etnocidio cultural ¿no?. Entonces ese lujo ya en estos tiempos lo que nos queda más lo que podemos recuperar bienvenido sea. Pero la verdad que nosotros hemos probado que cuando uno hace resistencia en sus procesos autonómicos de hecho no legales... no legales... la política pública se va acomodando. Pero si no hacés resistencia, pasas a ser un ... un servidor del sistema y en consecuencia no hacés nada nuevo, no hacés nada innovador, estas cayendo en el mismo sistema, *capitalismo* de todo. Entonces no hay opciones, no hay... cuando uno hace resistencia, encuentra una grieta, tarde o temprano encuentra una grieta, cuando uno desafía en colectivo, en comunidad.

§30: F: si, no, todo esto me da un poquito de lugar para.... Me llamó la atención esto que decía al principio, que ha habido tiempos donde la comunidad, digamos,

trabajaba al interior y ahora quizás está trabajando más al exterior justamente por ese espacio. Y este trabajar al interior es parte de una forma de resistencia esa...

§32: E: ¡Exactamente! Yo creo que fue estrategia ahí también. Yo creo, a veces he pensado que fue fueron muy hábiles nuestros abuelos en hacer esos momentos históricos de silencio, de interno. Porque era estratégico también. Era una forma de resistir. Entonces hay otros momentos de salir afuera a hacer los reclamos y a pelear por los reconocimientos de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas.

§33: Entonces son momentos históricos. Nosotros no podemos ...ehmm... reclamarle a los otros qué ha pasado...

§35: F: claro, exactamente...

§37: E: son procesos. Y hay que vivirlos... hay que vivirlos ¿no?. Hay procesos que hay que vivirlos y la verdad que Eh... y proyectarse bajo esos mismos marcos ¿no?.

§39: F: si...

§41: E: tener habilidad de proyectarse tanto a nivel interno como externo.

§43: F: siempre, digamos, manejando la...

§45: E: Tener equilibrio, tener un equilibrio, porque la verdad que a veces en tu sed de gobernar a veces olvida uno, olvidas al otro. Entonces, mantener ese equilibrio incluso como gobernanza propia tiene sus tiempos, tiene su madurez también en los líderes, en cómo buscar ese equilibrio. Es un proceso de madurez política que uno va aprendiendo y uno va escuchando. Yo tengo la suerte de tener un Consejo de Ancianos, de abuelos, me va equilibrando estas decisiones para que sean mucho más claras. Para que sean mucho más... este... para que tengan más visión de vida.

§46: *(Se interrumpe la grabación y luego continúa)*

§48: F: Bueno, un *evento* me estaba llamando la atención también por las conversaciones que tuve acá los días pasados. Esto que se relaciona también con esta estrategia, digamos, de encontrar equilibrio entre un

adentro y un afuera, que fue el Parlamento Indígena que se celebró acá en Amaicha...

§50: E: sí, en Amaicha, y se había celebrado hace muchísimo tiempo. Se trata de buscar entre todas las comunidades y en todos los caciques una política propia ¿no? una política propia es lógicamente entre eso está cómo hacer ejercicio de los derechos. Yo soy abogado y la verdad que siempre he renegado de la ley. Sin embargo, hay que usarla y hay que ejercer la ley. No van a venir, yo todavía dudo que pueda haber una política pública clara de los estados. Yo creo que cuando haya un diálogo de buena fe, cuando haya un diálogo de transparencia, ¿no?, entre el gobierno y los pueblos indígenas se puede tornar una política pública seria, ¿no?. Mientras no haya una buena fe, un buen diálogo, no va a haber una política pública coherente para los pueblos indígenas.

§51: Entonces pienso que se hacen las leyes y se hacen leyes como tantas otras que existen en un sistema y la verdad, lo que cuesta es la aplicabilidad de ese derecho. En consecuencia, si

haces una ley, tienes que hacer una política pública para aplicar esa ley, y lo que falta es voluntad política para eso. Entonces ¿qué vamos a hacer nosotros? ¿esperar que haya esa voluntad política y esperar que haya un milagro de que exista?... no podemos estar esperando eso, somos nosotros también que tenemos que tener esa voluntad desde la base de ejercer el derecho nosotros mismos, mas allá de la voluntad política de los gobiernos.

§52: Sería interesante y es responsabilidad si un gobierno...eh... velar por ese derecho porque tiene su responsabilidad ante el pueblo y ante los organismos internacionales en estos casos. Entonces la verdad que esa irresponsabilidad ¿no? que se tiene de falta de voluntad política para una política clara, transparente de los pueblos indígenas, nosotros podemos estar esperando 500 años más de que no la van a tener ¿no?. Nosotros... quizás se busquen formas con ese espacio políticos claros, transparentes, de buena fe para que realmente las

organizaciones indígenas, los movimientos indígenas puedan llevar una mesa de diálogo y pueda trazarse una política entre ambos, ¿no?, entre gobierno y pueblos indígenas. Sino no va a pasar nada.

§53: Entonces, somos nosotros los que realmente también, antes de estar esperando esos milagros, trazar una política propia, ¿no?, un ejercicio de esos derechos en la medida de tus posibilidades. Lógicamente que es más cuesta arriba, ¿no?, requiere más organización interna para todo eso; sin embargo, sí se puede, sí se puede realizar ese tipo de cosas.

§55: F: claro... si, no, este ejercicio de los derechos realmente es la parte que me interesa mucho porque tiene que ver también con una forma culturalizada, digamos, de interpretar esos derechos y de ponerlos en práctica. Y otra cosa relacionada con esto, digamos, del desarrollo de la institución de la autoridad comunitaria, me llamó mucho la atención también esto de la escuela de gobernanza indígena que, bueno, que promovieron...

§57: E: y justamente por eso también, nace en el marco de la práctica que hemos tenido en el ejercicio del derecho interno aquí en Amaicha, y donde hemos podido hacer, por ejemplo, esa bodega comunitaria que nos llevó 12 millones de pesos invertirlos, que nos costó muchísimo, que parecía que nos caíamos y que era una ilusión ¿no?. Hoy hemos visto que es una empresa comunitaria y que sí es posible, ¿no?, que cuando uno sueña y hace las cosas y hace sacrificios y a veces llegan momentos que parece que ese sueño se diluye y que no va a pasar nada, que se cae, que todo... que todo... que era una ilusión, y si le pones fuerza y te vuelves a levantar, logras mucho de esos sueños....

§59: F: pero hay que insistir..

§61: E: hay que insistir, no hay que caerse en el primer tropezón ¿no?... lo que sí es levantarse y seguir, levantarse y seguir. Y es una lucha permanente, parece que este es el desafío de los líderes indígenas... no... caerse varias veces y volverse a levantarse... La cuestión es aprender a levantarse y no quedarse.

§63: F: bueno, yo creo.. y esto fue lo que me acercó a toda esta problemática indígena, fue eso... esta... esta fortaleza de saberse levantar, de no... de no quedarse quieto cuando hay que moverse y a la par esta forma de resistir de varias maneras...

§65: E: exacto...

§67: F: ... y yo creo, como decíamos al principio, que nos puede *servir* a todos... ósea... fue eso lo que más me llama, digamos... eh....

§69: E: entrar a algún sistema fácil, del facilitarismo o una cosa que no... te sacrifican... no te sirve de nada. Está [...]. No tiene sustentabilidad, tarde o temprano se termina cayendo ¿no?. Entonces cuando vos construyes hacia futuro, como proyecto de vida, que es lógico y razonable que te va a costar... entonces la verdad que lo que vale es ver cómo uno tiene esa...esa voluntad de darle continuidad a los procesos que se viven.

§70: Entonces... los que son buenos, los que vienen de las bases, siempre van a ser difícil, siempre van a ser sacrificados.

Entonces la verdad que es no dejarse vencer por el primer tropezón.

§72: E: hm... bueno... pasando ya a la segunda parte, decía de ver un poco, profundizar ... bueno, ya lo estabas haciendo un poquito, pero ir un poquito más profundo. Eh...en esta... en esta continuidad quizás, porque yo por lo menos el derecho al patrimonio cultural lo veo como un derecho a narrar la historia de una comunidad, una colectividad. Este derecho de poder mirar, digamos, de poder ir adelante teniendo en cuenta la tradición, el pasado de cada cual.

§74: E: y fijate que fue duro, porque digamos que la asimilación forzosa de ese estado homogéneo y cómo te han educado los sistemas educativos provinciales, nacionales, donde han minimizado las culturas de los pueblos indígenas, que han empezado con genocidios de Argentina. Después con un genocidio cultural forzoso desde las propias escuelas, donde no se enseñaba la historia nuestra, donde decían que ya habían todos... eran... se habían muerto, que no existían, ¿no?. Eh, volver a recuperar toda esa historia y

nosotros que nunca habíamos perdido el gobierno indígena en el que estamos vivos, tenemos propiedad comunitaria -y es el orgullo más grande el tener propiedad comunitaria-, nuestros hijos, nuestros nietos han heredado todo eso... eh...y recuperar parte de esa, de esa cultura propia para poder transmitirla a las generaciones futuras.

§75: Teniendo en cuenta que es... este... teniendo en cuenta que es transmisión oral nuestros conocimientos, entonces por ahí también viene la escuela de gobernanza que vos decías. ¿Por qué? Porque recoge todo lo que es el Derecho Mayor. ¿Me entiende? El Derecho Mayor son los usos y costumbres, nuestras normas propias, aquellas que no están escritas pero que rigen todos los días la vida comunitaria. Entonces, más allá de la diversidad de idiomas indígenas, en tu propia comunidad están la mayoría de las soluciones. En ese marco de ese Derecho de Mayor que nosotros... en esos usos y costumbres, en eso que han minimizado, que han dicho “ese derecho puede ser

dignario” no tanto son... “esos son usos y costumbres nada más...” Sin embargo, los pueblos indígenas hemos tenido un sistema jurídico indígena ¿no?. Entonces un sistema, un ordenamiento de normas no-escritas que hasta el día de hoy rigen en la vida de un pueblo, de una comunidad indígena: sus ceremonias, su vida espiritual, su vida comunitaria, sus regulaciones territoriales, sus recursos naturales, todavía existen, nada más que solamente tenemos que escarbar y aprender a escarbar nosotros mismos en el *interno*.

§76: Entonces ahí está parte de la solución. Entonces recuperar ese Derecho Mayor y poder transmitirlo a las generaciones que vienen, ese es nuestro mayor desafío. Entonces, la vida cultural, esta cultura homogénea que ha quedado, nosotros es la lucha recuperar lo propio y ver cómo esa diversidad cultural hoy en día es respetuosa para poder transmitirla a las generaciones que vienen. Entonces es un cuesta arriba donde tenemos que hacer mucho todavía de buscar muchos contenidos en las historias, en los

cuentos, dónde estaban nuestros por ejemplo... cómo se transmitía nuestra sabiduría ¿no?... por mediante cuentos, por mediante historias, ¿no? por tod... por la práctica ¿no?. Entonces ehm... recuperar todo eso y ahí está, hay que aprender a leer, hay que aprender a escuchar a los abuelos, ahí está la mayor sabiduría, porque nuestra transmisión mayormente fue oral.

§77: Entonces, ahí está parte de la vida cultural de una comunidad: esa vida cultural colectiva que no es tan solo es... no es el derecho humano individual, sino prácticamente lo colectivo lo que lo mantiene a la comunidad. En cuanto a la propiedad de la tierra, la propiedad es comunitaria, los recursos naturales comunitarios. Entonces, esa interrelación con la Pachamama, esa interrelación con la tierra que es nuestra madre y todo lo que lo rodea es parte de lo que es nuestro... nuestra... nuestra vida cultural y nuestro derecho humano colectivo ¿no?. Entonces es parte de la esencia de un pueblo que incluye tu vestimenta, tus comidas, tu idioma, tu forma de cosmovisión,

tu forma de vida, ¿no? Todo eso engloba lo que es esa transmisión cultural que uno la va... que uno lo ha heredado y que colectiva se siente mucho más fuerte y ahí está la esencia, ¿no?

§78: Yo creo que es lo colectivo, es la particularidad, es la resistencia misma de un pueblo en cómo mantener lo colectivo. Sino, tarde o temprano eh...vamos a ser asimilados ¿no? Y en consecuencia esa cultura se va a ir perdiendo. Entonces es gran parte de resistencia.

§79: Amaicha lo que más tiene de fuerza es su vida espiritual. Tú sabes tenemos *servir* a la Pachamama. Esa transmisión oral sobre las tradiciones o las fiestas ceremoniales que se realizan. A pesar de la iglesia católica, esto se ha mantenido hasta nuestros días. Así que la verdad es que, en ese sentido, tengo una gran satisfacción de que muchas ceremonias espirituales todavía se realizan en nuestra comunidad.

§80: Entonces, la verdad que hay que seguir fortaleciendo, hay que seguir cuidándola para las generaciones que vienen.

Entonces es parte de ese patrimonio, es parte de lo que es esos conocimientos ancestrales, esa sabiduría ancestral, respeto a las plantas medicinales ¿no? tenemos... nosotros hemos escrito parte, digamos... queremos... teníamos intención de sacar un libro... ¿qué escribir y qué no escribir? ¿no? ¿es conveniente escribir o no, no hay que escribir? Nosotros hemos sacado con el Consejo de Ancianos 15 normas escritas de cómo se tiene que comportar el turismo en Amaicha ¿no? porque había un abuelo que se quejaba, una abuela, donde decía “estos no me saludan, yo los saludo y me miran como si nada, no me devuelven el saludo. Son unos maleducados” ¿no?

§81: F: es verdad...

§83: E: y gente que vive en otro lado

§84: F: es una cosa que me llamó mucho la atención acá...

§85: ...perdón que te interrumpa... es que todos te saludan aunque no te conozcan y me encanta

§86: (risas).

§87: E: entonces bueno, estas primeras normas que hemos escrito... le hemos, dicho...eh... “si él no sabe que tiene que saludar, entonces no te va a devolver el saludo”, entonces nosotros tenemos que hacer una norma en donde diga “si vienes a un territorio de Amaicha, y un abuelo o un niño te saluda, entonces devuélvale el saludo” (risas).

§89: F: normas de buena conducta (risas) Estupendo! Tire la basura [...] y salude!

(Se interrumpe la grabación y luego continua)

§94: F: perfecto... y ... bueno , esto del turismo justamente porque, bueno, como sabe, parte, digamos, de los problemas si podemos decirlo de reconocimiento de los derechos... bueno, más que de los derechos, de la resistencia, de digamos... o de la parte cultural, de la particularidad cultural de los pueblos indígenas *del estado* ha sido lo que se ha llamado ‘multiculturalismo’, o sea, estas políticas multiculturales que de alguna manera se aprovechan de

la particularidad cultural, de la particularidad étnica, digamos... que existe por territorio para insertar en la misma lógica, digamos, que antes los, antes excluía, antes ni conocía esta... esta particularidad étnica. Entonces ya esta asimilación de la que hablábamos quizás pasa por la inclusión que es una forma de exclusión de esta particularidad étnica. ¿Y cómo... cómo es esto? Esto es... quizá yo veo que es como un gran desafío para estos tiempos...

§96: E: yo creo que es este... ¿cómo controlar eso? ¿no? y a veces te avasallan

§98: (Se interrumpe la grabación min 26:39 y luego continua)

§100: E: nosotros tenemos una Fiesta Nacional de la Pachamama acá en febrero. Veinte a treinta mil personas Amaicha: una invasión de gente. No hacemos propaganda, no hacemos ni marketing, nada, nada nada nada, y la gente llega, llega. Y... este... llega mucha gente, entre eso, la basura. La invasión de gente son carros y carros de basura. ¿Cómo controlamos eso? ¿Cómo

controlamos que nuestra fiesta tradicional de las copleras y un canto *ay joi joi* tienen jóvenes con su propia música y no les importa nuestra fiesta. Vienen y hacen su propia fiesta. Entonces, la verdad que, ni siquiera comparten ¿no? nosotros vamos a tener que hacer reglas para eso también. Es una deuda que tenemos, porque es un fenómeno nuevo que aparece tanta gente que no la podemos controlar y ni siquiera comparten con nosotros y se está perdiendo el sentido de la fiesta. Es una fiesta familiar, es una fiesta... más...este... más comunitaria ¿no? Sin embargo, eh... cuesta mucho, realmente *contanean* a eso, y la verdad, es una deuda que tenemos... en controlar... porque es invasión, invasión de gente. Siete días donde no hay espacio en Amaicha, cómo caminar, ni nada por el estilo.

§101: Entonces, está bueno por un lado, porque nuestra economía se venden todos los productos, los productos que hace nuestra gente, todo ello. Y la verdad que... que cuesta mucho controlar entre un equilibrio *en ese lado*. Creo que nos *desequilibramos*

colectivamente en esos eventos tan, tan grandes.

§102: Momentos ceremoniales de la Pachamama en eso debo reconocer que son cientos y cientos de gentes que reciben la bendición de nuestra abuela Pachamama. Hay una abuela que representa anualmente a la Pachamama, la más viejita del pueblo. Y ehm... cuando hacen esas ceremonias, son cientos de gente... de personas que son de distintas regiones que tienen pleno respeto a ese ceremonial, a ese momento ceremonial. En eso reconozco que -y me llama mucho la atención- que antes no pasaba eso. Entonces, cuando esta abuela echa sus bendiciones al público, y son gentes de distintas culturas, de distintas religiones que vienen. Es bueno... interesante...

§104: F: claro...

§106: E: pero bueno, ehm... cómo controlar y cómo equilibrar eso... de esa invasión

§108: F: porque esta invasión, digamos, también es una consecuencia de lo que decía que antes no pasaba... ósea está

pasando ahora, está llamando la Pachamama, digamos... está llamando mucha gente también por que se dio a conocer, y lo siento porque yo no lo veo así, pero también es verdad que a veces se vende como producto la Pachamama y entonces esto que llama mucho... yo lo veo desde mi mirada, que es la mirada europea

§110: E: sí sí sí sí sí

§112: F: y entonces

§114: E: y hay otra mirada que es la folklorización

§116: F: de eso estamos hablando, exactamente...

§118: E: ese folklore que se *bebe*. Entonces vamos a ver qué es lo que pasa ¿no? (risas)

§120: F: claro, todavía está como que ... bueno hay que... ese equilibrio...

§122: E: y somos nosotros quienes buscan eso. Tenemos que tener cuidado en ese marco también y regular un poco eso y saber que existe ese problema.

§124: F: claro, con saber que existe el problema es el primer paso para encontrar la solución. Y

bueno, la última... el último tramo de entrevista, que sería totalmente el trabajo que voy a hacer, *pero a mí me gustaba hacer* como una introducción previa, *que es lo más interesante*, digamos... ¿Qué es esto de la relación con los... especialmente con los arqueólogos, digamos, en lo profesional, en el patrimonio?

§126: E: nosotros hemos ido reeducando.

§128: F: eso... eso...

§130: E: es una reeducación que hicimos nosotros, porque la verdad que antes entraban a nuestro territorio y sin pedir permiso ni nada. Al contrario, se hacían excavaciones que se llevaban las cosas, que tenemos muchas cosas para recuperar. Así que la verdad, dentro de esa política propia, nuestra, hemos tomado esa decisión de... de no dejar a nadie entrar sin un permiso y sin nuestro consentimiento. De hecho, una de las primeras leyes que han promovido en forma particular a nivel nacional es la 25.517, que en su artículo 3, es primera ley que habla interna que reconoce el consentimiento ante tipo... ante

este tipo de actividades. Así que la verdad que... bueno, es muy pesado ejercerlo nosotros en la vida real, fortaleciendo la gobernanza propia, cuando tu fortaleces tu gobernanza propia, van a llegar y van a pedir permiso como corresponde, aunque no esté acostumbrado (risas). Entonces ese respeto hacia la comunidad, hacia el propio patrimonio también, porque no es cuestión de venir y hacer las investigaciones hasta un punto de destruirlo. ¿De qué te sirve después? ¿no? ¿de qué te sirve si no lo compartes con la propia comunidad? ¿no? ¿cómo la comunidad va a cuidar un patrimonio y cómo van a compartir todo eso?

§131: Entonces, sinceramente hay veces que roza lo irrespetuoso, ¿no?... entonces, la falta de ética profesional, también. Entonces, eh... aprender a tener esa relación de respeto, de diálogo y respeto, ¿no? ninguna comunidad, si vos vienes con buena fe, demuestras tu buena fe, y vienes con ese aptitud de buena fe, una comunidad que ve ese marco respeto y que va a quedar parte de

su estudio en su comunidad para que le sirva a las generaciones que vienen, para llegar a fortalecer esa continuidad histórica, bienvenido sea un estudio de esa naturaleza. Y te van a recibir con las puertas abiertas.

§132: El tema es que cuando entras por la puerta de atrás... y pienso que no te va a ir bien y tarde o temp... no va a servir tu proyecto porque no va a tener sustentabilidad ¿no? la sustentabilidad va a estar en la propia comunidad. Ella es la que va a tener el sostén de ir y su trabajo de lograrlo a futuro para transmitir esos conocimientos a las generaciones que vienen. Porque eso va a ser un complemento de conocimientos: ese conocimiento ancestral y ese conocimiento científico. Entonces ¿cómo se complementan? Y yo he podido ver interpretaciones de arqueólogos, antropólogos, totalmente erradas también. Erradas. Con la vida política, con la vida, con el conocimiento ancestral que uno tiene. Entonces... o se interpretó mal. Cuando uno lee un libro que hay una interpretación muy mal de lo

que es un pujllay, de lo que es un llajtay, de lo que es el cuidado a la Pachamama, de lo que es *mayusta*, de lo que es la relación con la Pachamama con los recursos naturales, para nosotros, según nuestra cosmovisión, a veces las lee y deja mucho que desear. Entonces, para fortalecer ese conocimiento y que sea más respetuoso, en ese marco de conocimientos complementarlo... vas a ser más rico si tienes una relación directa con la comunidad. Va a ser mucho mejor, mucho más sustentable en el tiempo, más respetuoso, ¿no? Entonces querer ponerse a veces a escribir solo o a hacer sus propias interpretaciones sin tener ni un diálogo con la comunidad...

§134: F: claro... y...

§136: E: es una cuestión de...

§138: F: es como decir de ética profesional... por lo menos yo lo veo muy así. A veces hay que luchar a veces para que esta parte ética sea parte de la investigación, como decía....

§140: E: exacto.

§142: F: para que no visto sea simplemente... yo por eso,

entrando un poquito en el tema del consentimiento, bah, que ya lo tratamos, pero...a veces este consentimiento se hace como simplemente la parte formal, como lo hemos hecho antes, ¿no?, firmando y ya, y ya queda. A mi lo que me gustaría hacer con el trabajo que estoy haciendo más que rescatar, digamos, estas conversaciones, es ver cómo este consentimiento es la base del principio para *estudiar* lo que decía. Es verlo, justamente, no tanto como una... un punto final sino como un punto de partida...

§144: E: no, y a parte, el consentimiento da lugar a lo que es la reciprocidad, sino... yo estoy plenamente que vos nos vas a alcanzar algún material cuando finalices esto, que nos va a servir a nosotros. Y eso es la reciprocidad. Con tus conocimientos, con tu visión colectiva, con una visión hacia los pueblos indígenas del mundo, de un derecho colectivo, de derecho humano cultural, del patrimonio cultural de los pueblos indígenas. ¿cómo lo preservamos? ¿cómo lo cuidamos? ¿cómo lo transmitimos? ¿cómo lo

enriquecemos? Esa es la reciprocidad, cuando uno dialoga, y cuando uno encuentra un punto medio donde uno te recibe, pero vos también tarde o temprano, vas a responder con una parte de tu conocimiento y de lo que has estudiado. Esa es la reciprocidad ¿no? y es el enriquecimiento y ese es el respeto a la diversidad cultural, sin intentar cambiarte ¿no?, sin intentar asimilarte ¿no? sino en ese marco-respeto.

§146: F: y bueno, yo creo que ya abarcamos todos los temas que quería... *tenía algunas preguntas, pero creo que ya lo conversamos.* Entonces lo último que quería hacer era darte, bueno, no son resultados, pero es como un... este... son dos *trabajitos* que hice y uno que se va a publicar en las actas de un congreso del año pasado en Santa Rosa, La Pampa, que... que bueno, mas o menos... bah... *esto es.. es un punto de partida...*

§148: E: lo voy a leer, lo voy a leer

§150: F: ...de lo que estoy tratando de hacer; y este otro también es otro trabajo que presenté en un congreso eh... *en*

Lituania, no sé por ahí... (risas) no me acuerdo en dónde fue, era un congreso de arqueología

§152: E: ok

§154: F: y yo hice... era un congreso de arqueología, pero la sesión era sobre... era sobre convivencia, justamente cómo hacer para... para... para establecer este diálogo que lo estábamos hablando ¿no? Y ya... *a mi... y bueno... me interesaba el tema... y también hice una maestría que decía*, me encontré con un trabajo de Bartolomé de Las Casas

§156: E: ajam, me acuerdo...

§158: F: que... que bueno, a mi me llamó muchísimo la atención porque no, no lo había visto publicado por ningún lado. Y tenía mucha relación con lo que venía haciendo y bueno, encontré y *me puse a leer*. Se llama De Thesauris el trabajo. Y hay un pasaje, una.... ¿dónde está acá? Está acá... hay un párrafo que me llamó muchísimo la atención porque es...

§160: F: [...]

§162: E: me parece que está hablando del consentimiento de los *indios informados* 500 años antes de que se estableciera formalmente.

§164: *(Eduardo Nieva lee el pasaje)*

§166: E: increíble ¿no?. Esta es la buena fe, este es el consentimiento ¿no? escrito de otra manera, pero es lo mismo

§168: F: escrito de otra manera

§169:

§170: E: es igual, es igual ¿no?. El respeto hacia la diversidad cultural. Ese respeto me interesa mucho.

§172: F: entonces sí, porque tiene... tiene toda la [...] de ser de buena fe, de ser de buena... de una temporada larga.... Y todo eso... y donde hay ...

§174: E: que interesante esto. ¿Esto me lo dejás también?

§176: F: Esto te lo dejo también, claro. Esta era la parte que, digamos, que más me interesaba que leyeras ahora, pero bueno, todo esto es más visto desde un punto de vista de arqueología,

digamos... También retomo algunos puntos de acá, del desarrollo de derechos...

§178: E: ¿esto no lo tienes en español?

§180: F: Esto no, esto o tengo solo en inglés.

§182: E: bueno, te voy a pedir en algún momento cuando puedas, traducir algo... a nosotros nos va a servir en la escuela de gobernanza.

§184: F: ¡ah! ¡Espectacular! (risas)

§186: E: nosotros, vino una chica de Colombia. Y hizo una recopilación de los cuentos. Y ahí está la esencia del Derecho Mayor que lo queremos publicar nosotros. Eso es recuperación. Así que bueno.

Name: Calcha17-4

Place and Date: Amaicha del Valle,
August 2017

Transcription by Agustina Ponce
(IAM, Tucumán)

§ 3: F: Listo, bueno... entonces cuando usted quiera puede empezar contando un poco qué en qué relación está... la relación de la comunidad con el territorio, en este sentido, como me venía contando, un poco, la historia de cómo se vinculó la comunidad acá en Amaicha con eso del territorio y la importancia que tiene la reivindicación, la lucha por el territorio.

§5: M: bueno, hoy estamos aquí en la Loma del Mirador junto a la apacheta, el altar de nuestra Pachamama, y le voy a contar algo sobre cómo ha ocurrido todo esto que en los tiempos antes, tiempos pasados era prohibido hacer todo esto. Nosotros nos manejábamos como nos creían que éramos unos brujos, porque estábamos haciendo algo que no correspondía a las leyes de ellos, a las religiones que nosotros.... Era algo malo que hacíamos y nos

prohibían hacer totalmente todo eso, ay quién nos agarraban, nos metían presos, los metían presos, los hacían sufrir, los llevaban, a veces los hacían desaparecer si eran muy caprichudos y fue una lucha muy dura, muy sangrienta, si se quiere decir, porque dentro de nuestro territorio, a pesar de ser los dueños de la tierra, no éramos dueños de hacer nada. Como ser, la celebración de nuestra querida Pachamama, de nuestra querida tierra. ¡La Pachamama Kusilla Kusilla ayudanos ayudanos!. No teníamos derechos.

§6: A todo... a lo largo del tiempo, las leyes han ido cambiando, se ha ido reconociendo las leyes indígenas, y nos han ido aflojando y aflojando hasta que hemos llegado a lograr todo esto. Yo desde chico hacía esto, porque fui inculcado por mis abuelitos, por mis bisabuelos, por mi padre, por mi madre, y después lo seguí yo y todos mis hermanos siempre hacen, aunque sean por ahí calladitos, pero en el mes de agosto es el mes de la Pachamama, entonces lo podemos llevar a cabo en cualquier día de ese mes, pero la

celebración de ella es el primero de agosto.

§7: Entonces yo hacía todo en otro propiedades que tengo, pero hacía a escondidas. Hasta que un día lo llamé a mi hijo y le dije “bueno, m’hijo lo vamos a hacer ahora en nuestro... casa, en nuestro... este... lugar, pero un poquito más escondido, ahí aquí nomás de la loma, que no nos vean mucho, porque sino capaz que después tengas problemas, no quiero que usted como chico tenga problemas...” bueno, me acompañó. Después ya han venido otros chicos, mi familia han venido y así fuimos haciéndolo hasta que un día me dice “papá, vos ves que ya no va a pasar nada ¿por qué no lo elevamos a eso arriba? Y ya empezamos a buscar... a avisarle a la gente, porque mirá que si ya allá en el centro cultural lo hacen públicamente a la celebración. Lo hagamos arriba para que ampliemos; abramos la casa nuestra y pueda venir gente.”

§8: De esa manera es que estamos aquí. Hace ya muchos años que estamos haciéndolo acá y me siento re contento porque la

gente me ayuda, la gente llega, nos reconoce a la familia Pastrana que estamos en esta lucha y siempre nos vienen a dar. No tanto a mí, a nuestra familia, sino a la Pachamama por todo lo que han recibido durante el año, que han venido aquí, se han ido, han pedido salud, trabajo, han pedido que el familiar se componga de tal enfermedad, y eso le ha dado a la Pachamama. Y otros vienen a pedir que “Pachamamita, ayúdame, no tengo trabajo”, “Pachamamita sanamela a mi madre que está... tullida...” ... así.

§9: Y esos son los ruegos que le piden y la Pachamama las ayuda. Entonces, de esa manera, casa año son más la gente creyente que llega a nuestro pueblo, a nuestro lugar. Entonces ¿qué le parece si no nos vamos a sentir honrados por todo esto? Y así hemos llegado porque hasta le digo... nosotros antes, mi viejo me contaba, pobrecito... no tengo ya ni padre ni madre, pero... él para hacer un aguardiente tenía que meterse en esas quebradas más hondas en donde no se... porque hacer aguardiente es muy... se detecta enseguida por el olor al alcohol y a

la uva, y entonces, lo milicos andaban por todos lados y 'ande nos llegaban a encontrar a alguien haciendo eso, le quitaban todo y lo metían preso, ¿por qué? Porque venían leyes de afuera, de Estados Unidos, de donde hacen la Grappa, los grandes licores y se prohibía aquí hacer todo esto para que no haiga competencia.

§10: Hoy en día, yo soy libre de hacer mi aguardiente, todos los licores que yo quiera, el invento que quiera hacer, lo voy a hacer. Simplemente, hay una ley de vitivinicultura en donde nos tenemos que inscribir. Y eso es bueno también porque también somos reconocidos y no nos molestan en la calle, en la vía pública, en donde salgamos a vender nuestros productos, que son productos caseros que no llevan ningún aditivo de nada, que se... de la pura... la uva si es posibil... si es del... del asunto de licores, es de la pura uva. Y la uva es tan buena, tan noble, que nos da un montón de cosas. Bueno, eso es la historia nuestra hoy. Hoy en día nos sentimos, gracias a Dios, satisfechos... no del todo porque todavía hay peleas, hay...

eh... peleas por tierras de otras sinvergüenzas que quieren venir a meterse aquí y que siempre tenemos la fuerza y la Pachamama nos da fuerza para seguir luchando y seguir defendiendo nuestro territorio.

§11: Y también le doy a la Pachamama gracias por darme un cacique, un cacique que entiende, que entiende de leyes. Él es doctor... doctor en abogado. Entonces nos lleva por muy buen camino, porque a veces nosotros, como yo que tengo escasos... un sexto grado achatao' y bueno, por la calle que he tenido. Yo he recorrido casi casi, digamos... trabajando, nunca de... de andar de veraneo, casi la Argentina de norte a sur y he andao' por todas las ciudades grandes. Estuve muchos años en Buenos Aires, en Chubut, en Esquel, pero por eso es que me ha dado ese lugar y cuando yo ya no he tenido trabajo allá, cuando veía las cosas que estaban cambiando ya, dije "vuelvo a mi pago, porque mi pueblo me necesita". Y aquí estoy.

§12: Yo llegué a ser también cacique de mi comunidad en el año '84 al '90. Llegué a salir a llevarle

cosas para mis hermanos del cerro, de que ellos bajaban, a veces nos veíamos cada Pachamama. Cuando se celebraba en febrero la Pachamama ahí bajaban ellos, recién venían a buscar un geniolcito, una cafiaspirina, que era lo que los aliviaba y de ahí se curaban ¿con qué? Con la farmacia de la Pachamama. Con la yareta, con la.... Con todos los remedios, las plantas este... medicinales que tenían a su alrededor, esa era la farmacia de ellos. Y cuando ya había una cosa más grave, y recién bajaban al pueblo.

§13: Entonces yo empecé a llevarles medicamentos, yo fui a la farmacia oficial de Tucumán en donde... con una carta, por supuesto, de consentimiento del pueblo, para pedirles remedios y traerla a la doctora del CAP y que ella me desburre y me diga “bueno, estos remedios los podés llevarlos y decirles cómo se van a tomar. Estos otros van a quedar aquí” “Macanudo, doctora, eso es lo que quiero yo”. Cargué, me cargué con mulas porque aquí, ahí por esos caminos no andamos.... No andan

en bicicleta, ni en moto ni en camioneta, lo único que es a lomo de mula, de burro, de caballo. Y así fuimos con mis compañeros que me han acompañado, llevándoles medicamento, comida, vestimenta porque ahí son... eran inviernos muy crudo y esa gente se abrigaba con la lana que sacaba de sus ovejitas y se hacía su campera, sus, hasta sus picotes. Y así vivían.

§14: Hoy en día gracias a Dios ya tienen más posibilidades, pero lamentablemente se están volviendo la gente a los pueblos, y eso es lo malo porque vemos que las grandes ciudades el... el... la gente del interior que se va así, creyendo que en los pueblos grandes va a conseguir todo, va a tener todo el paraíso y no es así. Hay que volver a nuestra tierra, hay que quererla a nuestra tierra. Es nuestro lugar, nos han parido aquí y aquí tenemos que morir. Es por eso que a la juventud le pido yo que no se vayan, que traten de ser fuertes y que pongan... que críen una gallina, críen un chancho, un chivo, y van a ayudar a la olla. Y trabajito de changa siempre hay y por ahí si tenés suerte vas a

conseguir un puesto también en una comuna, en una municipalidad, en un CAP, lo que sea, pero la juventud tiene que quedarse, porque si ellos se van y quedamos todos los viejos, y nosotros ya estamos de paso. Nosotros queremos que esa juventud, que esa gente, que esos chicos sean los que continúen con la lucha nuestra, porque este territorio va a existir por siglos y siglos hasta que Dios diga "Basta, aquí se terminó todo y no hay más territorio de nadie", pero eso no ocurrirá, y si ocurre bueno, pero nosotros sigamos con la lucha. Tenemos que ser perseverantes para esto.

§15: De esa manera aquí tenemos mucho, es un territorio sagrado, es un territorio que tenemos mucho para contar, mucha historia, nuestra cultura es muy grande, muy amplia. Hemos sido luchadores indígenas de mucha lucha. Están los hermanos Quilmes, han luchado muchísimo y ellos están asentados también en su comunidad, que lamentablemente también están asentados a la par de algunos atorrantes terratenientes, la familia

Chico, que es la que siempre los están avasallando, que le están tomando tierras, pero se han hecho fuertes, tienen su cacique y lo están doblegándolo en base a las leyes. Pero nosotros desde el río Santa María para... hacia... hacia el nacimiento ya, somos totalmente propietarios nosotros, entonces, eso es lo que queremos buscar y conservar el territorio nuestro para que... nosotros no somos cerrados, queremos que la gente, si esto lo que usted me está haciendo esta entrevista quiero que el día de mañana lo devuelva su estudio, su charla que hace con todos nuestros hermanos para que tengamos un conocimiento pleno de nuestra comunidad, porque nosotros lamentablemente todavía no tenemos un arqueólogo propio de nuestro. Tenemos ya abogados, tenemos contador, sí todo eso. Pero no está faltando esta pata, esta pata que nos cuenta la historia de nuestra comunidad. Que nosotros le vamos contándole y ustedes lo vayan plasmándolo en un libro, en algo como pa' que tengamos historia. Ya quizás yo ni lo pueda verlo o leerlo. Bueno, pero van a estar mis hijos, van a estar mis

nietos y eso... eso es lo lindo... para que nos puedan difundir que en Amaicha en la provincia de Tucumán existe una comunidad indígena datada del año 1617, antes que se... que se dictó la independencia argentina, nosotros ya éramos un pueblo.

§16: O sea que nosotros estamos adentro de la nación argentina como una nación más, porque nosotros somos propietarios de mucho antes y eso nos da orgullo y fuerzas para seguir luchando. Gracias a esos valientes, gente que... que han luchado para que vuelva a entregarnos, a devolvernos, el Virreinato de los españoles las tierras que eran nuestras, porque ya nos habían tomado todo. Pero gracias en la lucha... a la lucha que presentaron los indígenas de ese entonces, se volvió a traer porque dijeron "estos no los vamos a poder dominar, devolvámosles las tierras y que nos dejen tranquilos". Pero gracias a que nos devolvieron a nosotros, también se han ido despejando todo el territorio nacional y hoy somos la República Argentina. La querida República Argentina. Y ahí estamos nosotros. Entonces, qué

más mejor, hoy estamos aquí sobre el Mirador -que así lo determ... lo denominamos nosotros- que es una loma que ha sido taller de nuestros indígenas. Aquí se fabricaban las armas. Yo le voy a mostrar enseguida que aquí tenemos un museo de sitio, en donde han venido los arqueólogos de Tucumán, el Sr. Aschero que era el jefe, trayendo todos sus profesionales y todo el alumnado y haciendo los trabajos. Los trabajos que han hecho datan de más de 200 años de vida. Ellos me han dado ya todo un escrito: qué es lo que comían....

§17: Y yo he quedado sorprendido todo lo que me contaban, pero ellos me contaban así que, haciendo el trabajo recién... y después cuando han venido ya los... el... el trabajo que ellos han plasmado ya en un papel y me han empezado a explicar, no podía creer. ¡Qué me decí! Esta gente había sabido comer maíz, se alimentaban de esta y esta forma, la carne la conservaban así... ¡increíble! Hoy no sé si nosotros lo podemos hacer todo lo que hacían ellos. Ellos eran unos sabios, unos... unos ilustres. Y nos tratan

a los indígenas como personas ignorantes. No, si estamos casi a la altura de muchos intelectuales también, si se quiere. Yo, como le digo, no soy un.... No he estudiado nada... mi hijo gracias a los esfuerzos que hemos hecho... y él tiene un estudio más. Y él tiene muchos conocimientos. Y él quiere volcar todo eso en la juventud. Y siempre le estoy diciendo "hijo, eso no deje de plasmarlo, de... 'ande pueda encontrar a un chico háblelo, dígale, mirá esto es así, asá... cuentelé... porque de usté' se va a transmitir a ese chico, esa chica y eso va a seguir para más allá y ese va a seguir más allá" y eso.... Y eso es lo lindo.

§18: Por eso este estudio quiero que algún día vuelva y vuelvamos a tener para contarles, los que... lo... lo reciban y cuenten a nuestro pueblo amaicheño, a nuestros hermanos amaicheños que este estudio que usté, señor, ha venido, ha hecho en tal época este estudio y nos devuelve estos escritos. Eso es lo lindo, amigo.

(Se interrumpe la grabación y luego continúa)

§22: F: y... bueno, para seguir un poco con el tema de estos encuentros que usted me estaba contando, con los arqueólogos que han venido a trabajar acá, como me estaba diciendo antes, también. Ha habido ocasiones en que se cumplió una palabra que se había dado, ha habido otra en que en cambio no se respetó esta palabra. Lo que me está diciendo, esto es la importancia, un poco, de devolver los resultados y para esto... difundir el conocimiento entre... entre todos. Sobre todo este conocimiento que se genera en este territorio. Y entonces si me puede contar, incluso cuando ejerció de cacique o antes o después si un poco de estos encuentros con los profesionales que han venido acá, qué tipo de beneficios eventualmente se han dado para la comunidad a través de esos encuentros y en cambio que tipo de opiniones surgieron, si... si... no siguieron bien las cosas.

§24: M: sí, este... un poco le buá' contar por dónde viene nuestro... cómo le podría decir... hablemos así.. en criollo: nuestro miedo. Porque nos han venido gente

escrupulosa, a hacernos entrevistas, a presentarse como arqueólogos, como... capacitadores de este otro... han sacado una información. Pero más eran “¿por dónde va la comunidad? ¿cuáles son los puntos cardinales? ¿en dónde, hasta dónde llega la comunidad? ¿quiénes son los dueños de las parcelas aquellas que están para allá, las otras que están para acá?... mirá que vos sabés que la loma aquella que es... mirá que linda que es... pero ¿ahí se puede instalar...?”

§25: Sí... nosotros amablemente, generosamente y humildemente y tontamente dábamos toda esa información. Cuando he vimos que eso era para avasallamiento para que se asiente un foráneo de afuera, recién hemos abierto los ojos y hemo dicho “lamentablemente qué malos que hemos sido, dar estas informaciones para que estos atorrantes...” Y nunca pedirles nada a cambio. Y ahí dijimos, nos reunimos con los otros... este... la gente con los caciques que eran de ese entonces y dijimos “de aquí en adelante, información que sale,

va a ser por algo escrito y por algo que nos devuelvan el estudio que están haciendo.” Eso es, nos llevó a que tengamos nuestro conocimiento y ahí hemos visto el adelanto y los lugares estratégicos en donde estaban los asentamientos indígenas, en donde hay restos de asentamientos hay ollas, hay piedras, hay herramientas, todo hecho de piedras que hacían nuestros hermanos y eso era, y eso nos ha valido para cuidar esos lugares.

§26: El adelanto uno, uno de los tantos: el estudio que se ha hecho aquí, en este mirador, tenemos un museo de sitio -que enseguida le voy a mostrar- y, como le venía contando, es una loma en donde venían los indígenas a hacer sus herramientas, sus flechas, sus armas y poder, para poderse defender del invasor. Hoy tenemos una gran posibilidad, todavía no está del todo hecha, formalmente escrito para que se largue la obra.

§27: Pero ustedes ven cómo ya en esta época, cómo lo estamos viviendo: los gobiernos están acogotando, la gente está muriendo de hambre, siendo que

somos un granero del mundo en donde tenemos todo. En la Argentina se cosecha de todo, hasta las mejores mujeres tenemos en Argentina. ¡Hm, qué le parece! Y vivimos pobres, pero por los malos gobiernos que tenemos.

§28: Hoy nos están acogotando con la luz, pero ha venido una empresa francesa, creo, y está instalada, ya hemos dado el Ok -la carta de consentimiento- para que se asiente y nos dea luz solar, que no haiga contaminación. Entonces nos han hecho una oferta, una proposición. Y nosotros la hemos estudiado, se hemos reunido todos y hemos dicho... hemos dado el ok. Es un gran adelanto que vamos a tener en nuestra comunidad, porque vamos a tener menos pago de luz; no te digo que vamos a tener gratis, porque siempre tiene un costo, pero nosotros vamos a ser alguien en el país que vamos a tener una estación solar que nos dean la luz eléctrica gratis, porque el Tata Inti el que nos va a proveer toda esa energía que es el sol ¡qué le parece!

§29: Pero para esto ellos mismos nos han dicho "bueno, en aquel lugar nos vamos a instalar, 60

hectáreas que queremos porque ahí... para poder asentar todos los paneles solares". Cuando fuimos a ver el lugar, y era un lugar sagrado, amigo...

§31: F: ¿ustedes no lo conocieron?

§33: M: y nosotros no lo conocíamos. Cuando nos hemos sentado a ver el estudio que me han hecho esta gente arqueóloga que ha venido de Tucumán, encabezado por el Dr. Aschero, nos dijeron "Pastrana, si en ese lugar hay un gran asentamiento. Corralón un poco más allá. Dejen ese lugar, porque ese lugar es sagrado para ustedes." Y hemos ido, y nos han empezado a enseñar. Hm... malo porque ellos no nos han dicho cuáles todos...si hemos... lo malo es que no nos hemos podido sentar directamente aquí, en esta loma, con un asado por medio, con un mate por medio y decir "a ver... de aquí... ahora ya hay larga vistas, todo, y si podemos, hay caballos pa' que vamos y lo recorramos los lugares en donde ustedes dicen que han ido y han visitado y hay restos arqueólogos". Y no nos han dicho. Y lo malo es que nosotros no hemos preguntado todo eso

porque... por el desconocimiento. Y eso es un adelanto. Por eso le digo "bienvenido usted, amigo, que nos puede hacer este estudio" y lo que yo le estea contando ahora quisiera que sea breve para mi cuento y porque va a ser largo como esperanza y' pobre, como decimos nosotros, pero bueno, es válido.

§34: Y hoy tenemos conocimiento de dónde poder poner una planta de tal y cual forma. Y eso es lo lindo, porque ya como le decía, en todo nuestro territorio hay asentamientos indígenas y hay lugares sagrados que tenemos siempre que cuidarlos, como los bosques petrificados del Tiu Punku, como mismas las ruinas de... de Los Cardones, que todavía están sin tocarlas esas ruinas que son más grandes que las ruinas de Quilmes.

§35: Fue algo muy pero muy sagrado lo que ha hecho esa gente ahí. Los cultivos los hacían en terrazas y al pie del cerro. ¿Cómo sacaban l'agua? No sé, eran ingenieros. Todavía hay vestigios de los canales que ellos hacían y no había Portland. Se mantenían con lajas y hacían su canal y así

hacían llegar el agua. Y 'ande no podían hacer llegar el agua, la acarreaban en vasijas, en vasijas de barro. Y así se criaban su mantención para criar a sus hijos y a su familia. ¡qué le parece! Entonces, todo eso nos llega tan a fondo a nosotros y nos ve orgullosos de ser indígenas, de vivir en nuestra tierra en esta comunidad indígena. Que nos respeten. Lo único que pedimos: respeto, como nosotros respetamos al que viene. Amablemente lo recibimos, le informamos, pero que siempre exigimos el respeto ante todo.

§37: *(Se interrumpe la grabación y luego continúa)*

§40: F: la importancia del lugar sagrado, digamos en esto ¿no? por qué acá estamos, por qué, por qué están celebrando acá la ceremonia de la Pachamama (que agradezco por haber participado), por qué los sitios arqueológicos, como usted me estaba contando antes, se pueden considerar lugares sagrados, qué importancia tiene lo Sagrado para la reivindicación de sus derechos como comunidad, como

colectividad y profundizar un poco en esto, si puede...

§42: M: eh... lo Sagrado de un sitio es muy fácil de comprenderlo porque realmente en un lugar sagrado, y le voy a poner un ejemplo poquito claro, pero chiquito nomás: ¿usted en su cementerio de su pueblo es dueño de ir a hacer un edificio en medio del cementerio?

§44: F: no.

§46: M: no. Porque es un lugar sagrado. Y nosotros en nuestros sitios arqueológicos en donde estarán enterrados nuestros seres queridos ahí ¿vamos a ir a hacer casas, vamos a ir a hacer edificios? Por eso es el lugar sagrado. Y para contarle a nuestra gente qué es lo que hacían en esos lugares sagrados la gente, en donde hacían todo lo eh... el tema agrícola, en donde criaban su ganado en el campo, esos son lugares libres. Pero en esos lugares... son lugares chicos pero de una dimensión tremenda. Entonces para nosotros son lugares sagrados. Respetamos así. Y por eso lo cuidamos que no haiga nada que... que... se vaya a

... a interrumpir en ese lugar con algo que no corresponde hacer: una vivienda, un... un esto, un aquello. Y para que nuestros chicos, nuestra gente, nuestras generaciones que vengan puedan decir "che, vamos a la zona del *Abra Pampa*, de la Zanja Honda, de... mirá allá en Fuerte Quemado en donde está la ventanita... dicen que hay lugares sagrados por ahí, ¿vamos a conocerlos?". Y va la gente y lo llevan al visitante: "mirá esto se hacía aquí, se hace esto, se hacía aquello" y está conservado. Eso es conservar nuestro territorio y nuestros lugares sagrados, así de simple.

§47: Por eso, hoy te voy a llegar en donde ha sido los asentamientos en este lugar, que hay muchos lugarcitos que todavía falta seguirlos trabajando y que ya me han dicho, me han dado la posición en donde están las otras casas que datan de más de 200 años de vida de esa gente que ha vivido ahí. ¿Y ahí vamos a permitir que venga alguien a querer construir, a querer hacer pasar una calle por ahí, a sacarnos con máquinas lo que hay abajo? No.

§48: Aquí sacar una olla con un féretro que están por ahí ¿vos sabés lo que te ocasiona? Yo soy muy creyente de eso. Vos lo traés a tu casa y en la noche vas a sentir ruidos, vas a sentir voces, hasta que no devolvás esa olla, ese cadáver, donde vos lo has sacado enterralo de vuelta porque es el lugar de él. Y ese es un lugar sagrado. A mi me han contado viejitos, te estoy contando, porque de eso yo me *he munido* para poder ser alguien más y poder contar la historia de nuestra comunidad, por tras de nuestros viejitos de antes. Llegaba, ensillaba mi caballo, mi mula, con mis cositas y me iba a los puestos, a los cerros, a esa gente grande que sabía muchas cosas de la comunidad, que ellos no contaban porque estaban allá encerrados. Y les contaba:

§49: “Don Antonio, mire, sabe que...”

§50: “¡Cómo anda, Don Pastranita!”

§51: “Aquí le traje una azuquítar, una yerbita”

§52: “¡Pasá, m’hijo... aquí vení, vení chinita, córtale un pedazo de

queso y ponele a este hombre una taza de mate”

§53: Y empezábamos las conversaciones y ellos me iban contando. Bueno, eso es muy valioso para nosotros. Yo sé cómo voy a curar un animal por ‘tras de esos viejitos que me han dado esa sabiduría. Le estoy inculcándole a mi hijo todo el conocimiento que yo he tenido que me han contado nuestros pasados, ya han muerto, muchos que ya han muerto, y cómo se hace esto, cómo se hace aquello. Entonces no hay que guardárselo, pero hay que ser siempre cuidadoso en donde vas a ir a largar palabras, a contar algo que a la comunidad debe ser valioso, porque también hay gente que viene a sacar información y a decir “bueno, mirá ¿para qué sirve esto?... para qué s... ¿esta plantita para qué...?”, y después lo estas viéndolo allá en Tucumán con el cargamento de inga yerba, de ruda ‘el campo vendiéndola. ¿De dónde lo han sacado? Del territorio sagrado. Un negocio que hacen, son los pijoteros. Por eso siempre tenemos que ser cuidadosos nosotros para largar una palabra, un porqué de todo esto.

§54: Esa es mi historia, señor.

§56: F: muchísimas gracias.

§58: M: no tiene por qué.

Name: Calcha 2017-6

Place and date: Quilmes Bajo,
August 2017

Transcription by Ana Victoria Leiva
(IAM, Tucuman)

§3: E: cuando quiera si está listo esto ya está grabando

§4: HE: bueno usted me dice que es lo que quiere que le diga

§5: E: podría empezar esta conversación, si me puede primero decir qué importancia tiene el patrimonio cultural para usted, que entiende usted cuando alguien como yo viene y le pregunta si me puede hablar del patrimonio cultural, a que está pensando cuando uno le hace esta pregunta?

§6: HE: claro, de que, porque estas son tierras comunitarias, esto aquí, estamos hablando de tierras comunitarias, digamos de la provincia de Tucumán, que somos aquí ... más que en Quilmes y teníamos, este, Ruinas, las Ruinas le decían antes, pero más antes, más anteriormente, que no he tenido mis padres, cuando yo tenía 15 años, le decían Fuerte Viejo, le

ahí le vienen cambiando el nombre hasta ahora, después le cambiaron, le pusieron Ruinas de Quilmes, cuando empezamos a hacer la reconstrucción le decíamos Ruinas de Quilmes. Se hacia la excavación del monte, no, se hacía primeramente los desmontes en la ciudad que ahora ya es Ciudad Sagrada, hacíamos esos, eh desmontes, limpiezas todo hasta que hemos limpiado toda la parte que es, no no todo, digo la primer parte, porque son grandísimos, nos falta muchísimo para hacer la reconstrucción

§7: E: Ajá

§8: HE: Fue algo nomas, no todo

§9: E: Dale, y siguiendo esta, estos cambios de nombre que usted dijo no? Recuerda, tiene alguna memoria de cuando me está contando, cuando era más chico su padre esto lo llamaba el Fuerte Viejo, que tipo de relación tenía con este fuerte viejo cuando todavía?

§10: HE: Estaba abandonada

§11: E: Abandonada?

§12: HE: Estaba Abandonada, botada, que se estaban

destruyendo por la creciente, la hacienda, había mucha hacienda

§13: **E: Se Pasaba la hacienda por ahí?**

§14: HE: Si, pasaba la hacienda sobre las paredes, la iban derrumbando, la iban desarmando y mucha creciente la desarmaban, porque había creciente, las despedazaban a las paredes y bueno habido mucho. Yo más o menos he trabajado 8 meses

§15: **E: Ya de esto cuando la reconstrucción?**

§16: HE: Cuando ha empezado la reconstrucción

§17: **E: Ajá, pero antes digamos que empezase esta reconstrucción, hacían algún tipo de actividad o simplemente era un lugar donde pasaban?**

§18: HE: Nada, no hacían nada, nada. Lo único que venía gente de otro lado, hacían excavación sacaban muchas piezas

§19: **E: Pero ustedes no les decían nada?**

§20: HE: No sé, como nosotros éramos chicos y bueno también muchas veces la gente pobre por

ahí que venían alguien a comprar, buscan para los museos, entonces por ahí el que encontraban muchas veces bajo esas cuevas, bajo esas piedras encontraban vasijas y bueno la gente después por la pobreza las vendía por la nada y bueno eso se iba así, así hasta que han llegado a enterarse los gobiernos sería

§21: **E: Claro, pero ustedes le daban algún tipo de valor en este sentido?**

§22: HE: Y nada

§23: **E: Nada**

§24: HE: Nada porque no nos interesaba nada, nada, que habían encontrado esas piezas muy bonitas, muy delgaditas

§25: **E: Pero no querían decir nada?**

§26: HE: Nada, para nosotros no nos importaba nada

§27: **E: Porque había cosas más importantes que pensar**

§28: HE: Nosotros éramos jóvenes y la gente de antes se iba a trabajar en la cosecha de caña, para el norte, para Tucumán de acá la gente se iba a Tucumán que

el viaje son como 180 km se iban a lomo de burro, lomo de mula, lomo de caballo

§29: **E: Para trabajar en los ingenios**

§30: HE: Para trabajar.

§31: **E: Aja**

§32: HE: Y bueno

§33: **E: Y esto ya cuando es qué cambio? Porque...**

§34: HE: Bueno y esto cambio de ... ya empezó a tomar este interés parece el gobierno, turismo,

§35: **E: Turismo**

§36: HE: Ya, porque han empezado a caer gente así, ya ya a ver, como se ha hecho la reconstrucción en Tilcara de unas ruinas y ya ahí han empezado a tomar interés y ya empezado y se ha empezado así, aquí cuando se ha empezado a hacer la, no se si las vendieron, no sé cómo las han agarrado porque yo era chico

§37: **E: Ah, dale y cuando, recuerda como fue contratado para esto de la reconstrucción, usted porque acepto trabajar en esto?**

§38: HE: Si me contrataron, vinieron arqueólogos de buenos aires que decían que se llamaba Pelisero, creo que ya habrá muerto hasta ahora, y de ahí han venido de la universidad de Jujuy y ahí seguían este ya. Ya han venido han visto, han recorrido todo y bueno les dieron para que hagan la limpieza en las ruinas. Ruinas le decíamos que eran, pero más antes era el Fuerte Viejo y bueno de ahí se siguió ya trabajando, haciendo la limpieza, hasta que después ya han visto las excavación, la levantada de paredes y ahí quedo, y después se lo dieron a contrato a un tal señor Cruz

§39: **E: Claro eso ya**

§40: HE: Que el agarro un contrato, el para trabajar ahí y bueno después ya hicieron ahí el trabajo este de los hoteles todo eso

§41: **E: Claro. Y cuanta gente estuvo trabajando?**

§42: HE: Yo era contratista, a mí me dieron para que contrate la gente 50 obreros

§43: **E: Ajá? Todos de acá de Quilmes?**

§44: HE: De Quilmes, no digamos de toda la zona, si porque todo algo no les gustaba porque era un trabajo muy jodido, hemos trabajado de sol a sol

§45: **E: Ajá, claro todo el día, el amanecer el atardecer**

§46: HE: Todo el día, alguna gente iba a pie, a caballo, burro, otro del Pichao que es lejos de aquí, hay como unos 30 km, todos en carro y bueno ahí trabajaron como y un año más o menos así

§47: **E: Era el año 77? Qué año era 77 me parece?**

§48: HE: Y habrá sido cuando estaba, creo que estaba Palito Ortega de gobernador, creo q estaba, no se si quien habrá estado de presidente, ahí no me acuerdo

§49: **E: No, no se preocupe. Y cuando ustedes estaban trabajando le daban alguna explicación de lo que estaban haciendo o simplemente les decían ustedes tienen que hacer esto y no más?**

§50: HE: Si, había, estaban los arqueólogos, había encargados, había policías, ven que nadie lleve

piezas, estábamos preparados todos, separados por grupos, por distintos apellidos, distintos nombres

§51: **E: Trabajaban como en equipo**

§52: HE: Si si si

§53: **E: Por grupos**

§54: HE: Yo estaba en el grupo que se llamaba Los Simón,

§55: **E: Eran varios Simón, o sea que estaba usted y otro Simón**

§56: HE: Si de ahí había otro grupo e era Huancas, puros Huancas eran eso, después había otro grupo que eran puros Chaile, Yapura, Palacios, eh eh había otro Mamanises

§57: **E: Claro entonces los dividían por grupos**

§58: HE: Claro nos dividían para tener en cuenta cual son los grupos en distintas partes y cada grupo tenía su encargado

§59: **E: Y el encargado no era de acá de la zona, venia de otro lado?**

§60: HE: Ah venían uno particular pero ese era para todo el grupo.

Pero en cada grupo había un encargado.

§61: **E: Ah del mismo grupo**

§62: HE: Sí, así que así se dividía eso. Y bueno de ahí se puso todo, ya cuando íbamos haciendo la reconstrucción, viendo todo como hacían los caminos todos y hay una fortaleza que le dicen la Fortaleza del Norte

§63: **E: Claro, y que le pareció este trabajo, o sea este cambio de nombre que usted dice de Fuerte Viejo a Ruinas que supuso acá para la vida de la comunidad?**

§64: HE: Y claro, eso lo buscaban ya, por cambiarlo más, pero porque aquí hay otras ruinas en Fuerte Quemado que es provincia de Catamarca, al límite de Tucumán y Catamarca ahí hay otra ruinas que se llama Fuerte Quemado mire, y era un fuerte porque era digamos unas ruinas como estas, pero ahí está eso esta así como Fuerte Quemado y este era Fuerte Viejo, parece que ha sido más antiguo este, porque aquí creo que ha sido dos cambios de indígenas

§65: **E: Dos cambios perdón?**

§66: HE: Si

§67: **E: No entendí dos cambios?**

§68: HE: Si, ya más antes había otro

§69: **E: Ah o sea que había otra gente**

§70: HE: Si después de una guerrilla creo que ha tenido, esto con chile y parece según dicen los arqueólogos los chilenos han ganado la batalla por eso le ponieron Quilmes

§71: **E: Ah, no la conocía a esta historia**

§72: HE: Si si si, dicen que ellos eran los indios Quilmes pero un chileno

§73: **E: Ah que venían de chile**

§74: HE: Ellos le han puesto Quilmes porque ganaron la batalla de Quilmes

§75: **E: Ah ah ah ah**

§76: HE: Eso es así, según lo que estaban, que dicen ha sido la historia

§77: **E: Entonces ya con esto de la reconstrucción ya empezó a funcionar como un sitio turístico, desde ese entonces?**

§78: HE: Si ya, ya con guías así, ya han empezado a llegar usted sabe colectivos llenos, pero era una polvareda ahí se encontraban muchas cosas sepultadas así que gente muerta así, restos no?, yo lo que más trabajaba ahí con un hombre ya murió que se llamaba Belisario Gonzales, estábamos trabajando con ese, ese hombre era guía y pero estaba antes de ser guía hemos trabajado juntos en una piecita de los indígenas vamos encontrado una piedra grande más ancho que esta mesa así, la descubren bien y después llamamos a otro para levantar y ahí estaba un indígena apretado con la piedra

§79: **E: Aplastado**

§80: HE: Aplastado,

§81: **E: Ay!**

§82: HE: Pero parece que era muy viejito porque nosotros hemos visto bien, estaba manchas de sangre de lo que lo han apretado, estaba así rojo bajo la piedra y estaban todos los digamos los restos de los bichos que lo han comido, estaban las chalas nomas de los gusanos, que seria

§83: **E: Si**

§84: HE: Todo rojo, como la sangre estaba debajo, entonces nosotros veíamos el cráneo, la parte de la boca que era, parece que ha sido muy viejito porque tenía un solo diente

§85: **E: Ahh, y esto fue lo que más le llamo la atención cuando estaba trabajando allá, como que fue la experiencia más fuerte?**

§86: HE: Si si, y ahí es donde no no, a mí ya no me estaba gustando muy mucho

§87: **E: No le estaba gustando?**

§88: HE: Si no no, yo he trabajado 8 meses y después digo no me voy a trabajar en otro lado (hace gestos con las manos de irse)

§89: **E: Claro, claro y que era lo que no le gustaba era muy duro el trabajo?**

§90: HE: Si era muy duro y no nos pagaban

§91: **E: No les pagaban**

§92: HE: Si nosotros hemos ido a trabajar, a cobrar a los 6 meses

§93: **E: Les pagaban cada 6 meses**

§94: HE: No cada 6 meses agata y creo que no me han terminado de pagar

§95: E: Claro, ellos legaron y les dijeron los vamos a pagar cada 6 meses?

§96: HE: No no dijeron nada, que no viene la plata que no viene la plata y ese es un contrato que hacían

§97: E: **Ya cambio trabajo me estaba diciendo**

§98: HE: Ya, pero más antes de todo eso le estaba contando donde estaba trabajando yo, pero había un muchacho que era amigo el encontró una momia

§99: E: **Ajá**

§100: HE: Debajo de una piedra envuelto en una colcha, tenía el pelo muy largo, pero el pelo estaba amarillo lo estaba debajo de piedra, pero pelo muy largo, estaba así (se señala la cabeza a modo de ejemplo) envuelto así, y envuelto en una manta y eso también lo llevaron y no sé qué se hizo.

§101: E: **Y donde paro todo estas cosas que encontraron?**

§102: HE: No se estaban los arqueólogos, ellos no te dejaban tocar nada y decían que era para llevarse a estudios y que volvería al museo pero como esto está todo en pelea en disgusto, ahora están haciendo de nuevo esto de la reconstrucción del museo, no se después cuando lo irán a poner ahí

§103: E: **Claro**

§104: HE: Cuando se ira a hacer otra vez el movimiento ese de poner las cosas

§105: E: **Claro y que piensa como los últimos años que me estaba contando antes, que se lo dieron en construcción a este Cruz y luego lo tuvo como, durante este tiempo digamos**

§106: HE: Y luego lo agarraron ya con disgusto, ya contrario, ya no le querían dar, que no se mire en eso creo que todavía sigue la pelea, no sé hasta cuando, ya se arreglaran. Ya no voy más a las ruinas, yo hago artesanías, de ahí yo saco mucho digamos copias que me gustaban, dibujos y de ahí empecé. Ya más antes sabía trabajar, mi mama nos sabía enseñar, ella también era alfarera pero ella hacia trabajos rústicos

solamente para poner agua, para cocinar

§107: **E: Claro pero ahora usted aprendió**

§108: HE: Claro se sigue y se siguió

§109: **E: Entonces usted no participo directamente cuando fueron allá a tomar el sitio cuando hubo la decisión de la comunidad india Quilmes para ir a tomar**

§110: HE: Si pero aquí nomás no pero eso lo hicieron en la ruta 40, un corte y de ahí

§111: **E: Pero usted no participo, no sabía que estaban haciendo esto?**

§112: HE: No, si sabía pero (gesto con los hombros, los sube) eso ya lo hacían los que tenían interés de ser cacique, o lo todos, claro la gente que ya tenía interés, que ya se podía hacer negocio, vender todas sus artesanías. Ha entrado mucha gente de afuera a vender artesanías. Yo nunca pude vender ahí mis trabajos, yo vendo en mi casa porque me conocen ya como trabajo

§113: **E: Ajá, y que piensa sobre la, eh, fue más activo cuando hubo el proceso de organización de la comunidad acá?**

§114: HE: Si, porque primero no los dejaban entrar, porque quien tenía contratado eso no nos dejaba, pero el vendía para él y la gente no podían entrar porque él tenía el contrato y tras de eso se ha venido la pelea esa porque la gente ya quería, ya han salido muchos artesanos, entrar a vender ahí y hasta ahora está en eso, están en peleas en cruces, no sé cómo se ira a arreglar, pero el trabajo lo hizo turismo, digamos la nación y hasta ahora están así en disgusto, no sé cómo se arregle. Pero ahora yo sé que está por hacerse, han hecho hacer un trabajo con CIUNT ahí que va a ser una, como un salón muy grande que va a ser para conferencia

§115: **E: Allá en la ciudad**

§116: HE: Si ahí, ahí estaría lindo que venga porque ahí van a hacer filmación todo, van a venir de muchos lados y eso va a ser como un local de conferencias grandísimo. Pero ahí no sé cómo

ira a quedar la gente que está ahora tomada por la gente de acá nomas

§117: **E: Porque ahora el sitio está tomado por la gente de acá nomas**

§118: HE: Si, si de acá nomas

§119: **E: ya no es**

§120: HE: Ya no es, no hay ninguna otra, toda gente que lo tiene es gente de la comunidad, pero están divididos

§121: **E: Dale**

§122: HE: Hay dos caciques y no sé cómo se arregla eso porque

§123: **E: Claro es complicado**

§124: Están divididos (señas con las manos de separación)

§125: **E: Y porque cree que llego esta división?**

§126: HE: Y porque uno nomas quería tener y el otro también quería tener (ríe) y se armo

§127: **E: Así llegaron a tirar y tirar (ríe)**

§128: HE: Interrumpe una persona al entrevistado para avisarle que se va

§129: **E: Y bueno una última pregunta volviendo a lo que me estaba contando antes que yo le pregunte que es patrimonio para usted y usted me contesto esto de territorio. Qué relación tiene esto de la tierra comunitaria, de la propiedad comunitaria, de la tierra con su, con su profesión, con su trabajo de artesano. Tiene alguna relación esto? O sea de alguna manera usted siente que tiene alguna relación el hecho de que, de estar acá?**

§130: HE: Si bueno usted sabe que uno esta aquí porque digamos francamente acá nosotros no pagamos ningún derecho, antes si sabíamos pagar porque estas tierras las tenían los terratenientes

§131: **E: Y hasta que año fue esto?**

§132: HE: Y esto ha sido así hasta esa época que le digo que tomaron las ruinas, entonces vino un señor que se llamaba pedro Santa Ana que dice que también era indígena, nacido acá y después se fue también chico a Tucumán era de Garmendia, de ahí vino y dijo no, era uno de esos tipos indios, un indígena bravo, aquí yo vengo a

hacerlos entender a ustedes porque ustedes no entienden están pagando a los terratenientes porque bueno, yo vengo aquí y le decía a los patrones y que me hacían de un pedacito de terreno, vos me das a medias que yo lo voy a trabajar, y bueno le daban y bueno mira yo te doy dos turnos de agua vos me lo sembras ahí pero a medias, mitas y mitad. Una hectárea, bueno la mitad de la producción para vos y la mitad para mí y estos han venido, no sé de dónde venían las leyes, de otra parte creo que ha empezado en Jujuy, Chaco por ahí, Santiago, creo que el otro es allá en la Patagonia a donde se ha empezado a mover estos juicios y después en Perú y de ahí a empezado a tener contacto este hombre, todo político, pero de derechos humanos como es eso? Indígenas que sabían ya y entonces. No, usted hace un congreso en Amaicha y usted pregunte a...

§133: E: Ah en septiembre? Pero ya no voy a estar lamentablemente...

§134: HE: No pero se hizo un congreso en ese tiempo.

§135: E: Cuando se hizo

§136: HE: En ese tiempo nomas que le digo hace 40 años

§137: E: Ah, qué congreso era? Recuerda?

§138: HE: Eso, indigeno

§139: E: Ah...

§140: HE: Ahí cuando este tipo Santana

§141: E: Santana

§142: HE: En Amaicha, no sé cómo seria, porque esa, ahí se hizo el congreso en esa hostería, pero la han hecho pedazo

§143: E: Cual es la hostería? Sobre la ruta justo?

§144: HE: No, de Sebastián para acá, usted pregúntele a Sebastián a donde queda la hostería, linda, nosotros hemos ido porque ahí había un turco de apellido ONCE, esa hostería estaba a todo trapo, y esa hostería la tenían contratada más antes que Cruz a esa, pero él la entrego. Después entró Cruz y ahí es donde se ha armado. Pero el turco ese la entrego flamante todo, él tenía la hostería venida comida, tenía

§145: E: Y esto era en Amaicha?

§146: HE: Ahí en Quilmes, él la tenía contratada ese turco

§147: **E: antes de Cruz?**

§148: HE: Antes, pero él la entregado flamantita así. Pero después cayó cruz, pero es lindísima. Pero es indígena no? Él ha sido de allá de salta Hachimana se llama el jugar de donde ha sido el tipo este

§149: **E: Aja**

§150: HE: Y ahora vive en Amaicha porque tiene el museo, ese museo de la pachamama, bueno ese

§151: **E: Si si si**

§152: HE: Él lo hacía trabajar como negro el tipo ese

§153: **E: En qué sentido**

§154: HE: Y yo sé cómo el tipo vive ahí, ese tiene aquí vea a mi entrada un hijo, con una chica que era de aquí pero padrijo jajajaja. Y usted sabe que, bueno mi cuñado ha muerto hace poquito que él ha sido guía en las ruinas de Quilmes. Pero están muriendo como 17 personas ahí, hay mucha enfermedad, mucha antimonio

§155: **E: Cuando estaban trabajando?**

§156: HE: Si, si. Se han enfermado mucho. Han muerto chicos de 17 años, de 40, de 20. Viejitos se han liquidado. Trabajábamos mucho y el polvo ese y no teníamos

§157: **E: Una máscara?**

§158: HE: Nada, nada ni guantes ni botines. Íbamos de ojotas a veces. Y entonces quien iba a aguantar eso? Venía la enfermedad y morían ahí nomás. Hasta ahora no hay ni un hospital, nada aquí, si nosotros nos vamos a Cafayate, a Colalao a que va a ir? Usted va con un enfermo a Tucumán. Cuanto le sale ir a usted a Tucumán o a Catamarca?

§159: **E: Mucha plata a Tucumán creo que 270.**

§160: HE: Claro, cuando estábamos trabajando haciendo una represa ni el delegado comunal nos ayudado en nada (baja la voz). Y eso que cuando hay votación nosotros ponemos el voto para que él sea, no no (susurra)

§161: Silencio

§162: **E: Y donde está el delegado comunal?**

§163: HE: Aquí en Colalao del Valle, José Díaz se llama, esos no hacen nada, (susurra) nada, usted mismo vea aquí como tenemos la casa, a otros le hacen che dame el voto te hago una, como se dicen esas casitas que hacen ahí una casita y un baño?

§164: **E: Ya**

§165: HE: No ha sufrido como nosotros hemos sufrido. Yo como dos o tres hemos trabajado ahí y todos los otros murieron.

§166: **E: Cuantos eran los que trabajaron ahí?**

§167: HE: Y eran como 5, 6. Todo (ininteligible por el canto de un gallo)... Yo he ido a trabajar ahí veía como (susurro). Eso recién el lunes va a empezar el trabajo ahí.

§168: **E: Y piensa que si todo esto que me está contando de lo fuerte que estuvo el trabajo cuando estuvieron en las Ruinas**

§169: HE: Pero sabe (susurro) todavía andamos lomeando para poder tener agua, y usted tendría

que ir y ver cómo estamos trabajando, igual que indios.

§170: **E: A qué se refiere?**

§171: HE: Porque, porque tenemos que hacerlo nosotros. Hemos contratado una máquina que ha salido 50 mil pesos para que le excave un poquito.

§172: **E: 50 mil para alquilarlo a esto?**

§173: HE: Si alquilarla, mire y todavía y nosotros tenemos que ir a trabajar gratis para que se haga el muro, que estábamos haciendo, un muro de cemento y piedra para detener el agua para poder hacer riego

§174: **E: Y esta presa la están?**

§175: HE: Están trabajando todavía en esto

§176: **E: Y los caciques**

§177: **E: Que dicen de esto?**

§178: HE: No hacen nada. El otro día ha ido una chica a decir que porque estaos haciendo eso, que estamos pasando por sobre el cacique. Bueno, que hace el cacique? Que ha hecho el cacique con toda la plata que le han

mandado (se levanta a correr las gallinas)

§179: **E: Pero esto siempre fue así?**

§180: HE: Siempre fue así, así fue

§181: **E: No hubo desde que se ha organizado la comunidad digamos, que se reorganizó la comunidad?**

§182: HE: Usted sabe que yo, que las cañerías que han puesto con ingenieros que han tenido contrato con los caciques para que pongan las cañerías para que se haga de riego, todas se reventaron, no sirven para nada, por eso están las cañerías en un desparramo, nunca se hizo nada (susurrando). Para el rincón de Quilmes es un desastre, porque ahí de Amaicha van colectivos para ahí

§183: **E: Ah para la fiesta, que me estaba diciendo**

§184: HE: Si si, usted pregunte ahí sí que colectivo hay que agarrar, de aquí también salen, en la entrada salen, ahí espera y lo llevan.

§185: **E: Bueno, veré si me puedo acercar entonces.**

§186: HE: Si y ahí converse con alguna gente que son criolla, usted pregúntele si vos sos de Quilmes o no sos.

§187: **E: Le invito un cigarrito?**

§188: HE: Meta, no sé dónde lo he puesto. Tengo cosas para sacar del horno. Quiere que le haga ver?

§189: **E: No bueno, No se si quiere cositas más para contarme?**

§190: HE: Bueno ha sido hace mucho, si los padres míos han muerto de 82 años.

§191: **E: 82 años, grandes.**

§192: (prende un cigarrillo)

§193: HE: Yo sabía ser muy vicioso, Yo trabajaba la zafra y sabía pelar la caña, usted ha visto como se pela la caña?

§194: **E: No nunca lo he visto**

§195: HE: Así (hace señas con las manos)

§196: **E: Con un cuchillo**

§197: HE: Si y sabía estar con el cigarro en la boca. El cigarrillo le amortigua el cuerpo.

§198: Silencio

§199: **E: Y usted trabajo allá en la azúcar en Tucumán alguna vez?**

§200: HE: Si, nosotros hemos vivido en eso. En el ingenio San Martin que era de la provincia de Salta, es un ingenio grandísimo y en el ingenio Ledesma. Cargábamos las chatas con caña hasta 8 mil kilos. Cargando al hombro así una brazada de caña y subiendo en una escalera sobre la chata

§201: **E: Pero esto era un trabajo muy duro**

§202: HE: Ese era todo duro. Nosotros hemos trabajado hasta que han venido las mecanizadas

§203: **E: Ah claro**

§204: HE: Y han venido las mecanizadas y volteaban la caña, y hacen un desastre. Después ha venido otra máquina que quemaba la malhoja, la hoja de la caña y después iba volteando (ininteligible) un africano, toda la ropa sucia así, con porquería, medio del agua. Lluve mucho

§205: **E: Allá por Tucumán claro, y entonces luego dejo y claro**

era trabajar allá, le pareció una buena fuente de trabajo digamos, una oportunidad

§206: HE: Si, bien contratado, nos llevaban en camión y volvíamos en 6 meses del norte para acá. Veníamos como cuchi, como dice el santiagueño jajajajaja en camión así. Con las cosas, los bultos que uno llevaba, la ropa, la cama, todo cargado y nosotros encima.

§207: **E: Esto para ir a los ingenios?**

§208: HE: Si, eso para ir a los ingenios

§209: **E: Y luego se acabó cuando vinieron las maquinas**

§210: HE: Si, las mecanizadas y quedamos sin trabajo miles de gente, venia el contratista de Bolivia, se llamaba Oviedo, traía miles de bolivianos para trabajar en el ingenio San Martin que le dicen el Tabacal y pal Ledesma. Había esas máquinas que tiraban 80 zorras a donde cargaban la chata. Cada chata llevaba 8 mil kilos de caña, así enganchada así, no sé si usted habrá visto

§211: **E: No, nunca lo he visto**

§212: HE: Muy pesado, muy feo.

§213: **E: Pero ahora ya que se reglamentó esto de la propiedad comunitaria ya tiene más oportunidades en este sentido?**

§214: HE: Mire hasta ahora aquí hay un montón de chicos de 16, 18 años que no tienen trabajo, estudian pero no tienen como salir, viven en esos montes un montón, para arriba, crían cabritas, ovejas, chanchos, gallinas así como yo.

§215: **E: Claro**

§216: HE: Pero tenemos para vivir

§217: **E: Pero igual ahora con esto de la**

§218: HE: Ahora los pobres se vienen peor porque es todo caro. Aquí peor porque todo es transportado para acá. Aquí no hay ninguna industria nada que se haga para

§219: **E: Y con lo que ustedes cultivan acá no le daba?**

§220: HE: No, eso es para acá nomas, para la hacienda, para nosotros. Aquí siempre hay cosecha tomate papa, porque todo entra después, viene de Mendoza, Balcarce, viene de Buenos Aires, Jujuy, viene verdura, ha visto que en estos tiempos en Jujuy están

cosechando el tomate. Estos llevan para allá. Yo sabía trabajar en Ledesma, allá cosechan sandía, tomate, zapallo porque hace mucha calor, 48° de calor. Y nosotros teníamos que andar así como linyeras, obreros golondrinas. De Tucumán va mucha gente a Mendoza a cosechar durazno, pera, manzana. Yo he trabajado muchos años en Mendoza, en Tupungato, capo los andes, hay mucho campos para trabajar, mucha gente de afuera.

§221: **E: Y antes recuera que las cosechas eran mejores por acá? Viste a lo largo de su vida que se dan menos cosechas por acá por el tema que está más seco?**

§222: HE: Si acá es muy seco, si llueve dos veces al año, son lugares muy secos.

§223: **E: Pero esto antes era así o era más verde digamos?**

§224: HE: No, antes yo me acuerdo que mi padre me sabía decir que aquí no había un árbol. Mire ahora estamos llenos ya. Y los destrozaron, los sacan para madero, para hacer puertas....
Susurro

§225: **E: Entonces volviendo a esto de la ciudad sagrada, esto podría ser una fuente de trabajo para los jóvenes digamos?**

§226: HE: Si, y claro porque

§227: **E: Como lo ve?**

§228: HE: Destrozan el monte, cortan la leña para vender y hay mucha familia que tienen muchos hijos y no alcanza. Ahora hay muchas chicas jóvenes que se llenan de hijos, tienen 4, 5, 6 para eso está bueno la producción.

§229: *Ríen ambos*

§230: **E: Y bueno me gustaría una última preguntita sobre su trabajo. Me decía que usted trabaja como los abuelos. En qué sentido?**

§231: HE: Y no, yo me quede porque ya a lo último me he ido a Mendoza a trabajar en los frutos ya me iba a quedar ahí, vengo y encuentro los viejos ahí todo un desastre. (susurro) no lo podemos arreglar todavía, esta es la casa paterna, de los viejos

§232: **E: Aquí dónde estamos?**

§233: HE: Si no lo podemos arreglar si el gobierno no le ayuda

en nada, algunos no, los políticos usted sabe cómo lo ayudan no? Que lo han visto que lo han ayudado y si no han ayudado jodanse. Los tienen marcado a todos los conoce el delegado, el intendente, no hacen nada. El gobierno aquí nunca viene. No te digo que nosotros estamos haciendo eso todo a pulmón nomas, meta carretear, paleando, un desastre, nunca se hace anda porque el gobierno no quiere agarrar porque estas son tierras indígenas

§234: **E: Entonces no se interesa de esto?**

§235: HE: No, eso los caciques son (susurro)

§236: **E: Entonces usted no está de acuerdo con que se haya reivindicado este territorio como indígena?**

§237: HE: No, no estoy no estoy conforme porque ellos nomas se la agarran no ayudan en nada, que hacen la guita? Será para ellos.

§238: **E: Y a nivel se hacen asambleas comunitarias donde se pueden discutir estas cosas?**

§239: HE: Si si lo hacen e invitan algunos nomas. Van los comodines nomas. Acomodado a donde tiene que ganar, que no es así?

§240: **E: Claro, y bueno entonces como es que empezó a trabajar con las artesanías?**

§241: HE: Y bueno yo cuando me retire de las Ruinas, ya trabajaba con esto y he trabajado mucho, he hecho estudiar al hijo mío. Ahora hasta becas les dan a los chicos

§242: **E: Para trabajar con eso**

§243: HE: Eso mandan de la nación, del gobierno ya ha dado becas este año para que estudien. Pero los chicos rudos no saben nada, alguno les gusta otros no les gusta y votan el estudio y se quedan ahí.

§244: HE: Y de aquí se han ido muchísimos chicos a Buenos Aires, al Sur, después vienen viejos. Se han ido jóvenes de 18, 20, 30 más no porque ya no lo ocupan en otro lado por la edad. Han venido y se han ido muchos chicos porque han visto que estaban mal aquí, mal vestidos, ya no. Ya vienen con coche.

§245: **E: Claro**

§246: HE: Ya viven más civilizados. Pero hay chicos que están aquí, nunca han salido, tienen chicos y ya no pueden moverse para otro lado. Eso si muere mucha gente aquí, por falta de médicos, atención en los hospitales, aquí uno que se enferma no hay guita para llevarlo a Tucumán o a Catamarca o a Salta y hay van y mueren.

§247: HE: A buenos aires se ha ido mucha gente. Aquí estamos quedando uno en cada casa porque toda la familia se va.

§248: **E: Y esto pasa en todas las comunidades del valle?**

§249: HE: Si, en toda la comunidad porque, porque el gobierno no le está gustando esta comunidad indígena.

§250: **E: Porque no se saben organizar?**

§251: HE: Ajá, y bueno los organizadores ya están vendidos,

§252: **E: Claro, pero no tiene confianza que esto pueda mejorar?**

§253: HE: Y bueno, esto ha empezado cuando vivía mi padre y las aguas de riego, no aquí nunca se han arreglado los túneles de agua, nada. Uno nomas tienen, otros no tienen nada. Uhhh usted tendría que venir más con antes a hacer un buen reportaje pero usted sabe, bailan con unas sola pata como dicen, porque sacan mucha información de lo que se hace aquí

§254: **E: Bueno, y, bueno creo q está bien**

§255: HE: Le ha gustado?

§256: **E: Muchísimo jajaja. Espero que haya disfrutado también en compartir, le agradezco por compartir.**

§257: **E: Que era esto del susto esto que me estaba diciendo que se puede contar?**

§258: HE: Usted está yendo por ahí a la oración y sale algo, una cosa medio rara y usted se asusta y queda mal y nada dos, tres días (susurro) entonces va a una médica y ella le dice: usted está asustado. Dice que se le achica un ojo, queda un ojo chico, está asustado (susurro).

§259: HE: Yo curo así contando, tocando la rodilla ahí, ahí se cura. Y si usted es nervioso, tiene mala onda así, se cura con el huevo pasando en cruz así, pasando por todo el cuerpo. Y después ese huevo usted va y lo tira en el campo y ya está curado

§260: **E: Y ya está curado**

§261: *Jajajajaja ríen juntos*

§262: **E: Y esto se lo enseñó su madre también?**

§263: Si, ella me enseñó, ella murió hace 30 años más o menos. Y yo me he tenido que quedar porque yo he enviudado de 35 años y quedado con dos chicos. Este que tenía 15 años y el otrito tenía 2 meses

§264: **E: Ah muy chico...**

§265: Ese lo regale porque yo no lo podía tenerlo. Pero igual viene para acá y a él yo lo hice estudiar todo trabajando en la artesanía

§266: **E: Claro**

§267: *Ríen ambos*

§268: **E: Que buena historia**

§269: Si yo la pase medio dura, porque enviude. Yo he estado dos meses con la señora enferma en el

hospital, hasta que ha muerto, es jodido. (Silencio) pero, vivimos, pero estoy bien, no tengo problemas.

Name: Calcha17-7

Place and Date: Quilmes Centro,
August 2017

Transcription by Agustina Ponce
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§3: F: dale. Bueno, entonces si está listo, sí podemos empezar ya

§5: E: sí... sí, sí.

§7: F: eh... sí, como le decía, me gustaría saber un poco como, qué opina usted sobre las dinámicas que se han dado acá en Quilmes con el tema del... del patrimonio cultural y... y la relación que han tenido eh... con los... con los arqueólogos que se han encontrado trabajando acá, o sea, como un recorrido histórico de lo que usted pueda tener memoria de estas relaciones...

§9: E: eh... bueno... lo que hoy nosotros llamamos "Ciudad Sagrada", conocido turísticamente como "Ruinas de Quilmes", pero bueno, nosotros le damos eh... lo de 'sagrado' es más que nada por los acontecimientos por todos los hechos que ocurrieron en el lugar, ¿no? el desarraigo que... que sufrió el pueblo.

§10: Eh... después con respecto a la... por ahí este, hay ciertas diferencias o cuestionamientos, podemos decir, a la Universidad de Buenos Aires cuando hacen la reconstrucción del sitio en 1977-78 ¿no? Acá en la Argentina, provincia de Tucumán, gobierno militar, bueno, en realidad en toda

la Argentina y en Tucumán ehm... este... uno muy en particular que fue el de Bussi, que es el que ehm... expropió alrededor de 206 hectáreas y este... decide de esas 206 hectáreas un 10, un 12% eh... reconstruirlas, restaurarlas ¿no? pero la reconstrucción, la restauración no es siguiendo un... no es este... un lineamiento, digamos, arqueológico, antropológico, nada. Se hizo, se contrató gente del lugar, si bien estaba la Universidad de Buenos Aires, un equipo técnico si no me equivoco de cinco personas, pero contrataron gente del lugar y que con picos, palas, levantaron paredes ¿no?

§11: Lo que le interesaba era mostrarlo turísticamente porque bueno, acá en la Argentina se realizaba el mundial '78, entonces la idea era eso ¿no? este... hacerlo ehm... tenían que mostrar algo al mundo y se inclinaron por lo arqueológico. Pero bueno, de arqueológico no hubo nada porque hoy uno incluso puede excavar el interior de esas construcciones y algún material arqueológico va a encontrar, algún resto arqueológico encuentra ¿no?

§12: Entonces este... fue todo muy, muy apresurado, muy rápido, entonces este... no se le dio la importancia que, que se le da a... a los sitios arqueológicos como este ¿no? sobre todo Quilmes que es uno de los mayores asentamientos este... eh... prehispanicos, preinca incluso ¿no?

§13: Pero bueno, no se le dio la importancia que se merecía.

§15: F: ¿y antes que esta reconstrucción tiene alguna memoria de cómo... de qué relación tenían ustedes acá con el sitio?

§17: E: eh... sí, acá ehm... a ver, haciendo algo cronológico, podemos decir que el que se interesa o lo da a conocer a... eh... de manera oficial, podemos decir, es Juan Bautista Ambrosetti, un arqueólogo que anduvo en todo el noroeste ¿no? ahí siempre va a estar presente el nombre de Ambrosetti. Eh... a partir de esa... de esa llegada de Ambrosetti, es como que comenzaron, previo a Ambrosetti anduvieron algunos otros, pero bueno, no le dieron por ahí la importancia que le da este arqueólogo. Pero después de eh... pero la llegada de Ambrosetti hizo de que muchas personas más vinieran al lugar pero con, no con el objeto de estudiar, de investigar, sino de saquear ¿no? Entonces se, se dio un saqueo impresionante desde 1897 hasta terminada la reconstrucción misma ¿no? o sea, este... casi cien años de...

§19: F: o sea que después, después de esta primera investigaciones no hubo por parte del Estado, por parte de la provincia ningún interés en, en conservar, en cuidar...

§21: E: no, no, no, no, para nada. Incluso podemos decir que la gente misma de la comunidad fue

participe de esa destrucción, digamos ¿no?

§23: F: ¿en qué sentido esto?

§25: E: porque por ejemplo, cuentan eh... mis abuelas... mi abuela contaba que a veces les pagaban a personas de acá gente que venía de afuera le pagaban un jornal para que vayan y encuentren las ...eh... las tumbas... este... o sea lo que más se saqueó fueron, fue el cementerio. Entonces sacaban, encontraban una tumba, a los bebés, a los niños cuando morían, estas culturas eh... hoy conocidas como Santa María, que son las que se desarrollan del 850 d.C. en adelante, tenían este... por costumbre enterrar a sus este... muertos en posición fetal. Pero a los bebés, a los niños en vasijas, en urnas ¿no? Entonces eran muy llamativas porque estaban pintadas, decoradas, entonces este, buscaban eso ehm... y el ajuar funerario, obviamente, ¿no?. Entonces comentan, dicen que a los que contrataban acá, les pagaban un jornal y ellos encontraban, sacaban esas urnas, les daban a esas personas y esa persona esparcía todo lo que había en el interior -huesos, este... sí, todo eso...- no le servía, no le importaba, quedaba esparcido por todo el campo y se llevaban la urna y algún, algún otro objeto que a ellos eh... les parecía que les iba a servir, digamos ¿no?

§26: Entonces este, por ahí *ha habido* la gente del lugar, teniendo

consciencia o sin consciencia de alguna manera también fue parte de la destrucción de nuestro patrimonio ¿no?

§28: F: ahá...

§30: E: eso este... por suerte en este último tiempo no, no ocurre.

§32: F: hm.. y, y justamente llegando a este último tiempo que, que bueno yo he leído un poco de los ah... acontecimientos que se han seguido ¿no? y toda la historia del empresario, del abuso, de la privati- privatización durante los años '90 y hasta llegar a la, a la decisión de la comunidad de hacerse cargo del...

§34: E: del lugar...

§36: F: del lugar y entonces hm... ¿participó de estas decisiones de alguna manera, de... qué opina sobre este desarrollo, o sea, cómo fue que la propia comunidad se empezó a concientizarse de la importancia de, de cuidar este patrimonio?

§38: E: sí, eh... a ver, creo que... por familia uno está siempre inserto en la comunidad, o sea, a veces quizás hasta en la organización, como decir ¿no? eh... mi padre en su momento, luego yo participé como delegado de base, la comunidad se formó digamos podemos decir en el '75, en la década del '70,

§40: F: se formó la organización comunitaria...

§42: E: mediados del '70 comienza a tomar forma, digamos ¿no? eh,

más que nada por la recuperación territorial, o sea, el abuso de los este, famosos terratenientes, digamos ¿no?. Salvando las distancias, se vivió algo parecido a la época feudal en la Edad Media, entonces si yo pastaba mi ganado acá y era tuyo, entonces yo tenía que pagar un derecho de pastaje y de-

§43: Entonces en base a eso eh, primero de forma aislada, cada uno por su parte, fueron un poco ehm... digamos, no estando de acuerdo con esas personas, con esos terratenientes y después vieron que era posible poder organizarse ¿no? Entonces a mediados del '70 eh... según lo que yo he podido investigar, averiguar, digamos, es cuando la comunidad comienza a formarse ¿no? a conformarse.

§45: F: ¿lo pudo averiguar por lo que le estuvo contando su padre, en este sentido?

§47: E: sí, porque sí me interesó mucho esto, entonces eh...estuve estudiando historia, entonces era como mi trabajo, mi tesis fue de hecho la comunidad, cómo, cómo logra... había una persona que apareció en su momento, un personaje podíamos decir, que llega como idea que no era de la comunidad y que de alguna manera también contribuye para que se, se *organicen*.

§49: F: Esto era en la década del '70...

§51: E: en la década del '70, ¿no?.

§53: F: ¿y puedo pedir quién era esta persona?

§55: E: sí, es Pedro... Pablo Santana, era eh... él tenía por ahí un poco medio sus teorías eran medio ¿cómo puedo decirlo? Nada, medio que alucinaba a veces. Pero bueno eh... siempre fue... a el se lo asoció con los montoneros, con, con, la época militar digamos. De hecho estuvo detenido, fue torturado ¿no? He vivido en su... cuando fui a... a preguntarle también si podía hacer un... le gustó mucho que... que pudiera alguien preguntarle, hablar con él, entonces me invitó a su casa y estuve viviendo, digamos, un tiempo ahí en Tucumán, en San Miguel. Este... entonces este, un poco que me contó mucho pero bueno, eh... después venir acá, corroborar, de preguntarle a los ab... más que nada a las personas grandes, a los abuelos ¿no? y eso es más o menos se corresponde lo que...

§57: F: lo que te había contado...

§59: E: sí, sí, sí. Entonces como que es en ese tiempo cuando comienza la comunidad. Y después ya cuando de alguna manera de, de... fue la década de los '90, de manera formal ya cuando se obtiene la personalidad jurídica. Después en el 2013 pasó a una personalidad jurídica nacional, o sea ehm...

§61: F: porque era un reconocimiento provincial antes....

§63: E: sí, sí, sí. Eh... hoy a nivel nacional está el Instituto Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas...

§65: F: ... de asuntos indígenas...

§66:

§67: E: *INAI*, entonces se trabaja quizás en la gestión anterior tuvo más ehm... a ver, no es que esté a favor ni en contra del gobierno anterior ni el actual, digamos, pero como que las comunidades aborígenes tuvimos mucho más este... entendimiento, podríamos decir, como que fuimos más escuchadas en la gestión anterior ¿no? como que, que logramos eh, por ahí este... recuperar más derechos y eso ¿no? eh... a diferencia... hoy no es que está lo contrario, pero es como que no.... es indiferente, digamos, como que en un limbo, digamos. Entonces es eso, ehm... pero nada.

§69: F: y... y en este reconocimiento ¿no? que estaba hablando ¿qué...qué importancia tiene la reivindicación del patrimonio cultural para... para la comunidad? Bueno... para usted como parte, digamos, de esta comunidad en primer lugar...

§71: E: y mucho ¿no? pero muchísimo porque es reco- que te reconozcan tus orígenes, tus raíces ¿no? tu... tu historia en sí. Digamos, ehm... por ahí nosotros siempre decimos eh... se cuentan historias de afuera, o una histo- la historia oficial y... y es como que nuestra historia o lo que verdaderamente pasó o nuestros

líderes que tuvimos ¿no? o... están como ignorados ¿no?

§72: Acá hubo en ese, en esa resistencia con los españoles no fueron... o sea... quienes resistieron fueron personas, fueron *hombres*, digamos, caciques ¿no? entonces este, y la historia oficial no lo reconoce. O sea, es los indios, los españoles eh... qué se yo... Mercado y Villacorta o algún otro español contra los indios Quilmes o los indios Diaguita, o Calchaquí, como se quiera llamar, pero nunca aparece ese, ese líder o ya sea hombre, mujer que estuvieron al frente de estos pueblos ¿no? entonces es como que hoy un poco también eso ¿no? hemos podido lograr, si bien no hemos recuperado todavía nuestros territorios, eh, no hemos logrado la recuperación total de nuestros territorios pero sí de nuestra, por ahí esto ¿no? de poder que venga alguien de afuera y decir, o ahí en la mismo- eh... recuperar la Ciudad Sagrada y contarle cómo fue este... esos enfrentamientos, esas luchas, de cómo vivían nuestros antepasados, de cómo era su organización y todo eso, ¿no?

§74: F: entonces se podría decir un poco que hacerse cargo de la- de este lugar histórico es una forma, una posibilidad para contar una historia desde su punto de vista, si entendí bien.

§76: E: sí, seguro.

§78: F: sí, bueno, sí

§80: E: sí, cosa que no pasaba con- antes cuando estaba el estado, mucho menos cuando estaba la empresa ¿no? o sea, la empresa lo que hizo es hacer negocios, nada más que eso, ósea, sin importar.... Hacer negocios con nuestra historia, con nuestra cultura, eh, con eso, o sea... y después lo peor de eso es no dejar participar a la, a la comunidad ¿no? entonces, eso generó bronca, enojo de la comunidad, y hizo que eso eh, se lo tomara de alguna manera por la fuerza, ¿no? y después el estado mismo termina reconociendo.... Y hoy es la comunidad misma quien administra el sitio arqueológico ¿no?

§82: F: dale, ¿y me puede contar un poquito sorbe cómo se dio esta toma por la fuerza de la ciudad?

§84: E: sí. Primero que fue hablado entre... entre pocos. Yo fui parte, digamos. Era delegado de Quilmes. La Comunidad India de Quilmes está integrada por 14 bases, se llaman, que son pueblitos localidades, entonces yo representaba mi base que es esta, este sector "Quilmes Centro". A Quilmes se lo dividió, digamos, en tres partes, tres regiones. Eh... y entonces fue en su momento el cacique

§86: F: ¿quién, quién era el...

§88: E: Pancho, Francisco Chayle

§90: F: Francisco Chayle

§92: E: sí, quien este... decide, bueno, es quien propone o...eh...

de recuperar esto. Entonces se sumó el abogado, que es Nieva, de Amaicha, este... y se fueron sumando algunos abogados de... hay una organización de abogados que es ANDES

§94: F: ANDES, sí...

§96: E: este... y fue tomando forma ¿no?, pero siempre un grupo chico

§98: F: restringido

§100: E: restringido

§102: F: ¿y esto fue cuando le venció la concesión a...

§104: E: no, mucho tiempo después

§106: F: después...

§108: E: o sea, no sabíamos... a ver.... Lo que...

§110: F: o sea, ¿ustedes sabían que se había vencido la concesión, en este sentido?... al vencerse esta concesión...

§112: E: eh... s- uno se pensaba... porque tomó en 1992 y hasta 2002, eh, pero en ese contrato había un... para prolongar 10 años más. Entonces particularmente yo pensaba... porque de alguando yo estudiaba trabajé en la empresa y después me fui me fui cuando no estaba de acuerdo, digamos, como el proceder, la forma ¿no?, o sea no le interesaba que venga, qué se yo, 300 personas y que el guía de una buena explicación, información, sino que esas 300 personas vayan a la confitería, algunos se queden en el hotel, vayan al, al mercado

artesanal... o sea, eso es lo que interesaba. Ehm... entonces, este, pensábamos... algunos como yo, pensábamos que se había prolongado el, el contrato. Y otros decían "bueno, no... está... está sin contrato" lo cierto es que lo m-hasta ahora es incierto, pero lo mas probable es que haya estado cinco años sin contrato alguno ¿no? o sea, estar por estar, digamos. Pero bueno, porque había una buena relación política, podemos decir con el gobierno.

§114: F: con el gobierno provincial *en ese entonces*

§116: E: con el gobierno provincial, sí. Pero bueno, eh, seguramente hubo algún desencuentro que hizo de que se, un poco, se pelearan en 2007 y eso nos vino bien a nosotros porque aprovechamos de alguna manera esa oportunidad para bloquear el acceso y después evitar que la empresa siga estando ¿no? Y ahí, mediante un decreto administrativo, así lo, lo tituló el gobernador de ese momento, Alperovich, desalojan a la empresa ¿no? Eso es en diciembre del 2007. Y en enero del 2008 eh... la comunidad se hace cargo del sitio: toma el lugar. porque el estado había denunciado, el gobierno provincial, denunció a la comunidad también por usurpación ¿no? o sea que después eso se dirimió. Se determinó que a la comunidad le corresponde, por lo tanto podía estar en, hacerse cargo de la administración del sitio, no así de

las instalaciones que están ahí porque eso está en un juicio: la empresa le inicia un juicio por un derecho de autor, un derecho intelectual al estado ¿no? un juicio que, que todavía está al día de hoy.

(Se interrumpe la grabación y luego continúa)

§120: E: entonces eso este, a partir de ahí, la comunidad estuvo. Se acercaron, se acercó el Instituto de Arqueología de acá de la U.N.T., ehm... algunas otras instituciones, incluso Dirección de Arquitectura y Urbanismo, que es conocida acá como DAU por las construcciones que se hicieron sobre el sitio, para ver cómo este.. y obviamente el Ente Autártico Tucumán Turismo que es el organismo del estado que de alguna manera controla el...

§122: F: El lugar...

§124: E: hoy la discusión está centrada en que, bueno, más allá de que lo administra, eso de cómo eh, la comunidad recuperarlo ¿no? de que eso definitivamente el estado reconozca como que la Ciudad Sagrada es de la comunidad.

§125:

§126: F: de la comunidad

§128: E: y eso seguramente es un trabajo de abogados, digamos ¿no? de poder lograr eso, de trabajar mejor dicho para lograr eso.

§130: F: y... y yendo un poquito más atrás, usted decía que hubo un momento en que se, se instauró como una mesa de diálogo con la, con la Universidad de Tucumán, el Instituto de Arqueología, el Ente de Turismo, digamos, y acá la comunidad. Y bueno, a mí me interesa sobre todo, como decía antes, esta relación que se estableció con la, en este caso era una relación para, para un manejo, podríamos llamarlo... cómo hacer para manejar esta, este patrimonio a nivel comunitario. Ehm.... ¿Participó de esta reunión en aquel entonces, o si sabe, si... si trajo algún beneficio, digamos esta, este acercamiento de la Universidad a la ... a la...

§132: E: a la comunidad...

§134: F: a las reivindicaciones, digamos, que se estaban dando en la comunidad...

§136: E: sí, claro que sí, sí. Bueno ahí conocimos a Alejandra ¿no? Korstanje, este... y después se fue como... yo lo tomo como que hubo mucho interés del Instituto. En un principio es como que, creo que, eh... mucho interés, siempre estuvieron, y después como que se fue diluyendo ¿no?... cada vez menos, menos, eh... hasta que luego dejaron de venir.

§138: F: ¿y por qué paso esto de...?

§140: E: yo supongo... a ver... por ahí pensaba, quizás haya sido el presupuesto, o porque el sitio, lo

que consideramos -y eso lo dicen muchos arqueólogos- la parte que se reconstruyó está demasiado contaminada pero sí ahí tenemos una parte, el resto, digamos... salvo la que destruyó Cruz, que ahí es imposible, es irrecuperable, considero, porque sepultó construcciones con el hotel, con la confitería, pero ahí el resto se puede estudiar, se puede investigar, digamos ¿no?

§141: Hay gente acá en la comunidad que conoce todavía, que sabe de algunas tumbas que se encontraron. Las preservan, no se las cuentan a nadie. O si yo no sé o si yo no las conozco, entonces trato de no preguntarles para por ahí que solo sean ellos, unas tres o cuatro personas. Entonces idóneo en el tema las pueda investigar, estudiar ¿no? porque consideramos que se destruyó, se saqueó muchísimo y se estudio muy muy poco. Y después también -eso creo que fue un convenio con el Instituto- eh... vino gente de la UNCA, de la Universidad de Catamarca

§143: F: de Catamarca también, ¡ah!

§145: E: también estuvieron trabajando. Hicieron un relevamiento sobre todo en la parte de viviendas, de casas. Se hicieron un eh, creo que, hm... no tengo conocimientos si lo llegaron a terminar o no. Tuve... o sea, yo no estaba viviendo acá. Justo vine, participé, me invitaron la gente de acá, digamos los que estaban en

ese momento. Y yo estuve, los dos días que estuve o que me quedaba, estuve con esa gente, pero después no sé si, si lo terminaron o qué, cuál, qué pasó, o sea...

§147: F: ¿y eso ma- cuántos años, hace cuántos años...

§149: E: y hace unos cinco años atrás, mas o menos, cinco o seis años, por ahí... eh... y lo estábamos buscando, porque justo vino una chica también amiga de Seba y un poco nos acordábamos de eso ¿no? y los estábamos buscando, rastreando, pero hasta ahora no, no, no hemos dado con si es que se terminó un informe o algo de eso

§150: F: claro

§152: E: eh... pero bueno, eh... habría que seguir buscando

§154: F: habría que seguir buscando. También porque bueno, si había un con- ¿quién fue la, la Universidad de Catamarca quien propuso esto? O sea ¿se acercó para...

§156: E: sí. Tengo entendido que sí, que fue un... como una cooperación

§158: F: un convenio

§160: E: claro

§162: F: claro

§164: E: sí sí sí

§166: F: pero como no hay, bueno, como no hay resultado visible, no se sabe si...

§168: E: claro, no se sa-

§170: F: sí...

§172: E: claro, sí, sí, sí...

§174: F: ... si se ha llevado a cabo... se ha terminado, y esto...

§176: E: sí. Lo que nosotros proponíamos en su momento, cuando ya estamos hablando de hace un buen tiempo atrás, es hacer un mapeo eh... primero un relevamiento del, de la parte que se visita, hacer un mapeo y poder armar circuitos para que no se lo destruya más de lo que está destruido, digamos, ¿no? Que la gente vaya por un solo lugar, que no vaya por todos los lugares esos, ehm... yo no... o sea, en su momento era como que era solamente un... parte, digamos, pero no estaba arriba en la organiza- o sea, el cacique y alguien más, digamos, no, no,

§177: este... no se lo pregunté entonces no sé cuál.... Qué pasó con eso, digamos, ¿no? porque eso fue la, era una idea de hacer eso ¿no? de armar los circuitos, de ver que la gente no destruya. Nosotros ahora hemos pasado la temporada y un día vinieron más de 1000 personas, y es una locura en el lugar, la capacidad de carga y todo eso... entonces es ver la forma de poder controlar, entonces, fijar una cantidad de personas como máximo por día, de armar los circuitos, todo eso...

§179: F: hm.

§181: E: cuando vayan a la montaña que vayan por los caminos que están marcados que son originales, digamos. Que no tomen atajos y todo eso, ¿no? o sea... y por ahí de esa ma-... por ahí decimos, o sea, les damos las indicaciones, todo eso, y les decimos "bueno, son... ustedes también al hacer esto, esto, eh... al comportarse de alguna manera están colaborando con la conservación, con la preservación del lugar". Muchos los entienden, pero hay algunos que nada, se van lo mismo. O hay niños, contingentes, que a veces de los colegios y eso, entonces pasa eso

§183: F: claro, que es más difícil de controlar en este sentido ¿no?, claro...

§185: E: sí, sí, sí.

§187: F: dale. Y bueno, la última preguntita, creo que ya lo dejo. Si me pudiera contar cómo.... Qué está pasando un poquito ahora, con lo de la... con lo de la gestión de la Ciudad Sagrada... porque por lo que estuve leyendo, la... hacerse cargo de eso también trajo bastantes problemas internos a la propia comunidad

§189: E: sí, sí... venimos de un problema y ojalá, ahí creo que, soy un convencido de que vamos a, vamos a poder volver a unificar a la comunidad, vamos a salir ¿no? porque eh... hubo en 2008 y si no me equivoco fue 2014... sí, creo que este 2014, ehm... en ese tiempo se llamaron a elecciones a cacique, se cumplió-... cuando yo

es... porque yo un tiempo después me fui, digamos...

§191: F: cuando era delegado...

§193: E: después me fui

§194:

§195: F: ah cuando, cuando.... Dale.

§196:

§197: E: y en un anterior sí se llamó... trabaj- de hecho, ahí sí trabajé mucho más de cerca, eh... siendo como parte de la junta electoral para que se decidió en ese momento hacer una elección muy parecida a la que hacemos hoy en día, con un voto secreto... en, en...

§199: F: hm..

§201: E: bueno, entonces se hizo, se, volvió a ganar Francisco Chayle en su momento. Después de eso me voy y ahí este, hay acusaciones encontradas, digamos, de que no se llamó a tiempo, de que estaba *cercó* la comunidad, todo eso. Bueno yo de alguna manera seguí manteniendo una buena relación con Chayle ...

§202: Ehm... después de pasado un tiempo, el pueblo de Quilmes, o sea, no las 14 bases sino el pueblo, llaman para -eso fue en 2014 si no me equivoco- deciden tomar el lugar, o sea, no la Ciudad Sagrada, sino la administración, como intervenir la administración porque no se rendía durante todo... desde el 2008 nunca se rindió... o sea, los fondos, lo que ingresó y

todo eso ¿no? entonces había un cierto malestar en la gente del pueblo de Quilmes, eh... entonces decían bueno... primero la institución lleva el nombre del pueblo, la Ciudad Sagrada está dentro del pueblo, cada comunidad, cada localidad tienen su sitio arqueológico, eh, o sea, por ejemplo, en Colalao vivían los Culalao, en el Pichao vivían los Pichao o Pichajau, o sea, uno recorre y están los sitios arqueológicos ¿no? entonces vino por ahí un poco el reclamo "no tenemos ningún representante de Quilmes en la comunidad, todos son eh... de las otras localidades...

§204: F: de las comunidades del valle

§206: E: eh ...encima el encargado de la Ciudad Sagrada no es ni siquiera de la comunidad, es de Santa María", entonces eso generó, digamos, un cierto enojo ¿no? y deciden -no me acuerdo qué día fue, un 6 de noviembre si no me equivoco- eh, tomar el... la administración. O sea, la idea, el objetivo es tomar la administración. Me lo proponen, no... yo particularmente no lo acepto en un primer momento, porque estaba como muy recién llegado, digamos, y de paso entonces digo no- bueno... no sé qué va a pasar, no, no estoy. Entonces lo que tratamos de hacer es lograr un acercamiento en su momento con el... este... Francisco Chayle,

§208: F: con Chayle...

§210: E: eh, nos dijo que sí. Después terminó eh... la idea era poder empezar a llevar gente de a... qué se yo, fui yo so-... yo con otro chico, entonces él estaba solo. Entonces dice "la próxima reunión yo tengo dos, ustedes traigan dos, empezamos a conversar". Fueron progresando las reuniones, pero después dice "lo que pasa es que mi gente dice que no... no hay nada que conversar" y eso ¿no? y después termina denunciando públicamente, digamos, en los medios, incluso a mí, mencionándome a mí y al otro muchacho.

§211: Eh... nada, después este, de alguna manera me fue convenciendo este proyecto, digamos, de la gente de Quilmes y entonces decido acercarme, tratar de mediar, de ver la forma y hoy creo que estoy un poco en eso, ¿no? de.... Hm... la gente del, del pueblo de Quilmes, de alguna manera o la gran mayoría porque tampoco es todo, pero sí hay apoyo también de algunas familias, de personas de otras bases, consideran que dentro de todo se está haciendo, o por lo menos se está colaborando con las instituciones, con la gente, con la familia de la, de las...de las diferentes bases, pero este, principalmente, digamos, con las instituciones del pueblo de Quilmes ¿no?

§212: Entonces este... pero bueno, la idea es no sé... en un

momento que la Comunidad India de Quilmes vuelva a ser lo que, lo que fue, ¿no?

§214: F: claro...

§216: E: o sea, Amaicha tuvo el mismo problema, en un momento tuvieron dos caciques, lo solucionaron; hoy nosotros también en un momento tuvimos dos caciques, entonces, ¿si Amaicha solucionó, por qué no nosotros solucionarlo? Sí eso es un poco lo que... por ahí quizás mi anhelo, ¿no? eh... más allá de que puede decirse estoy de uno de los lados, pero bueno, la idea es eso ¿no? volver eh... si, si, si es necesario que yo no esté más, o que algunas personas que estuvieron antes del otro lado también no lo estén, que, que, esté gente nueva... pero me parece bien, no, no es que yo quiera estar o perma-... o, o, o ser un dirigente de la comunidad, ni nada de eso ¿no?, sino que la idea es que, bueno, poder este..., vuelva solucionar, digamos, el problema que hay de fondo y que la comunidad vuelva de nuevo ¿no?

§217: o sea... por ahí tenemos empresas y eso que...somos los buitres a veces, porque están viendo que estas...

§219: F: claro, que están, este...

§221: E: desunido... que, sí, tratan de venir...

§222: Seguro viajaste a Cafayate....

§226: E: si llegás a ir, eh... por la ruta 40 de pronto te vas a encontrar con.... Vas a... bueno, esto, de pronto viñedos. Es porque ya estás en la provincia de Salta, digamos. Y eso las empresas absorbían todos esos campos y eso. Y acá tratamos de eso, de tratar de, de preservar. No es que estemos en contra de los viñedos, estamos en contra del monocultivo, o sea que no sea solamente vid. Capaz que eh.... Alguien en mi familia pasta ganado, cabritos, o algún otro hace maíz, cultiva maíz, entonces seguir produciendo eso, seguir teniendo esa también esa... eh... esa economía de subsistencia, de autoconsumo también de alguna manera, ¿no? este... muchas familias acá todavía cono-... mi mamá, por ejemplo acá tiene su huerta, sus hortalizas, su.... Incluso hasta sus papas, eh... cebolla, bueno de todo, tomates y eso ¿no?... después algunos eh... plantas frutales y bueno, una parra que no falta en ninguna casa, digamos.... Entonces cada familia hace su vino, todo eso, y creo que eso... y sin usar agroquímicos, ni nada de eso, o sea...

§228: F: claro, a nivel familiar...

§230: E: lo menos posible ¿no? entonces, es un poco lo que queremos seguir sosteniendo ¿no?

§232: F: claro...

§234: E: y bueno, creo que hasta ahora lo estamos logrando, pero si seguimos así medio... eh...

desarmados, medio desunidos, y... va a ser medio difícil poder solucionarlo, sí, así es.

Name: Calcha17-8

Place and Date: Quilmes Centro,
August 2017

Transcription by Agustina Ponce
(IAM, Tucumán)

§5: F: ahí, quería preguntarte, hm, preguntarte, quería empezar esta conversación con la, con la importancia que tiene el sitio arqueológico de Quilmes para la comunidad para la reivindicación de los derechos colectivos de esta comunidad.

§7: D: bueno, la importancia es grande, es muy importante ¿por qué? Porque a través del sitio, como decíamos, nosotros llamamos la “Ciudad Sagrada”, mundialmente se conoce como las Ruinas de los Quilmes. Es muy importante porque a través de ese lugar hoy estamos reivindicando la historia, estamos tratando de ir recuperando nuestra cultura, nuestra identidad ¿ah?

§8: Entonces acá hay una descendencia no pura, mixturada ya con la occidental, a donde la conquista prácticamente enterró a una cultura, ¿entiende? Entonces a través de ese lugar hoy va renaciendo, de a poquito. Hay gente que el sitio arqueológico era el Fuerte Viejo, como llamaban nuestros abuelos. Y era un lugar a donde bueno, vivieron los indios, ¿ah? nada más. Entonces hoy esa gente que va más continuo al lugar a donde escucha a veces a los que hablamos de la Otra Historia, no de

la historia oficial, ¿ah? Y decimos quiénes vivieron acá en ese lugar, entonces se va reivindicando eh...tus ideas, tus pensamientos. Decís “¡ah, Mis descendientes, mis antepasados están aca!, esta es mi cultura”, por ejemplo, ¿ve?.

§9: Cosa que hace unos años atrás, eso no lo hacían. Acá vos pasabas, nada más. Entonces eso tiene una importancia muy especial ¿ah?

§11: F: y desde hace cuanto tiempo el sitio...o sea, reformulo la pregunta: ¿qué relación había antes de que se produjeran los acontecimientos de los últimos años con la comunidad que toma, que toma la Ciudad Sagrada? ¿cuál era la importancia anterior, digamos, a la valorización del sitio, a que se llamara el sitio “patrimonio provincial”, “patrimonio provincial”? estas historias de sus abuelos que lo llamaban Fuerte Viejo, por ejemplo ¿no?.

§13: D: sí, exactamente

§15: F: ¿Cómo se relaciona esta historia digamos que no está- esta otra historia que se estaba contando? ¿cómo se transmitía? ¿cómo llegó hasta usted?

§18: D: bueno, eh, cómo llegó hacia mi... entonces bueno hm, aquí uno antes de haber llegado a ese lugar, digamos, como para establecerse ahí ¿ah?, porque hoy estamos establecidos, trabajamos ahí. Hoy más allá de que nosotros transmitimos nuestra cultura hoy por hoy es nuestro trabajo, ¿ah?

entonces por ejemplo, anterior a eso, como decíamos, era el Fuerte Viejo, después las Ruinas de los Quilmes y así ¿eh?.

§19: Pero un día, como te digo, vas tomando consciencia y un día llegó, llegué como empleado de una empresa que explotaba el lugar.

§21: F: durante los 90, digamos, la privatización...

§23: D: eh.. eh... claro. La privatización viene en el año '92. Se privatiza en el gobierno provincial de Palito Ortega. Entonces con esa empresa empezamos a trabajar por el año 2000 mas o menos. Y cuando empezamos a cada vez a insertarnos más en los comentarios, empezamos de mi parte a buscar comentarios de mis abuelos, ¿ah? de gente mayor y ahí es cuando vamos diciendo "no era así como a nosotros nos enseñaron en la escuela", por ejemplo.

§25: F: ¿por ejemplo qué le decían esos abuelos?

§27: D: eh... bueno...

§29: F: si me puede contar...

§31: D: ¡por favor, seguro! De que era, de qué se trataba el lugar... bueno ellos por ahí hablaban de los antigales; no decían "nuestros antepasados" como lo decimos nosotros hoy con más libertad, porque ellos tenían una presión, entonces te iban contando cosas eh... y quizás lo hacían también

indirectamente. Bueno, también cómo se encontraba el lugar, cómo se tomó el lugar en algún tiempo, que era la Ruina de los Quilmes, el Fuerte Viejo, nada más. Pero nuestros abuelos van contando todo lo que ellos han ido pasando, un proceso muy difícil ¿ah? A donde le han ido quitando la identidad. Entonces ¿cómo lo transmitían ellos a sus generaciones venideras? Era complicado. Por esa razón se pierden las lenguas, porque sus abuelos mismos de nuestros abuelos no han podido transmitir las lenguas por una presión. Entonces ellos empiezan a contar y vos empezás a analizar "entonces el indio no era como nos mostraban en los colegios, por ejemplo, que el indio era el vago, era el salvaje, era le ignorante, el que perseguía al colonizador, al civilizador". Entonces ahí es cuando empieza esta reivindicación y esta búsqueda de muchos jóvenes como Pablo, como yo, podes conocer con los sitios Sebastián, y así hay otros muchos dentro de la comunidad que también van buscando su verdadera identidad, su verdadera cultura. ¿Entiende?

§33: F: dale, y, y , bueno, se, en este transcurso, digamos, en este proceso de búsqueda de la pérdida de identidad, ¿cómo, eh...? Bueno, tomándola como una especie de ... *explicando* un poquito ¿no? (Risas)

§35: D: perfecto, está bien, no hay ningún problema. Soltate,

pregunta lo que sea. Somos abiertos, todo...

§37: F: no, como dije, yo quiero que esto sea una conversación de lo más abierta, de lo más espontánea posible, no tengo preguntas hechas ni nada. Ahora está trabajando, ahora está el trabajo, ¿cuál es la diferencia con el trabajo de la empresa que hacía anterior que esta empresa vino?

§39: D: no, hay una gran diferencia...

§42: F: ¿la empresa vino diciendo, por ejemplo, me imagino “vamos a hacer esto, vamos a traer puestos de trabajos y todo esto” qué...

§44: D: sí, la empresa lo veía más como un negocio, como un negocio. Entonces, por ejemplo, en mi caso, soy guía de turismo hoy. Puedo decir guía de sitio del lugar. entonces ¿cuáles son las diferencias? Que con la empresa, vos tenías un speech muy corto. Entonces vos le decías, era obligación, la empresa te lo obligaba no más de cinco minutos hace un speech y bueno, que la gente después recorra. Hoy es diferente, porque más allá de que hoy vivimos de ese lugar, trabajamos, somos un grupo de guías, eh, que a veces tenemos que tener un compromiso, pero si tu vienes y me dices “mirá... quiero que vamos y nos sentemos y charlemos” y bueno, tenemos esa libertad a donde podemos profundizar... como ser esta charla ¿ve? esto que estamos haciendo

lo podemos hacer en el sitio sentados, porque vos no estás respondiendo a una empresa, entonces hay una gran diferencia. Entonces a través de este lugar, como yo te decía, hoy nosotros estamos transmitiendo lo que es nuestra cultura. Entonces es muy importante que el que nos visita no solamente venga a tomar una foto y decir “¡estuve en las Ruinas de los Quilmes y qué bonitas!” sino que escuche una historia, que es la Otra Historia, como decimos, que es nuestra historia, ¿eh? Entonces ahí la gente se va y no se queda con lo que *halló*, sino que lo comenta. Entonces es una forma de ir divulgando nuestra cultura, transmitiendo nuestra cultura.

§46: F: transmitiendo, divulgando, hm...

§48: D: cosa que, por ejemplo, te doy... viene gente y te dice “te quiero hacer una pregunta” pero es muy tímida porque teme “cómo yo no puedo saber...saber esto” entonces “discúlpame la ignorancia...” pero es que no somos culpables de haber conocido una historia que han querido que conozcamos, entonces visitando estos lugares vos te vas encontrando con tus verdaderas raíces. Porque acá están nuestras verdaderas raíces. No mías solo, sino de todo lo que es hoy es Argentina, ¿no?

§50: F: interesante esto que dice de que no es solamente la historia del , de Quilmes, no es solamente

la historia de David, sino que es una historia de todo.. porque

§52: D: de todo, seguro

§54: F: abarca el mismo proceso de formación del estado.

§56: D: exacto.

§58: F: y lo interesante, digamos, a mi lo que me llamo la atención desde el primer momento que empecé a leer algo sobre la historia, primero las investigaciones arqueológicas, luego la historia de toda la patrimonialización que le llaman del sitio, eh, cómo a través de esta historia se pueda recorrer también la historia de la misma, del mismo país, Argentina

§60: D: ¡el mismo país, seguro!

§62: E: entonces es, por lo menos, a mi por qué estoy haciendo este trabajo también viene por eso ¿no? buscar la form-... por eso está la parte de derechos humanos

§64: D: seguro

§66: F: porque es una forma también de buscar una ciudadanía que... desde la base histórica desde las diferencias que se produjeron desde distintos lugares.

§68: D: seguro

§70: F: en este sentido, más o menos. Y entonces, entonces un poco, un poco esto. Y bueno, antes de pasar a la parte un poquito quizás más política de la... de hoy en día, ehm... a mí lo que estoy

buscando un poquito con más por menor ahora es la relación que se ha dado entre arqueólogos y comunidad, como le decía antes ¿no? entonces en algún momento acá se han dado distintos acercamientos en distintas fases en distintas épocas, desde universidades, desde profesionales, digamos...

§71:

§72: D: sí, por ejemplo, este lugar que perduró mucho tiempo quizás en el olvido, ahí, mimetizado en la naturaleza, eh, vamos a arrancar desde muy atrás, de un... cómo se dice, de un compatriota, de un descendiente de italianos, que fue Ambrosetti, no sé si escuchó, seguro que sí

§74: F: sí, sí sí, sí.

§76: D: Abrosetti es un entrerriano descendiente de italianos. Por ahí dicen "es un italiano". No es un italiano, es un descendiente de italianos, es un entrerriano. Y es un apasionado de la arqueología. Él entonces anduvo por aquí en el 1896, más o menos, este a donde se instala y reconstruye unas casas a donde hoy nosotros afirmamos su teoría de los techos, por ejemplo, que no están reconstruidos y que a veces es un debate en muchos de estos, ¿ve? nosotros porque todavía desde 1896 perduran unos palos que él puso en una vivienda. Por eso llamamos "la casa de Ambrosetti"

§78: F: ahá

§80: D: esto está. Entonces, bueno, de ahí pasan casi 100 años, casi 100 años. Recién en el 1977 hay un convenio Gobierno de Tucumán – Universidad de Buenos Aires, quizás por ahí esto lo sabía ya, y es cuando se hace la restauración en el sitio. Entonces vamos a hablar de la restauración ¿fue una restauración 100% profesional? Podríamos decir que no, porque no trabajó un grupo de arqueólogos, sino que un arqueólogo dirige una obra, como diciendo, bueno, buscó gente de la zona y empezaron a desmalezar, a cavar por el costado de las paredes, a arreglar las paredes que estaban rotas, ni siquiera se tuvo en cuenta de marcarlas para mi punto de vista fue un desastre, lamentablemente. Entonces tendrían que haber cuidado mucho más. Se han roto muchas cosas, y eso de decirte se han roto muchas cosas, es porque nosotros hacemos una investigación y buscamos a la gente que ha trabajado en ese sitio.

§82: F: ah, ustedes como, como...

§84: D: ya como guías o como interesados de saber qué ha pasado en ese lugar...

§86: F: fueron a buscar la gente que estuvo trabajando...

§88: D: porque nosotros en ese tiempo éramos niños, en el '77. Éramos prácticamente niños. Entonces empezamos a buscar la gente que había trabajado en el sitio. Y que una persona te dice "sí,

este, nos decían que cavén aquí. Yo estaba cavando, ¡uh! Le metí un picazo a una olla" a una urna, y se rompía. ¿eh? Entonces eso es triste por ahí, pero bueno, son las realidades. Fue en el '77, sabemos qué gobiernos había, entonces todo lo que se encuentra tampoco se eh.... Se inventarean bien, desaparecen, a dónde se las llevan nadie sabe, quizás por el Museo de La Plata... na- nadie sabe la realidad... decir "sí, se las llevaron ahí", es difícil saberlo. Entonces bueno, los trabajos de recuperación del lugar para mí punto de vista no son nada profesionales.

§89: Bueno, después sabemos que es... decimos esto es lo que hoy nos preguntamos, el Estado dice "esto es un patrimonio del estado".

§91: F: ¿cuándo fue esto que se declara patrimonio del estado?

§93: D: ¿puede ser un patrimonio del estado si es preexistente al mismo estado?

§95: F: tiene su lógica...

§97: D: claro. ¿Ah? Sí es, digamos, un patrimonio cultural, como lo está diciendo usted, perfecto. Es un patrimonio cultural, sí, perfecto. Entonces eh... está dentro de un ... una mensura que hace el estado provincial de Tucumán que son más o menos 206 hectáreas, así. Entonces el Estado lo reclama por papeles es de, es del Estado, digamos. Así. Eh, pero ahí voy a esto, este era el

punto: que la Universidad de Tucumán tiene un Instituto de Arqueología y que no haiga un proyecto ¿ah? de, de, de la misma universidad o de la parte del gobierno para que se hagan trabajos en el lugar... creo que nosotros como comunidad no se vamos a oponer a eso, porque nosotros queremos saber más, porque a través de los profesionales se reviven todas estas culturas pasadas ¿o no es?

§99: F: sí... ¿y por qué cree que no se da este acercamiento?

§101: D: no, es fácil, la respuesta de esto es fácil. Dicen "no hay presupuesto, no hay presupuesto". Entonces nosotros como comunidad, por eso conozco a...

§103: F: Alejandra

§105: D: Alejandra, y nosotros queríamos hacer una planificación en el sitio para que, como turístico el lugar, no tenga un deterioro. Lamentablemente por "X" motivo no se dio, no se hace. Entonces...

§107: F: y esto fue cuando hubo la mesa de diálogo....

§109: D: de diálogo, claro, cuando hubo una mesa de diálogo que *no* entre comunidad

§111: F: eh eh.... *Este era el argumento, digamos...*

§112:

§113: D: claro y nunca se llegó a un acuerdo, que es triste. Nosotros hoy por hoy, si viene alguien, un arqueólogo, viene algún

antropólogo y quiere hacer alguna investigación, algún estudio, creo yo que la comunidad hoy Quilmes -porque no voy a decidir yo que diga "sí, el arqueólogo, que venga, que venga" no lo voy a decidir yo, lo vamos a consensuar- Y creo que no va a decir que no, porque como le digo, nosotros queremos, hay muchas veces con Pablo, que caminamos por esos campos desde de acá al sitio y nos sentábamos ahí en una piedra a ver si así... y empezábamos así.. "si pudiéramos volver en una máquina del tiempo", ¿ah? Y poder ver porque hay cosas que nos hormiguean adentro, y... dudamos y pensamos ¿cómo sería, ah? Entonces, perfecto, si viene alguien que quiere investigar, hoy por la tecnología que hay y ya aproximarse a algunas cosas, es fabuloso para nosotros, seguro.

§115: *(se interrumpe la grabación y luego continua)*

§117: F: y esto me da un poquito de lugar para la siguiente pregunta que va a resultar un poco incómoda, no sé... que es un poco el tema del turismo, que... del turismo, de la, del dinero que generé- que genera el ...

§119: D: el lugar

§121: F: el lugar como, como lugar de interés turístico ¿no? ehm... porque yo lo veo muy relacionado eh, con una idea de patrimonio que es digamos la hegemónica, digamos, la oficializada, que es el patrimonio como propiedad, como

una propiedad desde la... a través de la cual uno puede...

§123: D: lucrar.

§125: F: lucrar, explotarla, y generar recursos con esto. Que... que era un poco la idea de la privatización de los años '90, digamos, ¿no?

§127: D: sí, sí, seguro.

§129: F: esta... me gusta, me gusta, no sé, por lo menos, en la cabeza lo tengo así, como una equiparación como con las minas, que en las minas también se explotan para generar recursos que luego se *van*. Este lugar es de alguna manera una mina, una mina que está produciendo, generando beneficios, que está generando recursos, fuentes de trabajos y esto... que está generando problemas también a nivel de comunidad...

§131: D: seguro, exacto.

§133: F: si pudiera profundizar un poco en estos problemas que se han dado en estos últimos años...

§135: D: bueno, por ejemplo, esto viene de cuando se privatiza. Después la comunidad empieza a reclamar, a cuestionar eh... porque se hizo un hotel en el lugar. No es que se hizo un hotel sobre un cementerio como muchos dicen ¿ah? Se hizo dentro del sitio arqueológico. Nunca se tuvo en cuenta, nunca se respetó que a donde es el hotel se destruían muchas cosas, inclusive paredes. Entonces, bueno, ¿dónde estuvo

la comunidad que no reclamó, que no impidió?

§137: F: ¿en ese entonces ya estaba organizada la comunidad?

§139: D: no, estaba semi-organizada, estaba en un proceso de inicio, pero en el año '92, las comunidades indígenas de Argentina no tenían ningún derecho ¿ah? Recién en el año '94, cuando se hace la reforma de la Constitución Nacional, en el artículo 75 inciso 17 hay una ley que reconoce a las comunidades indígenas por la preexistencia étnica y cultura. Entonces es *como decir* "ah, sí están".

§140: Y de ahí se empiezan los reclamos, los reclamos... hasta que un día la comunidad tomó posesión en el lugar. de tantos idas y idas, pasaron 15 años, cuántos-15 años más o menos y la comunidad tomó posesión el año eh, el 9 de julio... perdón el 9 de enero del 2008, la comunidad a las 11 de la mañana tomo posición en el lugar. Entonces ahí se arma un debate

§142: F: ¿interno a la comunidad?

§144: D: interno a la comunidad. Entonces ahí se arma un debate bastante importante y ahí es cuando se llama "La Ciudad Sagrada de los Quilmes". Entonces empezaron las discordias ya. Entonces yo hoy por hoy, más allá de que transmito mi cultura en ese lugar, este, yo vivo de eso, hoy por hoy es mi trabajo, yo dije, YO DIJE a todos -inclusive

al cacique- de lo sagrado: “para mí de lo Sagrado no se lucra. A lo Sagrado no se lo pisotea. Entonces lo cerremos”. “no, porque el turismo”, dijeron muchos, se fue a votación “no, porque el turismo, porque esto-“

§145: Entonces tengamos cuidado cuando decimos “La Ciudad Sagrada de Los Quilmes”. Entonces eso llevó a una- a que se empezara a explotar ya para la comunidad, la comunidad lo empiece a explotar al lugar ¿ah?

§146: Lamentablemente, lamentablemente hubo una muy mala administración de lo que se recaudaba ¿ah? Que vinieron una etapa, que vino otra etapa de muy mala administración y eso llevó a un quiebre en la comunidad lamentablemente, siempre lo voy a decir. Lamentablemente llevó a un quiebre en la comunidad donde se hacen dos partes, y en ese bueno, hubo de todo. Entonces hoy lo está administrando el pueblo de Quilmes, el pueblo de Quilmes.

§148: F: el pueblo como.... Acá, digamos.

§150: D: el pueblo lo administra. Ya eh, hoy prácticamente.

§152: F: o sea, cuando la di... para entender.... La diferencia que pone entre pueblo de Quilmes y Comunidad India Quilmes...

§154: D: claro, te explico. Eh, acá se formó la Comunidad de Quilmes. Un día Quilmes empezó a revelarse contra los terratenientes, pero eran pocos,

entonces llevaron un ejemplo de un gran cacique que es Calchaqui, Juan Calchaquí, que en un tiempo cuando vinieron los españoles los unificó y luchó contra los españoles y así pudieron resistir 130 años. Entonces aquí también hay una unificación de muchos pueblitos. Entonces ahí se forma la Comunidad India Quilmes, que primero fue la co- la Federación de los Quilmes, después fue la ColnQui, y quedó al último como Comunidad India Quilmes ¿ah? Entonces la Comunidad India Quilmes está formada dicen por 14 bases, 14 pequeños pueblos.

§155: Para mí, siempre he dicho, son 12, porque Quilmes no me lo divide. Quilmes está dividido: Quilmes Bajo, Quilmes Centro y el Rincón de Quilmes, entonces no me lo dividás. Para mí Quilmes es uno solo, es como esta hoja, Quilmes es esto.

§156: Entonces está dividido para la organización de la comunidad, Quilmes está dividido en tres partes, que eso también llevó a que la misma gente se divida, entonces muchos lo han tomado de una forma y de otra forma, y a veces no vienen, pero bueno. Entonces cuando hay una mala administración con el manejo de la ciudad sagrada de los Quilmes, es cuando el pueblo de Quilmes que no tenía participación -excepto por algunas personas que trabajábamos en el lugar- entonces se levanta y toma la administración, y de ahí lo empieza a manejar. Y de ahí han

venido las fisuras que fue pequeña, después se creció, y que hoy se hizo bastante grande, que no es imposible volverla a sanar, volverla a cerrar a esta fisura, que es una de MIS ideas personales, de que un día otra vez la comunidad-...

§157: Entonces hoy, por ejemplo, lo administra el pueblo de Quilmes todo lo que se recauda en el sitio, en la Ciudad Sagrada de los Quilmes lo administra el pueblo de Quilmes. Pero, por ejemplo, para que eso quede claro, si viene una institución del pueblo vecino a pedir una ayuda bueno, se consensua y se le da las ayudas: ayudas a instituciones, ayudas personales, se las da por enfermedades... entonces no es que somos una administración, un pueblo cerrado que diga "¡no, a aquellos no hay que darles nada!" bueno también estamos viendo que cada pueblo que forma la Comunidad India Quilmes empiece a explotar y a manejar sus recursos, porque lo tienen, lo tienen, entonces cada pueblo tiene sus recursos. Entonces también que lo empiecen a defender y a manejar ellos mismos.

§158: Entonces yo hoy Quilmes, no voy a tomar decisiones en el Pichao, por ejemplo, ¿ah? Que el Pichao lo administra. Que nosotros podamos dar una ayuda, la vamos a dar. Estamos abiertos a eso. Si viene eh, un delegado, un miembro del pueblo vecino y quiere hablar con nosotros -que lo están haciendo, por cierto, lo están

haciendo y están viendo que no somos gente cerrada que decimos "no, esto es de Quilmes y no va para nadie más". No, somos abiertos, sabemos entender que las necesidades son muchas entonces bueno, que seamos coherentes en los pedidos, entonces se está tratando de ayudar, entonces acá en el pueblo de Quilmes como un poco olvidado de la parte gubernamental del estado. Aquí hay muchas necesidades: el agua, a donde de tener un cementerio propio -no tenemos-, entonces hoy que estamos fortaleciéndonos un poquito, estamos haciendo. Estamos en un proyecto que ya está cerca de terminarse de que se amplió ya la represa, se están haciendo muros, un anhelo de mucha gente que se fue, ya no está nunca más, y alguna vez se hará. Y había gente que yo creía que se me iba a morir y no se iba a excavar la represa. Hoy la hicimos, hoy la cavamos a la represa. Por supuesto la- salió de ahí

§159: F: de lo recaudado

§160: D: exacto, de lo recaudado. Salió de ahí, están trabajando gente, ah y bueno si hay necesidad más se va a poner para que eso se termine y mañana podamos tener una mejor distribución del agua. La idea es que desde ahí se empiece a generar progreso en el pueblo. Hay muchas fincas que -porque en la parte baja están las fincas de producción- están abandonadas por la falta de agua, y no porque haya mucha falta de agua sino

porque hay una mala administración. Entonces hoy vamos a tener un embalse mas grande, tenemos una cañería que nos pusieron una vez, para mi punto de vista eh, están subestimada por el ingeniero que la manejó, ¿ah? entonces ahora esta teniendo sus falencias por ahí, la utilizamos en la parte que se pueda, la vamos a utilizar porque es necesario. Entonces para que algunas fincas de estas que estaban abandonadas hoy vuelvan a reflorar.

§161: Esa es la idea entonces de que yo, por ejemplo, no me vaya a Santa María, Amaicha a buscarme una bolsa de papas, sino que mi gente la produzca abajo, *que entonces venga* y me la pueda vender acá. Entonces con autoabastecimiento, con esa, con toda esa, vaya girando acá en nuestro pueblo y quizás el pueblo vecino va a venir a comprar aquí. Esas son las ideas que ya las estamos poniendo en práctica, y ojalá la Pachamama nos bendiga de que ayer, antes de ayer pasamos este, y podamos realizar todos estos anhelos que uno tiene, ¿ve?

§162: Entonces eso es que pasaron varios tiempos de la administración anterior y no hubo ningún beneficio pueblo, ¿ve? entonces hubo como... no sé, es feo decirlo esto, pero como un enriquecimiento personal de algunos que han manejado, que

han administrado. Y es culpa de eso llevó a un gran quiebre en la comunidad general te estoy hablando, que es triste contarlo, pero es una de las realidades.

§164: F: claro, es la parte política que le decía antes, porque un poquito había leído de los problemas, entonces esto

§166: D: pero es una de las realidades que ha pasado.

§168: F: entiendo. Dale. Y, bueno, creo que ya está.

§170: D: y tiene claro, a ver, lo que nosotros queremos hacer el pueblo... acá hay muchos proyectos, nosotros estamos faltos de un CAPS de adonde venga un médico y pueda atender tranquilamente. Tenga que sea cómodo para que atienda a sus pacientes, no lo tenemos, lo tenemos en mente que vamos a armar un cemente- ...

§171: Nosotros somos uno de, dentro de los pueblos del valle de la comunidad, somos el más grande o uno de los más grandecitos, fuera de Amaicha o de Colalao. Pero no tenemos cementerio, por ejemplo.

§173: F: me, me, me impacta mucho esto que no tienen un cementerio

§175: D: entonces ahora

§177: F: ¿y dónde pueden sepultar a los...

§179: D: y los llevamos al pueblo vecino, que el cementerio es un desastre

§181: F: ¿el pueblo vecino sería Colalao?

§183: D: eh, antes El Bañado, es un pueblo vecino, entonces es un desastre porque ya no hay lugar, porque ya las paredes se han caído, es todo un desa-

(se interrumpe la grabación y luego continua)

§187: D: el proyecto que tenemos en mente es mejorar lo que es en la parte de nuestro pueblo. No solamente personales, sino más institucionales, como mejorar el cementerio, te decía, no tenemos cementerio. Ya tenemos dos personas en un lugar que ya lo elegimos como cementerio, que ellos dijeron “queremos que nos entierren acá”, pero está a la intemperie, está abierto. Hay que cerrarlo, hay que planificarlo, eh... lo que... lo queremos hacer un cementerio parqueizado, no un cementerio como que vengas y hagas unas casas y así no, sino un cementerio parqueizado ¿eh?

§188: Y de ahí tenemos proyectos, tenemos proyectos en mente, y pero de a poquito lo queremos ir realizando, y bueno, y obviamente que hay un cierto diálogo con la gente del estado mismo por el lugar porque, como te decía, culturalmente es nuestro, pero por papeles lo reclama el Estado. Entonces nosotros no queremos pelear con el estado, sino dialogar,

llegar a un consenso y poder trabajar si es preciso en conjunto, lo podemos hacer, lo queremos hacer. Pero estar seguro y después bueno, hacer lo mejor que se pueda. Esa es la idea.

§190: F: y esto que-... la ultimísima cosa, estaba leyendo una noticia hace poco que se va a construir como un centro de interpretación o por lo menos...

§192: D: se está construyendo... se está haciendo donde fue la parte del museo, que se trabajó en el año '80

§194: F: Esto quedaría donde en la ruta...

§196: D: no, no, no. eso es arriba. En el centro, en el centro del sitio arqueológico en el año '80, se hizo un museo ya, ¿ah? No se respetaron también las construcciones. Por eso decía, de los trabajos que se hacen en el '77 no son muy profesionales que digamos, no, no hubo mucho...

§198: F: cuidado con los...

§200: D: cuidado, no hubo mucho... ay se me fue la palabra... eh... respeto por el lugar, entonces se trabajó “bueno sí, vamos a explotarlo” porque se recupera con- eso quería que quede claro: en el año '78 hemos sido visitados por gente de gran parte del mundo, porque fue el mundial de fútbol.

Name: Calcha18-1

Place and Date: Amaicha del Valle,
August 2018

Transcription by Ana Victoria Leiva
(IAM, Tucumán)

§3: E: esto va empezando... si dígame, yo la primera pregunta que le estaba haciendo era un poco como estábamos conversando antes, me gustaría empezar desde la situación actual de la comunidad para luego retroceder un poco a la historia de algunos años más atrás.

§4: Entonces la cuestión sería cómo se organiza la comunidad para la defensa del territorio que quizás es el bien más importante no?

§5: S: esa es la parte más importante, la del territorio, es lo más importante, lo más necesario que tratamos de conservarlo, ya que nuestras comunidades han perdido la mayor parte de sus territorios no es cierto y esta comunidad de Amaicha la tiene, es ya entonces por eso siempre se ha conservado, con un gobierno

político, con un gobierno dueño de sus tierras, con el título de la tierra, con sus derechos y bueno el gobierno actual trabaja con el cacique y el consejo de ancianos que son... el consejo de ancianos está formado por siete miembros, no para trabajar, ayuda digamos, se consulta los trabajos de la comunidad con el cacique, el cacique con el consejo si está de acuerdo para sentirse más respaldado, mas ayudado y muchas veces tener la claridad para manejar una comunidad.

§6: Y bueno esta comunidad no hace muchos años que tiene este gobierno q funciona así con un consejo y con las secretarias que tiene y este... y a ver... creciendo, como va creciendo, porque también tiene su escuela de gobernanza, que es muy importante porque es formar a los comuneros para el mañana no? Conociendo sus derechos y aprendiendo los valores también para cuidar, Los valores que se tienen dentro de la comunidad, no solo el territorio sino también todo lo que hay dentro de su territorio.

§7: E: el consejo antes no había digamos?

§8: S: No trabajaba con un consejo, pero se ve que años anteriores muy atrás si había gente mayor siempre respaldando por su sabiduría no? Y por el respeto, por el respeto a los valores que tenían como persona, después se ha ido perdiendo y bueno y ahora es una forma de recuperar todo eso, porque eso es más sano para vivir como comunidad, es más justo en una palabra no? Porque el consejo de ancianos no solo le ayuda en la parte de territorio no?

§9: En el control del territorio sino también en las familias, en los derechos como familia, interviene en las discusiones o a veces en los daños que se hacen con animales o con algo entonces tratamos de mediar con ellos hablándolos y que se evite de ir a la parte civil, que generalmente eso es más dificultoso porque en la parte civil a veces las denuncias, las detenciones, y de acuerdo al caso tienen que poner abogados y para la gente es costoso trasladarse a la fiscalía y todo eso y cuesta plata y la gente del lugar no tiene. Siempre termina perdiendo el que menos tiene, entonces eso es lo que nosotros como comunidad

tratamos de trabajar en ese aspecto, en ese sentido, de mediar amistosamente, que haya un arreglo, Un acuerdo, entonces no pierde ninguna de las dos partes, ni de un lado ni del otro, hay una mediación.

§11: E: entonces es un poco como ehh... sería digamos la parte de justicia que interviene dentro del gobierno de la comunidad

§13: S: si, si... entonces evitamos de que tenga que trabajar la policía, de que tenga que trabajar el juez.

§15: E: que se meta alguien...

§17: S: si, porque así se hace menos daño y se vive más en armonía y más en comunidad, sí, sí.

§19: E: y bueno, me vendría de preguntar que valores rigen esta forma de mediar, esta mediación?

§21: S: esta mediación si, y bueno son los valores que han tenido las familias anteriores no?, que ya vienen desde un costumbre, desde un principio no es cierto, y se han ido perdiendo por los tiempos que

han venido las cosas como han ido cambiando, bueno uno revisando todas esas cosas como Vivian nuestros abuelos, nuestra gente, hemos ido descubriendo todo eso y tratándolo de que ahora vuelva nuevamente no? Esos valores, ese derecho mayor como le llamaos nosotros los de las comunidades, ese derecho mayor del mayor, de las personas grandes, como un derecho para el bien de una comunidad.

§23: E: Listo. Bueno esto ya me da lugar para la segunda pregunta como dicen los que son buenos jajajaja porque este descubrimiento de la importancia del derecho mayor, digamos que son dos preguntas en una, según usted porque se ha ido perdiendo y por otro lado que fue lo q permitió que se fuera redescubriendo esos valores, esos principios, más o menos cuando fue eso y porque razones según usted?

§25: S: bien... y bueno estos valores se han ido perdiendo a medida de la forma de comunicación de trato y también de la parte educativa, porque la escuela, la enseñanza va

cambiando también y nosotros los aborígenes al haber perdido nuestros derechos hemos ido aprendiendo lo que el estado ha ido enseñando con su gobierno no es cierto, dentro de las escuelas, entonces nadie nos hablaba de lo nuestro, de cómo se han vivido anteriormente nuestras comunidades, como Vivian ellos en armonía como vivían ellos en comunidad de eso no se hablaba. Se hablaba si de la familia pero después todo ha ido cambiando, modernizándose. Supuestamente nos han dicho que íbamos creciendo en aprendizaje a ver nos decían que nos venían a civilizar, yo no sé de qué nos han civilizado, nosotros no hemos sido nunca violentos no? Ehhhhh... lo que nosotros sabíamos nos han quitado, se lo han llevado, pero bueno esas cosas que lamentablemente han sucedido, que ha pasado, entonces este. Ahí hemos ido perdiendo esa comunicación, ese vivir en comunidad, ese ayudarse uno a otro, porque ya los intereses han ido creciendo de una manera increíble, tal vez los trabajos estatales, tal vez el hecho de que hay empleados y el empleado

tiene salario y cada vez trabajo más por el salario y ha ido perdiendo esa ayuda que nosotros teníamos como comunidad de ayudarnos unos a los otros, que el que no tenía le daba al que no tenía, que el que tenía más y bueno hemos ido perdiendo en el trabajo mismo, antes se vivía de las mingas, de tornavuelta...

§27: E: tornavuelta qué es?

§29: S: La tornavuelta es usted presta y después le devuelvo y cuando tengo le devuelvo, pero ahora si presta no le devuelven más jajajaja y el trueque, el cambio es este trabajo por el otro que yo necesito y sino el trabajo en comunidad que era: hago este trabajo y paso a la otra familia a ayudarle en lo que necesite y después voy pasado así, ese es el trabajo en comunidad no? nos ayudamos entre todos y eso se ha ido perdiendo y así hemos ido perdiendo la confianza el ayudarse la comunicación todo eso no es cierto.

§30: Y después usted me decía como, cuando hemos tenido ganas de volver o la necesidad. Yo diría más la necesidad de volver

acordarse, de volver a querer empezar con esto que ya teníamos, que nuestros abuelos tenían por costumbre y porque cada vez nosotros estamos peor, como país estamos re mal. Y como comunidad son muy pocas las comunidades que empezamos a trabajar como comunidad y ahí vemos la necesidad de volver a ayudar, de volver a esa forma de vida que ellos tenían no? Y bueno desde que esta este cacique porque lo ha vivido el en otras comunidades afuera y cuando tiene la oportunidad de venir a esta, de estar en su propia comunidad y luchar, porque también lo debe haber vivido, debe haber sentido el frío afuera, el hambre la necesidad de trabajar por su comunidad y de ir transmitiendo nuevamente y de ir buscando con los abuelos, con la gente grande volver a buscar el buen vivir que hablamos nosotros ahora de nuestra comunidad de Amaicha si, es en este gobierno, y nosotros vamos tomando conciencia que es eso lo que debemos buscar para crecer, para formarnos y para ser útiles y vivir de esa mejor buena manera. Para tener familias más sanas también.

§31: E: Listo. Y digamos prácticamente como se fue produciendo este redescubrimiento, llamémoslo de alguna manera, de esos valores?

§33: S: de los valores conversando, buscando eso, teniendo charlas y después práctica, vemos que es cierto y que lo necesitamos, porque si no estamos descuidando también nuestras tierras, nos estamos yendo y en estos últimos tiempos tenemos que volver a nuestros lugares a nuestra tierra porque la ciudad está muy difícil antes había trabajo, ahora no, entonces cuando regresamos de vuelta al lugar que hemos estado que tenemos y no encontramos nada y tenemos que empezar de nuevo. Entonces creo que esta difícil situación del país hace a que le demos valor a la tierra, valor a lo nuestro, a la gente mayor, a lo aborígen y ahí nos damos cuenta recién cuando nos golpeamos que si era bueno lo de antes y que era de la mejor manera que teníamos que trabajar y que no tendríamos que haber dejado tal vez el hecho de que es más fácil de que me

cueste menos trabajo que no sea tan duro o tal vez por la oferta que nos hacen también. Eso también no? Por qué nos ofrecen muchas cosas bonitas y después nos vamos.

§35: E: claro y quizás uno no tiene la experiencia....

§37: S: y no tiene la experiencia claro, y eso es lo que hoy este miramos que no es así, pero a veces seguimos no? Mire que a nuestros aborígenes los han llevado con espejos. Les mostraron espejitos de colores y se fueron y después no les ha quedado ni para mirarse en los espejitos y ahora a nosotros nos ha pasado con los globos de colores, nos han engañado con el juguetito no? Y mire como estamos re mal.

§39: E: si, me parece

§41: S: Se repiten a veces las cosas,

§43: E: Se repiten las cosas

§45: S: Y por eso debe ser, porque el mundo es redondo

§47: E: siempre que me dicen eso me hace acordar una canción de una chica que murió

desafortunadamente, que ella era chicana se le dice, que son los emigrantes mejicanos que viven en estados unidos, bueno me encanta ella y tiene una canción que dice toda repetición es una ofensa. Y siempre que me dicen un poco esto me hacen pensar en esta canción jajaja. Eh.. le quería preguntar como decíamos antes esta forma de visibilizar, digamos si tuviera que recordar o indicarme algunos momentos que estén vinculados con lugares que según usted sean importantes para esta emergencia de una nueva forma de estar en comunidad. Esta es la parte que tengo más dificultad a expresar pero justamente la idea sería la de hacer como una cartografía de esto, entonces estoy buscando un poco en ese redescubrimiento o incluso digamos la fase de pérdida de valores que lugares podrían ser relevantes para poder contar esa historia, que uno va y dice ah acá es donde por ejemplo eh nose, la vieja hostería, esta es la forma más fácil que tengo para expresar, que es un lugar que se construyó quizás para una

promesa de desarrollo del turismo que luego quizás se abandonó y ahora se está volviendo a recuperar, ya se reconoce como allí la comunidad, ese lugar donde se ha creado este vínculo también y de una forma espacial y también activando prácticas como lo que es la refacción, la restauración del lugar no? Osea eso me esta fascinando la historia de la vieja hostería, pero me preguntaba también si quizás hay otros lugares quizás no tan visibles, incluso íntimos que para usted podrían ser útiles para transmitir a las generaciones que vienen para poder contar esa historia...

§49: S: la verdad que dentro de mi comunidad los lugares a ver como para contar, dentro de mi comunidad hay muchos lugares muy importantes.

§57: S: ... y seguramente ha habido mucho trabajo en ellos anteriores pero que no están tan visibilizados no? Hay un lugar de Tiopunco que tiene mucho para contar y en El Remante no sé si ha andado usted, también tiene muchas cosas y muy importantes

porque ahí en El Remate más arriba hay unas ruinas que no están explotadas, son sagradas todavía, son intactas, no se las han explotado. No se las ha explotado como la de Quilmes, pero también Quilmes eso ya no le pertenece a Amaicha no es nuestro, que seguramente las Ruinas de Quilmes es un lugar muy grande muy importante que tiene mucho para hablar, mucho para contar pero eso, bueno, lo tiene que hacer la comunidad de Quilmes.

§59: E: si eso espero, ahí estaré allá después

§61: S: la comunidad de Quilmes, porque es muy rica, es muy rica en historia seguramente que no está escrita eso lo vas a encontrar en verbal, en conversación, porque escrito no hay, porque tal vez era lo que querían borrarlo no? Este pero como dicen algunas canciones o algunas leyendas o algunos cuentos las raíces siempre quedan y por eso siempre creo que por haber quedado raíces todavía hay comunidades indígenas y que todavía pueden volver a aparecer y que pueden volver a recuperar parte que no todo, a mi yo les digo todo el valle

que tenemos, todo este valle grande todo es de las comunidades indígenas, en cada lugar tendría que tener su comunidad. Pero no en todos los pueblos tienen comunidad formada, algunas son pequeñas pero con representantes, pero territorio no, territorio propio no, pero aquí si tenemos, está la de Quilmes que podría ir a visitarla, yo no le sabría decir también hay una parte que se llama Fuerte Quemado que es muy rica también con sus historias pero no sé si hay una comunidad indígena no sé si hay una formación

§63: E: a mí me parece que ya es Catamarca, Santa María

§65: S: si si es Catamarca, ellos son provincia de Catamarca ya, no es de la de nosotros, de Tucumán, y aquí nosotros si la comunidad nuestra de Catamarca y yo le decía punto de referencia seria el Tiopunco que tiene mucho, este, los Cardones y aquí en el Remate.

§67: E: digamos estos serían lugares que ...

§69: S: que los tendrían que visitar para saber con la gente del lugar

hablar y también con el cacique debe tener algo importante

§71: E: no es que me estaba haciendo pensar que también esos lugares son los atractivos turísticos que la comunidad ofrece al visitante

§73: S: si, pero que también tiene mucho que.. si, si

§75: E: por eso digo eso sería la cuestión que le quería preguntar, que tenga que ver con el turismo porque ehhmm a ver como ... de qué manera visibilizar a través del turismo esos lugares puede causar una pérdida o una excesiva explotación digamos de lo que es una importancia local no? Que quizás el turista va, se saca una fotito pero no sabe o no le importa la relación que mantiene eso con la comunidad...

§77: S: es que también la comunidad, hay lugares que se han perdido mucho valor de lo que tenían. Que tenían las comunidades, las partes aborígenes, nosotros hemos pedido muchas cosas importantes porque se la han sacado y se la

han llevado y yo creo que Tiopunco estaba sufriendo hasta último tiempo, hasta último momento esto no hace más de un mes que había gente que venían desde Cafayate y hacían negocios con la poca gente que hay en esos lugares, porque hay una parte de madera petrificada y de muchos símbolos que están en el Tiopunco y por pedazo van llevando por parte y los venden. A veces la gente del lugar no sabe los valores o tal vez por la necesidad económica vienen algunos que tienen más conocimiento y les compran y los llevan, hace muy poquito tiempo aquí en la comunidad hay alguna parte de lo que han podido recuperar como también así de los mismos cardones que vienen y se los llevan, hacen negocios con la gente que los ven que necesitan y sacan, entonces por ahí la comunidad no puedo cubrir toda ese control para cuidar y aprovechan eso de la gente de la necesidad que ya son muy mayores y no pueden salir a buscar mercadería y les hacen cambio por mercadería y hasta por bebida si, y creo q con esta, de esta manera también es un poco

más controlado, porque al trabajar con el turismo usted va viendo si se han llevado o hay una forma de controlar también porque hemos perdido mucho, en eso hemos perdido mucho las comunidades. Se han quitado muchas cosas de mucho valor que eran de nuestros aborígenes, mucho material.

§79: E: una última preguntita si te parece? Que me surgió en estos días en realidad con los debates a nivel nacional que tuvieron sobre el aborto y esto no... entonces me preguntaba que rol mantiene la mujer dentro de la comunidad históricamente y en la actualidad esto podría ser interesante

§81: S: en la actualidad, si

§83: E: y también históricamente

§85: S: Si, históricamente desde un vamos sabemos que la mujer siempre ha sido muy maltratada no? Y peor en estos lugares no ¿, en estos lugares en donde no tenía derecho la mujer no? Ni valor ni conocimiento de su a ver... de sus derechos. La mujer del valle ha sufrido mucho más que todo esta zona, siempre siempre. Cuando

por ejemplo un matrimonio de la gente trabajadora, de la gente servidora tenía que ir, trabajaba el varón, el marido y la señora los hijos servían gratuitamente al patrón (silencio) gratuitamente, el patrón o la patrona eran dueños de pegarles, de darles de comer si querían y sino no les daban había mucha esclavitud y bueno los derechos se los han ido logrando a partir del 1945 para adelante ahí es cuando se habla de una justicia social. Usted ha visto que cada ley cada derecho que sale cuesta tanto tiempo ponerlo en práctica porque para las leyes salen pronto pero ponerlas en práctica y después respetarlas tampoco, cuestan llevan años, entonces ahí un poco la gente ha ido liberándose, los varones han ido teniendo sus derechos y han empezado a mantener un poco mejor a sus familias, pero a pesar de ello la mujer todavía no era tan independiente y no sabía de sus derechos, no sabía que tenía derechos, porque yo no me acuerdo en que año recién la mujer ha empezado a tener documento, porque antes la mujer no tenía derecho a elegir tampoco ella no? No tenía derecho de votación y

entonces ha ido logrando parte de conocer, después volvió a perder y después en estos últimos años hemos.... En estos últimos 12 años hemos puesto en práctica muchos derechos de la mujer pero ya antes veníamos luchando por el respeto a la mujer porque también, después por el maltrato, maltrato hubo siempre, sigue habiendo solo que ya un poco más controlado, ya la mujer sabe que tiene que defenderse ya sabe que la mujer tiene derecho, sabe que tiene que quejarse cuando lo necesite no? Pero si, la mujer ha sido muy golpeada y bueno, con esto último es lamentable, pero es verdad que debe haber una ley y sería muy bueno que se hubiera aprobado la ley porque eso de ponerle el peor nombre el aborto porque yo creo que es una palabra muy fuerte no? una palabra que realmente lástima porque hiere mucho a la mujer, porque no lo hace porque quiere

§87: E: por supuesto

§89: S: no lo hace porque lo desea, porque es asesina, pero lo más triste de todo esto es que siempre la mujer es la castigada, porque la penalización es para la mujer y el varón? A donde esta? Que es

como decían antes, es hijo del viento? (Silencio) Es tan fácil... yo soy católica y practico bastante pero estoy muy dolida en estos últimos tiempos, muy dolida, me ha dolido muchísimo nuevamente la iglesia está en el tapete, la iglesia católica (silencio) y le juro que el primer día no podía entenderlo pero se volvió a comprometer, ya nos pasó en la dictadura, ya nos pasó en los otros derrocamientos de gobiernos y queda pegada nuevamente, yo lo lamento pero es cierto, yo estoy a favor de la despenalización.

§91: E: bueno, bueno ya hemos dado un buen paso a la actualidad con esto jajaja. Bueno me parece muy importante también tomar postura por supuesto, yo estoy a favor del aborto en Italia existe hace mucho tiempo

§93: S: pero es una forma de controlar

§95: E: exacto

§97: S: el aborto va a seguir existiendo

§99: E: exacto. Osea la cuestión principal es que como han dicho mucho estos días que

simplemente las mujeres ricas se lo pueden poner y van a clínicas privadas y las mujeres pobres

§101: S: son las que mueren es que sí, siempre han apuntado eso

§103: E: es una cuestión que siempre existe. Y esconderse tras el obbligo de la religión. Yo no soy católico, soy católico pero no practico digamos, me bautizaron pero busco otra forma pero me parece que la cosa que más ehh...

§105: S: No a mí me dolió mucho cuando yo tuve que ir a una reunión donde se reunimos para hacer una cosa y terminaron organizando para hacer una marcha, es durísimo para mí, yo digo que hago, sigo, me voy, tiro todo. No me voy a quedar. Y me quede pero no les dije que iba a participar ni estuve de acuerdo pero , pero si tuve la oportunidad a la noche siguiente de reunirme y ahí pegue fuerte si, entonces me desahogue un poco pero igualmente me duele me duele, pero por ahí también digo nosotros, a ver, para nosotros las comunidades aborígenes es duro

esto y le digo porque porque nosotros hemos aceptado la relación católica y la hemos perdonado, porque cuando el Papa pide perdón por lo que se había hecho, el Papa Juan Pablo II, perdón por lo que se había hecho con las comunidades indígenas yo creo que eso es poco, eso es poco porque nunca la iglesia católica salió a defender a las comunidades indígenas. Yo estoy dentro de la parroquia que como el papa había pedido que se hicieran ministerios dentro de las prelaturas de la parroquia entonces crean el ministerio de los aborígenes. Y bueno lamentablemente han tenido la desgracia digo yo de elegirme a mí para representar esta parroquia de Amaicha. En la prelatura de Cafayate nosotros pertenecemos a la prelatura de Cafayate y oh que paradójica porque son españoles los sacerdotes de la prelatura y a nosotros los españoles nos han cepillado si se quiere (silencio) yo en ningún documento de tantos que hay en el mundo, en el país he escuchado que la iglesia haya salido a defender a los aborígenes o a desmentir que en nombre de Dios han matado y eso es lo que

más me duele y hoy nuevamente en esto sí que no se el próximo encuentro que tenga en la prelatura como ira a ser mi (silencio) mi análisis que yo haga no? Porque me es duro, muy difícil, muy fuerte, porque no veo que mí, que la iglesia católica defienda realmente a las comunidades aborígenes no veo, no veo y el aborígen es el que más sufre.

Name: Calcha18-2

Place and Date: Encalilla, CIAV,
August 2018

Transcription by Agustina Ponce
(IAM Tucumán)

§3: F: Esa cuestión un poco... que, bueno, yo voy grabando siempre, por la memoria. La cuestión es cómo de los proyectos de desarrollo que se empezaron a implementar acá y en la comunidad a partir de los '80, por ahí, ¿no? con estos de **ECIRA** primero y después vinieron otros. Lo que quisiera ver es qué ha quedado de esta cosa?

§4: E: Y sí, pero ahora para venir a ver qué es lo que ha quedado, tendría que venir un día entero y yo disponer de un día entero porque hay que caminar, hay que ir por pozos, por las cosas que están hechas, los pozos que están funcionando, las parcelas, mostrarles... Ahora con este día es más fiero que la mierda.

§5: F: sí (ríe).

§6: E: Este... cómo se han ido dando las cosas aquí. Antes eran motores gasoleros que están ahí, motores gasoleros. Ahora son eléctricos. Ahora ya han cambiado porque se fue muy caro, mucho desgaste. Los motores también se echaban a perder cada nada y todo era malo, hasta que lo agarramos y los cambiamos ahí a eléctricos y son este.... Eran lindos porque tenían poco trabajo,

digamos, para mantenerlos, porque tan solo apretar un botón y nada más. Y la luz también era poco lo que se cobraba, pero ahora están sacándonos los ojos, ya. No sabemos si vamos a continuar con la finca.

§7: F: Claro, está complicado.

§8: E: Realmente está muy complicado, muy caro, y todos los meses están aumentando, entonces, este... mucha gente que está dejando. O aquí... por lo productivo de todo... toda verdura... toda clase de viñedo... de la fruta que ponga, la planta que ponga se cría. La tierra muy fértil, muy linda, pero ahora nos jode el agua. Eso es lo que nos jode. Y bueno, este...se pone mucho ajo, pimienta para pimentón y eh.. acá al frente está el INTA, que tiene otro pozo el INTA también que era también gasolero y se le hecho a perder y bueno, nunca más lo han arreglado. Hoy están trabajando con nosotros... nosotros estamos proveyendo del agua, pero este... también son un poco pesados... no... bueno... no sé cómo sabrá ser los arreglos que tienen ellos que no llega la plata a tiempo y EDET cuando marca la boleta, la marca, y si no la pagas te la corta a la luz. Sí, nosotros tenemos un problemita con ellos y algunos de los parceleros. Como digo, ya algunos no quieren ni siquiera pagar la boleta. Entonces les cortamos el agua a todos y todo aquel que no ha pagado, bueno, lamentablemente están con la bueno...lamentablemente están

con la... la alfalfa... la única que aquí...este... es una planta más dura para las secas. Pero de ahí a otro cultivo, se ha puesto una viña, se ha puesto verdura y hay que darle agüita, y eso si no la riega se seca.

§9: ¿Entendés? Yo tengo acá plantas de *viñas*, de uvas para vino y esta es una uva torrontés para uvas de mesa. Y esto se hace de a poco y, como le digo, las plantas tratan de echando el agua y ablandando la tierra, enseguida tiene producción. Pero bueno... estas tierras han venido de ya muchísimos años, por todos los caciques que pasaron y cierto día se han empezado a abrir así poteros, y han llamado a la gente para que trabaje. Entonces... a todo aquel que quería trabajar, le daban 3 hectáreas. Y eso la mayoría las tienen, tienen a las 3 hectáreas, pero no están todas trabajadas. Yo aquí he comprado 6 hectáreas que tengo, son compras que he hecho a los mismos... este... parceleros que se le ha dado. A los mismos comuneros yo les he comprado, no le he comprado [sic] a un primo de santa maría que estaba viviendo ahí y no la cultivaba, ésta, y la otra le compré a mi cuñado. Y bueno...

§10: F: ¿Y cuándo se les concedieron las parcelas?

§11: E: Y ya desde el año 80 para atrás todavía. Pero todo era monte, todo eran tierras vírgenes que nunca se las había trabajado. Entonces de a poco, de a poco, a

los que ya les han dado han empezado a alambrar, a cerrarlo, y de a poco iban trabajando. Nadie tenía la plata para decir "ya la voy a poner a funcionar a las 3 hectáreas", como me ha pasado a mí: yo también a este terreno lo he comprado con bordos, con bajos, con pozos. Y con el arado, con una palita que tenía, con los animales, he ido [...]. Pero me costó mucho. Aquí ha trabajado Sebastián, mi otro hijo, y bueno... se trabajaba día y noche para poder comer...todo... Ha costado mucho.

§12: F: ¿La cuestión de hacer el proyecto acá este de TESIRA como surgió?

§13: E: bueno, ese es la suerte que hemos tenido también... porque ha nos ha venido esa gente con esa plata... como quien dice... esa 'plata dulce' que nos donaba, los 550.000 dólares era lo que nos dieron. No nos dieron, sino que ellos han mandado a la gente para que... a buscar una empresa, qué se yo, una ONG, y se han cavado los pozos. Los dos pozos que están cavados, han sido cavados por... los que están funcionando han sido perforados por esa gente. Han entregado toda clase de herramientas: tractor, arado, carro y una camioneta. Ha sido muy beneficioso y bueno... de eso lo que está en pie es aquí: los pozos y las tierras que han empezado a trabajarse, todo... En ese tiempo nos ayudaban con mucho para poner la alfalfa. Para ellos era un

lugar ideal para la alfalfa y para mejorar los suelos.

§14: F: Entonces digamos que este proyecto... o sea... respondía... había necesidad para mejorar la cosa...

§15: E: ¡Pero por supuesto! Por supuesto porque... ¿por qué se hace, se abre aquí este polo productivo? Es porque ya Amaicha carece de mucha el agua, a partir de octubre, noviembre, hasta diciembre que vienen las primeras lluvias recién, son tres meses que no hay agua. Peleamos allá por una gota de agua para regar, y bueno, ahora el pueblo se ha agrandado tanto que casi la... el 80% es para viviendas agua potable, y ya no queda nada. Entonces, de eso es que se abrió esto. Y se abrió en buena hora. Cuando ha venido esa gente... bueno... ha visto que era el lugar ideal para hacer el proyecto y se largó acá. Por eso han hecho los estudios para ver si había agua, como teníamos un pozo de la secretaría que ese lo cavó... no me acuerdo, hace muchísimo... antes que he nacido yo, ya lo habrán cavado ese pozo, pero...

§16: F: ¿Y ese es el que está abandonado?

§17: E: Ese está abandonado, sí. Y después bueno, se han hecho los pozos para la comunidad. Y bueno, gracias a Dios, el que se... el que quiere trabajarla a la tierra, la tierra da. La tierra no hay caso: te da todo. Pero el que viene por decir, "bueno, me voy para

encalillar, a despedazarme un poco y a poner un poco de chacra y vuelvo cuando quiero", no va a tener nunca nada. Aquí la tierra muy noble, muy fértil, pero hay que trabajarla. Sino no, no va. Hay mucha gente que ha venido, ha puesto sus plantaciones y se ha ido allá, y ...

§18: F: Misma gente de la comunidad...

§19: E: claro, toda gente de la comunidad. Aquí no hay ningún gente de afuera. Aquí es comuneros... todos son comuneros. Y bueno, así también se le ha ido con la producción, nunca han tenido. Y renegaban y todo porque no se cosechaba. Bueno, pero si no lo han cuidado, la Pachamama te da pero... te da fuerza... está bien... te da fuerza, todo... pero a trabajarla. Yo vivo gracias a Dios de mi finca. No tengo... digamos... no es que tenga, que gano 'la plata', pero me mantengo bien, trato de que todo salga bien.

[saludan y se corta la grabación. Luego continúa...]

§23: E: Eh... donde termina aquello, la alameda... ¿ve donde están los pinos aquellos?... para ésta mano ahí hay un pozo. De ahí entras por el centro, todo este de ladrillo la casita y de ahí entras por un camino... casi casi frente... los pozos están un poquito más allá. Y ya ahí entra un callejón así para acá. A 100 a 200... a 200 metros, ya vas a ver una casilla más. Ese es el otro pozo.

§24: F: Sí, mientras veníamos, Seba me ha indicado un poquito dónde quedaban...

§25: E: ah, bien...

§26: F: claro, porque yo quería sacar unas fotos y ver un poco...

§27: E: sí, saca... Ves eso es todo mi producción. Todo se cosecha aquí. Y esto estaba hasta aquí, estaba lleno. Si yo he hecho 20.000 kilos. Y se va vendiendo. De a poco se va vendiendo. Ahora no tengo la camioneta, la tengo rota, pero bueno, ya este... si quiere vamos hasta allá. Yo estoy esperando que venga una gente, pero ya no van a venir. Me están por poner la energía solar... panel solar... me han dicho que iban a venir, pero con este viento no creo que vengan ya. Y bueno esto yo tengo aquí, ¿ves?. Estos son las parcelas de la alfalfa. Yo a esto todo lo corto y lo hago fardo. Que ahora ya no tengo ni... nada... porque se vende mucho y es un corte, una planta que vos la cosechas, te da nueve cortes en el año, un corte por mes. Y yo de este lote estoy sacando entre 130 fardos, 150 fardos. Ponele que por tu.... Por lo barato que está ahora, está a 140 - 150 pesos el fardo. Pero hacerle un cálculo de 100 pesos nomás: y son 13.000 pesos. Y para sácalo en el mes, no sé qué gana. Y esto ¿qué tenés que hacer? Dos riegos y nada más. Y esta alfa te dura alrededor de 10 años productivos. O sea que vos lo has sembrado y olvidate: a cortar y a cosecharlo. Este.... Y bueno, yo

aquí me quiero venirme ya de allá porque para empezar a criar, a hacer una pequeña granja y empezar a cuidar animales: chancho, gallinas... ¿ves? Aquí ya tengo yo un [...] de cabras también y el pasto es gratis para ellos porque yo la tengo toda la mantención. Aquí le lecho un corral y voy de a poco... este... buscando los animalitos. Tengo allá los corrales, tarimas para hacer allá arriba los corrales para los chanchos...

Name: Calcha18-3

Place and Date: Amaicha del Valle, July 2018

Transcription by Agustina Ponce (IAM Tucumán)

§5: E: entonces ya le respondo yo que pregunta usted...

§7: F: ahá, dale, sí. Entonces, Doña Lastenia... estamos u poco para ehm investigar este tema que estoy trabajando que es sobre los patrimonios culturales de la, de la comunidad eh de Amaicha, acá del territorio. Entonces la primera pregunta que me gustaría hacerle era que me comentara

(Ingresa alguien al domicilio y saluda. Luego continua)

§11: F: eh....según lo que es su experiencia, eh, ¿qué cosas importantes existen acá en Amaicha, que lugares, que... que tradiciones, digamos existen?

§13: E: hm... creo que va a entrar frío por ahí (se refiere a la puerta abierta), este...

§15: F: ¿quiere que vaya a cerrar?

§17: E: no, ya la cierro yo.

§19: F: no, no se preocupe, está bien.

§21: E: sí, es que entra frío.

(F. cierra la puerta)

§27: E: ¿usted quiere saber cómo es la historia de nuestro pueblo,

de nuestra gente, de hm... de las costumbres, de... de, de lo... más o menos, de lo ha sido antes Amaicha, lo que es ahora...?

§29: F: exacto, correcto, poco, pero según lo que usted recuerde, digamos. Me interesa sobre todo la experiencia que usted ha podido observar en estos cambios ¿no? cómo eran esas costumbres, igual han cambiado con respecto a hace algunos años, y un poco si me pudiera comentar según lo que usted vio eh... estos cambios que ha habido en la... en cons-... en la... en digamos en las costumbres, en los rituales, la... y eso.

§31: E: y sí, este, ha habido y hay muchos cambios y se nota el cambio. Nosotros como gente mayores que hemos sido criados de tal forma, cómo, cómo se vivía antes, cómo se trabajaba, cómo se- era el sacrificio para tener algo... pero se lo tenía, porque si queríamos criar un animal, si queríamos sembrar, teníamos nosotros pero con sacrificio de trabajar, este, la tierra o de cuidar un animal que sea cualquier animal que sea.

§32: Antes sabía haber mucho aquí caballos, había vacas, cabras, ovejas y bueno, ahora hacienda ya no queda. Antes se sabía vivir todos los días siempre comprando siempre carne de cabrito de cabra, *acá vendiendo* la gente, de ahí de vecina nomás, de aquí cerca del puesto a vender, pero hoy en el día ya

nadie, no vienen a vender porque ya nadie cría, nadie se preocupa por nuestras tierras y decir “no, yo me voy a un puesto a donde hay una vertiente de agua y cuidar y voy a tener”, porque hay gente que sí cuida y tiene pero con mucho eh, cuidado, mucho sacrificio, pero lo tiene.

§34: F: dale.

§36: E: Y bueno, lo que han dejao' todo han abandonao' todas las casas del campo del lugar, vecinos, han abandonao', se han ido a otras partes y eso quedó botao' todo. Queda campo, queda desierto...

§38: F: acá en las afueras de la...

§40: E: claro, afuera nomás del pueblo, sí. Cerca nomás como ser... yo conozco todos los puntos, que se llaman, hacia el costado de Amaicha, por tanto el norte, el sur, el este o el oeste. Sé la gente que más o menos sabían existir, vivir y cuidar.

§42: F: ¿y ahora ya no se, no se dan estas prácticas?

§44: E: ya no, ya no. ya no se dan estas prácticas. Antes la gente de ahí, vecinos nomas, sabían sacar mucha leche de cabra pero queso, quesillo, y se sabía vivir de eso.

§46: F: hm... pero ahora siguen existiendo, digamos, siempre, no sé, la ... se venden los quesos, por ejemplo...

§48: E: sí, pero ahora ya no. Ahora ya si traen muy poco, muy

raro la gente que viene a bajar un... un queso y traer. Antes aquí cerca nomás eran los campos que se llamaban “El Ara”, se llamaba este, “Las Cortaderas”, otro....

§57: E: y ellos sabían bajar semanalmente con las cargas con queso, con carne, pero aho- en el día ya nadie, nadie. Por eso se nota muy muy vigente el cambio que, que existe en nuestra comunidad.

§59: F: hm... ¿y para usted a que se dio este, este cambio, digamos? O sea, por qué la gente ya no está...

§61: E: bueno, porque cada vez, como había un ma-.... (a continuación, se dirige a una persona que ingresa a la habitación) cerrá papá...

(Se interrumpe la grabación)

§66: F: eh ¿cómo es que se dio ese cambio, o sea, por qué la gente ya no está...?

§68: E: ah, porque la gente joven ya quiere fácil todo, quiere trabajar en otra cosa, ya no cuidar animales, no está bien que estudien los chicos, que sean algo en la vida. Pero eh, por ejemplo es que cientos y cientos de chicos que sí... les hace falta el estudio, que estudien que sean algo, pero no hay trabajo, eso es lo que pasa, que muchos docentes estudian y se reciben y no hay un trabajo

§70: F: dale

§72: E: no hay nombramiento, entonces esa gente está de vicio han estudiado o ya se van a Tierra del Fuego, a Rio Grande, hay muchísima gente de aquí de Amaicha del Valle en Río Grande, en Tierra del Fuego.

§74: F: ¿ah, sí?

§76: E: porque bueno ahí consiguen trabajo, en las fábricas, en bueno... muchas docentes que se reciben de maestro, de profesores se van ahí

§78: F: a enseñar ahí

§80: E: ¿ve? y ya no, y bueno y ya tienen su familia allá y ya no, pue, ya buscaron todo lo fácil y, y vivir pue' trabajan y ganan bien y ya dejan sus pagos.

§82: F: dale

§84: E: ya dejan...

§86: F: dale. Entonces un poco esto es una cuestión que me parece interesante ¿no? una forma de cuidar el territorio. Usted me estaba diciendo que, o sea, todavía estas prácticas de, de crianza de los animales y... eh... es una forma de cuidar el territorio de alguna manera

§88: E: ¡y claro que sí! ¡Claro que sí! Se cuidaba el territorio, pero era muy lindo, yo en mi época que yo estoy desde los 82 años, que era muy lindo Amaicha, estos campos de la comunidad indígena, porque la comunidad indígena es muy grande el territorio que tiene la comunidad.

§90: F: sí...

§92: E: entonces nosotros vivimos adentro de estos lugares que son comunidad indígena y bueno, este, ahí se, ¿cómo le voy a decir? Ahí eso, ahora como le digo, ahora está abandonado, todo, todo está abandonado

§94: F: ¿y queda alguna... de estos pagos, es estos puestos que usted me estaba diciendo, queda algún resto, digamos, que se pueda ver, que se pueda fotografiar?

§96: E: y sí, siendo que usted conozca el valle a donde...

§98: F: eso me encantaría

§100: E: claro, por ejemplo, este no hay nadie pue, ya son casitas agotadas ya

§102: F: casitas agotadas.... Pero claro son casitas agotadas que están contando esa historia de abandono...

§104: E: sí, sí, eso, eso.

§106: F: que, que usted me está contando

§108: E: y queriendo la gente si pueden venir los mismos comuneros o poner un criadero de cabras, de chanchos, de gallinas, de vaca, porque como ahora ya hay facilidad de pozo, de hacer un pozo y sacar mucha agua, pero se viviría re bien aquí, estaría re bien la gente si si se hiciera eso

§110: F: ah, dale.

§112: E: porque son tierras aquí muy pedregoso, como usted lo ve, pero son tierras hermosas. Lo que usted siembra, cosecha; si es la papa, si es la uva, el durazno, todas, todas frutas, manzana, ciruela, damasco, se da. Pero hay que, como le digo yo, cuidar.

§114: F: claro

§116: E: y sí, de la hacienda lo mismo. Sí, para sembrar, se sembraba-... antes se cosechaba mucho trigo.

§118: F: ¿sí?

§120: E: mucho trigo se cosechaba ahí y no se compraba, pue, harina, como ahora compramos todo, y el pan, nosotros no, cuando éramos chicas nosotros sabíamos cosechar el trigo, hacer moler, que todavía hay un molino aquí cerca

§122: F: ahá...

§124: E: que hacían la harina y, y de eso había- hacíamos el pan

§126: F: ¿el molino este está siempre en el territorio?

§128: E: sí, sí, sí. Pero ahora también ya mueven el molino ese.

§130: F: ah, porque no hay nadie que le traiga trigo

§132: E: ya no, y otra que también los dueños también ya no están, ya son gente grande de muchos años que ya han muerto y ya lo han abandonado al molino.

§134: F: aha.

§136: E: pero se está pensando otra vez de volver a ver si podemos conseguir un molino para, para empezar a moler pimenton, moler el trigo, el maíz

§138: F: dale...

§140: E: claro.

§142: F: listo, y hm... bueno, ya que estamos en esta discusión sobre el cuidado, no? cuidar. Quisiera si usted quiere que me vaya contando un poco, ehm... bueno, las prácticas de cuidado como se expresa en relación con las ofrendas a la Pacha, como la que se va a hacer mañana y pasado y como la que hicieron el otro día en la fiesta... y para usted, ¿qué es, qué significa esa, esa celebración?

§144: E: y bueno, esa celebración es muy importante para nosotros, que nosotros aquí amamos la tierra, porque sabemos que la tierra nos da todo. Nosotros estamos sobre la tierra ¿y quién vive que no es sobre la tierra? Nadie. Todos, todos vivimos sobre la tierra, y si no estuviera la tierra, entonces no tendríamos nada, nadie, ni viviríamos siquiera. Pero tenimo' la Santa Tierra que aquí en los campos, que son tierras vírgenes que están perfectas para sembradío, para hacer alguna agricultura. Y por eso nosotros cuidamos la Santa Tierra y creímos y le pedimos cada primero de agosto que sea bueno el año, que haiga agua y bueno, pero ¿qué pasa a veces? Hay agua pero la gente

como le digo, no quiere trabajar ya, no quiere cuidar, no quiere sembrar. Mucha gente sí, sí, sí.

§146: F: hm, ¿entonces por qué se sigue haciendo, se sigue haciendo, digamos? ¿por qué se, se sigue practicando esta forma de celebración a la tierra cuando la gente ya no, no se importa?

§148: E: digamos, no, ya se.... Y bueno nosotros los que estamos todavía creemos y explicamos eso, este, hacimo' las peticiones a la tierra.

§150: F: hm...

§152: E: claro...

§154: F: ¿y eso siempre fue así o...?

§156: E: no, sí, sí. Hay... más de todo hay, ahí cuando yo era chica, toda la gente tenía su... su apacheta porque hay caminos, todos eran caminos de herradura. ¿usted sabe qué es 'camino de herradura'?

§158: F: eh, sí...

§160: E: que se va a caballo, o a caminando o no hay calle...

§162: F: no hay asfalto...

§164: E: que van ahí, que van los vehículos no. son senderos de... y se va, entonces va por un camino y se separa uno para acá, el otro para acá. Uno va a Casillaco y el otro va a Sala. Entonces ahí hay una apacheta que es entonces hay dos apachetas ahí, seguro es que se separan los caminos, y hay que

rastrearlo al camino para seguir, si usted va a donde el punto que usted quiere ir.

§166: F: claro, entonces como un indicador...

§168: E: exacto, es la apacheta. Y bueno también ahí la apacheta es una creencia de que es como un altar que, un altar que hay espíritus de... de.. ¿cómo le bua' decir? Hay espíritus buenos que han sido de antes que lo han ingeniado eso. Por eso tenemos esa creencia. Vamos, cortamos un peda- poco de montecito, le ponemos a la a la apacheta que es hecha de piedra. Y bueno, había esto... cómo se llama, leyenda, de que antes aparecían muchas cosas malas, como ser era la mulánima, era otro... otras cosas que aparecían del mal que no eran ehm... no era de nuestro... nuestro ¿cómo le voy a decir? no era que se existía aquí, sino cosas como, como fantasmas que aparecían y bueno, la apacheta para eso era la apacheta, *llegaba a la apacheta y salvaba todo, ya si le aparecía*

§170: F: ¿y dónde aparecían esos fantasmas?

§172: E: y ahí, a veces *llevan a* la gente por los caminos, por los senderos, y...

§174: F: ¿pero hay algún lugar específico donde aparecen?

§176: E: eh, bueno, no y claro, ¿no le digo? En cada apacheta viene a ser. Hay muchas,

montones de apachetas, no una sola.

§178: F: ¿ah, y ahí aparecen esos fantasmas?

§180: E: claro, sí, para el camino por donde usted vaya siempre se separan los caminos, ahí esta la apacheta.

§182: F: dale. Muy lindo eso de los caminos. Eh, listo, y otra cosita que quería preguntarle, quería enseñarle una foto también, que justo la busqué ayer porque eh... bueno otro lugar de estos abandonados, como usted ve, me interesan esos lugares abandonados, como soy arqueólogo, es un poco este el ...el rumbo de la investigación. Ver un poco por qué se han abandonado los lugares y esto.... Entonces uno de los lugares abandonados que me parece...

§184: E: yo bua' prender la luz.

§186: F: ...interesante es esta, la vieja hostería donde ahora esta la [...] de la comunidad. Ehm... entonces estuve buscando un poco de noticias ahí por internet y vi en la pagina de la eh, de la comunidad esta fotografía, no se si usted recuerda qué era esa...

§188: E: sí, estábamos con la señora Silvia. ¿ve? esto... ahí estoy yo.

§190: F: sí, por eso le mostraba, porque la reconocí.

§192: E: Está Toribia Ávalos, la este... Beto Andrade, la madre, ta

el finao' Vidal Ávalos, y estamos las copleras...

§194: F: entonces esto, digamos, la leyenda, la descripción de la imagen que ponía era que era una celebración del primero de agosto de hace 2014 si no me equivoco era.

§196: E: 2014.

§198: F: me parece que ponían la fecha esa, sí. Y justo se estaba haciendo acá en la vieja hostería. Entonces bueno, en realidad quería hacerle....

§200: E: claro, sí ahí... entonces ahí es. Ahora ya no hacemos' más aquí, ya se hemos ido a la bodega, sí. Y siempre esto hay que hacer tempranito a la salida del sol.

§202: F: pero allí en la bodega he visto que empieza al mediodía.

§204: E: sí, bueno ahora ya no, ya no se respeta eso de que hacíamos temprano. Ya hace, ya hacimo' al mediodía, ya no... antes que saliera el sol se tomaba el tecito de ruda y se hacía la ceremonia

§206: F: sí,

§208: E: claro, y pero a penas amanecía se las destapaban a las, sac-... daban vuelta la piedra y bueno, y la piedra dice si estaba si esta- si va a ser llovedor el año, o va a ser seco. Ya tiene esa experiencia la gente eh, de saber, porque la piedra si está húmeda es porque va a ser llovedor, y si

está seca, no no va a haber casi agua. Así que eso es.

§210: F: sí. Entonces si...

§212: E: muy linda la foto.

§214: F: sí, justo la vi que estaba ahí y entonces dije "bueno, esa se la voy a mostrar a Doña Lastenia". Y bueno, justo le quería hacer un par de preguntitas aprovechando de la foto, que una tiene que ver con ahm... bueno, empezando con la, con esa historia de la vieja hostería, ¿usted sabe un poco la historia que ha tenido?...

§216: E: y sí, ha sido una hostería muy linda, pero se trabajaban re bien la gente que atendía eso, porque tenían todas las comodidades, tenía de todo, de todo tenía esa hostería. Y bueno, yo no sé por qué después con el tiempo la gente han empezao' a poner gente mismo de aquí que atiendan, que... y ya se iban, los dejaban como encargados a la gente esta... y ya empezó a defraudar todo defraudar todo.

§218: F: ¿pero esto de quien era la propiedad, de, del...

§220: E: ¿esa, la hostería?

§222: F: ...del predio?... sí.

§224: E: claro, era del gobierno

§226: F: del gobierno

§228: E: del de Tucumán, sí. Era del gobierno la hostería. Pero ¿qué pasa? Que el edificio está sobre de la tierra de la comunidad indígena. El edificio sí era del gobierno, pero la tierra no.

(se acerca aparentemente un niño y lo saludan).

§232: E: claro, la tierra no, la tierra. Por eso nosotros cuando... qué ha sido en el 2008... que ha ganado ¿conoce usted al cacique?

§234: F: ¿Cuándo entró ese cacique?

§236: E: claro, ese cacique que está ahora.

§238: F: sí.

§240: E: y bueno, él nos nombró, que lo acompañemos a trabajar a.. a... así como un a política que nosotros hemos ganao'. La gente nos eligió a nosotros para que seamos los representantes del Concejo de Ancianos y de para eso, para a veces piden cosas y viene a la comunidad,

§242: F: ahá

§244: E: pero resulta que nosotros cuando hemos entrao' la... estaba todo endeudada la comunidad. No tenía personería jurídica, eh, lo... había cinco expedientes en déficit que tenían tan solo cuenta.

§246: F: dale

§248: E: y de mucha plata, de mucha plata cada expediente. Y bueno, la, la, los que han venido estos del INAI san- de Buenos Aires, se han dado con que la comunidad no tenía nada: ni personería, tenía deudas y deudas...*porque nos levantaron.* Entonces cuando nosotros

entramos a una forma de querer hacer algo, se damos con que estábamos pobres del todo, no teníamos ni una silla para sentarse. Así que andábamos pidiendo prestado, ponele, en una casa, para que empezar a hacer las reuniones.

§250: F: Dale, y antes que, o sea, por lo que he entendido, antes del 2008, del 2009, no había, no funcionaba el Consejo de Ancianos...

§252: E: no, 2008 ya.

§254: F: eh... ¿y antes no había?

§256: E: más antes no, no, no.

§258: F: o sea que fue con ese cacique...

§260: E: claro, este cacique ha sido que ha traído la... esa... ¿cómo le vua' decir? Eh, esa...

§262: F: claro, este... "institución" lo llamarían...

§264: E: así creamos la institución para trabajar sobre la comunidad, pero mante-... él empezao' a hacer gestión, gestión, a irse a Buenos Aires, golpear puertas, hablar con uno, esperar, volver al otro mes, volver a esperar... hasta que un día nos dice "¿qué parece si si vamos a la hostería?". La hostería ya estaba... era ruinas. La hostería esa era una ruina, ya. Lo único que sabía haber era papel higiénico porque en todos esos *escalones*

§266: F: ah, ya era baño colectivo

§268: E: baño, baño de... de iban, dormían las parejas, venía de esa gente que nosotros no estamos de acuerdo con esa gente que vienen que... a... posicionarse aquí, bueno aquí le decimos los hippies. Eso...

§270: F: claro, lo habían ocupado un poco, digamos...

§272: E: ellos todo ocupaban ahí, y vivían ahí, y todo todo, *perdone usted*, todo cochino, con las ruinas... horrible. Basura nomás había..

§274: F: claro, sí. Entonces decidieron

§276: E: hemos decidido ir a entrarse a la...

§278: F: ahí

§280: E: pero en una partecita, a donde hemos hecho una limpieza como en esto. Y bueno, después hemos empezado a seguir, seguir y bueno, el mismo pueblo también a veces la gente por ahí, eh.. no sé si son malos o son... qué es lo que tienen, porque no les gustaba que nosotros se vamos a entrar ahí, como

§282: F: ... al pueblo no le gustaba eso?

§284: E: claro...

§286: F: ¿por qué será?

§288: E: bueno, algunos sí, otros no, los que estaban en contra nuestro, que no nos ha costado decir que no, que eso era ajeno

§290: F: que no era de ustedes

§292: E: que no era nuestro, no. que urgente nos han denunciado. Nos han denunciado y bueno, nosotros hemos ido a la policía de aquí y les hemos explicado que sí, que nosotros se hemos entrado por tal razones, de cómo estaba el de- dentro del pueblo eso ahí, porque es en el centro del pueblo que está. ¿Y cómo va a estar esas ruinas ahí que no tiene control de nada, ni el único tene- de lo-, gente que lo de lo, gente... que iban a tomar vino, hacían este, grupo de -que nosotros decimos de borrachería.

§294: F: ahá

§296: E: de tomar, dormir ahí nomás... claro, así, esa gente, que bebe mucho alcohol. Bueno era una ruina de todo. Y bueno, después han ido a la policía de aquí, nos han dicho [...] y nosotros le hemos explicado.

§298: E: igual nos seguían denunciando. Después ya han venio' de Tafí la policía, hasta que ya han venido la Brigada de Tucumán a querernos correr a sacarnos. Pero bueno, pero nosotros le hemos explicao' la forma.

§300: F: ¿y ustedes como lo explicaron a eso?

§302: E: y bueno, que no se podíamos retirar porque era nuestra la tierra de la c-... era, el edificio estaba sobre la tierra de la comunidad.

§304: F: ¿entonces ustedes estaban interviniendo para... para reclamar...

§306: E: para reclamarlo que no esté eso ahí, ese mal aspecto que tenía ese, ese edificio tan grande. Pero ¿qué pasa? La gente mismo, sí, de aquí del pueblo nomás ha sido y gente de Santa María y todos los... venían, han llevado todo. Han llevado tanto sanitarios, tap- azulejos de los baños, toda clase de lo que más han podido ya...

§308: F: claro, todo el material

§310: E: de todo han llevado, todo, todo, de todo, de la cocina, de las camas, de... de los baños, de ... y después ya han empezao' a sacar los azulejos, han sacao' de todas las paredes de la cocina, de los baños. Después ya últimamente han empezao' por los techos... qué usted ve como están los techos

§312: F: sí, están todos caídos

§314: E: bueno, todo porque lo... han empezao' la gente a llevar como fuera de ellos y total no era de nadie. Y bueno, por eso, nosotros hemos reclamado eso al gobierno, que cómo puede ser eso. Y bueno, porque han visto que nosotros teníamos razón y bueno, nos han dejao', hemos seguido nosotros. Pero ya no es ni parecido con lo que era esa hostería.

§316: F: dale.

§318: E: era muy lujosa, muy bien...

§319: F: ¿y usted recordará en esa hostería justamente, se dio, eh un parlamento indígena en el año '73...

§321: E: hm... ¡ah!

§323: F: ¿recuerda usted eso?

§325: E: en el '73...

§327: F: me parece, en esa fecha más o menos...

§329: E: no sé, porque nosotros a veces no estábamos todo el año acá en Amaicha. Nosotros se íbamos a la zafra a Tucumán.

§331: F: a la zafra a Tucumán... trabajar a la zafra, claro.

§333: E: claro, así que nosotros no... no recuerdo eso yo. Yo lo que sé bien ya es del 2008, del 2004 póngale, que hemos empezado ya había otros caciques que...pero no... ellos no han podido conseguir que, que, conseguir la personería jurídica para que esos expedientes estaban en archivos, entonces estaban ciegos que no teníamos nada, nada y nada.

§335: F: claro

§337: E: pero este cacique sí ha hecho destrabar todas esas cuentas, hecho archivar esos expedientes.

§339: F: dale, listo. Y...

§341: E: y hemos vuelto a tener personería.

§343: F: claro, ya tienen personería, ya se hizo el relevamiento ¿no? del INAI, esta todo en regla, claro... Dale, y , sí, otra... bueno ya me estaba comentando un poco de esto del Consejo de Ancianos ¿no? entonces en realidad esta última preguntita, eh... ¿usted cree que finalmente el gobierno de la provincia, digamos, le dio razón para el uso, digamos, de la hostería porque

§345: E: sí

§347: F: ya... eh... tenían... se había formado, digamos...

§349: E: el Consejo de Ancianos y el grupo que trabajaba pa' la comunidad, cacique.

§351: F: ¿piensa que usted tuvo algo... influyó, digamos, en esa decisión?

§353: E: claro, sí.

§354: Por eso este, ya este, bueno, ya digamos es nuestra, pero ¿qué pasa que cuesta muy mucho para empezar a arreglar eso? Ni aunque haiga donde nosotros hacemos ahora las reuniones, era tan solo las paredes viejas, que estaban todas destruidas, y eso todos nos hemos puesto a...

§356: F: lo refaccionaron.

§358: E: sí.

§360: F: dale. Listo. bueno, entonces, bueno, la ultima pregunta en realidad es siempre pedirle al entrevistado si quiere

añadir alguna cosa o corregir algo que había dicho, eso para eh, digamos que quede...

§362: E: y eso es lo que yo querría saber también este... ustedes vienen periodistas, vienen... ¿qué es usted un... qué es lo que es usted?

§364: F: eh, bueno, esa es una muy buena pregunta. No, yo soy arqueólogo,

§366: E: arqueólogo...

§368: F: pero trabajo con entrevistas porque es un poco las memorias que es lo que me interesa a investigar. Las memorias de la comunidad, la memoria del territorio, eh, por eso le preguntaba ¿no? qué cambio ha habido, cómo usted recuerda, digamos, qué cambios. Y bueno, como decía en esa reunión que hicimos allá...

§370: E: por supuesto nosotros hemos elegido este... a Eduardo Nieva para que seamos el Consejo de Ancianos como éramos gente más grande y conocíamos las ramas del árbol: que cómo vienen las familias, eso conocimos mucho, cómo vienen las familias, de quién son hijos, por qué son comuneros, por qué no.

§372: F: ahá. Y por...

§374: E: por eso hemos puesto en el Consejo de Ancianos

§376: F: por eso, por eso están en el Consejo de Ancianos.

§378: E: claro y más de todo, dar una buena, una buena presentación, una buena conducta y sí... una buena conducta que somos gente que no... nunca hemos andado en cosas raras y siempre nosotros lo que aquí nos gusta es el respeto, la tradición, la cultura, que yo soy coplera,

§380: F: a todo esto me estaba olvidando, quería también que me comentara un poco sobre las coplas,

§382: E: claro, la cultura

§384: F: digamos, en la transmisión también de conocimientos...

§386: E: claro, de la copla. Y bueno, nosotras venimos cantando de chicas. Eh, y bueno, después nos hemos empezado a salir a los escenarios, hemos empezado a... cada vez nos han empezado a valor- que tengamos valor las copleras.

§388: F: ¿hace cuánto que tienen valor las copleras?

§390: E: y bueno, ehm... si ya hace muchos años que tenemos valor las copleras y sí... cantamos siempre. Pero ahora se está perdiéndose la tonada nuestra.

§392: F: ahá....

§394: E: ahora va a escuchar muchas copleras, pero cantan... no cantan lo nuestro.

§396: F: ¿y qué es lo de ustedes?

§398: E: la forma de cantar, la forma de hacer la tonada, la forma de... de... hacer rimar la tonada o la copla.

§400: F: ahá... ¿esto es de... de acá?

§402: E: hay muchas copleritas nuevas que son, no está malo, pero ellos no cantan igual que nosotros, no cantan el joi joi, si lo cantan, lo cantan distinto a nosotras.

§404: F: ¿el joi joi?

§406: E: el joi joi.

§408: F: claro, como se llama el comedor este, justamente, no?

§410: E: así es.

§412: F: dale, y....listo. y... bueno, si no, esto de la copla también me parece interesante porque bueno, por lo que he escuchado también el otro día ¿no? son todas que tienen relación también con la

§414: E: ¡ah! ¿Como qué usted ha estao' para el...el sábado?

§415:

§416: F: el... cuando la fiesta?

§417:

§418: E: el sábado del... esa pal' *vino patero*

§419:

§420: F: sí, ahí estaba.

§421:

§422: E: bueno, ahí he cantado yo, cantado

§423:

§424: F: ¡sí! Si quiere se lo muestro, lo he grabado también eso.

§426: E: ¡ah, lo ha grabado usted!

§428: F: sí... este... a ver, ¿dónde está?

§430: E: fue cuando he cantado el sábado y después el domingo.

§432: F: ah, no, creo que lo tengo aquí también. ¿Y ya eh, van a cambia- a cantar también ahora para mañana o el miércoles para, para la Pacha?

§434: E: claro, el primero debe ser que sí.

§436: F: esto creo que es eh... está un poco movido, pero...

§438: *(reproduce el video...)*

§440: E: sí, pero este es del domingo...

§442: F: esto es del domingo a la mañana, sí. *Allá se notaba que había tomado algunos vasitos, que está medio [...]*

(siguen viendo el video)

§446: E: ah, ese es el domingo

§448: F: sí. Sí, eh... sí, no, me ha llamado la atención, bueno, todas muy lindas, pero la última, la última frase, sobre todo, esta referencia a las piedras que lloran... por la sangre...

§450: E: por la sangre que corría en el suelo. Y sí, antes ha corrió' sangre. Por eso venían los españoles a hacerse los dueños

de las tierras y bueno, y los maltrataban a nuestros antepasados, los golpeaban, los agarraban para esclavos, no les daban de comer, los ataban, y hasta que los hacían sufrir, los ataban en el sol, en el frío, y los mataban. Por eso este, yo canto así, otra que dice... creo que a esa la he cantado el sábado a esa que dice... ehm..

§451: "A los ajos los cortaron

Y a los tallos los quemaron

Pero en el fondo de la tierra

Las raíces quedaron."

§459: E: ese he cantado el sábado.

§461: F: el sábado, sí

§463: E: claro porque nosotros, yo me acuerdo de esa gente cómo, de mis abuelitos, cómo ellos lloraban porque ellos querían defender su territorio, lo que era nuestro, porque viéndolo bien era del indio todo lo... toda la Argentina, todo lo que es este, era del indio. Y bueno, hasta que se ha descubierto América y ya han venido los españoles a entrar y empezar a... agarrar las tierras, agarrar las tierras. Pero al indio lo maltrataban en lugar de cuidarlo como dueño, y *aún* quedaban, los abuelos quedaban como esclavos, los hacían sufrir, los mataban, no les daban de comer. Hasta que por ahí si... acá mismo en Amaicha la Comunidad Indígena venían los españoles a

corrernos, a quitarnos, pero y si veían que estábamos haciendo reuniones "¿por qué estas conversando vos con el otro por qué?" y si se juntaban tres, cuatro, así... "¿por qué, qué están planeando, *no entiende?*" entonces la gente se escondía a hacer esas reuniones, se escondía a planear cómo podíamos, podían hacer ellos para defender las tierras. Y bueno ellos planeaban de, de que tenían que, ya habían hecho de ver de conseguir la Cedula Real, la seguridad de la comunidad. Bueno, ahí ellos diz' que tenían noticias de que una reina española... mire usted: los españoles venían a corrernos a nosotros, pero los españoles - algunos- salían por nosotros, como ha hecho San Martín. Así, ellos, la reina española es la que nos ha dado la seguridad de la Cédula Real. Por eso nosotros tenimo', hemos hecho a que seamos dueños, pero venían otros españoles donde nos hacían iniquidad-... cosas muy tristes le hacían a la gente, a los indios.

§465: F: hm, claro

§467: E: y el indio antes vivía feliz. El indio vivía tranquilo. Vivía de la caza, de la pesca y de la cerámica, porque es tanto para conversar esos recuerdos que uno tenía... entonces el indio no tenía plata, ¿pero de qué vivía el indio? El indio vivía de... del mismo trabajo de ellos. Ellos se hacían la olla, la donde se cocinaba del barro. Ellos se

hacían las colchas, las camas, de la lana de oveja. Ellos de... ellos también se hacían del palo: hacían platos, cucharas... ni eso compraban porque tenían ellos tenían su habilidad y su alvertencia de hacer eso. Nosotros teníamos ollitas de barro, unas así, más grandes, otras más chiquitas. En unas hacíamos la mazamorra, en otras hacíamos el locro, en la otra hacíamos la sopa. Eso. Y bueno, y de las cucharas del plato hacíamos fuente, hacían batea... yo tengo todavía una batea así grandota que ¡uh! Esa batea ya debe tener como 150 años.

§469: F: ¡mirá! ¿acá la tiene?

§471: E: sí, y ahí hago pan... para todo me sirve una batea. Ese se llaman "batea". Y así vivían la gente, el indio, antes.

§473: F: claro, pero ya no se puede vivir así.

§475: E: y ya no, pue. Ahora ya no. y nosotros cuando éramos chicos, nuestros padres nos sabían cocinar y teníamos una fuente de palo que sería asinita, así como... así la fuente, y esa la llenaban de mazamorra o locro. Y cada uno de nosotros... éramos unos cuántos, como... nosotros éramos nueve hermanos- pero, eh.. póngale que habremos estado nueve, habremos estado seis... y teníamos seis cucharas de palo y teníamos y comíamos de la misma fuente. Y eso era la comida nuestra. *Tanto* y después nos ponían la mazamorra, se

hacía el pelón de durazno, y de eso se vivía... y del trigo, como le cuento, lo que cosechaba se hacía moler...

§477: F: claro. Listo.

§479: E: la carne... teníamos la hacienda... mucha cabra, se hacia charqui y se vivía eso, de la leche de cabra...

§481: F: dale, listo. bueno, la ultimísima pregunta, ya dejo de molestarla... eh... ¿antes no se podía quizás hablar de estas tradiciones como algo bueno, ¿no? en cambio ahora...

§483: E: ahora ya otra vez.

§485: F: ya otra vez se puede hablar

§487: E: ahora está sano, mejor. Porque sí, yo me acuerdo que había años que no, que... ¿qué gobierno estaba? Que era un... no se podía hablar nada de esto...

Name: Calcha18-6

Place and Date: Amaicha del Valle, August 2018

Transcription by Ana Victoria Leiva (IAM, Tucumán)

§3: **MUJER E:**..... () No para nosotros no, ahora que el haya tenido otro papeles, pero no no, nosotros no

§4: **E:** dale

§5: **MUJER E:** lo nuestro ha sido todo trabajo

§6: **E:** trabajo

§7: **MUJER E:** porque él quiere saber cuándo ha venido Ecira

§8: **E:** claro porque estuve hablando con F. entonces aparte de esta cosas de los papeles me había comentado que tenía que hablar con usted porque el, bueno para un poco tratar de recolectar su impresiones sobre ese proyecto, que le parece?

§9: **Cambia a Hombre E:** estaba un tal Marcos Pastrana que era cacique hace tiempo y el otro q estaba Mario Lera que era agrónomo, después estaba Korstanje, también que han venido con el proyecto, después un tal Acosta, un Ricardo Roche un Pedro Cerviño, un Roberto Cerviño y Luis Cerviño

§10: **E:** tres Cerviños

§11: **HOMBRE E:** tres eran, tres hermanos eran si, y ellos son los que han traído, Pedro Cerviño es a traído el proyecto de Italia, Ecira

Karin era agricultora, yo era agricultora, yo tenía poco tiempo para trabajar, trabajaba en la repartición de vialidad entonces (es interrumpido por el entrevistador)

§12: **E:** espere un cachito que la cosa que le pediría es si podemos grabar esta charlita un poco

§13: **HOMBRE E:** claro, trabajaba lo...

§14: **E:** entonces para poderlo

§15: **MUJER E:** mire él escucha no muy bien por ahí se le van las ideas porque ya andamos chacaados como dicen, como decía una viejita, estamos con poquito hilo en el carretel

§16: **E:** jaja dale... listo, si

§17: **HOMBRE E:** y después bueno ha venido un proyecto muy lindo entonces se ha hecho perforación de los pozos yo nada mas era agricultor y trabajaba en la repartición de vialidad y tenía tiempo los sábados y domingos, tenía q trabajar en la finca y trabajaba con el proyecto y ellos me colaboraba ellos con el agua, con todas las provisiones, con el servicio agrícola, han traído tractor, camionetas cinceles, arado y de ahí yo he entrado en el proyecto poniendo alfalfa, para semillas entonces después ha sido ya, que la semilla no andaba el tiempo, porque hay que conocer el clima el lugar donde uno vive, ellos se han puesto a poner en el mes de diciembre, en octubre cuando más corría viento y se les, mucha arena y la llevaba a la tierra seca,

no duraba un día, dos días la humedad por encima y les llevaba y han sembrado la alfalfa por surco y le ha empezado a arrancar así y el alpiste le ha empezado a arrancar todo, todo, era una lástima yo tenía media hectárea sembrada, la veía y bueno le digo la única solución es meterle agua casi todos los días pero no sé si lo vamos a poder evitar y bueno así lo hemos hecho con agua día por medio y la hemos salvado algo y lo otro ya lo hemos sembrado al voleo, al estilo nuestro y muy lindo y después ya ha sido cuando ha sido el tiempo de la cosecha para sacar semilla y claro los agrónomos no eran de acá del lugar, lugareño era uno, pero prácticamente digo para mí no sabía nada el agrónomo amaicheño que teníamos, no era hombre de trabajo, un muchacho joven

§18: **MUJER E:** lo que pasa que las tecnologías, los estudios son otra cosa

§19: **E:** las practicas

§20: **MUJER E:** y las prácticas son otras

§21: **HOMBRE E:** claro yo eso respeto el estudio que tienen ello pero hay que respetar también al lugareño y ver como es el clima

§22: **E: Claro**

§23: **HOMBRE E:** El clima como es y hay que ser de trabajo

§24: **E:Aja**

§25: **HOMBRE E:** entender por lo menos

§26: **MUJER E:** constante

§27: **HOMBRE E:** pero este muchacho se ha criado con el padre ha ido, lo único q sabía de lapicera y no sabía que era una pala, una azada, un sembradío nada

§28: **E: ajá**

§29: **HOMBRE E:** y así lo han puesto

§30: **E: y este quien era este agrónomo de acá?**

§31: **HOMBRE E:** como dice?

§32: **MUJER E:** si quien era el agrónomo (en respuesta a la pregunta del Sr). Bueno en realidad los agrónomos han venido de allá

§33: **E: si claro pero decía que había uno**

§34: **MUJER E:** no no, era un muchacho que entro a trabajar bueno acá, si él es recibido de agronomía, ahora es profesor de la agrotécnica. Vos decís de Mario?

§35: **HOMBRE E:** claro Mario

§36: **MUJER E:** si, es profesor de la agrotécnica

§37: **E: Mario?**

§38: **MUJER E:** Mario Lera, pero se ha defendido de acuerdo a su manera de ser, a su, no ha sido, no ha sido tan malo

§39: **E: ah**

§40: **MUJER E:** así que...pero los otros agrónomos han sido de este uno de Catamarca y el otro de Tucumán, usted de dónde viene?

§41: **E: Yo de Italia**

§42: **MUJER E:** ahhhh

§43: **E:** jajajaja

§44: **HOMBRE E:** muy bueno, muy lindo ha sido

§45: **MUJER E:** un proyecto muy bueno ha sido

§46: **HOMBRE E:** nada más que nosotros los lugareños no hemos sabido aprovecharlo, o sea que yo ya voy a tener 80 años, 77, 78 voy a cumplir ahora eh... uno venía conociendo y la agricultura trabajan de chico, cuestión de trabajo de hacienda, menudeo, hacienda chica como ser cabritas, si eso cuidábamos y andábamos porque esto, todos esos montes eran minados de cabras...

§47: **MUJER E:** es que eso era el medio de *sustencion* de nosotros

§48: **E:** de acá

§49: **HOMBRE E:** y después de haber ido perdiendo y perdiendo eso y perdiendo ya la gente, y la juventud ya no va a ir a criar una cabra y así ha pasado y aquí no le hemos dado importancia al proyecto y ha venido mucho dinero

§50: **E:** aja

§51: **HOMBRE E:** mucho mucho, mal de un principio, de un principio mal gastado digamos así

§52: **MUJER E:** no por la gente que ha venido de allá simplemente por la ignorancia de aquí que aquí se necesitaba un poco más de cursos, de orientación

§53: **E:** ah faltaba un poco más esta parte

§54: **MUJER E;** si, y bueno como todo ha visto, pero nosotros muy agradecidos con el proyecto italiano porque

§55: **E:** bueno yo soy italiano pero no tengo nada que ver con esto o sea que jajaja

§56: **MUJER E:** si no pero yo le digo que es una cosa que no se había dado nunca no? Y justo ha venido esto y bueno se ha dado que además que la gente en una palabra para decir en criollo, hemos sido muy brutos porque no sabíamos nosotros como actuar, como defendernos, como salir adelante

§57: **HOMBRE E:** y trabajar con proyectos, nunca

§58: **MUJER E:** claro, nada de oficinas, todo

§59: **HOMBRE E:** pero hemos salido y hemos ayudado mucho a los que estaban al frente como ser Ricardo Roche, estaban los Cerviños ellos Claro, él es que ha gestionado los fondos con el cacique de la comunidad de aquí que era un tal Miguel Pastrana y bueno han empezado mal con los pozos, las perforación, han empezado en La Encalilla un pozo.

§60: **MUJER E:** Con napa, con nada

§61: **HOMBRE E:** en la Puntilla han fracasado con la roca que ha entrado abajo

§62: **E:** Donde fracaso? EN LA PUNTILLA?

§63: **HOMBRE E:** Si en la PUNTILLA

§64: **MUJER E:** si, en la Puntilla fracaso

§65: **HOMBRE E:** y después se han ido a la punta de loma colorada que le llaman la bajada de Encalilla

§66: **E: si**

§67: **MUJER E:** de la cancha del avíos, más adelante ha visto que... ehh siiii ehh

§68: **HOMBRE E:** digamos la segunda bajada prolongada de aquí, porque la primera aquí y la segunda ahí al frente han perforado otro pozo y se han dado peor con la roca más dura y no había agua entonces dos fracasos que han tenido con los estudios que han hecho han dado con roca y el tercero que han hecho han ido a la finca de un muchacho Segura vecino mío y al frente de la finca mía ahí han dado con las aguas y están funcionando

§69: **E: allá en Encalilla**

§70: **HOMBRE E:** allá en encalilla están funcionando los dos pozos, y bueno ahí con eso hemos trabajado han sido motor diésel con gasoil, muy buenos, muy lindos motores, dos motores grandes potentes, uno que de un caudal no se dé cuanto que estaba 170 creo de profundidad tiraba una barbaridad de agua y el otro que tiraba tal vez menos pero menos perforado y bueno hemos andado y usted sabe cómo nos daban todo y yo menos como parcelero ponía a tierra apeas y me daban el servicio del tractor, del agua, me ponían peón me han puesto

alambre, los que no teníamos alambre la cerca,

§71: **E: porque era importante el alambre?**

§72: **HOMBRE E:** y había cabras ha visto? Y por tras de las cabras han quinchado, entonces han hecho quincho todo eso con trabillas

§73: **E: Que es quincho?**

§74: **HOMBRE E:** el alambre y se le pone como trabilla para que no pase la cabrita

§75: **MUJER E:** Para cercar, para cubrir por ejemplo nosotros esa pared queremos poner quinche en vez de poner material le ponemos jarilla o suncho, palos digamos, entonces el alambre era así y de ahí digamos, como le voy a decir, hay tejido en una palabra, para que no entren los animales y a eso le llamamos quincho

§76: **E: si perdón no conocía la palabra por eso pregunté jajaja**

§77: **MUJER E:** se ríe junto al entrevistador

§78: **HOMBRE E:** y hermoso como se han criado el alfa y la hemos dejado como dos tres meses y el agrónomo como no era de aquí y el otro que era de aquí no sabía prácticamente nada, era un muchacho que recién había estudiado

§79: **MUJER E:** poca práctica

§80: **HOMBRE E:** no sabía cuestión de nada de alfalfa, entonces un día yo veía que estábamos trabajando mal, entonces lo hablo a un agrónomo

y le digo mire vamos mal, no es tiempo para dejar la semilla, yo usted sabe tenía dos o tres metros de altor al alfa de aquí hasta el techo tiraba y era un solo monte. Han puesto obreros para que la untemos con las manos a la semilla y no íbamos y yo con ella cocinaba y llevaba obreros yo y me ponían ellos y no nos rendía el trabajo. Y le digo yo vamos mal yo lo he hablado al roche este le digo no es momento para que el otro agrónomo el que ha venido de Santiago del Estero me halle razón, el hombre de aquí es lugareño y justo han puesto cuando empieza a llover y usted sabe que la alfa es muy delicada, la semilla y ha florecido y ha empezado a carretear y empieza ya a querer germinar y ya no le tiene que caer agua porque ya madura ya se pudre, así que la hemos cortado y después la hemos trillado, la hemos llevado a Santa María y de Santa María a Santiago del estero pero ya se ha encarecido mucho el trabajo a ellos, porque ellos gastaban, pero hemos sacado lindas semillas y yo he quedado muy, y ellos me han felicitado a mi como lugareño y como parcelero dueño de la tierra que me dedicaba a trabajar, trabajaba sábado y domingo yo con ella el domingo hasta estas horas trabajaba y el lunes a las seis, siete de la mañana ya tenía que estar viajando para trabajar

§81: **E: trabajar en vialidad**

§82: **HOMBRE E:** tenía q trabajar a las 7 de la mañana entraba yo, había veces que a las 4, 5 de la mañana tenía que viajar hacia el

indio por la ruta esta y ahí estaba el traslado a Santa Lucia

§83: **E: ah el indio ya bajando de Tafí?**

§84: **MUJER E:** si es que ellos en la época de ellos han pavimentado toda la parte esta que esta pavimentada, seria en el año 70 no más o menos?

§85: **HOMBRE E:** Si 78, del 78 en adelante se ha asfaltado

§86: **E: Ah todo ese camino adelante llegando, que sube?**

§87: **AMBOS HYM E: era camino de tierra**

§88: **HOMBRE E:** era ripio nomas y gracias a un ingeniero muy bueno que era amaicheño, lugareño el poder del hombre por eso yo digo el que estudia y el que sabe y tiene ganas de trabajar lo respeto mucho yo, el que estudia porque por tras de ellos se va guiando más y va aprendiendo más. Nosotros no teníamos, que yo tengo tercer grado claro de lapiceras y leer y escribir no no no sabía pero con la experiencia del trabajo uno se hace, se hace viendo, de construcción como esta ve? Esta es construcción mía que he aprendido en vialidad, he aprendido albañilería, encofrador, armador, alcantarilla, puentes he trabajado yo con los dirigentes que había por eso respeto mucho yo los que estudian y ahí he entrado con los ingenieros con los teodolitos, con la mira todo eso andaba de secretario yo todo eso trabajo más liviano, después ya he pasado ha ayudante de camión y hecho tres cursos de vialidad,

tractor primero, me recibido de tractorista y ahí nomás le metido niveladora a los seis meses después ya me recibido de motoniveladora y había otro curso de topadora grande, las orugas grandes las V8 y me metió topadorista y hecho tres cursos y gracias a dios eso que he trabajado en vialidad han aprendido los muchachos y ahí están trabajando uno ya se ha ido a la mina la alumbreira él trabaja bajo la tierra se ha ido con los curriculum que tenía yo y con la experiencia y el otrito está en Bariloche o dónde?

§89: **MUJER E:** Bariloche en una empresa

§90: **HOMBRE E:** Bariloche esta en una empresa Techint como ellos se cambian el nombre ahora es Contrera hermanos y para evadir los impuestos jaja el está trabajando y lo llevan de aquí y le pagan todo y de Tucumán ya le mete en avión hasta Buenos Aires y ya le mete en avión así que y gracias a eso...y este ingeniero ha hecho todo eso

§91: **E: y en qué año habrá sido todo eso?**

§92: **MUJER E:** 78 decís vos que habrá sido?

§93: **HOMBRE E:** cómo? Si del 78 en adelante ya se ha asfaltado, del 80

§94: **E: en el 80 ya estaba terminado.**

§95: **MUJER E:** si ya ya

§96: **HOMBRE E:** si en el ochenta y tanto ya estaba terminado

porque ha venido una empresa a trabajar aquí, una empresa de arabia, una empresa grande que ha traído 100 camión para estrenarlo aquí, una Dodge 800 y 20 camión 1623 mercedes

§97: **MUJER E:** la verdad es que la vida nuestra ha sido la zafra, la zafra, él ha ido a la zafra desde chico, ese era el único trabajo que había aquí en Amaicha, aquí la gente cerraba todas las puertas con adobe y se llevaba todo, perros, gallinas y se iba a la zafra, y que eran tres meses, cuatro meses de zafra.

§98: **HOMBRE E:** pelar caña, no sé si conoce la caña de azúcar

§99: **E: si, si**

§100: **HOMBRE E:** voltearla y pelar, no me quieren creer que me levantaba a la una, dos, tres, cuatro de la mañana y ya estaba trabajando. Dicen papá los changos cuenta cosas que como va a pelar caña en la oscuridad, la pucha que no íbamos a pelar y las pelábamos fíjese

§101: **E: cuál era el ingenio donde iba**

§102: **MUJER E:** Y bueno iba a fronterita, iba

§103: **HOMBRE E:** Yo he estado en Famailla primero, Fronterita, después he estado en San Pablo. De Tucumán lo conozco siempre de tantos kilómetros he viajado a caballo de aquí me iba a caballo, dos días y medio, tres días a caballo a pelar caña

§104: **E: por ese mismo camino?**

§105: **HOMBRE E:** porque teníamos que ir con todo lo que teníamos

§106: **MUJER E:** La familia iba en camión con todas sus cosas

§107: **HOMBRE E:** lo único que llevábamos era el colchoncito la camita y un cajoncito con la ollita el platito y nada más para uno cada uno y una cucharita y si había 3 o 4 había que prestarse la cuchara y tomar de un solo jarro

§108: **E:** y ahí en el ingenio donde quedaban? Donde dormían?

§109: **HOMBRE E:** nos daban allá

§110: **MUJER E:** les daban galpones

§111: **HOMBRE E:** nos daban galpones y sino hacíamos techos de chapas y las paredes de despuntes de cañas paraditas así, ahí vivíamos así y acostumbrados así en medio del agua

§112: **MUJER E:** los catres eran así dos horcones, 4 horcones digamos, 4 palos así y ahí las ponían con caña hueca así y esos eran los catres.

§113: **HOMBRE E:** y nosotros éramos docitos, tres con el changuito y un solo catrecito para dormir los tres. No había como hacer más jajaja así que hacia los 4 horconcito y le ponía con palitos y ahí poníamos el colchoncito, porque no existía la cama tampoco el elástico que ahora tienen, no la vida ha sido muy crítica para nosotros por eso me cae muy pobre el gobierno y le agradezco al General Perón

§114: **MUJER E:** saco la esclavitud

§115: **HOMBRE E:** que ha dado la ley que tiene q ser hasta cierto trecho la edad 60 años y jubilarse que creo la jubilación. Y ahora este gobierno quiere sacar la jubilación en el peor de los 78 años que tengo el peor gobierno estoy viviendo ahora porque estamos como privándose. Yo he comprado esa trafic cuando me he jubilado, lo que me he jubilado me han indemnizado y ahí nomás me han dado todo junto y la he comprado a la trafic y otro vehículo para poder seguir trabajando porque tenía 5 hijos y bueno ella 6 y bueno que iba a hacer con la jubilación y la he comprado a la trafic y entrado en transporte. La he metido de transporte con la gente jubilada que iba de aquí a Tafí, a monteros, porque aquí no había, se ha cerrado un banco que había, se ha cerrado, el correo no existía, la caja no existía así que con eso me he dado maña y la finca. Ahí me he visto obligado a trabajar en la finca, muy duro ha sido el tiempo pero pasábamos bien, trabajábamos y teníamos nuestro dinerito. Ahora nosotros estamos midiéndose para comer, para todo, por la luz y por el gas. Eso nos llega ahora en encalilla la Luz.

§116: **MUJER E:** han hecho unos motores nuevos, han perforado nuevos motores eléctricos

§117: **HOMBRE E:** unos motores diésel

§118: **E:** claro eran diésel y ahora son eléctricos.

§119: **HOMBRE E:** claro se ha modificado eléctrico

§120: **E: y hace cuanto se hizo la modificación esta? Cuando pusieron los eléctricos digamos?**

§121: **HOMBRE E:** y más o menos lo habremos tenido 15 años habrá sido en el 80 y tanto, cuando ha venido ECIRA, no recuerdo bien la fecha, Fernando tiene, ellos saben bien, como él era secretario. Secretario de ellos y bueno después este se hemos ido haciendo y le agradezco que ha venido, y después ya me he jubilado y me he dedicado a trabajar yo, se levantábamos a las cinco, cuatro y media de la mañana con ella, ella prepara la ollita y bueno la carne, el pancito para cocinar.

§122: **MUJER E:** y los chicos, que eran 5.

§123: **HOMBRE E:** si, y gracias a Dios tengo la finca mía de 3 hectáreas y de Fernando de 3 hectáreas y del otro más chico que trabaja en la mina alumbreira de 2 hectáreas y media y del otro que está en Bariloche de hectárea y media así que en total tengo 11 hectáreas que he cerrado, comprando alambre, sacando fiado.

§124: **MUJER E:** después de haber sufrido tanto en la vida Dios nos ha premiado, porque nos ha dado 6 hijos que yo creo que nadie los tiene, se lo juro, son para nosotros son sobreprotectores los changos, tenemos una sola hija, la más chica, ya tienen 30 años. Pero vea son unos hijos, que no

podemos decir que nos duele la uña que ya están todos, y todos unidos, nunca lo han visto que se pelaron, como chicos que se pelean jugando, no, estos no, muy unidos los changos. Y todos trabajando, todos han trabajado bien. Fernando que se fue.

§125: **HOMBRE E:** Si gracias a dios, ellos están trabajando porque Fernando entro a una empresa a la mina Alumbreira, y después han comprado una camioneta y él ha quedado de chofer y después ya ha quedado trabajando los otros y ahora ha pasado de chofer en el siprosa

§126: **E:** En el caps

§127: **HOMBRE E:** Él ya ha dejado de trabajar de maquinista y ha sido empleado de la provincia. Y los otritos siguen trabajando, a uno lo van a indemnizar pero ya lo hacen más para muy querido. La empresa lo llaman para Perú, ya ha estado en Perú, si lejos tienen que andar porque la Techint es mundial ha visto entero anda

§128: **MUJER E:** no sé si usted se acuerda que una vez sendero luminoso había entrado en como es, al Perú y los acorralo, ellos trabajaban en LEGACE, y justo a ellos les ha tocado, ellos estaban en medio del monte haciendo los trabajos y justo se daba con que sendero luminoso había, había

§129: **E: Entrado en esa zona**

§130: **MUJER E:** Si

§131: **HOMBRE E:** Y lo han tomado prisionero

§132: **MUJER E:** Ay! Si. Menos mal que después ya los han liberado, pero los tenían ahí. Nada que ver por supuesto pero los tenían ahí

§133: **HOMBRE E:** Pero menos mal que no les ha pasado nada, mal tratados no, han dependido de sendero luminoso, no había patrón no hay anda, y después ya los han devuelto cerca de 100 obreros creo que eran, y de ahí han vuelto y conocen por entero los muchachos trabajando, estito que es más chico tiene la casa ahí (señala con el dedo hacia atrás)

§134: **MUJER E:** y Fernando ha estado en Italia también, ha estado en un bar no sé, no sé en que lo han llevado

§135: **E:** **Y acá ustedes recuerdan cuando fue la época de los militares?**

§136: **HOMBRE E:** Yo estaba en vialidad cuando estaban los militares

§137: **MUJER E:** Si

§138: **E:** **Claro por eso, por la fecha que me estaba diciendo**

§139: **MUJER E:** Si, en esa época estaban trabajando ya, cuando ha sido el golpe de estado ya estabas trabajando en Vialidad, si

§140: **HOMBRE E:** Claro, porque yo he entrado en el año 67,68

§141: **E:** **Después de trabajar en la zafra?**

§142: **HOMBRE E:** Si he entrado en vialidad ya, y bueno cuando ha sido el militar, el golpe de estado hemos estado aquí en el indio en

Santa Lucia y ahí estábamos en medio de los extremistas nosotros pero menos mal que no

§143: **MUJER E:** Gente de acá solo una pareja desapareció

§144: **HOMBRE E:** Una pareja

§145: **MUJER E:** Una pareja sí, sí. Una pareja desapareció que eran enfermeros, los dos en el hospital y desapareció el matrimonio con el hijito

§146: **E:** **Y puedo preguntar si se acuerda de los nombres?**

§147: **MUJER E:** Ahh... no, como era la chica esta, la chica que desapareció cuando ha sido el golpe de estado, como se llamaba la de comue de ojo de agua, no me acuerdo, Suarez no, no me acuerdo como se llamaba, que apellido era

§148: **E:** **Dale**

§149: **HOMBRE E:** Y ahí ha sido, ahí trabajábamos nosotros, y ahí cuando lo han tomado ha sido una lucha grande y a muerto mucha gente ahí en santa lucia pero menos mal que estábamos nosotros en un campamento que para ahí no han avanzado y una chanca como de aquí a 200 metros. Iba a jugar y habían sabido caer los extremistas y los han combatido. Ahí han muerto muchos, como se llaman, soldados

§150: **E:** **Del ejercito**

§151: **HOMBRE E:** Claro, por eso se llama Soldado Maldonado, Teniente Verdina, los han hecho hacer todos esos campamentos en la ruta, lo han hecho hacer toda

ruta nueva donde han sido los tiroteos, para el lado de Monteros, teniente no se otro, no me acuerdo, son como 6 tenientes que han muerto allá en los tiroteos. Y nosotros hemos tenido suerte, no nos ha pasado nunca nada. Porque ahí permanecíamos de lunes a viernes, ahí dormíamos nosotros teníamos comida todo en los campamentos. Y después ya que se ha hecho para acá, nos han trasladado para acá, han traído la gente para hacer el asfalto y ahí hemos aprovechado de, pero gracias a dios. Y después hemos tenido suerte de no y después cuando lo han vuelto a tomar, intervenido Tucumán el Gral. Bussi, nos ha encuartelado a nosotros, he vuelto a hacer el servicio militar

§152: **E: Cuando vino Bussi tuvo que ser militar otra vez?**

§153: **HOMBRE E:** Cuarenta y tanto años tenía, nos han encuartelado aquí en el campamento,

§154: **E: Para ser militar**

§155: **HOMBRE E:** Militares si allí nos han metido en el centro, cerca de la cancha de atlético, como se llama el barrio?

§156: **E: Allá En la ciudad**

§157: **MUJER E:** Si, allá en la ciudad si

§158: **HOMBRE E:** Así que ahí nos han encuartelado en el comando

§159: **E: Ah mira**

§160: **HOMBRE E:** Y ahí trabajábamos bien amanecía, aclaraba el día nos ponían en

camión y salíamos, y nos daban un pan sanguchero, una gaseosa chiquitita, una cucharadita de guiso y a las 24 hs volvíamos, así que he vuelto a hacer el servicio militar a los 40 casi 50 años (sonríe) pero yo ya había hecho más antes en el 19 de infantería en Tucumán. Después y bueno entonces lo ha intervenido y después como un año dos años ha sido elegido gobernador por la provincia Bussi, el mismo militar ya ha sido por el pueblo, que lo ha pedido a él, pero bueno han muerto chicos jóvenes y no han aparecido. Pillaban a las chicas mujeres, las violaban, hacían lo que querían el militar, las llevaban al dique el Cadillal, después para el lado de Catamarca, pero bueno nosotros teníamos que aguantársela toda, el mando, la comida y hacer el trabajo, sábado y domingo no teníamos descanso. Meta nomas. Pero gracias a Dios hemos andado bien con todos los compañeros que tenía de aquí de Amaicha. Porque de todos lugares han llevado, de Tafí del Valle, gente de Amaicha, como de aquí la provincia de Tucumán es límite de aquí cerca nomas, de Colalao del Valle, y de ahí han quedado todos los campamentos vacíos, todos han ido a trabajar en Tucumán. Nos han metido en el acceso norte, después en el parque 9 de julio y en el cadillal, todo eso hemos estado trabajando así que, pero gracias a dios bien, podíamos vivir, y de ahí retiro voluntario saque, no cumplía la edad pero los años de aporte ya tenía 34 años de servicio tenía, 30

años, 34 así que ya me han retiro voluntario

§161: **E: Ah ya se jubilo**

§162: **HOMBRE E:** Si, cese de la actividad de empleado público. Ahí me han indemnizado y me he jubilado y bueno con eso he comprado una trafic, un usadito para poder seguir trabajando por que con el sueldito que tenía de jubilado no me alcanzaba con 6 hijos y la mujer y de ahí he comprado la trafic.

§163: **MUJER E:** desea servirse mate cocido, un café?

§164: **E: un café si puedo aprovechar, jaja gracias**

§165: **HOMBRE E:** si así que, es lindo, después ya ha venido el proyecto este y ya me he metido

§166: **E: recuerda un poco como fue que vino el proyecto?**

§167: **HOMBRE E:** con el proyecto trabajaba con la trafic ha visto, y bueno así durante de lunes a viernes me iba a Tafí del Valle, a las 6 de la mañana empezaba a cargar la gente y a las 7 salía, ya tenía un horario fijo. A las 7 porque dirección de transporte, la provincia me había puesto limite que tenía que cumplir el horario ese, a las 7 de la mañana, 8 8.30 no podía salir yo para eso está la empresa El Aconquija y el me cuestionaba para hacerme sacar y no ha podido porque tenía todos los papeles bien hecho y con permiso gracias a los jubilados, porque los jubilados tenían personería jurídica y con la personería jurídica he conseguido el permiso para transporte, así que

todos los meses renovar el contrato y seguir, y trabajaba todos los días del 1ro hasta el 30. 30 terminaba el ultimo, y el 1ro ya empezaba a cobrar todos los meses, he trabajado varios años así, nuevita la he sacado a esta. (Corte en el video)... Las rodillas me he hecho operar las dos con prótesis y una me ha salido 5 mil pesos y otra 30 mil, pero me hecho operar, me ha cubierto el subsidio.

§168: **E: Muchas gracias señora**

§169: **MUJER E:** Pasale el azúcar
(Señora corre al perro)

§174: **MUJER E:** Eran 5 mil hectáreas, 5 mil eran no? O 50 mil?

§175: **HOMBRE E:** No antes eran 96 mil

§176: **MUJER E:** Bueno el asunto era

§177: **HOMBRE E:** 96 mil

§178: **E: De la comunidad?**

§179: **HOMBRE E:** De la comunidad si

§180: **MUJER E:** De la comunidad y cuando ha venido el proyecto eso para que venga el monto de dinero, decían que tenían que pagar la boleta, porque había estado atrasada, debían mucho

§181: **MUJER E:** No, no habían pagado digamos en rentas

§182: **E: La renta de qué?**

§183: **MUJER E:** La renta de la comunidad. Porque acá por ejemplo es una comunidad hay 1

sola boleta, esa boleta la pagamos entre todos.

§184: **E: La boleta de qué?**

§185: **MUJER E:** De las tierras. Ósea como una escritura, entonces esa boleta había tenían que ponerse al día para poder bajar el proyecto

§186: **E: Dale**

§187: **MUJER E:** Entonces pagaron esta gente

§188: **E: Esta gente?**

§189: **HOMBRE E:** 55 mil

§190: **MUJER E:** Hectáreas, ahora el monto no sé cuánto se habrá pagado de plata

§191: **E: ah, o sea si he entendido bien eran 90 mil hectáreas tierras de la comunidad y ustedes pagaban la boleta**

§192: **MUJER E:** claro

§193: **E: y han quien lo pagaban esto?**

§194: **MUJER E:** desde entonces bueno, siempre pareciera que Vivian, siempre la gente así nomas, decían esto es mío y punto. Pero cuando ya empezaron a venir gobiernos interesados ya han empezado recién ya como a hacer censo, no sé cómo le explicó, entonces se da que queda esto como comunidad y la comunidad tiene una sola boleta, una sola escritura digamos, escritura, que se llama cedula real

§195: **E: Ya**

§196: **MUJER E:** Entonces ellos han levantado la boleta esa, para que pueda venir el proyecto este. Pero ha sido un proyecto bastante fabuloso porque han traído una camioneta cero, un tractor cero, herramientas digamos pala, pico, todo más las cercas que han hecho, mas todo, dos pozos, querían hacer más pozos pero ya no han dado. Han hecho dos pozos no? O uno

§197: **HOMBRE E:** dos. Con los dos que han empezado primero han demorado mucho

§198: **E: Si**

§199: **HOMBRE E:** Han gastado mucho porque han dado con roca abajo, entonces no tenían agua buena

§200: **E: Claro**

§201: **HOMBRE E:** Las napas que no daban

§202: **E: Fueron ahí en la encalilla**

§203: **HOMBRE E:** Muy buen agua hay

§204: **MUJER E:** Y después que han hecho todo esos trámites, que han venido contador, abogado, bueno han venido montón de gente de estudio más el gobierno que estaba en esa época que ahora no me acuerdo que gobernador estaba en esa época, para que autorice por la provincia y se estaba trabajando bien. O sea que se ha visto lo que han traído, porque han puesto oficinas, han ocupado chicos para las oficinas, han puesto criadero de pollos, este

abejas también pero todo claro, y las abejas no han andado

§205: **HOMBRE E:** Pero la gente no hemos sabido aprovecha no se no se

§206: Y porque será esa desconfianza usted cree?

§207: **HOMBRE E:** Y dando viniendo de arriba, que no nos ha costado, anda más poniendo nuestra atención, cuidando pero bueno

§208: **MUJER E:** Si y entonces ellos alquilaron por cuantos años no te acordas? Vino el proyecto por un determinado años, se cumplió eso, entonces les decían que ellos para que continúen había que hacer un nuevo proyecto otra vez y ellos se hacían cargo de continuar pero ya el cacique no ha querido

§209: **HOMBRE E:** No ya han cambiado el cacique y la gente no quería

§210: **MUJER E:** Y otra la misma gente de antes que ya la mayoría ya no estaba

§211: **HOMBRE E:** No querían trabajar

§212: **HOMBRE E:** Con desconfianza, y dando trabajo a la gente, hombres mujeres y chicos, pero ya no querían trabajar. Nosotros hemos tomado un poquitito con interés, yo mayormente con ella y los chicos y de ahí nos daban todas las posibilidad, manejaban ellos nomas pero. Pero aun así todavía han quedado, hay para hacer

(Suena la bocina de un auto)

§215: *Llega gente, hablan de eso*

§219: **MUJER E:** Y bueno y eso es lo que ha

§220: **E:** **Y recuerda usted si hubo una asamblea, o sea como se informó?**

§221: **MUJER E:** Si todo, todo era por...

(Entra gente)

§224: *Le comentan que llega un hijo y le presentan al entrevistado.*

§225: *El entrevistado comenta que es de Italia y que viene por su investigación.*

§226: *Entra más gente, la presentan y saludan.*

§227: *Hablan de Maradona.*

§229: **E:** **Maradona claro, Maradona es un puente entre Argentina e Italia**

§232: **MUJER E:** se cosechaba la zanahoria, toda clase de verdura

§233: Zapallito en tronco. Usted sabe que en encalilla, de 22 kilos los zapallos así, juro por dios no es por mentir.

§234: **E:** **Si estuve con don Marcos y me enseñó los zapallos**

§235: **HOMBRE E:** Si, y el vecino mío después ha puesto y ha cosechado uno de 35 kilos

§236: **MUJER E:** Era inmenso. Y además aparte son grandes y son desabridos, no riquísimo

§237: **HOMBRE E:** Hermoso, pero que es lo que pasa que no tenía venta

§238: **E: No tenía?**

§239: **MUJER E:** Venta

§240: **HOMBRE E:** No se vendía, ahora uno va a la verdulería que uno compra zapallos grandes pero antes no se vendía.

§241: **E: Claro porque ese proyecto era para cultivar y luego vender**

§242: **MUJER E:** Si pero ellos no se llevaban nada no

§243: **E: Ellos quién?**

§244: **MUJER E:** Los del proyecto digamos, los jefes. Ellos han venido les han dado, les han puesto las semillas, les han enseñado como hacer y a su vez ellos no se han hecho pago de nada. Lógico que habrán sacado del mismo proyecto había ingenieros, había de todo, pero digamos de nosotros los productores ellos no se han aprovechado

§245: **HOMBRE E:** Y teníamos la papa de más de medio kilo. Hermosa de Encalilla, porque le han metido abono, fertilizante, nosotros no conocíamos eso, todavía porque nosotros naturalmente, todo natural.

§246: **MUJER E:** y no tenía venta, la cebolla, semejante cebolla no tenía venta. Ajo, teníamos todo tirado y ahora ya se vende como sea, la papa chica, la papa grande, la cebolla brotada, como sea pero antes no, antes era todo bien seleccionado. El tomate iba bien embaladito. Ahora no, le tiran así el tomate todo verde, encima el tomate de ahora no es lo mismo

porque tiene tanto fertilizante que parece de plástico

§247: **HOMBRE E:** Es verdad

§248: **MUJER E:** no es lo mismo

§249: **E: brillan, hay tomates que brillan ahí, si si si**

§250: **MUJER E:** hay se lo ve hermoso, el otro día nos hemos ido a la ciudad y le digo a mi hija llévate aunque sea unos dositos porque estaba 90 el kilo y le digo llévate siquiera unos dositos. Y me dice ya vas a ver que te vas a clavar me dice ella, y como qué uno ha venido y lo ha cortado y era una cosa dura por adentro, nada que ver con los de aquí.

§251: **E: claro, entonces este proyecto se hizo para, les dieron todos los materiales y luego para poderlos vender?**

§252: **MUJER E:** claro los productos lo vendía el dueño de la tierra, no sé si me explico

§253: **E: no, no entendí**

§254: **MUJER E:** ellos digamos, ellos han venido y nos han dicho bueno aquí esta esté arado, ustedes hagan esto y nos han ayudado pero ellos no se han llevado anda

§255: **E: o sea cada productor tenía que vender sus productos**

§256: **MUJER E:** venderlos a su gusto

§257: **E: aja**

§258: **MUJER E:** si

§259: **HOMBRE E:** ellos decían que iban a llevar un tanto por

ciento cuando han venido, han puesto la agricultura, el 30% era para ellos y el 70% para nosotros, y resulta que cuando hemos hecho la cosecha han dicho, no todo para ustedes

§260: **MUJER E:** si

§261: **E: ah, y porque será esto? Como regalo?**

§262: **MUJER E:** y parece que era como una ayuda a los pueblos originarios sería? Para que vengan a una comunidad indígena. Y recién ahí hemos empezado a tomar nosotros interés digamos, de sentirnos indígenas. Recién nosotros decimos si, somos una comunidad indígena

§263: **E: dale, y esto me parece interesante porque antes no era así digamos?**

§264: **HOMBRE E:** ha sido después del proyecto que se ha ido yo he seguido trabajando no, más. Después ha venido otro proyecto como se llamaba este que estaba en la banda?

§265: **MUJER E:** y era el mismo

§266: **HOMBRE E:** no era otro como se llamaba,

§267: **MUJER E:** CADIS

§268: **HOMBRE E:** univer...

§269: **MUJER E:** ah no ese era por el INTA

§270: **HOMBRE E:** claro también han venido, no han trabajado con entusiasmo y me han hecho llamar a mí el jefe que atendía ahí. Dice tenemos buenas referencias de usted, quieren que pongamos con usted

§271: **E: estos son del INTA**

§272: **MUJER E:** son del INTA si

§273: **HOMBRE E:** como se llamaba el proyecto? Y resulta que me llaman ahí y vamos para trabajar con alfalfa, semillas de avena, alfalfa y como a los 3 días me dicen Nieva no le vamos a poder dar porque se había terminado todo lo que habían traído, las semillas y no he puesto. UNIR que no era?

§274: **MUJER E:** no UNIR ha venido por la comunidad a otra cosa, cuando han venido por la Hostería, cuando la han rescatado a la hostería, ese era de Buenos Aires, este otro era de Italia, de Italia ha sido el otro.

§275: **E: y que fue eso de la Hostería?**

§276: **MUJER E:** porque ahí donde está la comunidad, eso ha sido privado, eso ha sido del automóvil club

§277: **E: ya**

§278: **MUJER E:** y bueno ha pasado mucho tiempo que todo se ha ido a ruinas, entonces después cuando ha entrado el delegado este, o sea cacique en esa época ha logrado conseguir que le den la posesión para poder trabajar ahí

§279: **E: pero esto que estaba diciendo que había un proyecto para hacer allá**

§280: **MUJER E:** claro no, es que viene siempre gente de la UNIR

§281: **E: que es la UNIR?**

§282: **MUJER E:** es algo de Buenos Aires, es algo de gobierno.

§283: **E: dale**

§284: **HOMBRE E:** pero también ha trabajado muy poco, la gente no le ha respondido.

§285: **MUJER E:** también han dado un curso, han dado trabajos así de capacitaciones, han ayudado a los chicos, han dado becas, becas de estudios para médicos, para enfermeros todo eso del proyecto UNIR.

§286: **E: claro y otra cosita que me parece la cuestión que estoy tratando de abordar como a partir de este proyecto se ha dado la forma de recordar que uno es indígena digamos me estaba diciendo usted. Y hay alguna cosa? O sea porque usted dice esto?**

§287: **MUJER E:** porque recién nos hemos sentido identificados

§288: **E: pero antes no?**

§289: **MUJER E:** NO!

§290: **E: pero antes también había la cuestión del territorio comunitario**

§291: **MUJER E:** claro, claro sí. Nosotros ya éramos de la comunidad, nosotros todos, ahora esta requete poblado, pero éramos unos cuantos locos y aquí no había, era apenas en la plaza, toda esta parte para arriba no había anda, era todo monte y después a partir de haber esos trabajos y de haber abierto el camino vialidad y de haber entrado gente a trabajar, ya ha tenido más ah. Como voy a decir este, le han dado otra manera de ser a Amaicha, ya ha cambiado

§292: **HOMBRE E:** porque antes no había trabajo por la provincia aquí ni de la nación, anda. Había una escuela aquí y otra en los Zazos. Dos escuelas en total

§293: **E: esas eran las únicas?**

§294: **MUJER E:** las únicas escuelas.

§295: **HOMBRE E:** carnicería había una, en los Zazos, repartía la carne para acá, Ampimpa, por entero, no había carne de cabra, eso se usaba mucho y nos teníamos que dar mañana así y trabajo por la provincia no había. En el año 66 recién han empezado los trabajos operáticos que le llamaban

§296: **MUJER E:** si, y de ahí han empezado, por ejemplo la comunidad se manejan que se yo deben ser como otras instituciones, a su vez que no pueden hacer barrios porque es comunidad. Este, y así es, recién nos sentimos desde haber venido ese proyecto y de haber dado más trabajo, darle más importancia a la juventud, a todos, nos ha sacado de ese encierro.

§297: **HOMBRE E:** porque ya ha habido escuelas secundarias ya, agrotécnicas

§298: **MUJER E:** ya una vez que ha venido esa gente ya han empezado a progresar Amaicha.

§299: **E: claro pero antes la cuestión de sentirse como indígenas, pero antes había cacique**

§300: **MUJER E:** claro, claro

§301: **E: pero al gente, ustedes en esa época no se reconocían?**

§302: **MUJER E:** no le dábamos bolilla, no le dábamos importancia

§303: **E: y que importancia tenía ese cacique en esa época digamos?**

§304: **MUJER E:** y era como un comisario de la policía, era el que mandaba, el que veía de las tierras que no? El que veía de las tierras, que era don Agapito Mamani en esa época. Que ellos veían de las tierras que, los dueños, pero no se pagaba ningún impuesto. Pero después cuando ya han empezado esta gente a trabajar, cuando ya se ha abierto la Alumbreira también ya habido un poco más de vida ya

§305: **E: Ya**

§306: **MUJER E:** Ya porque los primeros que han dado el primer paso ha sido ECIRA que han empezado a dar trabajo, y de ahí ya han empezado a venir por supuesto profesionales ya se ha creado la secundaria, después se ha creado la alfabetización, han dictado cursos así

§307: **E: Por ejemplo me estaban comentando también que siempre con el proyecto ECIRA más o menos en esa época también se empezó a hacer la ceremonia de la Pachamama el 1ro de agosto.**

§308: **MUJER E:** si, el primero de agosto si si

§309: **E: eso fue así? Porque me lo comentaron pero no estaba seguro**

§310: **MUJER E:** si eso fue así porque la gente que estaba trabajando era de Jujuy unos señores que han venido con el ingeniero y ellos traían ya esa manera de como es, de rendir homenaje, era un rito, la verdad que yo no lo comparto jajaja

§311: **E: no no claro, por eso era cada uno tiene su punto de vista por supuesto. Pero por eso porque toda esta cuestión de la celebración de la pachamama del 1ro de Agosto es una de las características que dicen a aquí estaban los pueblos indígenas por eso digo**

§312: **MUJER E:** si, desde entonces se ha creado eso y bueno... Le han dado más vida, han puesto puestos sanitarios aquí, en Quilmes, han dado muchos cursos han dado, así que algunos han aprovechado, otros se quedaron ahí, si... de ahí como le digo han empezado a tener más. Después ya se ha empezado a abrir a Vialidad, después ya lo último ha sido la Alumbreira. Que de aquí son pocos los que han ido, pero esos pocos han hecho su pasar, ya tienen sus cosas.

§313: **E: y eso de la alumbreira que hay bastante critica con esto de la minería, como lo ven usted?**

§314: **MUJER E:** mira mi hijo ha trabajado los 20 años, desde lo que ha empezado, era chico si de 17 años habrá ido a trabajar. Audaz era este que ha venido, tenía un auto, le ha comprado un auto viejo, tenía una motosierra para que haga trabajitos porque no

quería estudiar, entonces un día lo ha cargado al auto con una parrilla, una olla y me dice me voy a la Alumbreira, y le digo: cómo vas a entrar a la alumbreira, ya estaba Fernando trabajando ahí, el hacia el transporte ahí. Y como a los 5 días se nos ha presentado en una 4x4 y le digo y esto? Me voy a dejarlo al jefe, a traer al jefe del aeropuerto de Tucumán, así que él ha trabajado todo el tiempo, gracias a dios bien hasta la fecha. Ya ha terminado no? Ha cumplido 20 años de contrato que ha tenido.

§315: **E: dale, dale. Bueno sí...**

§316: **MUJER E:** así es la vida

§317: **E: si si a ver un poco esta importancia. Porque todos me habían hablado de la importancia que tenía este proyecto ECIRA y entonces ustedes me están confirmando un poco que así fue efectivamente para la comunidad**

§318: **MUJER E:** para la comunidad indígena sí. Para los comuneros y ahora uno de los jefes digamos, se casó aquí después se separó y se fue jajaja

§319: **E: cosas de la vida**

§320: **MUJER E:** pero siempre tenemos contactos con ellos, siempre siempre tenemos contacto con ellos, si ellos vienen con Fernando son muy amigos, con nosotros también, muy dado la gente y ahí han venido...

Name: Calcha18-8

Place and Date: Amaicha del Valle, September 2018

Transcription by Ana Victoria Leiva (IAM, Tucumán)

§1: HE: Que necesitas?

§2: **E: Básicamente Conversar un ratito, quería ver sus impresiones porque fue**

§3: HE: Porqué fui tan crítico con el ECIRA

§4: **E: Porque fue tan crítico con el ECIRA**

§5: HE: jajaja en realidad yo vine acá, yo viví mucho tiempo en Bs As

§6: **E: ah mira**

§7: HE: yo nací aquí pero bueno en esa época cuando yo nazco no había mucha fuente de trabajo, lo único q había se cultivaba en Quilmes y mi papá tenía un camión y llevaba la verdura a Tucumán, al mercado de abasto de Tucumán y bueno nosotros nos instalamos por falta de trabajo, nos fuimos de acá y nos instalamos, llegamos a buenos aires en el camioncito jajaja un Chevrolet y bueno ahí empezamos a hacer en bs as nos instalamos, yo empecé a estudiar, terminé el secundario, empecé la universidad y bueno paso mucho tiempo y bueno somos 4 hermanos y al final decidimos como en Buenos Aires se pudo muy feo volver, y volvimos a Amaicha y yo

ahí me encontré con el proyecto este ECIRA

§8: **E: ah justo cuando estaba volviendo habían llegado ellos**

§9: HE: ya estaban ellos claro

§10: **E: ah ya estaban**

§11: HE: si, y en realidad yo criticaba, los critique mucho porque yo no veía que la comunidad cambiaba, yo me daba cuenta yo tenía otra visión no solamente la visión de Amaicha, el hecho de haber vivido en la ciudad tenía otro tipo de visión. Y yo vine con una intención si bien de vivir de otra manera a la como vivía en bs as pero también este de yo me encuentro con el proyecto y me dicen que era para que la comunidad crezca, para que la gente progrese, y a mí me parecía perfecto, pero yo de a poco me fui dando cuenta que el grupito ese del ecira se adueñaba de todo jajaja o sea q era todo absorbía todo para ellos

§12: **E: aja absorbía que básicamente?**

§13: HE: o sea jajaja todo lo q se podía haber ganado, todo lo q se podía eran ellos, ellos hacían los proyectos para ellos, no para la comunidad o sea eso era lo q yo veía

§14: **E: claro**

§15: HE: puede que me equivoque en aquel tiempo, pero yo lo sigo pensando así, fue muy poca la gente que creció con el Ecira, solo el grupo de ellos

§16: **E: y este grupo de ellos también incluía a gente de la comunidad o era toda gente que venía de afuera?**

§17: HE: jajaja si había gente de la comunidad o sea había gente pero muy poca, muy poca gente, en realidad lo que hacia la gente de la comunidad era trabajar ja

§18: **E: ajá**

§19: HE: los otros llevaban la plata... por eso yo me pelie siempre con ellos, porque yo no veía progreso, ellos si ellos hacían, hacían proyecto todo lo demás, todo lo demás y yo no veía que la comunidad creciera, o sea que la gente, porque eh progresara, viviera de otra manera, no dejando todo lo propio de lo nuestro

§20: **E: aja**

§21: HE: Sino que todo eso que el ecira quería hacer se viera reflejado en la gente, en la gente en la sociedad y nada, si vos ves ahora la plaza

§22: **E: ajá**

§23: HE: y te muestro una foto de hace, es la misma plaza, no hemos cambiado en nada

§24: **E: mmm**

§25: HE: o sea no hemos progresado en eso ni tampoco en muchas cosas no es cierto? O sea acá seguimos, acá la gente sigue ajajaja teniendo las chicas embarazadas, o sea, como te puedo explicar, eh (silencio) la

gente sigue viviendo de la misma manera de cuando yo vine

§26: **E: ajá**

§27: HE: hay gente que está muy pobre acá y el proyecto ecira decía que todo iba a cambiar y no. Ahora también hay proyectos

§28: **E: claro**

§29: HE: (riéndose) pero no sé hasta qué punto nos beneficia o sea yo he progresado pero por mi propio medio yo no fui al ecira a decirle mira haceme un proyecto

§30: **E: si**

§31: HE: yo me puse a hacerlo

§32: **E: digamos que tipo de progreso eso del Ecira planteaba cuando llegaban?**

§33: HE: bueno que se les iba a dar por ejemplo, yo cuando vine acá, vine y dije voy a hacer pollos y me dedique a hacer pollos pero yo no pedía nada al ecira y entonces ellos también hacían pollo jajajajaja entiendes? O sea lo mismo que hacíamos nosotros en nuestra casa en nuestra tierra lo hacia el ecira y pero yo no les veía progreso a la gente. La gente trabajaba un tiempito, también es propio de la idiosincrasia del pueblo, de la gente que vive acá, o sea que esta trabaja un ratito y con eso ya está listo, con eso me conformo con esto

§34: **E: aja**

§35: HE: eso es lo que yo veo y que sigue pasando ahora no? Ahora peor todavía con todos

estos planes que les dan, muchos planes no? Pero yo no les veo que cambien.

§36: **E: y que tipo de cambio usted quería ver? Jajajajaja para poderlo entender. O sea parto de una cosa que siempre esta y se queda ahí trabadito o sea que tipo de cambio usted quería que se manifestara? (tono jocoso)**

§37: HE: bueno que la gente viviera mejor

§38: **E: aja**

§39: HE: no que tenga plata tampoco, yo no quiero eso tampoco. (Riéndose) porque yo no tengo plata tampoco, yo lo que tengo es con el sacrificio de toda la familia

§40: **E: claro**

§41: HE: o sea no quiero eso tampoco

§42: **E: ajá**

§43: HE: o sea el cambio no es solo tener plata

§44: **E: Aja**

§45: HE: Porqué después si vos no has tenido cabeza la plata se te fue a la mierda no es cierto?

§46: **E: claro**

§47: HE: eso es lo q yo quería

§48: **E: y usted cree que este proyecto, o sea este cambio era solo vinculado a que la gente tenga más plata digamos de alguna manera?**

§49: HE: yo creo que el proyecto era para que la gente q estaba dentro del proyecto se llenara de plata

§50: **E: (riéndose) se llenara de plata**

§51: HE: eso es lo q yo lo veía

§52: **E: Ajá**

§53: HE: Porque yo nunca vi después de que termino el proyecto que haya habido los cambios, ni siquiera un cambio chiquitito, ni siquiera en la mentalidad de la gente o sea eso es lo que yo veía, por eso yo me opuse siempre a ese proyecto. Yo no estaba de acuerdo con ellos

§54: **E: Aja**

§55: HE: Y creo no haberme equivocado porque al final termino ese proyecto y no quedo nada, no quedo nada,

§56: **E: Claro**

§57: (Silencio)

§58: HE: (riéndose con más fuerza) no sé porque me venís a ver a mí porque yo soy un crítico

§59: Risas de ambos

§60: **E: no por eso porque yo la verdad he estado haciendo no una encuestita, me he parado a conversar con unas cuentas personas sobre ese proyecto que me habían dicho a este tipo estuvo trabajando, estuvo involucrado entonces varias personas me hablaban no en términos magníficos pero si**

rescatando lo bueno que había sido, entonces bueno no hará sido todo bueno efectivamente en este proyecto entonces me hablaron a uno que era muy crítico

§61: Risas de ambos

§62: HE: en el proyecto ecira estaban familiares míos, eran familiares pero yo los critique siempre, pero no por criticar nada más, si tienen q haber tenido cosas positivas que capaz q soy yo muy crítico, yo asumo mi postura puede ser eso que yo no lo haya entendido... pero bueno por eso te digo había familiares míos adentro del proyecto

§63: E: si

§64: HE: y son los que más critique jajajajaja así que pero bueno

§65: E: **este... esta mirada crítica me interesa mucho porque la cuestión que me ha interesado, me ha empezado a interesar porque veía estos galpones acá enfrente del museo**

§66: HE: que son estas cosas vacías que están ahí no?

§67: E: **entonces me hablaron del proyecto Ecira, de los Italianos que vinieron, entonces yo siendo italiano me acerque un poco me acerque a esta cuestión jajajaja que no tengo que ver nada con esa gente, siempre fue algo que al decir que yo era italiano**

§68: HE: Claro si materialmente vinieron cosas, porque vinieron

cosas se consiguieron esos galpones que vos has visto, que ahora los ves todos destruidos, ahí se utilizaban cosas, había maquinas, había enfardadoras, tenían como maquinaria tenían muchas cosas eso yo no lo voy a negar, pero yo creo que le faltaba otra cosa, o sea porque no es solo ponerle una maquina a una persona de acá, ponerle un tractos, o sea si te lo va a manejar pero no le va a dar el valor que tiene realmente, o sacarle provecho a esa máquina si vos no le enseñás, si vos no le decís esto para que sirve porque si porque tienes que hacer esto o lo otro

§69: E: ya

§70: HE: yo creo que ahí ha fallado el proyecto

§71: E: Aja

§72: HE: Una de las fallas

§73: E: Aja

§74: HE: Y después se han, se han, vos mismo has visto los galpones esos, o sea después se han ido y chau, eso ha quedado así

§75: E: Claro

§76: HE: Jajajajaa y nadie lo aprovecha jajajaja nadie lo aprovecha, o sea si está viviendo una gente ahí, bueno q sirva de casa de los que viven ahí pero bueno ahí estamos

§77: E: Ya ya ya

§78: HE: No sé si me entendes, no se si me explico yo (riéndose)

§79: **E: (riéndose) No no no cada uno tiene su forma pero si si creo que lo estoy entendiendo un poco la cuestión que me está señalando o sea que por todo ese aspecto aparte de lo material también un poco acompañar a la gente para que pudiera sacar también provecho de estos materiales no?**

§80: HE: De todo lo que hay acá

§81: **E: Aja**

§82: HE: Si, ahora yo he visto ahora, no se si fuiste a los Zazos?

§83: **E: Si**

§84: HE: Allá hasta el remate

§85: **E: Si si**

§86: HE: Bueno que allá esta eso, ese es un proyecto que han hecho los chicos, los mismos chicos

§87: **E: El parador**

§88: HE: El parador claro. Esos chicos son chicos formados en la escuela agrotécnica

§89: **E: Ya**

§90: HE: Entonces ahí si la escuela cuando se crea ahí empezó a cambiar algo. Y hay muchos proyectitos que se han ido haciendo muchos fracasaban otros no, otros los llevaban adelante o sea de por si el amaicheño somos inconstantes, estamos un rato, un tiempo haciendo una cosa y ya no nos gusta y la cambiamos pero se ha hecho eso por lo menos han hecho eso los chicos allá en el remate. Y

eso no lo ha hecho el ecira, eso lo han hecho los chicos

§91: **E: Claro**

§92: HE: Lo que pasa que después salen ya el ecira no existe así que yo ya no me quiero acordar del ecira jajaja este bueno ahora Amaicha ha cambiado un poquito de aquellas épocas a ahora

§93: **E: Aja**

§94: HE: Si o sea desde que se fundó la escuela secundaria a re cambiado

§95: **E: Eso cuando fue que se fundó la escuela?**

§96: HE: Y ya tiene si, alrededor de la época que yo vine ehh y unos 15 años, 15 o 20 años. Y ahora ya hay dos escuelas secundarias acá, una en los zazos y otra la agrotécnica si si

§97: **E: Si si también me hablaban de unos chicos de la cervecería esta que hacen**

§98: HE: Ah si...

§99: **E: Que esto surgió como proyecto de allá**

§100: HE: Ah sí si ahí anda mi primo, jajajajaja si en la cervecería

§101: **E: Ah que bien que bien, si por eso quería ver un poco rastrear, lo q estoy haciendo un poco es coleccionar opinión información claro y entonces cada uno tiene su punto de vista por supuesto pero también es bueno es interesante que usted remarco este aspecto de, o sea**

el aspecto critico también le vino porque estuvo en Buenos Aires

§102: HE: Claro jajaja

§103: **E: Jajajaja**

§104: HE: Por eso te digo yo tenía otra visión, yo tenía otra visión y con otra cosa, esperaba otra cosa de Amaicha, no me arrepiento de haber venido a Amaicha, al contrario soy feliz en Amaicha

§105: **E: Si si si**

§106: HE: Pero yo venía con otra visión y creo que ahí chocamos

§107: **E: Que estudio en buenos aires si puedo preguntar?**

§108: HE: Si, jajajajaja yo llegue hasta el 3er año de ingeniería

§109: **E: Ingeniería?**

§110: HE: Si, pero mi anhelo era siempre volver acá, volver al pueblo

§111: **E: Si**

§112: HE: Y bueno, en aquella época cuando yo me recibo este, venimos de vacaciones acá a Amaicha y la que es mi señora ahora también venia de vacaciones y bueno nos conocimos aquí y ya ahí empezamos dijimos, nos quedamos en Amaicha y no volvimos mas

§113: **E: Y otra cuestioncita que también vi que estaba surgiendo en esa charla que he tenido es que muchos me estaban comentando de que mucho de**

ese aspecto de revalorizar lo q es la cuestión indígena digamos también fue bastante cercana a este proyecto de alguna manera

§114: HE: Claro, yo creo que el ecira utilizo eso, lo utilizo eso para jajajajaja para llevarse la plata diríamos (carcajada)

§115: **E: Jajajajaja si me puede dar un poquito articular un poquito más jajaja**

§116: HE: Pasa que mucha plata vino, vos no tenés idea la cantidad de plata que vino para el Ecira, que entro por el Ecira acá y yo creo que la comunidad es la que menos se benefició acá, o sea los comuneros, la gente de la comunidad es la que menos se benefició, se beneficiaron todos los demás, todos los que vinieron con los proyectos, todos vivían de los proyectos pero no la gente. La gente seguía viviendo de lo que producían ellos no de lo que les podía dar el ecira. El ecira le daba las semillas pero eso no pasa nada. Eso es otro punto que yo le critique siempre al ecira, no trabajaban para la comunidad, trabajaban para ellos como paso y creo que va a pasar siempre (ríe) anda y tenés plata que haces? Tenés q ser muy buena persona para poder manejar ese estímulo porque es muchísima plata vos no tenés idea (ríe)

§117: **E: Debe ser mucha jajajajaja**

§118: HE: Q se podría haber hecho muchísimas cosas

§119: **E: Entonces claro o sea porque dice que se utilizó toda la parte de la cultura para que ellos se aprovechaban?**

§120: HE: Claro porque

§121: **E: O sea como decía ustedes se quedan con la cultura y nosotros (ríen fuerte ambos)**

§122: HE: O sea ellos aprovechaban, porque se aprovechaban de la cultura? Porque ellos decían que este proyecto era para una comunidad indígena de Amaicha del Valle entiendes? Entonces salían con esos carteles, estos proyectos son para esto, estos proyectos son para esto y cuando se te acabaron los proyectos, se acabó la plata se acabó todo y se olvidaron que estaba la comunidad.

§123: **E: Claro**

§124: HE: Ojo que también ocurre ahora

§125: **E: Si**

§126: HE: Actualmente ocurre que la comunidad pone la cara nomas

§127: **E: Aja**

§128: HE: No es cierto y hay otra gente que trabaja

§129: HE: Yo sigo siendo crítico

§130: **E: No si me parece estupendo**

§131: Carcajadas fuertes de ambos

§132: **E: Yo creo q siempre hace falta critica**

§133: HE: No no donde yo trabaje, yo trabajé mucho en las escuelas como te dije, yo siempre critique o sea, no criticar por criticar, sino criticar porque yo lo veía así, y muchas cosas he cambiado, bueno me han llevado el apunte y me han dicho si tenés razón, cuando yo trabajaba en la escuela o sea no todo era sí, hay cosas q están bien y cuando están bien yo las aceptaba pero cuando yo tenía que criticar, yo criticaba jajaja riéndose si me llevaban el apunte no sé pero bueno yo creo que no me llevaban mucho el apunte (risa) así es...

§134: **E: Bueno ríen ambos**

§135: HE: No sé qué más te puedo decir?

§136: **E: No no yo agradezco mucho por recibirme así de la nada, yo venía simplemente para pedirle** cuando podíamos encontrarnos así que (carcajadas de ambos)

§137: HE: No si querés venir otra vez, veni no hay problema jajajajaja

§138: **E: No jajajajaja**

§139: HE: Además está mi señora después y ella es más, más todavía no sabes...

§140: **E: Una cosa que si me puede colaborar un poco en eso si tiene alguna imagen, alguna fotografía más o menos de esta época**

§141: HE: De la época del Ecira? No no tengo nada, eso sí que no te puedo. No en aquella época no andábamos, no no tengo nada

§142: **E: Lo que también me decían**

§143: HE: Lo que yo tengo, esto ya cambiando el Ecira, no sé si vos conoces El Molino

§144: **E: El molino?**

§145: HE: De piedra

§146: **E: De piedra?**

§147: HE: No lo conoces? No fuiste?

§148: **E: A ver si, porque vi un molino que está siguiendo la San Martin digamos**

§149: HE: Si exactamente. Ah lo viste ya?

§150: **E: Si si**

§151: HE: Bueno ahí hay una bodega también, ahí tenemos una bodega

§152: **E: Ahí donde el molino?**

§153: HE: No no antes hay una casa, larga

§154: **E: Si con estas paredes muy largas**

§155: HE: Si exacto. Bueno ahí hay una bodega de aquellos años hace mucho tiempo, no se si te interesa en algún momento por ahí podemos ir a verla

§156: **E: Si claro**

§157: HE: Como quieras, eso si puedo

§158: **E: Y el molino era de ustedes?**

§159: HE: El molino era de mi abuelo, eso tiene su historia, porque eso, ese molino me acuerdo este, había 3 molinos de ese tipo en esta zona, había uno en San José, uno en Casa de Piedra y uno en esta zona

§160: **E: Donde esta Casa de Piedra?**

§161: HE: Casa de piedra queda para el lado de Santa María

§162: **E: Ah o sea uno es San José, otro es Santa María**

§163: HE: Exacto pasas Santa María, pasas San José y ahí hay otro molino

§164: **E: o sea que ya era Catamarca, este es el único de la provincia?**

§165: HE: Si este es el único de la provincia exactamente. Yo por lo que me contaba mi abuelo dice que el molino cada año había que, las piedras con cinceles se les hace unas estrías y eso se gastaba y todos los años venia un señor que venía de salta a mula, a lomo de mula y hacia esos trabajos

§166: **E: Ahh**

§167: HE: Si, después te digo que esta la bodega esa que tiene cien años, más de cien años

§168: **E: Y el molino ese cuando se construyó?**

§169: HE: Y ese antes, debe tener más de 150, 200 años

§170: **E: Ah si? Entonces no se si estamos hablando de lo mismo? Aquí tengo una foto porque me llamo la atención cuando fui para allá, pero vi una construcción a ver si la encuentro porque se me van acumulando las fotos. A ver esta sería la puerta?**

§171: **HE:** Si esa sería la puerta, si lo que pasa es que esta es una construcción nueva porque eso lo hicimos nosotros porque estábamos tratando de restaurarlo eso es nuevo, eso es de madera,

§172: **E: Si pero eso estaba?**

§173: **HE:** Por ahí baja el agua, el canal y hacia rodar la piedra

§174: **E: Eh si si más o menos entendí todo el sistema, porque vi todo el canal que bajaba y ahí vi el alta pendiente como para darle presión me imagino no=**

§175: **HE:** Y esa piedra que vos ves acá tiene una base que vos de adentro con un tornillo la levantas o la bajas, eso hace que la piedra, para que sirve, que tenés que moler, si tenés que moler trigo tenés que bajarla, si tenés que moler maíz la tenés que subir

§176: **E: Ahh dependiendo del producto**

§177: **HE:** Si del tornillo

§178: **E: Pero el molino que usted está diciendo es ese mismo?**

§179: **HE:** Ese ese, era de mi abuelo, después hay otro no? Pero

ya como te digo es para el lado de San José,

§180: **E: Aja pero este era el único que estaba por acá. Si porque muchos me hablaban de que se acordaban cuando mandaban las cosas para moles por eso lo fui a buscar un poquito por allá y entonces no sé si será esto pero acá pone una fecha no sé si será esto 1961 jajaja**

§181: **HE:** Claro esa es la época el año que lo hicieron nuevo

§182: **E: Que lo hicieron nuevo?**

§183: **HE:** Claro lo hicieron todo nuevo con ladrillo porque era todo de adobe,

§184: **E: Aja**

§185: **HE:** Claro era todo de adobe

§186: **E: Aja, Dale dale dale. A qué lindo, bueno bueno he aprovechado para otra información (ríe) uno nunca sabe, donde, (ríe) porque si lo había visto**

§187: **HE:** Si querés ir a la casa a la tarde, si querés ir, si te interesa no? Yo te llevo.

§188: **E: Estaría genial, lo iríamos a visitar. Porque lo explico, me parece interesante ver un poco también, porque esto también fue un proyecto de desarrollo pero que partió desde la misma comunidad, no vino el ecira en aquellos años a decir vamos a construir el molino o vamos a excavar los pozos allá**

en... entonces ver un poco hacer esta especie de comparación entre los proyectos de desarrollos anteriores y lo que se vino después porque esto también fue un desarrollo porque antes se molía con las piedras y eso ya dio para otro uso no? Se produjo un cambio de alguna manera, entonces estaría re lindo

§189: HE: Si vos querés vamos a verlo a la tarde. No sé dónde te puedo ubicar a vos?

§190: E: Usted más o menos a qué hora podría?

§191: HE: Mira yo después de las, de las tres

§192: E: Ah después de las tres bueno, porque a las 7 tenía un compromiso pero podemos no se a las 5 igual que no esté muy fuerte el calor

§193: HE: Como quieras

§194: HE: Pero donde estas parando vos=

§195: E: Yo estoy parando unas tres cuadras de la plaza bajando

§196: HE: Ah para la San Martin pero por abajo

§197: E: Si si alquile una pieza por ahí

§198: E: Y no se me puede dar su número así nos estamos comunicando?

§199: HE: 155290877

§200: E: Ehh tienes whatsapp con este número?

§201: (silencio se va a consultar algo el entrevistado)

§202: Regresa y le da otro número telefónico

§203: E: Bueno ya en cuanto se registre en mi whatsapp así se queda guardado con mi número y podemos estar comunicados.

§204: E: Podemos quedar en la esquina de la despensa a las 16.30 o 17

§205: Arreglan un punto en común donde encontrarse

§206:

§207: HE: y vos como sabias del proyecto este de ECIRA?

§208: E: eh hh bueno fue así hablando un poco con la gente. Yo cuando me presentaba y decía que era italiano muchos se me cortaban

§209: HE: ahhhh

§210: E: en realidad no le había dado mucha bola a eso porque yo en realidad vine para otra cosa pero en realidad todo se fue mezclando de estas cosas y me di cuenta que todo este tema de cómo se fue desarrollando todo el tema del territorio, de la construcción del territorio, esto siempre me lo indicaron como un punto crucial, un punto de inflexión, un poco cambiando lo que era la comunidad, la forma de manejar

§211: HE: Si pero lamentablemente antes si se manejaba como comunidad. Hace años, por ejemplo aquí la gente venía a moler, este es el único molino, entonces venía la gente molía, que es lo que se hacía es cambiar dinero, no cobrarle sino hacer un trueque, eso como se manejaba la gente en aquellos tiempos? En la época de mi abuelo, de mis padres

§212: **E: Claro porque no había mucho dinero**

§213: HE: Exactamente no había dinero, no existía prácticamente el dinero

§214: **E: Aja**

§215: HE: Entonces por eso existía el trueque, o sea yo te doy esto, vos me das esto

§216: **E: Claro. O sea a cambio de la molienda se daba algo no es un producto**

§217: HE: Claro, así se manejaba en aquellos tiempos todo, prácticamente todo.

§218: **E: Si y esto más o menos hasta cuando funciono de esta manera?**

§219: HE: Y esto debe haber sido hasta los años 80. Los años 80 todavía seguía funcionando, después desaparecieron los abuelos y los nietos no hicimos una mierda.

§220: **E: Jajajaja ríen juntos**

§221: HE: Esto todavía sigue, es que lo están por techar

§222: **E: Cuándo pase no estaba eso**

§223: HE: No es que lo están por techar

§224: (Ruidos de apertura de puerta)

§225: HE: Este es el molino, esa es la piedra de abajo, esa `piedra es fija y esta es la piedra móvil

§226: **E: Ah claro es la que me decías que se iba bajando o subiendo**

§227: HE: Bajando o subiendo mira....

§228: **E: Vamos a grabar un poquito (risas de ambos) (ruidos de preparación de una cámara)**

§229: HE: Lo que estamos viendo es el molino de piedra, vemos la tolva q es esta donde se colocaba el maíz o lo que se quería moler, consta de dos piedras, una fija y una móvil. Esta piedra es la fija que no se mueve y esta es la piedra móvil. Si vos miras por acá la piedra esta calada, porque esta caladura, esta acá, tenía la ... Y es lo que hace q cuando cae el agua que gira la piedra, gira eso y gira el agua entonces va despidiendo de la manera cuando vaya girando va despidiendo la harina o lo que sea hacia los costados. Eso es toda la ciencia Jajajajaja (ríen ambos) y el día que nos quedábamos sin agua no podíamos moler. Solamente se molía cuando venía agua por la acequia, después vamos a ver el canal que tenía una inclinación que era fuerte con mucha agua

para poder mover semejante piedra

§230: **E: Claro, y esto funcionaba o sea el agua iba para abajo con las palas estas?**

§231: HE: Exactamente con esas aspas que están ahí abajo, eso hace mover las piedras estas. Ese era todo el secreto, mi abuelo acá venía se sentaba y estaba horas mirando como la piedra giraba y juntando la harina, o sea como decíamos hace rato, o sea mi abuelo no les cobraba, sino que era el sistema del trueque, o sea vos venias con 10 kg de trigo, de maíz para que te hagan la harina y pagaban con ligo de la harina, no es que pagaban con dinero

§232: **E: Aja**

§233: HE: Si no pagaban, era trueque, eso es todo

§234: **E: Y me decía que esto era importante como forma de hacer comunidad de alguna manera?**

§235: HE: Claro exactamente, como se manejaba en aquellos tiempos la comunidad. No había dinero que circulaba como circula hoy en día no es cierto, si no tenés plata no haces nada, acá la gente venía y se llevaba esto, se llevaba lo otro o directamente mi abuelo decía no me debe nada lleve nomas.

§236: **E: Entonces esto para entenderlo un poco yo, o sea la propiedad del lugar era de su abuelo pero**

§237: HE: La utilizaba toda la comunidad

§238: **E: Pero era un emprendimiento digamos que surgió privadamente de alguna manera**

§239: HE: Claro surgió por mi abuelo, o sea el no nació acá en Amaicha del valle, el vino ya de otros lugares

§240: **E: Como se llamaba su abuelo?**

§241: HE: Justo Segura y bueno el ya vino de la parte del Norte de la república, más arriba

§242: **E: Jujuy?**

§243: HE: Jujuy por ahí entonces, de ahí vino, él ya tenía, ya había conocido los molinos y cuando vino acá se hizo hacer su propio molino y de acá había otro molino como te decía esta mañana para la zona de Catamarca, había tres molinos más con el mismo funcionamiento y lo que tenían estos molinos es que todos los años la piedra de arriba y abajo había que con un cincel (ruido de raspar la piedra)

§244: **E: Para limpiar la harían? Como limpiarlo?**

§245: HE: Lo picaban a propósito para que pueda moler, entonces cuando la piedra giraba despedía todo la harina, también se podía moler el pimiento rojo, se lo dejaba secar y salía el pimentón

§246: **E: Claro**

§247: HE: Todo con el mismo sistema, lo único que si se hacía era lavar bien las piedras, en eso tenía mucho cuidado mi abuelo porque decía que salían con sabores distintos entonces ya no servía el producto

§248: **E: Por supuesto**

§249: HE: Entonces si se lo podía comer, con la harina cocida, es un producto que usábamos siempre y se sigue usando todavía es la urpala

§250: **E: Que es la urpala?**

§251: HE: La urpala es harina cocida que se le pone algunos le ponen leche, yo le pongo azúcar, mucha azúcar y es muy nutritivo

§252: **E: Un buen desayuno risas**

§253: HE: Exactamente un buen desayuno, pero a media mañana había otro jajajajaja si comíamos así, no como estábamos acostumbrados ahora a las 12 y después a la noche

§254: HE: A la mañana tomábamos un buen mate cocido o te con leche todo con pan casero y después la mediodía recién comíamos un buen locro jajajajaja

§255: **E: Risa de ambos**

§256: HE: Haga calor o frio (risas de ambos)

§257: **E: Entonces ahí se ponían los granos y se bajaba**

§258: HE: Claro ahí se ponía un palito que golpeaba la piedra esta

de acá y eso hacía que vayan cayendo los granitos.

§259: **E: Me decía esta mañana que eso lo hizo de ladrillos en la fecha que dice allá de 1960? Y antes como era?**

§260: HE: Era abobe

§261: **E: Era adobe o sea el mismo espacio digamos?**

§262: HE: Esto es hace años, y esto yo lo conocí cuando debo haber tenido 5 o 6 años o sea que esto dura... yo ya tengo 63 y yo ya lo conocí así

§263: **E: O sea que solamente las paredes**

§264: HE: Si las paredes de ladrillos, lo que pasa que necesitaba más consistencia por lo que se iba comiendo ahí abajo donde cae el agua

§265: **E: Claro el adobe se iba comiendo y no tiene sentido (risas). Entonces me estaba diciendo que lo van a techar?**

§266: HE: Lo estamos por techar hermano

§267: **E: Y techar así para techar?**

§268: HE: No la idea de nosotros es que vuelva a funcionar el molino, sobre todo de todos los nietos que somos grandotes, ya tenemos nietos nosotros también. Yo ya tengo nietos

§269: **E: Claro**

§270: HE: La idea es que vuelva a funcionar el molino

§271: **E: Que vuelva a funcionar con el mismo sistema?**

§272: HE: Con el mismo sistema sino no tiene sentido, nosotros queremos que vuelva a funcionar el molino del abuelo

§273: **E: Que bueno**

§274: HE: Así que si dios quiere vamos a ver, ya empezamos por lo menos

§275: **E: Esto me llama mucho la atención, la idea original que tenía. Meterme con eso del ecira era un estudioso del patrimonio**

§276: HE: Ah si

§277: **E: Acá me parece que lo que están haciendo es recuperar ese patrimonio**

§278: HE: Si como te decía esta mañana antiguamente este molino estaba allá arriba Y después bueno lo sacaron

§279: **E: Más arriba?**

§280: HE: Más arriba, esta todo roto no como este, que también está roto pero lo que queremos es recuperarlo.

§281: **E: O sea que el más antiguo es el que estaba arriba?**

§282: HE: Si el que estaba arriba. Claro y después yo supongo que si lo han traído eh y bueno lo han hecho también de adobe por la caída, porque acá necesitas mucha fuerza del agua entonces arriba estaba y después lo han traído

§283: **E: Y queda algo de este? del molino de arriba?**

§284: HE: Mira no te voy a mentir pero algo debe quedar, hace mucho que no no lo he visto arriba. Pero estaba en ruinas, la última vez que yo vine ya estaba en ruinas, deben quedar algunos abobes pero no creo,

§285: **E: O sea que esto ya si este tenía 100 años este de arriba**

§286: HE: Y no tenía más jajaja estaba de antes

§287: **E: Mira, que bueno**

§288: HE: Vamos a ver que hacemos. Todo esto yo lo conocí de chico, viendo esto, de chico me encantaba venir aquí. Me sentía bien acá. Bueno vamos a ver si dios quiere y nos ayuda

§289: **E: Ojalá**

§290: HE: Difícil no es, yo ya le dije a todos los primos que difícil no es, hay q ponerse nomas. Vos ya tenés, te metes, te metes y hay que ser testarudo me decían las viejas. Yo soy el primo mayor, varón, esto hay que recuperarlo y el abuelo siempre testarudo se ponía y lo hacía así que.

§291: **E: Así que esta el proyecto**

§292: HE: Si, yo supongo que no va a quedar en proyecto nada más sino que lo vamos a hacer

§293: **E: Que bueno**

§294: HE: Si si

§295: (Ruidos varios)

§296: **E: Me encanta el espacio, justo cuando vine no pude entrar, no por supuesto, no forcé la cerradura jajajaja para entrar**

§297: HE: Era distinto verlo

§298: **E: Claro porque no sabía si era efectivamente un molino, porque yo supuse que era un molino y la cosa ahí abajo que daba vuelta me dio esta... (ruidos)**

§299: (Ruidos)

§300: HE: Los otros molinos tienen partes que llevan grasa y eso se contamina y le cambia el sabor

§301: **E: Ahhh la grasa para los mecanismos**

§302: HE: Entonces esto es fricción nada más, te puede entrar un poco de tierra

§303: HE: Mas natural

§304: **E: Además me parece una historia bonita para contar.**

§306: (Ruidos de interferencia)

§307: HE: Esta lo sacamos nosotros de Quilmes, en aquel momento que la sacamos nosotros se podía

§308: **E: Si si no voy a hacer ningún tipo de acusación**

§309: HE: La encontramos en Quilmes ya hace años, salió toda rota

§310: **E: Santamariano**

§311: (Silencio de ambos)

§312: Ruidos lejanos, de pasos y de puertas que se abren/cierran

§313: (Silencio)

§314: Se escucha la voz de entrevistado pero muy lejos, difícil de distinguir lo que dice por la interferencia.

§315: HE: Filtro de agua como la olla, Y ahí se ponía el grano, iba goteando aquí y se la recogía abajo.

§316: Risas de ambos

§317: Sonido de salida, voces muy alejadas, pasos.

§318: Sonido de apertura de una puerta

§319: Pasos

§320: HE: Esta se llama Cuba, es para el vino, jajaja ahí adentro tiene unas maderas que están separadas, el que pisaba la uva, subía se agarraba de los alambres que había ahí arriba y empezaba a pisar las uvas, por eso se le dice vino patero

§321: **E: Vino patero**

§322: HE: Por las patas

§323: **E: Si si si jajaja**

§324: HE: Y de ahí pasaba abajo y salía y se recogía, ese era como hacían los y bueno después aquello (voz muy baja).

§325: HE: Mi primo hizo un sótano para guardar los vinos, cuando estaban haciendo eso se nos cayó el techo, mira no nos ha matado a todos. Se nos vino todo el techo

abajo cedieron las tuvieron que
hacer todo de nuevo.

§326: Ruido de puerta que se abre

§327: Silencio

§328: Risas y una voz lejana

§329: Sonido de pajaritos.

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Transcription by Ana Victoria Leiva (IAM, Tucumán)

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§3: BA: Y también que podamos tener también una devolución porque es interesante, es importante para nosotros como comuneros, yo puedo tener una visión de mi comunidad, una visión en la espiritualidad, una visión de cómo nos estamos manejando día a día pero soy muy crítico yo, así nos han criado, critico no en lo problemático sino en poder, nosotros decimos que la madre nos de Kuntu maui. Kuntu es cóndor y maui ojo, que la Pachamama nos de ojos de cóndor para ver allá lejos y sobre todo cuando lo hago, la ceremonia cuando vienen gente sobre todo los políticos de estado o el mismo gobierno desde la nación, lo utilizo mucho así como el padre Cóndor vuela plácidamente en el aire surge y no anda a lo loco sino con las alas bien abiertas y usa las corrientes y va viendo todo, entonces bueno, que el gobierno pueda andar, pueda ver, pueda elevarse y con su vista pueda ver lo que esta pasando aquí abajo. Ayer ha llegado un grupo ya habíamos terminado la ceremonia,

un grupo del gobierno nación de cambiemos así que bueno tuve la oportunidad de utilizarlo y decirle que ya que están vean realmente cuales son las necesidades que son muchas en los pueblos originarios y que estos valores en la madre tierra o Tata Dios como cada uno crea conveniente a su creencia, los valores que tenemos o hemos tenido, el valor de la palabra, principalmente porque este gobierno nos ha mentido a todos, nos ha dicho que iba a hacer un montón de cosas y hoy en día es otra cosa, todo lo contrario de lo que dijo, entonces pude decirle que hoy el valor de la palabra, o sea no reclamándole lo que han dicho ellos, sino que hoy como sociedad digamos y esto es en el mundo la palabra la utilizamos para un montón de cosas menos para decir discúlpame, muchas gracias, te agradezco, sentémonos empecemos de vuelta la conversación sino que siempre para agredir y no para construir, entonces creo eso como sociedad en el mundo la humanidad debemos toma conciencia de lo que nos esta sucediendo.

§4: Entonces hace falta que los pueblos originarios más allá de que nos visualizan hoy en día pero que no nos dan la importancia, creo que los pueblos originarios en el mundo tenemos una llave no para el estado sino para la humanidad de esto de poder juntarse, ser respetuoso, de poder consensuar las cosas.

§5: E: A mí personalmente lo que me movió para investigar es

acercarme a esto que viniendo de la arqueología, usted sabe que hay muchos conflictos, ha habido y sigue habiendo muchos conflictos entre la comunidad de arqueólogos entonces bueno yo viniendo de Italia me interesaba todo el tema de américa dije bueno no se pueden entender las cosas del pasado aquí o en cualquier lugar sin tener conciencia del contexto social que están viviendo las comunidades, entonces eso estoy tratando de hilar todo esto, y todo lo que está diciendo sobre la visualización que ahora quizás se visualiza bastante los pueblos indígenas me parece, justo estaba hablando con lo de este día que habían organizado los de cambiamos otra ceremonia

§6: Si otra ceremonia y bueno han podido llegarse, seguramente son ellos porque no hay otra y ahí hemos tenido la oportunidad de hacer la ceremonia con ellos nada más y justo pase por ahí y bueno me presentan y me he quedado a hacer la ceremonia con ellos y ahí he podido hacer la invocación y dentro de lo que dice la madre tierra, dentro de los conceptos, dentro de nuestra espiritualidad, dentro del mensaje que la madre tierra nos está dando, porque ayer nos ha dado el mensaje a través la piedra, entonces ese mensaje yo lo he transmitido a las autoridades locales comunales como una comunidad que Lalo representa el consejo de ancianos y los representantes de las distintas comunas, municipios aquí del valle

y gente del gobierno. Entonces he dado el mensaje que nos está diciendo a nosotros la madre tierra que hay que juntarse, algo se está partiendo y se está partiendo muy profunda y esta marcando una línea en donde no podemos pasar para el otro lado, entonces hay hermanos que están quedando para un lado y otros que están quedando del otro lado (habla con una Sra.) entonces esa línea se quiebre, que en la piedra ha salido y ya lo estamos viendo, en lo personal digamos en muchas personas aquí en la comunidad está habiendo un quiebre entre la espiritualidad y la religión, hoy en día muchas personas están adoptando la espiritualidad o sea que en cuestiones entre la espiritualidad y la religión está habiendo un quiebre y hay algunas personas comuneros que el proceso personal de ellos es al revés, han practicado la espiritualidad, cuando hablo de espiritualidad es lo nuestros como pueblos originarios, cuando hablo de religión es lo que nos han impuesto, entonces hay personas que está habiendo un quiebre en lo espiritual que están adoptando la espiritualidad y dejando la religión y hay otros comuneros que están haciendo al revés, dejando la espiritualidad originaria para asumir una religión y esto se debe a que han ingresado estas iglesias evangelistas y otras de distintos que son la misma anda más entonces en lo personal está habiendo ese quiebre

§7: E: Esto repercute también en las dinámicas de la comunidad?

§8: BA: Esto repercute también en las dinámicas de la población porque antes vos eras esto y ahora sos lo otro piensa ya hay un distanciamiento en el comunero entre los hermanos y ahora que estamos en tiempos y que vamos a entrar estamos próximo a un año con cuestiones políticas, la política vengo ya diciendo hace un año que ha sido siempre, desde hace un año he largado una idea de que como comuneros, como originarios no debemos permitir que los partidos políticos nos sigan decidiendo, porque ellos vienen nos hacen la cabeza, nosotros votamos y de ejemplo lo pongo a este gobierno, nosotros votamos y elegimos y lo que elegimos se cocina allá arriba, y después sucede lo que esta sucediendo hoy en día entonces no permitamos como comuneros que los partidos entren y nos sigan dividiendo más de lo que nosotros estamos, entonces es una manera una estrategia o como quieras llamarle de lo que nos estamos dando cuenta en mi familia con mis hermanos entonces es importante buscar algo una herramienta como para que esto no siga abriendo una brecha entre nosotros, esto no es un problema de nosotros es un problema de la humanidad, del mundo, agarra el país que agarres estamos hecho pelota. No voy a hablar de Europa porque vos sabes muy bien lo que ha sucedido y está sucediendo hoy en día. Entonces bueno, es muy complicado entonces nosotros tenemos una gran responsabilidad de poder dar el mensaje que la madre tierra nos está dando a

través de señales que nos está dando todos los días nada más que como hijos ingratos no escuchamos a nuestra madre y hacemos lo que queremos y hoy estamos sufriendo las consecuencias, o sea lo que hoy sucede en mi comunidad no le puedo echar la culpa a Lalo como delegado, no le puedo echar la culpa como cacique, no le puedo echar la culpa al consejo yo soy responsable y esa responsabilidad es mía pero también es tuya y de cada uno de los que convivimos en una comunidad indígena originaria, científica, educativa lo que se te ocurra entonces la responsabilidad no es de uno sino de toda la humanidad y nosotros como seres humanos deberíamos tomar esa responsabilidad entonces bueno hay muchas cosas que tenemos que pensar y repensar mas en estos tiempos porque se nos están acabando ya las baterías y se van a venir cosas muy duras.

§9: E: yo justo ayer lo estaba pensando ayer no se si sabe que en los últimos años están calculando la fecha en que la tierra termina sus recursos, entonces como que la humanidad está en deuda y justo este año fue el 1 de agosto entonces me llama mucho la atención

§10: BA: mira vos, no sabía

§11: E: que el 1 de agosto donde se celebra según la espiritualidad la Pachamama por los frutos que nos da y para pedir que haya más, justo en esa fecha este año se terminaban

los recursos disponibles, que los explota una mínima parte de la población y la otra parte de anda por supuesto

§12: BA: y vos lo que me estás diciendo tiene mucho que ver con la mina La Alumbra que ya se está yendo, si se está yendo es por algo, ya no hay mas

§13: E: **O sea no porque haya**

§14: BA: O sea yo no tengo televisión, y entonces no me llevo nada por la televisión simplemente observo lo que sucede en mi comunidad y lo que observo aquí, me voy a Tucumán y observo lo mismo, estamos trabajando aquí con la escuela de gobernanza preparando líderes, estamos trabajando aquí con la escuela del cerro Villamil se llama el departamento que es Catamarca a 4500 están las comunidades yo también veo los problemas. Que no son de la comunidad son problemas de la sociedad que no hace ser muy inteligente sino poder observar, sentarse aquí y ver cómo transcurre los hermanos que pasan por aquí, vos te sientas y ves, bueno vos como estudioso ves eso, como se van desarrollando y vas sacando las conclusiones acá lo que tenemos es que la madre tierra nos da esa característica de poder observar, de poder ver, cuestiones políticas ya nuestros abuelos al obtener una cedula real te estaba diciendo que tenían mucha cintura para dialogar para negociar así que no creemos que en lo absoluto que los pueblos originarios eran cuadrados y que eran brutos, porque para hacer un

convenio y decir yo necesito 180 mil hectáreas y necesito la libertad de hacerles creer que nos han adoctrinado y hacerles creer que hemos absorbido la cultura que nos han traído y hoy vos has visto seguimos practicando, después de 500 años seguimos en la espiritualidad no es todo pero en muchas personas está intacto entonces no eran ningunos brutos nuestros abuelos.

§15: E: **Y esto en relación con lo de la alumbra que está diciendo justo el otro día (no se entiende) y no sabía que hubo bastantes protestas aquí en la comunidad con lo de la Alumbra**

§16: BA: Si, hubo mucho, se cortó la ruta se ha manifestado, se ha tramitado muchas cuestiones, el pueblo no el gobierno, e pueblo, la alumbra también hizo lo suyo poner vehículos colectivos para llevar gente a la población a mostrarles que no estaban contaminando, bueno enseñaban los registros nomas lo tenemos claro porque vemos la cantidad de agua que tenemos, los problemas de los animales en el campo. Vos hasta cuando te vas a quedar?

§17: E: **Acá por Amaicha hasta finales septiembre más o menos**

§18: BA: Llegate una tarde, la escuela agrotécnica la ubicas? Camino a Santa María justo en la curva en el frente ahí vivo yo, tenés para anotar mi teléfono? Anota así nos encontramos.

§3: DB: Vos haces las preguntas?

§4: **E: No sigamos conversando como estábamos haciendo antes, me estaba comentando que la labor de su familia sobre todo llevan adelante más allá de lo que puedan ser las facciones de la propia comunidad se centra en lo que es la espiritualidad si entendí bien verdad? Entonces esto sí me parece importante como aspecto que mantiene unida a la comunidad entonces de que manera esta espiritualidad sirve para esa labor y cómo definiría usted esa espiritualidad primero, esto sería interesante grabarlo, entonces cómo definiría usted esta espiritualidad y de que manera se concreta, se materializa y de qué manera se visibiliza esta espiritualidad.**

§5: DB: En primera medida Francesco te agradezco en que te hayas interesado en poder conocer la comunidad de Amaicha, agradezco la sensibilidad que has tenido de poder llegarte, acercarte y hablar con el consejo de ancianos, con el cacique sobre todo para solicitar una autorización eso para nosotros como comunidad es muy importante porque dentro de esta intención que tenés realmente desde la comunidad también hay una intención de poder facilitar todo lo que la comunidad tiene para ponerlo a disposición del trabajo que quieres hacer porque

es una manera también que a partir de este trabajo la sociedad y el mundo nos pueda visualizar, es importante para nosotros como comunidad también poder aportar a la humanidad los conceptos de vida que tenemos porque creo que la humanidad está en crisis y las comunidades originarias en el mundo creo que tenemos una llavecita que debíamos conocer parte de lo que es nuestra cultura, como nos manejamos con la vida, como nos manejamos con la madre tierra, como nos manejamos con los hermanos, es una manera que la humanidad le podría servir para poder vivir en una mejor sociedad en el mundo, entonces desde ese punto de vista en un marco de reciprocidad podamos trabajar con todos los hermanos que estén interesados en conocer nuestra manera de vivir, entonces agradezco en primer medida esto. Nosotros en la familia, mi madre Celia Segura ella ha sido una referente espiritual de la comunidad, siempre hemos trabajado o nos hemos criado mis hermanos y hoy en día mis sobrinos, mis nietos escuchando a mi madre que había que unificar criterios, que había que tener una relación muy estrecha con la madre tierra, que no nos tenemos que olvidar que todo lo que pensemos y hagamos en la vida tiene que ser en una dirección con relación a la madre tierra, si tenemos una relación con la madre tierra seguramente no nos vamos a equivocar, y esto lo podemos tomar en el plano social, en el plano espiritual, cuando hablamos de territorio, creo que son momentos

muy importantes que hoy en día estamos pasando en un proceso de la comunidad y esto de la espiritualidad nos ha servido mucho. En el caso de mi madre siempre ha trabajado en las bases de la comunidad nunca hemos acompañado a un cacique en particular, a un gobierno en particular, simplemente nuestro deber, nuestro más que deber nuestra responsabilidad como miembros de la comunidad en la parte espiritual poder decir a las autoridades, a nuestro consejo, a nuestro cacique, a nuestra comunidad, nuestra población poder decir los puntos de vista que vamos viendo cómo se tiene que suceder, estilo que por ej., Utilizar el don de la palabra que es un calor muy importante que tiene la humanidad, hoy con la palabra agredimos, hoy con la palabra mentimos, de hecho tenemos que firmar documentos y después esos documentos no son válidos y nunca la palabra para decir discúlpame me he equivocado y sentémonos de vuelta empecemos la conversación, la charla entonces la palabra como un don que nos ha dado la madre tierra para expresarnos hoy en día la estamos utilizando mal, entonces debiéramos repensar como estamos utilizando este don, poder tener lo que vos has hecho por ejemplo, el decir: disculpe vengo a hacer un estudio, permiso, que bueno no? Poder decir gracias, te agradezco o sea para eso sirve la palabra y no para estar como hoy la humanidad esta, entonces desde nuestra espiritualidad desde nuestro punto de vista como

referente que tampoco nosotros creemos, lo creemos así sino que nosotros somos de esta manera porque así nos ha criado nuestra madre, no nos consideramos referentes ni algo muy importante dentro de la comunidad simplemente tenemos una responsabilidad y esa responsabilidad la hemos asumido desde chico y hoy en día tenemos esta responsabilidad de poder decir, poder informar, poder decir a la sociedad y al gobierno debemos consensuar en esto, podemos ir me parece por este lado, opciones nunca diciendo autoritariamente esto debe ser así, sino me parece, tal vez, en una de esas, la posibilidad dando un camino, una opción a seguir, creemos en el consenso entonces de esta manera nos debemos manejar, así que bueno desde las distintas asambleas y en las cuestiones políticas de las comunidades aquí en Tucumán los distintos espacios que se han ido creando a través del tiempo en la provincia, en el país, en Latinoamérica la verdad que no hemos participado nosotros, siempre hemos estado trabajando aquí abajo, en la comunidad pero sin salir de la comunidad, valoro mucho el trabajo de mucha gente por ejemplo hace rato hablábamos de algunas personas como por ejemplo de Esperanza Nieva que es una persona que ya se ha ido de una manera muy trágica y muy triste para nosotros pero ella ha sido una luchadora y ella si ha andado en ese tipo de cuestiones. Tenemos personas hoy en día como nuestro cacique Lalo Nieva

que también ha andado con toda su experiencia y su manera de manejarse en el mundo y hoy está trabajando aquí en la comunidad, tenemos a Delfín Gerónimo que son personas que han estado desde muy chicos en la lucha y la conocen muy bien. Agradecer a todas esas personas que han podido hacer este camino para que hoy en día las comunidades aquí en el valle podamos tener un camino político estratégico consensuado con el resto de las comunidades para continuar en esta lucha, en el trabajo que se viene haciendo para que seamos visibilizados, para que seamos tenidos en cuenta desde los estados. Hoy el estado con todas las leyes que tenemos como parte de un estado como argentino hoy en día realmente es muy tiste porque como argentino no se está cumpliendo nada, nuestro derecho mayor que nos da el estado que es la vida y la libertad hoy esta truncada en muchas comunidades y sobre todos los hermanos del sur, los de aquí muy cerquita en Salta donde nos quitan la vida porque reclamamos lo que es nuestro, nuestro territorio, y si no nos quitan la vida nos meten presos, nos arman causas, y realmente el estado no está cumpliendo con lo que debiera, nuestro derecho mayor es tierra y territorio es muy amplio entonces nuestra vida misma en donde tierra y territorio encierra nuestra espiritualidad, nuestra vida, nuestra manera de hablar, de poder expresarnos en la vida en todo sentido asique realmente como parte de esta comunidad y

en la parte espiritual poder marcar un rumbo en la sociedad y dar una opción nos parece que este es el camino que debiéramos recorrer todos juntos, cuando decimos hermano no tan solo a las personas somos hermanos sino que somos hermanos con las plantas con los animales con el agua, con las piedras mismas que para muchos la piedra es una piedra y anda más que eso pero para nosotros son nuestras hermanas porque las clasificamos en macho y hembra y tienen un espíritu como nosotros, sino el cuarzo como podría tener esa energía que los estudiosos dicen que tiene, entonces cuando nosotros decimos hermanos es importante saber esto no? Que lo que decimos muy respetuosamente, lo que nos han enseñado las religiones nos dicen que los hermanos son las personas.

§6: E: Si, no todas tampoco

§7: DB: Realmente nos han enseñado algo en esta conquista, hemos aprendido y hoy nos estamos dando cuenta que realmente tiene muchas ida y vuelta estas religiones y que solamente es muy chiquito en comparación con lo que es la espiritualidad del ser originario que es muy amplia porque bueno nosotros reconocemos todos estos seres vivos como el árbol. El agua, el viento, realmente nuestros abuelos y algunas personas hoy en día en las comunidades en el mundo todavía podemos hablar con ellos, podemos sentirlos, podemos relacionarnos y esto

desde las religión y esta globalización no existe por eso estamos como estamos

§8: E: Si, si le puedo hacer una pregunta a propósito de esto que me parece que no puedo, que no acabo de entenderlo, lo que me movió a hacer este tipo de trabajo, porque justamente la globalización como usted dice cierra esos espacios de espiritualidad pero también es verdad que en ese periodo a través de la globalización las demandas indígenas se han visibilizado más, hoy por ejemplo es a nivel de naciones unidas, justo hoy en 9 de agosto es el día internacional de los pueblos indígenas, esto también forma parte de una circulación de ideas que a partir de los años 80 se está dando. A mi parecer esta visibilización ha perdido lo que era la fuerza que lo empuja, o sea que ahora se habla de esto pero se engloba todo muy fácilmente dentro de un discurso de salvemos al medio ambiente, un discurso más ecologista, que por supuesto para mi está bien pero quizás, o sea lo que no consigo entender es como diferenciaría usted esta preocupación ecologista que más o menos es igual pero si uno lo escucha de afuera dice ah bueno los pueblos indígenas dicen que son hermanos de la naturaleza digámoslo así y los ecologistas quieren proteger eso, que diferencia ve usted en eso?

§9: DB: una gran diferencia, hay una gran diferencia y bienvenidos

los ecologistas que tratan de defender a su manera lo de la naturaleza, es muy distinto lo veo de esta manera y lo digo respetuosamente, esto de la globalización hoy en día en el mundo la ecología solamente es un bien, un bien económico, para el mundo ecológico, para los ecologistas digamos, lo digo esto por una experiencia que hemos tenido no ha sido mucho el tiempo, el año pasado en la escuela de gobernanza un grupo de ecologistas que han venido de acá de la provincia de Catamarca a hacer la escuela de gobernanza un espacio en donde se prepara o se da información para líderes indígenas y aquellos que no perteneces a la comunidad o alguna comunidad digamos también tienen un espacio para poder hacer esta escuela y poder alcanzar esos conceptos, esas informaciones que se majean en las comunidades, ellos por ejemplo con caso de la mina la Alumbreira, se ha hecho muchísimo daño, ha roto cerros, que nos han contaminado el aire, nos han contenido las aguas, las plantas, ha contaminado realmente todo lo que hoy en día es imposible la vida teníamos una discusión en donde el convenio 169 decía que no servía y bueno

§10: E: ellos decían que el convenio?

§11: DB: ellos decían que el convenio 169 no servía ellos habían apelado. Lo que sucede es que el convenio 169 esta con una visión en el mundo originario, en el mundo ancestral, entonces hablar

de naturaleza cuando hablan los ecologistas de naturaleza o hablan del medio ambiente realmente para ellos hablar de la naturaleza y del medio ambiente es algo que no tiene espíritu es un bien económico para nosotros no hablamos de naturaleza, nosotros hablamos de la madre tierra, y resulta que la madre tierra tiene un espíritu, porque las plantas tiene un espíritu. Porque el agua tienen un espíritu, porque todo tienen un espíritu. Entonces no estoy hablando de un bien económico. No estoy hablando de dinero, no estoy hablando de una cosa, sino que estoy hablando de mis propios hermanos, porque tienen espíritu, lo que sucede es que esta globalización y esta religión sobretodo como católico lo digo, porque soy católico, porque me han bautizado, no lo puedo negar, y así como soy católico también he tenido en algún momento cuando era chico de ingresar en el seminario menor para cura, entonces conozco de lo que estoy hablando porque he estudiado, he participado, he sido parte de los futuros curas que se preparan con el estudio en el seminario, entonces en este sentido, nos han enseñado desde las religiones que el ser humano es el único que tiene espíritu y el único que es el creador, el dueño de todo lo que existe porque lo ha creado Dios para que lo utilice el hombre, entonces el hombre utiliza todos los bienes como lo ve el mundo, hoy en día esta globalización, el mundo capitalista, utiliza todos estos bienes, los usamos y abusamos de esos bienes y radón

por la cual hoy vivimos como vivimos, no es posible que la madre tierra de todo para que vivamos todos bien y hoy por esta manera de expresarnos la humanidad solamente hay unos cuantos en el mundo que acaparan todo y hay muchísima gente que hoy en día no tiene para comer, entonces la humanidad, el ser humano porque también la religión nos ha dividido y nos trata del ser humano. No te habla de la humanidad, entonces la humanidad es un todo, lo que pasa que estos tiempos y estas maneras de expresarnos que tenemos todos somos todos individualistas entonces el ser humano, y yo cuando te digo ser, ya se ha separado de la humanidad, entonces somos independientes y es como que así funcionamos no y así pensamos independientemente, nos manejamos independientemente pero lo bueno o malo que hacemos resulta que favorece o no a toda una sociedad, entonces debemos retomar los pensamientos comunitarios, en donde todos podamos pensar. Donde todos podamos decidir y sobre todo en donde todos podamos ser responsables de lo que decimos.

§12: E: dale, eh si también retomando con esto, esto de la individualidad como usted decía tiene mucho que ver con la historia de los propios seres humanos que se fundamenta en una idea de dignidad individual porque así nacieron, así se establecieron en relación con lo que era la propiedad, la propiedad privada justamente,

otra cosa que me interesa mucho de la reivindicaciones que se gestan desde los pueblos indígenas es como estaba diciendo esto de centrarse en lo comunitario, uno de esos aspectos es el territorio como estábamos diciendo antes también no? Si me pudiera decir un poco de qué manera desde su experiencia por supuesto no? Como se manifiesta esa relación con el territorio que da lugar a reclamar ese derecho comunitario, no sé si me he explicado bien.

§13: DB: sí, sí. Bueno nosotros como pueblo originario cuando hablamos de territorio, el territorio es prácticamente la vida misma y hay un dicho que dice que la tierra no me pertenece sino que nosotros pertenecemos a ella y viniendo cuando cada uno de nosotros en los pueblos originarios nacemos en un monumento que nacemos ya pertenecemos a un territorio, somos parte del territorio, hoy yo como un mayor este territorio que tengo no es mío sino que es como que me lo han prestado mis hijos, mis nietos entonces se los tengo que devolver de la mejor manera y tengo que ver sobre todo en estos tiempos, ver como mayor en mi territorio en lo que nosotros tenemos que ver cómo vamos a continuar esta vida y trabajar de hoy, ya en las problemáticas que mi sociedad, mi comunidad tiene para que cuando devuelva ese territorio para que el día que yo ya no este puedan continúan mis hijos. Mis nietos disfrutar de este territorio. Si hoy vendo mis tierras

que las tenemos porque nos pertenecen porque este estado nos ha dado o este documento que tenemos de los españoles, la cedula real que nos otorgan el territorio, que nos devuelven la tierra, si yo no la cuido, si yo la vendo porque eso es una realidad tenemos hermanos en nuestra comunidad que tal vez por una picardía de este mundo occidental, tal vez por una picardía de creer que este capitalismo con vender la tierra se va a salvar, va a poder vivir mejor, si, va a poder vivir mejor, pero para que el viva mejor hay un hermano que se va a quedar sin tierras, sin el territorio, y cuando empecemos a vender parte de nuestro territorio va a llegar un momento en que va a ocurrir cosas por ej. no muy lejos, los hermanos en Tafí desgraciadamente han perdido su territorio y está en manos de gente que no pertenece a la comunidad entonces la gran parte de la comunidad y lo digo respetuosamente parte de los hermanos tal vez no han podido visualizar el problema, hoy en día son los empleados, cuando ellos deberían ser los dueños de esos negocios que existen, entonces tratar de que eso no ocurra aquí en Amaicha entonces con lo poco que podemos hacer, que los emprendimientos sean nuestros en nuestro territorio que es una manera de poder

§14: **E: Controlar**

§15: DB: De tener una autonomía que debe ser también en una parte muy principal tener una autonomía económica pero para eso no debo

vender mi territorio, mi tierra, debo cuidarla, debo preservarla porque si yo no puedo seguramente con la preparación de mis hijos o de mis nietos, ese territorio lo van a poder hacer viable económicamente para que realmente podamos hablar de una autonomía en serio que hoy hablamos de autonomía pero resulta que esta autonomía no es completa porque no tengo una autonomía económica, hoy en día en mi comunidad tengo o tenemos docentes que no perteneces a la comunidad y solamente vienen y trabajan por su horario por lo que le pagan y no hacen más que eso nada más que eso entonces no le ponen todo lo que debieran ponerle en su profesión para poder enseñar y para poder transmitir en cambio si tuviéramos un docente de la comunidad entonces sería otra cuestión, otra visión otra manera de poder lograr esta autonomía.

§22: E: eso justamente el territorio, si quería hacerle una pregunta más arqueológica, jajajaja, bueno no tiene nada que ver quizás con la arqueología, antes decía que las piedras son nuestros hermanos quizás la forma que más puede entender eso teniendo una formación arqueológica justamente a través de la arqueología, porque de alguna manera lo lindo de la arqueología es que te permite tratar de entender o tratar de dar un valor más allá de su mera fisicalidad a esa piedra, entonces la pregunta que me

estaba surgiendo era de qué manera eso que se le dicen restos arqueológicos o se le pueden llamar lugares de los antepasados o incluso huacas, de qué manera esos lugar participan en esta sociabilidad que tiene el territorio para la comunidad?

§23: DB: si bueno todas las cuestiones arqueológicas, las cosas que existen de nuestros abuelos de la gente que nos sucedieron realmente son, en todo lo que ellos han dejado son restos que en algunos casos se puede hacer una lectura, se puede conocer como han vivido, en los dientes se puede ver que han tenido una alimentación sana, en los huesos, en la cerámica, por eso digamos hay algo que hay que entender en este mundo que vivimos la globalización es un desarrollo que nos dan, nosotros nos desarrollamos y cualquier cosa que se hable se habla del desarrollo de la comunidad y del ser humano, en nuestro mundo es una expresión, nosotros nos expresamos entonces es distinto el desarrollo a la expresión, por eso nuestros abuelos, hoy en día los artesanos por ej. Se siguen expresando con las manos, con su mente, con el espíritu y cada pieza que ellos hacen está impregnado principalmente con su espíritu y con el amor a la madre tierra, su conocimiento y utilizan sus manos para crear esas obras de arte, entonces lo que nos han dejado nuestros abuelos realmente es un camino, son los libros que las universidades tienen, pero desgraciadamente en los estudios

no existe esa cultura, porque hay uno que ha ganado y hay otra historia, la historia de nuestras comunidades y si vos agarras una cerámica, una batea hecha por un artesano, cualquier cosa que hace la gente de las comunidades y realmente le puedes encontrar un significado, un amor a cualquier cosa que está hecha con las manos, eso tiene un espíritu es alguien que le ha transmitido a esa pieza, a ese tronco, a esa cerámica, está impreso el espíritu del que lo ha hecho y desgraciadamente las personas que desconocen de esto y solo ven una pieza bonita, nada más que eso, no ven más allá porque esta globalización no deja ver más allá y hay una espiritualidad en esas cosas y esas cosas que nos han dejado nuestros abuelos en esos morteros, en las conanas, en los tejidos, en las terrazas para cultivo, en los canales, en las acequias, tantas cosas que nos han dejado nuestros abuelos que nos muestran como han vivido y como debíamos vivir hoy en día que estamos pegados en una globalización y hay que empezar a desestructurarse porque está visto que en estos apenas 200 años que tiene el estado argentino, ya está visto o por lo menos ya lo visualizamos nosotros que no tienen ninguna respuesta a nuestra forma de vivir, esta globalización, este capitalismo, vamos de mal en peor y llevan apenas 200 años. Como es posible que nuestras comunidades han vivido cientos de años, miles de años y no existía el hambre ni las enfermedades como existen

hoy en día, no existían las problemáticas que la sociedad hoy tiene, no existía la desidia, se hablaba con franqueza, se miraban a los ojos, tenía valor la palabra, entonces este capitalismo, esta globalización, que no toda es mala porque yo tengo un celular, ahí adentro tengo internet, o sea no es malo todo, es como lo estamos utilizando, vos sin ese aparatito no podrías grabar, no es malo, es como lo estamos utilizando.

§24: E: claro, y esto me lleva al consenso que decía antes quizás no, o sea la búsqueda de este consenso es la forma más no sé, más efectiva para buscar un uso bueno de las cosas jajajaja me perdí un poco ahí

§25: DB: claro si vos ves Francesco el mundo creemos lo que somos miembros de un estado creemos que la globalización es lo más grande que tememos en los estados, la democracia, creemos que la democracia es lo mejor que nos puede ocurrir, en este país, en argentina creemos que lo mejor que nos puede ocurrir es manejarnos dentro de un marco de democracia pero yo como originario te puedo decir que es un error.

§26: E: Y que alternativa de la democracia encontraría?

§27: DB: Por qué creo que vivir en democracia es un error? Porque en democracia la mayoría que gobierna para la minoría, y lo mejor que pudiera ocurrir en una sociedad en el mundo es tener estas prácticas de las

comunidades originarias, que es el consenso, en el consenso, en la democracia hay oposición, en el consenso no hay oposición, en el consenso todos buscamos una idea y aquel que no está de acuerdo debe ser tan responsable, entonces no hay imposición, todo tienen la misma responsabilidad de ir como sociedad a donde han elegido.

§28: E: Listo

§29: DB: Lo que sucede es que hoy en día con todas las leyes, como dicen hecha la ley hecha la trampa, entonces no somos claros para hablar. No somos claros para manejarnos, no somos respetuosos para decir las cosas y muchas veces uno habla y resulta que la cabeza, mientras mi lengua va por un lado mi cabeza va por otro y mis sentimientos van por otro entonces no estamos encontrados, no estamos como dicen los hermanos de esas culturas milenarias de Japón, que dicen que tienen que estar en si eje, nosotros decimos tenemos que ser uno solo, yo solo ser uno solo con la madre tierra entonces todo lo que yo diga, lo que yo piense, lo que yo sienta, lo que yo haga tiene que ir direccionado conjuntamente muy estrechamente con la madre tierra. Entonces ahí voy a estar presente yo y van a estar presentes todos mis hermanos y de esa manera vamos a aprender realmente a vivir para recién poder convivir, porque eso es lo que nos está faltando, nos está faltando realmente un espacio, un tiempo de poder juntarnos todos con la humildad

para poder hablar, con el respeto por adelante para poder armar esos consensos, porque esto de las democracias figamos es algo que solamente a mi como argentino y como parte de una sociedad, como parte de un estado me hacen votar y yo voto, pero resulta que todo se cocina, se hace, se arma allá arriba, los que tienen el poder y me hacen creer a mí que yo participo.

§30: E: Si. Es un buen tema efectivamente

§31: DB: Y es un tema no?

§32: E: Si, esto es un tema digamos que crea solidaridades más allá de que uno se identifique como perteneciente a un pueblo originario o menos no porque efectivamente la mayoría de los casos, los que tienen suerte, viven en democracia, porque ahora como están las cosas la alternativa de una democracia es peor que la democracia, entonces una alternativa que no sea peor que la democracia es tarea complicada la verdad no? Y bueno yo personalmente creo que las propuestas que se hacen desde los pueblos indígenas, esto es también otra cosas que me mueve, porque para mí no es tanto esto son derechos indígenas y son de ellos, para mí lo que más me movió trabajar estos temas es justamente ver como estos derechos indígenas pueden cambiar las cosas de donde yo vivo a través de esto. Por ej. Le pongo un ejemplo cerca de mi ciudad de donde yo vivo, allá en

Italia es un proyecto que lleva muchos años de un oleoducto, un gasoducto que tiene que cruzar el mar, llegar a la tierra talar muchos olivos, entonces talar cantidad de olivos porque luego tienen que hacer una conexión para a red de gas nacional y europeo, entonces e movilizaron varia gente de allá porque es una obra que no se quiere, porque el olivo en mi provincia en mi región tiene una espiritualidad si se quiere que va más allá de ser simplemente un árbol, pero claro no se le puede utilizar por ej. el convenio 169, porque no es un pueblo originario no? Entonces para mí la fortaleza que tiene el convenio 169 debería ser su generalización, porque toda comunidad es originaria de su lugar y no es menospreciar quienes se autodefinen pueblos originarios, sino resaltar la fortaleza que tiene esa reivindicación.

§33: DB: claro y esa reivindicación se la construyo hace miles de años, o por lo menos estos últimos 500 años como herramienta de las comunidades de saber ser pacientes. Yo creo que la gran facultad que tienen las comunidades indígenas del mundo es la de tener paciencia, tenemos tiempo. Realmente no han sacado prácticamente todo, nos han quedado pocas cosas, pero esas pocas es como decimos, de las raíces estamos volviendo y creo que estamos volviendo y no solamente estamos viviendo por el hecho de que queremos vivir y convivir sino queremos hacerle un

aporte a esta humanidad, a esta crisis que está teniendo la humanidad

§34: E: Esto me parece importante claro

§35: DB: Entonces es importante que los gobiernos del mundo entiendan que las tierras los territorios que tenemos nosotros es sagrado y que nosotros pertenecemos a nuestro territorio entonces no nos pueden sacar esos territorios porque no están sacando la vida, de hecho a esos hermanos nos están quitando la vida y estamos dando la vida por esos territorios que le perteneces a mis hijos, a mis nietros y los que vienen por atrás, por eso yo hoy tengo que defenderlos a esos territorios porque le pertenecen a ellos, ellos son parte y deben vivir con la dignidad que debemos tener como humanidad, porque hoy en estos tiempos la dignidad estamos muy lejos de poder vivir, de poder hablar, de poder ejercer esa dignidad así que desde los pueblos originarios hay muchas cosas que los gobiernos debieras escuchar y tenemos algo para que la humanidad pueda repensar como estamos viviendo.

§36: E: porque estaba, quería mostrarle esta foto

§37: DB: ah mira vos

§38: E: Jajaja porque quería mostrarle porque bueno está ofreciendo, celebrarlo digamos, esto la información que encontré la saque de internet la imagen esta, es una ceremonia de la pacha me parece que 2014 allá en la vieja hostería,

entonces bueno me llamo la atención porque toda la historia de ese lugar, de la vieja hostería me esta fascinando mucho como se está tratando de recuperar entonces cuando encontré esto la idea que tenía era un poco preguntarle si usted recuerda digamos porque se decidió intervenir el lugar y pero sobre todo que significado tiene realizar allá la ceremonia, ese año, qué significado tiene realizarla ahora en la bodega a nivel público, oficial.

§39: DB: este, mira cuando se ha decidido tomar la ex hostería a través de, bueno se ha terminado un plazo, un convenio que se hizo y con el automóvil club después eso retomarla comunidad es dueña de las tierras, se lo ha retomado porque ya mucha gente de la población y fuera de ella la han empezado a destruir entonces era necesario la comunidad tener un espacio como la casa de la comunidad entonces se nos hemos apropiado de ese espacio que nos pertenece, hemos tenido cierta conversaciones con el gobierno, que al día de hoy continuamos con esas conversaciones y es importante hacer la ceremonia en ese lugar, básicamente es retomar un pedazo de tierra que le pertenece a la comunidad y poder durante tanto tiempo que no ha estado manejado por la comunidad no se han realizado ceremonias que tengan que ver con la madre tierra, entonces eso ha sido un espacio olvidado de la comunidad y nosotros creemos que todos los espacios, todos los territorios de

las comunidades indígenas son lugares sagrados, entonces como lugares sagrados que mejor que realizar la ceremonia y bueno ahí en esa foto realmente hay 2 personas que ya no están en estos momentos que una es don Vidal Avalos (señala su imagen en la Tablet) un consejero que conjuntamente con mi madre, la referente espiritual la Celia y ahí esta Lalo el cacique han sido 3 pilares muy fundamentales en esos tiempos que Lalo como cacique, don Vidal como consejero y mi madre como consejera espiritual realmente le pudieron dar un vuelvo a la comunidad y hemos empezado a reconstruir cierta parte de la comunidad en lo social y en lo espiritual, en consensuar ciertas cuestiones en la comunidad, empezar a utilizar prácticas que estábamos perdiendo con esta globalización, con estos espacio que no se armaban para poder armar, poder discutir, poder consensuar y estas tres personas trabajaron mucho codo a codo y había momento que veníamos a Tucumán y acá muy cerca en Ampimpa o en Los Cardones había un llamado de Tucumán y había que pegar la vuelta, llegaban los abuelos, y tomaban un mate y volvían a salir a Tucumán, porque así requerían los trabajos que se venían haciendo con el gobierno. Y hoy en día este camino que hemos hecho, este consenso que hemos construido con el gobierno provincial hoy en día ellos saben perfectamente que es lo que queremos, a donde vamos, razón por la cual nos sentimos

acompañados por este gobierno provincial. Entonces es importante lo que hablábamos del consenso, de poder construir juntos con el estado y que nos tenga en cuenta ciertos aspectos de lo que es la comunidad de Amaicha como territorio nos pone muy contentos de que así pueda hacer porque realmente es un precedente para el resto de los hermanos que no tienen las capacidades de tener un diálogo y poder construir este consenso. Entonces es un precedente para que ellos puedan ver, llevarse las experiencias o modificarlo o hacerlo igual o ver de qué manera pueden crecer cada uno de las comunidades de acá de Tucumán o del valle para poder relacionarse con el estado.

§40: **E: Listo**

§41: DB: Así que bueno, realmente en estos últimos tiempos la comunidad ha tenido un crecimiento, si bien hay cosas que se vienen trabajando muy bien como por ej., este reconocimiento del gobierno, hoy por hoy la escuela de Gobernanza un espacio de la comunidad hoy que tenga un convenio con la universidad de Lomas de Zamora en maestría Jurídica, que tenga un convenio con la escuela de la corte de la provincia, esto significa que el camino que han marcado estas 3 personas que te nombraba es un camino donde estamos buscando un consenso, un crecimiento y un beneficio no tan solo para la comunidad sino también para el resto de los hermanos. Qué comunidad hoy en día en argentina tiene un convenio con la

corte o con la escuela de la corte= entonces es importante poder tener la sabiduría, la tranquilidad que nos da la madre tierra, mama Killa para poder hacer estos caminos y poder ir construyendo conjuntamente con los gobiernos locales un modo de poder vivir para que en un futuro nuestros e hijos puedan vivir en unidad.

§42: **E: bueno yo lo dejaría aquí, pero siempre hay que hacer la pregunta de si quiere añadir o corregir una cosa porque forma parte del protocolo de la entrevista jajaja esto sería nomas**

§43: DB: Mira Francisco, agradecerte como te dije en un principio por esta apertura que has tenido vos, agradecer la apertura de nuestro gobierno y bueno que puedas caminar tranquilo por el territorio de la comunidad pudiendo preguntar y averiguar y que seguramente los comuneros te van a saber dar su punto de vista porque es importante que te lleves algo más completo, nos solamente de algunas personas sino que puedas visualizar y con tu visualización nos vas a ayudar seguramente a la construcción de esta comunidad y a la nueva manera r que queremos retomar los tiempos de nuestros abuelos pero también mezclarlos, ver de qué manera vamos a ir caminando estos tiempos en beneficio de todos. Y bueno mientras vos estés por aquí estoy dispuesto a cualquier duda o casa que haya quedado en el tintero, no hay problema

§44: **E: Bueno muchísimas gracias**

§45: **DB:** Así lo puedes ir completando y a mi hermano si puedes ir a la casa, él sale a las 6 en adelante, pero ahora como tenía catecismo, así que bueno ahí trata de ubicarlo o me llamas y lo tratamos de ubicar un fin de semana por ahí.

§46: **E: Claro.**

Name: Calcha18-16

Place and Date: Amaicha del Valle, August 2018

Transcription by Ana Victoria Leiva (IAM, Tucumán)

§3: E: Con eso

§4: EF: No porque yo he pasado, he visto de donde era, yo cuando andaba de noche viajando a Santa María he visto aquí en la salina hay una

§5: E: En la salina? Donde el rio la salina

§6: EF: En la salina chica, porque hay dos salinas, una chica y otra grande, bueno ahí de la primer salina chica hay son las salamanca, salamanca no todas las noche la vas a ver.

§7: E: Y cuando la puede ver

§8: EF: Es muy raro los días que usted va a dar con la salamanca

§9: (Se corre por la luz)

§10: EF: No todas las noches no

§11: E: Y cuándo es que aparece eso?

§12: EF: Y bueno los martes, los viernes, son días de salamanca.

§13: E: Y porque serán esos días?

§14: EF: y no sé porque sabrán permiso shatirungu, lucifer, el diablo

§15: E: En esos días aparece?

§16: EF: Claro para hacer su fiesta y el baila y van las que quieren aprender algo, las ligeras

§17: E: Las ligeras?

§18: EF: Las ligeras son las que van ahí a estudiar, a aprender algo, lo que el demonio les enseña

§19: E: Y usted sabe que enseña?

§20: EF: Y enseña porquerías, porque para curar y hacer travesuras, cosas buenas no y da plata para poner negocios, tenés cosas, hacienda, y le da plata pero con un término, usted vende su alma, él ya lo va a comer, shatirunga lo va a comer, porque hay firma

§21: E: Como acá

§22: *Jajajajaja se ríen ambos*

§23: EF: Claro firman un contrato no lo va a hacer por cien años, lo va hacer menos, para si usted quiere tener hacienda, quiere tener un negocio, va a tener su negocio pero es un cierto termino, cuando el contrato se termina, termina todo, han pasado casos así

§24: E: Como se entera uno que ahí está la salamanca

§25: EF: Y porque está prosperando, de la noche a la mañana aparece con un semejante negocio, semejante departamento con semejantes cosas y es porque shatirungu le ha dado plata, pero su alma ya no depende de este mundo, ya de shatirungu, y hay un tiempo que

tiene que entregar el ser más querido sino lo lleva, tiene que entregarse

§26: E: ah sí? Y usted vio eso?

§27: EF: claro, aquí existe y en Santiago tb existe, porque aquí hay montañas, lugares donde no hay nada por eso hay salamanca, aquí en 3 partes hay salamanca, pero las mayores son las salinas, ahí hay mucha gente a bailar, usted va a entrar a la salamanca, usted debe escupirlo a nuestro señor, debe renunciar a nuestro señor si es católico entonces entra a bailar pasa, la mujer le pone una araña pollito de prendedor

§28: E: Una araña pollito?

§29: EF: Si y una víbora de corbata y vaya a bailar nomas ciertas horas y cuando ya termina el baile él le pregunta que querés vos, que fortuna querés tener

§30: E: Y que música se baila

§31: EF: Claro, música buena

§32: E: Música buena?

§33: EF: Se sienten de noche los bandoneones, en esos desiertos donde no hay nadie ni agua en esos campos, ahí para la salina son lomadas, y esas lomadas de noche hay un palacio, ciertas noches hay un palacio iluminado porque ahí están bailando, ciertas horas nomas y les aparece,

§34: E: Es como algo pero no está siempre eso?

§35: EF: No, está siempre ahí en la parte esa pero no todos los días

§36: E: Pero si yo voy ahora que día es miércoles

§37: EF: Puede ir el martes pero tiene q ir a buscar pero no sé si lo va a encontrar, usted cuando aparezca en un cruce de camino en esos desiertos, hay que tenerla bien puestas no? Tiene q tirarse boca abajo para que converse con él, él le va a preguntar que anda queriendo.

§38: E: Pero hay una piedra algo que indique?

§39: EF: Es una apariencia, puede transformarse en un toro, en un burro, en un perro, el diablo se transforma en lo que quiere.

§40: E: Jajaja le puedo hacer una preguntita? porque estábamos trabajando con el cacique sobre unas pinturas que se encontraron en una piedra ahí cerquita del rio Salinas y esas pinturas es como un dibujito grabado en la piedra no sé si usted conoce y aquí tengo el dibujito mire este es el grabado que se encontró en las piedras

§41: EF: Y ese es el ve, se ha transformado, están por bailar los dos, son dos un animal y una persona queno, eso está grabado ahí porque ahí son las salamancas, ese es shatirungu puede ser cualquiera de los dos, porque él no se va a transformar en una persona, o le habla y usted no lo va a ver, usted esta boca abajo y tiene que tener coraje

§42: E: Porque me decían que este animal puede ser un zorro

§43: EF: Podría ser un zorro transformado, pero el zorro es shatirungu el diablo, el diablo se transforma en perro, en zorro, en burro, en toro

§44: **E: Y usted conoce porque me estuvieron comentando que hay bastantes historia del zorro y el diablo**

§45: EF: Pero el que es amigo es este el gato, por eso el gato es traicionero, porque él tiene pelo de diablo en la punta de la cola y las orejas, claro el gato es un bicho traicionero y uno lo cría, el caso es muy serio con el gato.

§46: **E: Pero con el zorro no sabe usted?**

§47: EF: El zorro no, pero como le digo el diablo se transforma en animales, rara vez se puede transformar en una persona, si porque yo he tenido mi padre que también ha pasado mucho, amigos lo han querido llevar para que tenga virtud pero él no ha aceptado, tenía amigos muy ricos que tenían hacienda, cabras, muchas cabritas, había una persona que era amigo de papa y ese era salamanquero, que le llaman salamanquero

§48: **E: Al que va a la salamanca**

§49: EF: Si tenían contacto con shatirungu, lucifer, él tiene cuantos nombres jajaja y ese hombre ha estado muy rico, era prestamista de plata, vendía hacienda, vestía bien hasta que se casó y cuando se casó empezó a bajar y bajar, se le empezó a ir la virtud la riqueza,

cuando él se ha casado se acostó con su señora y amanecido lejos el, no estaba en la cama, y así lo ha empezado a perseguir, porque la mujer tiene un punto más que el diablo y así lo va a salvar, y han salvado a muchos las mujeres, después han tenido un hijo y el chico ha nacido con astas

§50: **E: Que quiere decir con astas?**

§51: EF: Con astas (hace seña) claro la criatura no ha durado mucho y se ha muerto y después este hombre empezó con la pobreza, después se ha tenido que separar porque la señora esta tenía una hija y al ver que la madre estaba tan mal la hija la recogió, la hija trabajaba en buenos aires y la llevo a Buenos Aires y ahí a muerto y ha quedado él, y ha seguido cada vez más pobre y pobre porque él ha cometido el error de casarse

§52: **E: Ahh esto no le gusta al diablo?**

§53: EF: Él tenía que ser solo para seguir con su virtud, y ya se le acabo el contrato que tenía firmado y el últimamente lo ha traído una sobrina cuando no tenía nada, todo se le desapareció, ya no vestía como vestía antes de traje, pañuelo al cuello, porque vendía hacienda, hacia corrales llenos un día, al otro día al otro lado otra corrida más, otro corral lleno, que corría la sangre de lo que carneaban animales de lo que vendían, carneaba 50/60 animales que compraba la gente, hasta que quedo pobre y se hizo cargo una

sobrino, hasta que lo comieron los piojos, pobre, eso ha sido un ejemplo de aquí, ha sido vecino nuestro de casa de papá

§54: E: Ahí en Los Zazos

§55: EF: Cerca vivía, y dos días le duraba la ropa, ya estaban los piojos comiéndolo, le hacían hervir la ropa y ha quedado en la miseria, este hombre ha muerto en la última, como es no? Como es lindo es fiero

§56: E: entonces es importante lo de la salamanca aquí?

§57: EF: Claro, y había muchas que se van a bailar a joder ahí, no van a tener riquezas, algunas si para los hijos han sacado riquezas, pero ellas no para hacer maldad, travesuras, para hacer pelear matrimonios, para hacer maldad, cualquier vecino que tenga peleados, bueno yo te voy a hacer un mal para que tu vecino te siga aborreciendo, son cosas que no son para beneficio de nadie, cosas que no son para bien, buenos esa es la historia de la salamanca,

§58: (Corre un animal)

§59: EF: Y la salamanca existe, son cosas verídicas, no digo que todas las noches, puede haber un día a la semana, un día a la semana, donde usted va a ir va a ver algo raro, un baile, un animal raro también. Esa es la historia de la salamanca. Ahora la historia de la pachamama, porque nosotros la veneramos a la pachamama. Porque la Pachamama existe aquí, existe en los grandes cerros la

pachamama y el Yastai, porque es un matrimonio, la Pachamama y el yastai que es el esposo, los que la han visto porque antes cuando iban a cazar guanacos le ha salido la pachamama porque iban a destrozar, iban a matar 4 o 5 no era tanto el interés por la carne sino era por la lana, y existe la pachamama aquí, el guanaco tiene su pachamama, el venado tiene su pachamama, el loro tiene su pachamama, el quirquincho tiene su pachamama, todos tienen su pachamama, en diferente manera pero cosa verídica, porque les ha salido, les ha aparecido,

§60: E: Como aparece?

§61: EF: Yo trabajaba en vialidad y vivía en encalilla y nosotros íbamos a cazar quirquinchos a la noche, y el rio viejo en ojo de agua, íbamos con los changos a cavar y cazar quirquincho porque es rico para comerlo, y bueno una noche se hemos ido a los pampaco y porque no estaban 3 afuera, pampaco se llama a la vivienda de ellos

§62: E: De los quirquinchos?

§63: EF: quirquinchos esa es la vivienda de ellos, el pampaco, donde tienen una barranca donde tienen las cuevas para meterse a vivir y de noche salen a comer van a los charcales a buscar maíz, a la noche hemos ido y estaban saliendo del pampaco, han agarrado 2, 3 y así eran los quirquinchos más grande y más grande y ya nos hemos asustado, y era la pachamama, los

quirquinchos eran como ese perro, más grande, no los hemos dejado y hemos rajado con la linterna se hemos venido al campamento, si nosotros seguíamos insistiendo que iba a pasar?

§64: E: y si insiste y lo caza que pasa?

§65: EF: no, puede hacer cualquier cosa una travesura de algo, con la pachamama no hay que jugar, muchos se ríen pero aquí la pachamama existe, más en los desiertos como Santiago y aquí que no hay agua, usted va a andar de noche y hay partes fuleras, no hay viviendas, por eso existe shatirungu y la pachamama existe porque ella es dueña de los animales.

§66: E: Y en cambio el yastai que decía?

§67: EF: Él es el esposo es el que cuida y sale a ver los animales

§68: E: Y que animales?

§69: EF: Los guanacos, los venados y bueno como el quirquincho que nos salió que era el pachamama, cuida los animales, nos asusta para que no sigamos sacando y perjudicando. Por eso cuando uno sale a cazar guanacos hay que encomendarse primerito pedirle permiso a la pachamama, hay que llevarle una ofrenda, a ella le gusta que le lleven azúcar, haría cosa que ella tenga

§70: E: Y adonde se la lleva?

§71: EF: Alcohol, coca, eso le gusta, en el cerro cuando íbamos nosotros a cazar guanacos lo primero que subíamos a la cumbre, a la altura y ahí nomás en una peña se arrodillábamos y le pedíamos permiso a la Pachamama, nosotros venimos a cazar guanacos por la carne para nuestros hijos le decían los viejos y le dejaban coca, bote de alcohol, hierba y azúcar y se iban, y por ahí la misma pachamama les ayudaba a cazar, cazaban 1 o 2 y no más porque no tenían que perjudicar, les ha salido la pachamama a los que iban a sacar nomás la lana y el cuero, el cuero porque la lana es cara del guanaco para hacer los tejidos y los hilados, no era por el interés de la carne, traían uno, el más gordo, elegían una guanaca linda, traían el cuero nomás y dejaban la carne botada para que coman los zorros y los cuervos.

§72: E: y ahora que le parece con esa fiesta de la pachamama que se hacen ahora?

§73: EF: Y nosotros la veneramos porque existe, yo soy creyente, cuando voy a sembrar yo primero me encomiendo a la pachamama santa tierra que me de cosecha este año, siembro maíz, siembro zapallo, de todas las verduras, siempre me encomiendo en ella porque mi padre me enseñó, mi padre era muy creyente de la pachamama me dijo primerito se le paga a la santa tierra, un poco de vino y así les daba antes, y ahora nadie cree en eso.

§74: E: Pero si se hace la celebración ahora

§75: EF: No creen ahora, la juventud usted le cuenta y le dicen que barbaridad estás hablando, ellos nunca siembran, la juventud no sirve ahora, mire yo porque tengo conocimiento, a mi dios me ha dado conocimiento desde los 5 años, me acuerdo de todas las cosas, pregúntenme del año que yo he nacido en el año 32,

§76: E: Entonces los jóvenes?

§77: EF: En el 36, 37 pregúnteme de esos años como ha sido nuestra Amaicha, poca gente y abundantes cosechas, abundantes frutas, porque creía en la pachamama, hoy no, hoy la juventud no cree en nada, nada, usted le habla de esto y que es este viejo tonto que sabe, habla cagadas, yo le cuento a alguno le digo mira lo que ha sido antes, pregúntenme de los años 35/37 que se ha hecho, que había aquí, que son los trabajos que se han hecho este ha sido un pueblo pobre que no había caminos. Aquí se ha hecho el estudio del camino en el año 38/39, en el 40 lo han empezado a hacer al camino.

§78: E: El camino a Acherál?

§79: EF: El camino de aquí a Acherál, duro 2 años, 41 y 42

§80: E: Claro y esto fue importante ese camino?

§81: EF: Claro muy importante, es un camino angosto, eran 3 mts primero, después lo han

empezado a ampliar y ampliar, después han traído la maquina en partes que se ha podido y en otras no porque son rocas, antes la gente iba a caballo y mula a Tucumán, dos días, tres días para llegar allá, ir a hacer las compras y trabajar en la zafra azucarera.

§82: E: Usted trabajo en la zafra?

§83: EF: Yo he trabajo 19 años en el ingenio la fronterita

§84: E: Donde?

§85: EF: En el ingenio la fronterita

§86: E: Y como fue ese trabajo?

§87: EF: Duro, duro porque antes se pelaba a cuchillo la caña.

§88: E: Y tenía que ir todo el año o solo iba cuando era época?

§89: EF: Y eran 5 meses.

§90: E: 5 meses nada más?

§91: EF: Claro era mayo, junio, julio, agosto y septiembre y hasta octubre

§92: E: Era cuando era época de zafra, entonces tenía que viajar allá y hacer el trabajo

§93: EF: Se viajaba y cuando se hizo el camino era lindo, mas antes íbamos a caballo

§94: E: Entonces ese camino fue importante porque permitió moverse a la gente más rápido. Y otra obra que se hizo en esos años?

§95: EF: Y bueno en el año 36 se hizo, se trajo el agua del infiernillo para acá.

§96: **E: Eso le iba a preguntar**

§97: EF: Se hizo el canal en El Remate y se hizo la represa, el embalse de Los Zazos en el año 1936, porque primero era una toma nomas, una acequia, esa acequia la hicieron en el año 30 sería porque dice que mi papa le sacaba el nivel con una botella con agua claro pobres no tenían, entonces el llenaba una botella de agua le dejaba un poquito y la ponía para venir sacando los niveles, dándole desnivel para que el agua tenga pendiente, y en el año 36 , se consiguió el trabajo para que lo canalicen y hagan el dique

§98: **E: Y recuerda usted quien fue que hizo esos trabajos?**

§99: EF: Y eran unos ingenieros que han venido, pero no eran de aquí,

§100: **E: Ah no eran de aquí**

§101: EF: Pero han ocupado personal de aquí, por ejemplo los picapedreros que cortaban piedra eran todos de aquí, y obreros que han trabajado con los ingenieros que han agarrado la obra han venido a hacer trabajar

§102: **E: Y esa obra era de la provincia?**

§103: EF: Claro de la provincia, había una licitación y ellos la han sacado y han venido a hacer

§104: **E: Y quien era el cacique en esa época?**

§105: EF: En esa época ya era Agapito Mamani, que 30 años ha manejado la comunidad, pero antes de {él habrá sido otro cacique que era el padre, Juan Mamani

§106: **E: Antes de?**

§107: EF: Agapito, el padre, porque venía el caso de los caciques vitalicio

§108: **E: Quienes?**

§109: EF: Eran vitalicios, por ej. Aquí ha habido una mujer primero, después don Pedro Ayala y como moría el, queda el Hijo que era Timoteo Ayala como sucesor, porque tenía que ir un hijo o la mujer.

§110: **E: La mujer quién era?**

§111: EF: La primera, de 1800 y tanto, doña Bertolina Lera de Tolaba, 13 años ha manejado la comunidad.

§112: **E: Y porque dice que era la primera?**

§113: EF: Porque mi padre me dijo que era la primera, va el conocimiento que tenía mi papi, mas antes no se quien habrá sido

§114: **E: Ah claro**

§115: EF: Doña Bertolina ha manejado 13 años, después de doña Bertolina fue don

§116: **E: Ayala, me dijo**

§117: EF: Pedro Ayala, después de él vino Timoteo Ayala, ahí los tengo yo en la casa anotado en un libro los años que ha manejado

esta gente, después de Pedro Ayala, ha venido Juan Mamani, él es Mamaní con acento en la i.

§118: **E: Y pero era hijo de Ayala?**

§119: EF: Cuantos años habré manejado, como 20 años ha manejado Juan Mamani.

§120: **E: Pero no era hijo de Timoteo Ayala**

§121: EF: No él ha sido padre, don Juan Mamaní ha sido el padre de don Agapito, después que ha muerto él, ha quedado él como hijo, cacique que ha durado años

§122: **E: Pero Juan Mamani no era hijo del cacique anterior?**

§123: EF: No, venia porque lo elegían,

§124: **E: Ahh y como paso si recuerda?**

§125: EF: Porque ya Timoteo Ayala no tenía un hijo capaz ya para que maneje, entonces tenían que elegir otro cacique.

§126: **E: Y como se elegía?**

§127: EF: Y elegían votando, levantando la mano, por ejemplo había dos candidatos, y el que sacaba más votos era el cacique

§128: **E: Pero que hacía que una persona se eligiera como cacique? Que calidad tenía que tener?**

§129: EF: Y bueno que conozca algo y un hombre que maneje la comunidad y la haga respetar

§130: **E: Respetar de quién?**

§131: EF: Y que no venga alguien a meterse que no sea de Amaicha, que no sea comunero, los comuneros somos los que tenemos ingreso, nosotros ingresábamos antes a la comunidad, porque nuestras tierras son indígenas, porque lo elegían así y el hombre manejaba hasta morir y después de muerto tenia q ser un hijo o un familiar

§132: **E: Y eso fue o sea después de Juan Mamani vino Agapito Mamaní**

§133: EF: Agapito Mamaní ha manejado 30 años me parece o 31 años la comunidad yo he ingresado con él en el año 52 y me toco ser el comunero 303.

§134: **E: Ha ingresado que quiere decir ha ingresado?**

§135: EF: Ingreso yo quería ser comunero porque quería ser dueño de la tierra de Amaicha tener una parcela como esto, yo ingresaba, valía 25 centavos, 30 centavos pero había que tenerlo.

§136: **E: Como un ingreso a la comunidad era eso?**

§137: EF: Claro y estaban los libros y estaba el listado tantos comuneros hay, bueno usted ingrese, porque a mí no me han permitido ingresar antes de los 20 años, yo quería ingresar cuando me enrolado de 18 años. Me dice Agapito Mamaní no mijo usted vaya a hacer la colimba y después vuelva

§138: E: Que es la colimba?

§139: EF: La colimba es el servicio militar. Después de 21 años íbamos a la colimba, yo he hecho en Salta el servicio militar.

§140: E: Y era importante hacer el servicio militar?

§141: EF: Claro que era importante, ahí nos criaban de nuevo, si éramos íbamos a aprender, por ej. yo no he tenido escuela casi, porque he sido el hijo mayor de mis padres, por ayudarlos a ellos a veces no iba a la escuela, yo tenía 4 años de escuela, pero me he perfeccionado en Salta, yo perdía la cena e iba a la academia de la escuela de noche, ahí he aprendido, porque yo quería aprender, ahí he aprendido aritmética, lenguaje, a leer y a escribir,

§142: E: Entonces por eso le decía vaya a hacer la colimba

§143: EF: Claro aprendí a tirar a manejar armas y yo he tenido la suerte de estar 8 meses, yo he salido con baja de honor ahí tengo mi certificado, por buen francotirador, porque yo tiraba ya, teníamos una carabina paraguaya que ha comprado mi papi y nos íbamos a cazar guanacos, esa carabina tiraba 1200 mts, nosotros agarrábamos los guanacos y yo aprendí a tirar con eso

§144: E: Antes de ir al servicio?

§145: EF: Antes, yo tenía 16 años cuando iba a l cerro a cazar

guanacos, 17, tenía 18 cuando me he enrolado más con razón, así que yo cuando he ido al servicio con 20 años no se me hacía nada, porque yo he hecho cuantos centros, gritaba viva la patria, porque primero cuando recién me he ido 8 le he metido, segundo 9, vuelta otra vez 7 no sé porque he bajado en la primer, metí dos centros al blanco, de rodillas a tierra y después cuerpo a tierra sobre las camillas tirábamos, yo era como un francotirador, hemos rendido las 5 condiciones de carabina y las 5 condiciones de pistola col, una col 45 pesada, también he rendido las 5 condiciones así que yo tenía especialidad y muy buen francotirador.

§146: E: Entonces vino acá después del servicio ingreso a la comunidad

§147: EF: Después que he vuelto, me quede en salta después que he cumplido me he venido porque me pasaban a la federal ahí, por el certificado de buena conducta que tenía no había necesidad y tenían que firmar mi madre y mi padre y cuando quisieron ellos en el regimiento, yo he hecho en el 5 de artillería pesada ahí nomás nos daban los que tenían buena conducta los pasaban a la federal

§148: E: Que es la federal?

§149: EF: La policía federal y cuando tenían que firmar mi madre y mi padre no quisieron que te vas a ir ahí para que te maten, vas a

estar exponiendo tu vida. Bueno, no ha habido cado.

§150: E: Y usted quería?

§151: EF: Me quede yo de bronca me he vuelto yo quería ir a la policía, me he vuelto a trabajar en el cerro de san Lorenzo, estaba por empezar el pueblo ese, había mucha construcción, ya me gustaba la construcción, he vuelto a capachar ahí y me he vuelto yo en octubre y bueno me he vuelto yo, en noviembre me he vuelto a Salta, entre a trabajar en san Lorenzo de capachero en las construcciones grandes y entro a trabajar y en febrero he venido a visitar a mis padres, estaba trabajando bien yo tenía mi plata y después de que los he visitado en febrero me he vuelto y después he seguido trabajando y ha llegado el mes de abril, mayo y me he enfermado, el clima de ahí es frio como el de Tafí, fiero, mucho frio, me enfermado con sinusitis no podía sanar, y me he tenido que volver a Tucumán, estaban mis padres en fronterita trabajando, mi papi trabajaba en el ingenio La Fronterita, y ya no he podido sanar y que va hacer me he venido a Tucumán, en el mes de septiembre no podía sanar junio y julio estaba enfermo, agosto,

§152: E: De que año

§153: EF: Del año 51,

§154: E: Y después de eso se fue a trabajar a la zafra?

§155: EF: Y después me vine y trabaje en la zafra hasta que pasó

la cosecha y me vine para acá y recién he entrado en la comunidad, recién

§156: E: Ah cuando volvió acá ingreso a la comunidad?

§157: EF: En el 51, 52 ingresado a la comunidad yo, ya había hecho un año que había hecho la colimba y recién he ingresado y estaba Agapito Mamaní, me ha hecho ingresar, y me ha dicho con usted va a ser 303, me dio de alta en el libro de ingreso, él tenía 2 libros para reconocer que era comunero yo, así que yo soy comunero desde entonces. Y yo después ha pasado el tiempo y he perdido un metro de tierra, por ser comunero así que yo después he pedido tierra, un lote para hacer mi casa y después compre yo, en los Zazos compre, y esto es herencia de mi señora.

§158: E: De su señora?

§159: EF: Todo esto

§160: E: Esa era la casa

§161: EF: De mi abuelo

§162: E: Su abuelo

§163: EF: Mi abuelo ha venido de encalilla, el primer pueblo

§164: E: Donde estaba el pueblo ese de encalilla?

§165: EF: Encalilla es ahí, hay un cementerio, en la bajada allá, Encalilla se llama, ahí ha sido el primer pueblo de los Amaicheños, porque el rio tenia agua, corría con agua todo el año hasta que llego un año que se secó el agua y no

llegaba y tuvieron que abandonar y venirse aquí.

§166: **E: Y cuando se vinieron aquí?**

§167: EF: Y mi abuelo no tengo conocimiento pero esta casa tienen 164 años que había hecho la casa ahí hay papeles, mi suegra ha sido hija de mi abuelo y yo me case con la nieta de él y mi suegra le dejo para mi señora, que ha sido la madre, ella ha nacido aquí en estas tierras mi señora, así que esta casa tiene, mire por la anchura de las paredes, todo con material de la región, construido con material de la región, no como ahora que metemos todo cocido.

§168: EF: Y así fue, mi abuelo contaba que ellos fueron los primeros que se han venido y cuando ha venido él se había ido a Tucumán, tenía sus caballitos él y sus mulitas y se ha ido a monteros y ha comprado 4 rollos de alambre y ha traído para cerrar aquí y le ha puesto allá donde está el dispensario, la policía, el juzgado de paz todo ha sido del abuelo, de ahí hasta aquí, esa otra calle para ahí donde le han dado los 4 rollos.

§169: **E: 4 rollos de alambre.**

§170: EF: Y le han pagado la expropiación del camino, cuando se ha hecho el camino le han abierto, porque era cerrado ahí donde han abierto el camino del abuelo, por donde era el dispensario esa calle principal

§171: **E: Ah claro esa calle**

§172: EF: Ahí le han pagado la expropiación, le han expropiado el camino

§173: **E: Ah claro porque pasaba por la finca del abuelo?**

§174: EF: Claro él ha hecho reconocer en catastro esto, así que le reconocieron así y para abrir esta otra calle ya no le reconocieron ni 5. Mi abuelo ha puesto un bolichito acá y vendía vinito, esas cositas, así fue la historia de mi abuelo, él ha muerto de 109 años,

§175: **E: Todos largas vidas tuvieron**

§176: EF: Si cuando yo me case venia y aquí vivía, y esa parte ha sido de mi suegra

§177: **E: Y usted en todo esto que usted vio, que cambio ha habido en la comunidad en esa época con lo que se ve ahora?**

§178: EF: No, en ese tiempo era respetada la comunidad

§179: **E: Más que ahora?**

§180: EF: No cualquiera se abusaba, ahora hacen lo que quieren con la comunidad está muy mal administrada, por eso antes nuestro pueblo se criaba, ahora se ha criado muchísimo nuestro pueblo.

§181: EF: Después de Agapito Mamaní, atenti no? Después del último cacique vitalicio que hemos tenido Agapito Mamaní Arce, el llevaba los dos apellidos,

§182: **E: Mamani arce**

§183: EF: Arce porque la madre la señora era Arce, Arce sería por la madre y Mamaní por el padre

§184: **E: Si. Cuando murió don Agapito?**

§185: EF: Murió en el año 1965 me parece

§186: **E: Y entro el hijo de él?**

§187: EF: Entro Philipe por 4 años pero ya no era cacique, era comisión directiva de la comunidad.

§188: **E: Que es eso?**

§189: EF: Comisión directiva que se formaba con 4 miembros presidente, vicepresidente, secretario, prosecretario, tesorero, protesorero, vocal primero, vocal segundo, vocal tercero titulares y suplentes otros 3 más.

§190: **E: Pero cuando se hizo esa comisión?**

§191: EF: Eso se hizo cuando a muerto Agapito, cuando terminó el cacique vitalicio se eligió una comisión directiva de la comunidad.

§192: **E: Y porque se decidió hacer esa comisión?**

§193: EF: Y ahora recién vienen queriendo ser cacique, después todos eran comisiones directivas, Philipe ha manejado 4 años y se formó otra vez la renovación de la comisión.

§194: **E: Era por 4 años la comisión?**

§195: EF: Si 4 años y justo nosotros hemos estado 4 años del 60 al 64 hemos dejado la comunidad.

§196: **E: Del 70 al 74**

§197: EF: Del 60 al 64

§198: **E: Pero me dijo antes que Agapito se murió en el 65**

§199: EF: Philipe,

§200: **E: No, jajaja usted me dijo que Agapito Mamaní murió en el 65**

§201: EF: No, el habrá muerto en el 55 Agapito Mamaní

§202: **E: Ah en el 55**

§203: EF: Yo no había entrado en vialidad, yo he entrado en vialidad en el 68, y ya estaba Philipe yo no tenía mi obligación de empleado de vialidad, por eso andábamos en la comunidad, andábamos recorriendo la comunidad porque nuestra comunidad antes la teníamos que cuidar, renovar los mojones, los linderos de la comunidad.

§204: **E: Aja**

§205: EF: Del 60 al 64 la hemos manejado y la hemos entregado bien a la comunidad, sin deudas.

§206: EF: No sé si lo irán a elegir ahora para seguir siendo cacique

§207: **E: Entonces usted era como el presidente de esta comisión?**

§208: EF: No, yo era,

.....

§209: EF: Nuestra comunidad arranca de Monte Rico,

§210: **E: Monte rico?**

§211: EF: Aquí

§212: **E: Podríamos hacer una cosa me lo podría dibujar dónde queda?**

§213: EF: Monte Rico queda aquí de debajo de los Poronguillos para aquí abajo, del otro lado de Salamanca

§214: **E: No se me orientar, podría dibujarlo donde queda eso?**

§215: (Se levanta a correr un animal)

§216: EF: Porque nuestra comunidad, porque se llama monte rico porque era una selva de madera, (dibuja en un papel la explicación)

§217: EF: Ahí es monte rico, de ahí arranca, va por el río los Poronguillos es el límite, aquí se llama la loma picasa, sigue de la loma picasa águila huasi, límite, sigue a Yutu Yacu, de Yutu Yacu a Lampaso (fin del video)

§218:
.....

§219: EF: Y la primer pachamama en el año 46/47 dos años

§220: **E: Como se llamaba**

§221: EF: Carmen Alancai, lo ha tenido a mi padre pero ella no ha tenido hijos nada, mi padre ha sido un criadito de ella, ella lo ha criado pero no le ha dado el apellido. La

madre de mi padre era Flores. Usted le va a llevar al cacique esto?

§222: **E: Si usted no quiere no, pero la idea es recopilar esa historia y me parece que es una buena idea no tanto para el cacique sino que quede un archivo de esta historia**

§223: EF: Y quien lo deja?

§224: **E: No se luego que querrán hacer con esto, pero es como un archivo que recopila.**

§225: EF: Ah yo creía que era para usted esto.

§226:

§227: **E: Es para mí, pero yo lo hacía con buenas intenciones**

§228: EF: No a ese dejarle anda porque no nos respetan, que sabe ese tonto dicen, yo por eso no le doy porque la juventud no quiere saber nada, que sabe ese dicen, ellos quieren saber más la juventud y no van a recorrer los límites, yo sé porque he estado en la comunidad y cuando yo he estado la hemos recorrido, una vez por año, 4 veces en 4 años.

§229: **E: Si le puedo hacer otra preguntita don Eduardo, porque estaba buscando investigar esos proyectos de desarrollo que se dieron acá, como que vinieron unos italianos que hicieron unos pozos en encalilla, se acuerda un poco esa historia?**

§230: EF: No de eso no, no han servido para nada los proyectos que han venido para la comunidad, se lo han tragado, se lo han llevado, eso tengo yo pero ni me quiero acordar porque ha sido mal administrada esa plata que nos han dado el banco de desarrollo, muy lamentable, eso es triste contar, porque cuando hemos recibido los primeros dólares que nos han dado, nosotros muy contentos, pero todo se ha hecho agua, que lastima

§231: **E: Todo se ha hecho agua?**

§232: EF: No le contaría eso, quien lo ha traído la plata eso el banco mundial

§233: **E: Quien fue**

§234: EF: Eso del banco mundial dice usted?

§235: **E: Claro también paso esto**

§236: EF: Claro, se la han lucrado y mal invertida, plata mal invertida, anda se ha hecho, hemos comprado el tractor lo han quemado, hemos comprado maquinaria y se ha perdido, hemos comprado la camioneta y se ha fundido, lo que se iba a hacer no se ha hecho era para perforar un pozo, aquí ha habido pillos que han pensado de otra manera, no quiero contarle porque es una vergüenza eso que han hecho, a mi tras eso hoy me duele, ahora no me importa más porque los pocos años que me quedan para que carajo voy a renegar, para que le voy a contar, ya lo que ha pasado

a pasado, lamentable es muy triste contar eso

§237: **E: Pero si pudiera contarme un poco según usted que fueron mal**

§238: EF: Para usted puedo contarle, para usted solo, esos no merecen haberles nada, el cacique este no merece hacerle anda, yo les cuento a mis amigas un escrito, les hago ver hasta del molino que molían nuestro trigo, nuestro maíz.

§239: **E: El molino que esta por allá**

§240: EF: Claro toda esa historia les cuento yo como ha sido, había dos molinos yo les cuento porque he andado, conozco muy bien esto, toda esa historia, mucha gente no sabe nada, gente joven no sabe nada no le importa.

§241: EF: Como le digo usted le va a contar a la juventud cuando estamos en una reunión atienden poco y después dicen que sabe ese viejo tonto, no saben que yo les cuento algo verídico que ha pasado por mis ojos, porque yo he visto, que ha pasado por mi mente, que reconozco que ha pasado, por ej. esa plata que nos ha dado el banco mundial, dos veces nos han dado que ha sido el primero el proyecto el Ecira y después el Cadif, un proyecto que ha dado mucha plata dólares el banco mundial a la comunidad de Amaicha y los grandes pillos han hecho lo que han querido con esa plata, se han mejorado los que han dirigido, los que han servido, por

ej. Pedro Cerviño, él ha hecho su mejora, ha sido uno de los autores que ha perjudicado porque por interés, porque cuando se han sacado los primeros dólares el banco mundial, cuando los hemos visto, nos han dicho estos son los dólares, nos han hecho mostrar para que conozcamos nosotros no conocíamos los dólares, la reunión en ese tiempo era cacique Miguel Pastrana, ha hecho una reunión ahí con los dólares apilados, plata en efectivo, dólares en mano, bueno que se va a hacer con esto, esto se va a invertir, que quieren hacer? Queremos hacer allá perforar un pozo, hacer viñedo, hacer plantación de membrillo, manzana, poner alfalfa, criar vacas, comprar unas 6 vacas y un toro para que tengamos la leche

§242: **E: Eso dijeron en la asamblea?**

§243: EF: Decían ellos

§244: **E: Ellos decían?**

§245: EF: Claro los que han traído los dólares, Pedro Cerviño y el otro era Ricardo Rosi, gente no sé de donde serían esos, bueno golpeamos las manos muy bien que se haga, dice cuando tengamos ya nosotros las vacas lecheras y tengamos la viña para que hagamos el vino, el que quiera tomar leche va a tomar leche, el que quiera tomar vino va a tomar vino, uh bien, y va a haber membrillos para hacer el dulce ahí iba a ser una fábrica de dulce de membrillo, o de manzana íbamos a poner manzanal, membrillar y

viñedos y el tambo de las vacas, íbamos a comprar la camioneta y el tractor con esa plata alcanzaba, la camioneta y el tractor se ha comprado, lo que no se ha comprado las vacas ni se ha podido perforar el pozo, que ha mentido el Cerviño ese decía que no había agua, pero porque no se corría al río si ahí está el río Pilcomayo bajo tierra a 100 mts 150 mts 40 cuanto estará ahí, porque en encallilla ha sacado agua que va el río por ahí, si aquí sacan agua no vamos a sacar ahí?

§246: **E: Ah entonces aparte de esos pozos**

§247: EF: Decía Cerviño porque ellos picaros tenían propiedades aquí, han cambiado y decían vamos a perforar en La Puntilla, y han venido a perforar ahí, ellos no sabían que yo sé, porque yo cuando perforo el pozo este

§248: **E: Donde estaba ese pozo?**

§249: EF: Ahí en la plaza, ese pozo que han perforado hace años, yo he trabajado cuando era muy joven un compañero vecino mío dice están ocupando allá no querés ir vos a trabajar? Si le digo, estaban para carretillar la tierra lo que sacaban, y el geólogo era el que estaba haciendo las excavaciones, ha hecho perforar el pozo, dice lamentable, cuando ha asacado agua ya estaba a 80 mts daba agua el primer pozo no? Porque ahora han cavado otro, el primer pozo que había en la plaza, años, dice probado el agua muy

rica, muy dulce, por acá va un brazo del Pilcomayo, ese es el que hemos dado aquí, prueben esa agua, dice el geólogo, pero lamentable dice que de la hostería para allá corre el río salado, se llega a contaminar se va a echar a perder no va a ser muy buena va a ser el agua salada, agua pesada no delgadita como está saliendo ahora, y es así, el río de ahí a pocos metros corre salado y este otro corre por acá el brazo Pilcomayo, Pedro Cerviño como manejaba los dolores que él lo ha traído han llevado el geólogo para que estudie si hay agua ahí

§250: E: Ahí donde?

§251: EF: Allá en el río Sala, del puentecito ese, ese campo iba a ser todo viñado, membrillares, manzanas y el tambo, y los alfares es un campo grande lindo parejito no tiene piedra nada, unos cuantos árboles que pasando la motoniveladora queda bien y cerrar nomas, ahí iba a ser, habíamos elegidos entre nosotros y las manos gastadas tanto golpear de gusto. Bueno Cerviño se ha vendido, ha dicho que no había agua, pero porque no se ha corrido un poquito más, el cómo tenía tierra aquí ellos picaros han hecho perforar aquí de la Puntilla hasta Salamanca han metido postes marcando, como hay un Dios han dado con roca y no sale agua, y hay agua salada por ahí viene el río salado, por ahí son las salinas, que el agua que corre toda es salada y ahí justo dicen que corre un río salado decían los

geólogos, hay un dios y bueno ya no se ha hecho nada y la plata se ha ido, no se ha hecho el pozo que pensaban perforar y sacar el agua por ahí, ni se ha puesto las plantaciones de membrillo ni la viña ni el tambo ni las vacas lo único que se ha comprado la camioneta y el tractor

§252: E: Y esto estaba en el galpón que estaba en la ruta?

§253: EF: No se compró eso todavía se acabó la plata decían, han pedido otra cantidad de plata otro proyecto del banco mundial que era el ecira ya, ha sido primero el cadif, eso después ya no lo han manejado ellos, ya lo han manejado lo que han traído la plata Ricardo Roche ha comprado tierras aquí, había otro que ha comprado en Santa María una casa, cuando se ha ido asentando la camioneta, una Ford hermosa, se iban a la rioja, y no han alcanzado a llegar por la camioneta dura y muchos km que le han metido se ha jodido la camioneta no sé qué le ha pasado.

§254: E: Quizás tenga una foto de la camioneta, usted me va a decir si es esa, a ver si la encuentro

§255: *(Muestra una imagen al sr.)*

§256: E: Esa era la camioneta o no

§257: EF: Si esa era, esta allá sin motor, sin nada

§258: E: Claro

§259: EF: Usted la ha sacado de ahí del galpón?

§260: **E: Si de ahí he sacado la foto jajajaja**

§261: EF: Esa ha sido la camioneta 0, la han agarrado para la joda, para ellos, la han fundido, después el motor lo han sacado lo habrán vendido que habrán hecho?

§262: **E: Esta ahí cerrada en esos galpones que eran del ecira**

§263: EF: También de la comunidad todo se ha hecho eso

§264: **E: Y esa casa que está al lado también en los galpones**

§265: EF: Conozco la historia de toda esa parte del museo, la conozco como ha sido, eso ha sido en el tiempo de silva

§266: **E: Que paso?**

§267: EF: Le dio un arriendo, un arriendo que le ha dado a Cruz

§268: **E: Ha en ese tiempo fue**

§269: EF: Ya no me acuerdo en que año sería, que Silva me ha comentado a mí, dice che Flores va a venir un tal Cruz quiere arrendarlo

§270: **E: Pero Cruz no es de acá entonces?**

§271: EF: No es boliviano, salteño, él ha sido antigüero, bueno me dice Silva como éramos como hermanos, Flores mira lo que va a pasar, ha venido un tal Cruz para arrendarlo, quiere hacer un

museo, quiere hacer unas construcciones lindas, le va a dar trabajo a la gente de aquí, le vamos a arrendar en la banda ahí pide, quiere hacer un museo, es salteño me dice el, ah le digo bueno que vas a hacer vos sos el que maneja la comunidad, vos ponete de acuerdo con la comisión y después de la comisión llama a los comuneros a ver si estamos de acuerdo o no? Bueno me dice yo voy a hablar con la comisión me dice, él era Silva presidente, Eulalio Segura vicepresidente, secretario era don Melitón Velarde, no tesorero, secretario era Rene Margarioti que ha muerto hace poco y le ha arrendado, es un arriendo que le ha dado a Cruz, ese no es comunero no es anda y bueno ha empezado a laburar y ha ocupado de aquí unos cuantos nomas, y a traído gente de Bolivia, son unos locos para trabajar, trabajan por poca plata y son guapos para trabajar, trabajan noche y día, comen poco coquean nomas, le da el arriendo y ya empezó a construir y construir y se ha prendido con el gobierno y ya ha empezado con algo de la cerámica, con madera compraba y vendía y ya ha empezado más grande y más grande hasta que ha llegado un día que ya como el que tiene plata hace lo que quiere, ya había traído el un agrimensur y había hecho una mensura desde el rio de Amaicha hasta el otro rio que cae de allá, y él quería ser dueño ya de todo, no arriendo ya, entonces cuando lo han parado ha quemado el tractor

§272: E: Como fue eso?

§273: EF: Yo no he estado, yo estaba en Buenos Aires. Han quemado el tractor y bueno sigue en juicio eso y como él ya tiene la escritura, había hecho escriturar porque tenía plata.

§274: E: Como puede ser que tenía la escritura?

§275: EF: Hecho mensura primero que era dueño él, que había comprado ahí ha sido el lio, con la comunidad le han metido nafta al tractor y lo han quemado con tractorista y todo.

§276: E: El tractor era del proyecto?

§277: EF: Claro, el tractor esta por ahí, estaba no se para dónde lo habrán llevado ya no sirve, lo han quemado, no sirve más no sé si le saco fotos al tractor,

§278: E: No sé si será este el tractor, esta es la hostería?

§279: EF: Abajo sabía estar en esa parte, lo han desaparecido o lo habrá vendido el cacique, estaba arruinado del todo, no sé qué habrá pasado con ese tractor, hermoso tractor.

§280: EF: Y después ya no ha habido caso para recoger eso de Cruz, ni vendiendo la mitad de la comunidad hay para recoger eso, el capital que está metido ahí, usted ha entrado ha visto? A mí me hacen pasar gratis, yo soy amigo de Cruz, porque le converso, no le digo nada, ya lo que está hecho esta hecho, que mal, y bueno pero

para nosotros está bien que haya eso porque el turismo viene y lleva un recuerdo de Amaicha y él está rico del todo.

§281: EF: A mi cruz me ha contado como ha sido la historia, él ha sido antigüero con el hermano, andaban ellos cavaban y sacaban cosas de los indios, antigüero les decía, sacaban tejas, sacaban ollas con algo, por los cerros andaban cavando, donde había luces descubrían de noche porque el oro y la plata hace luz de noche más cuando llueve, la antimonia que tiene, sabe que es antimonia?

§282: E: No explíquemelo

§283: EF: Jajajajaja la antimonia es un veneno, es como un gas, como el que usamos para la cocina, eso está cuando hay plata y oro tiene antimonio, y estos han sido antigüero y cavaban y cavaban y sacaban cosas de los indios calaveras, ollas, urnas para vender, con eso se iban haciendo plata ellos, los hermanos, y bueno él me contaba a mí, porque hemos sido amigos, conmigo no ha pasado nada porque yo no he estado en ese tiempo que han quemado, ni se cómo ha sido el lio que han hecho, yo estaba en Buenos Aires, cuando vengo me doy con eso, ya había pasado ese litigio que ha habido y Cruz ya había hecho escriturar y mensurar.

§284: EF: Yo a cruz una vuelta conversando le digo que como había hecho su fortuna, me dice nosotros andábamos antiguando, sacábamos las cosas para vender

con mi hermano, y nosotros hemos andado en Hachimana en esos cerros y hemos encontrado un lingote de oro, rollizo así, oro pero largo, dice que lo han traído y no lo han podido vender en Argentina y lo han vendido en el Perú, porque ellos dicen que quería aserrarlo para repartirlo con los hermanos. Pero después decidieron venderlo al Perú, y de ahí ha sido la riqueza, lo han vendido entero y se han repartido la plata, lo primero que han hecho es comprar una casa en Cafayate para la madre y de ahí han seguido ellos y se han hecho ricos, va el hermano no sé qué se habrá hecho pero el con su parte se ha hecho rico.

§285: E: Entonces así construyó su museo=?

§286: EF: Si pero él ha sido pícaro tonto, porque cuando ha estado prendido con Sisto Terán en el gobierno tenía todo para hacer, y él ha querido hacer todo de una sola vez, porque no iba haciendo de partes y tenía una semejante hotelera ahora, usted ha visto que está todo parado eso, él quería hacer todo de una sola vez pero porque no hacia una parte le habilitaban iba trabajando haciendo hospedaje y de ahí seguía trabajando y trabajando. Él ha perdido en ese sentido, quería hacer todo de una sola vez y no ha podido. La vaca lechera ha sido Sisto Terán, lo ayudo mucho

§287: E: Que era gobernador Sisto Terán?

§288: EF: Era del gobierno, lo ayudo mucho.

§289: E: Y qué año era?

§290: EF: Y no recuerdo que año era, porque yo me he jubilado de vialidad y me he ido a Buenos Aires, ya no me interesaba nada, todo ha sido perdido lamentable como digo de la plata.

§291: E: Una última cosa que le quiero preguntar porque me tengo que ir, este proyecto ecira me decía que fue también las primeras veces que se hizo la celebración de la pachamama en público

§292: EF: No siempre la hemos celebrado públicamente en el año 46 y 47

§293: E: Claro No la del verano, la del invierno la de agosto

§294: EF: No la de agosto no, esa ahora hace poco han empezado a hacer esa, no la pachamama que nosotros hemos festejado siempre y la hemos venerado siempre era para el carnaval, ha sido historia de Agapito Mamaní que inicio la primera fiesta que se haga. Agapito Mamaní, Felipe reinoso, Manuel Balderrama, Agustín Gonzales, mi papi también.

§295: E: Entonces esa que hacen ahora en agosto, el 1 de agosto

§296: EF: Esa es una fiesta tradicional que dicen que era el día de la Pachamama

§297: **E: Pero antes no era el día de la pachamama**

§298: EF: No la celebrábamos esta fiesta de agosto

§299: **E: Y hace cuanto más o menos?**

§300: EF: Nosotros siempre la pachamama la celebrábamos, mi padre que se iba de viaje se encomendaba a la pachamama, a las apachetas esas que se hace, le llevaba un ramito de flores y le decía pachamama pido que roges que me vaya bien me voy a hacer tal diligencia

§301: **E: Pero no era en agosto?**

§302: EF: No, era el día que viajaban en el cruce de caminos siempre había esa apacheta

§303: **E: Y cuando se empezó a hacerla en agosto así como fiesta?**

§304: EF: Este año, yo no estaba, estaba en corrientes en agosto, he estado casi todo el mes de agosto en Itati, Paso de la Patria,

§305: **E: Porque tengo otra foto jajaja esos son los galpones que decíamos del proyecto y estos son los pozos allá en Encalilla no sé si conoce, pero la foto que quería mostrarle a ver si la encuentro**

§306: EF: Ahí esta shatirungu jajajajajajaaja

§307: **E: No el encuentro, era una foto que me parecía que la tenía, que estaban celebrando el 1° de agosto ahí en la Hostería**

§308: EF: Ah yo no he estado ahí, he estado celebrando la pachamama allá, iniciando el trabajo del agua potable que están haciendo, ahí hemos estado yo, hemos comido lindo, hemos venerado a la pachamama, mistela hemos llevado para vender, hemos vendido todo, mucha gente había ahí, ahí hemos venerado la pachamama.

§309: **E: Estaba seguro que la tenía a la foto pero parece que no**

§310: EF: Así fue hemos conversado algo, alguna oportunidad será mejor, contaremos algo

§311: **E: Bueno le agradezco mucho don Eduardo la verdad, muchas cosas para pensar me ha dado, de verdad muchas gracias.**

§312: EF: Yo siempre he dicho que alguno que quiera conocer saber algo de historia. Había unas personas que me han entrevistado, unos maestros de escuela que han venido de Tucumán, de los chicos, como ha sido nuestra infancia, que eran los juegos que se hacían, como jugábamos, la payana, las bolillitas, todo eso, claro cosas de que antes no había tantas, que cosas no.

§313: EF: Me acuerdo de aquellos años, de aquel tiempo, nosotros hemos vivido muy bien, gracias a mi padre, pobres hemos sido, somos 9 hermanos, 4 varones y 5

mujeres, dos hermanos han muerto, tengo mi hermana de 92 años y la otra más chica están lejos, en Buenos Aires.

§314: **E: Bueno muchas gracias.**

Name: Calcha18-17

Place and Date: El Tío, CIAV,
September 2018

Transcription by Agustina Ponce
(IAM, Tucumán)

§1: F: bueno, sí, entonces, bueno, como le decía, hacer un poco...

§2: E: sí, la comunidad de Amaicha tiene una Real Cédula de 1716, de esa época, 100 años antes de que se declarara la independencia en nuestro país eh, le entregaron ese documento que tuvo valor jurídico hasta la declaración de la independencia, y después este, paso a tener un valor histórico ya, y... y con las nuevas modalidades en el nuevo país, este, con informaciones *posesorias* y con prescripciones adquisitivas se han ido quedando aquellos terratenientes que se quedaban con tierras de la comunidad. O sea, la comunidad tenía en aquel entonces, de acuerdo a los relevamientos geográficos que tenemos, 120.000 hectáreas de tierra. Y cuando se divi- hicieron, digo, las divisiones políticas de las provincias en el país, lo tenemos a Catamarca hacia el sur

§3: F: sí

§4: E: y Salta hacia el norte. Entonces Santa María que pertenece a la provincia de Catamarca, cuando hicieron estas divisiones, lo que le pertenecía a la comunidad dejó de existir, o sea, quedó circunscripta lo que es dentro de la provincia de Tucumán. Lo que quedó para Salta, para Catamarca y lo que quedó para Salta

§5: F: quedó fuera

§6: E: quedó fuera. Entonces nosotros este, cuando allá por el 1975

§7: F: ¿ajá?

§8: E: el cacique Silva eh, seguramente con, por consejo de alguien había firmado un acuerdo con el gobernador de la provincia para que le entregaran el título sin cargo a los comuneros, dice. Y aparece la ley 4.400 y dice eso, este, que le iban a entregar títulos sin cargo a los comuneros.

§9: F: ¿qué quiere decir eso de *títulos sin cargo*?

§10: E: que le, que le iban a hacer escrituras públicas a cada comunero. No decía "a la comunidad" sino "a los comuneros".

§11: F: dale.

§12: E: entonces iba a ser individual, y para eso había autorizado de que las tierras de la comunidad pasen a ser fiscales. Entonces, como pasan a ser parte del estado, el estado mandaba a hacer las mensuras y la posterior escritura, pero de la tierra que cada comunero, cada persona tenía en forma individual, y el campo común de pastoreo

§13: F: ¿sí?

§14: E: pasó a ser fiscal. Entonces cuando yo, eh, me eligen autoridad, cacique de la comunidad en 1983, entonces yo creía que las tierras eran de la comunidad, como habíamos supuesto desde siempre y me encuentro que eran fiscales, que por esa Ley 4.400 la ley- este, la provincia era la dueña

§15: F: dale

§16: E: entonces yo busco la reforma de esa ley.

§17: F: ¿sí?

§18: E: y después de un largo tiempo, este, logré que la reformen a la ley, el artículo 2 y 3 y aparece la ley 5758 de la provincia, donde dice que le van a entregar el título sin cargo a la comunidad.

§19: F: ah, y no a los comuneros...

§20: E: no a los comuneros, sino a la comunidad, el territorio. Bueno, territorio de alguna manera uno dice, porque usted sabe que el territorio es lo físico, el espacio aéreo y el subsuelo, cosa que es como meter un país dentro de otro país. Eso no corresponde.

§21: F: ¿ajá?

§22: E: entonces nos dan la tierra, la posesión de la tierra. Pero no el espacio aéreo, porque no es nuestro eso

§23: F: y ni el subsuelo

§24: E: claro, ni el subsuelo. Entonces, este, logramos esa ley y en 1975.

§25: F: ¿en el setenta--

§26: E: ochenta--, digo, ochenta y cinco. Ochenta y... a ver.... No.. ehm.... Como en el.... Ochenta y nueve más o menos, y entonces este, logramos la escrit- la ley que reformen la ley y después demoraron unos cuántos años más hasta que eh, presionamos, hemos tenido que llegar muy allá para que el estado escuche y hagan una mensura de escritorio, porque tampoco quisieron hacer

la mensura sobre el terreno, que no tenían los equipos técnicos ni, ni, todas la, lo que necesitaban para hacer eso. Entonces aceptamos nosotros de que hicieran una mensura de escritorio y que hagan la posterior escritura, y la entregaron a la escritura este, el gobierno de Ortega, cuando era Ramón Ortega el gobernador de Tucumán, él entregó la escritura. Y lo que nos escrituran es sacaron de la mayor extensión todos los títulos públicos que durante muchos años han venido entregando con, *con* *informaciones* posesorias, con prescripciones adquisitivas, y nos entregaron 52.812 hectáreas. Eso es lo que le quedó a la comunidad. Entonces todos los que tenían título de propiedad se sacó y todo lo que tenía sentencia judicial *la firma*. Quedamos con lo, con lo que quedó limpio ya, y eso es lo que es el patrimonio hoy de la comunidad.

§27: F: dale

§28: E: nosotros este, mientras tanto, eh, logramos este, un acuerdo con el movimiento laico para América Latina para que *LECIRA* trajera este proyecto de para hacer semillas de alfalfas fiscalizadas.

§29: F: dale, pero antes de pasar a esto, si me permite, si me pudiera un poco explicar cómo fue ese cambio, digamos... usted me dijo que en el '75 el cacique Silva hizo esta ley y que fue mal aconsejado

§30: E: claro

§31: F: y entonces ¿cómo se manejaba la comunidad antes, digamos...?

§32: E: y la comunidad cuando la manejaba este señor eh, tenía lo que a mí me entregaron después de muchos años que estuvo él como cacique me entregó un viejo libro con algunas escrituras y la Cédula Real. No tenía, era una comunería de alguna manera y para que eso fuera una comunidad había que hacerle una serie de cosas y buscar un marco jurídico

§33: F: claro

§34: E: porque si no, no íbamos a poder eh, ni soñar con el tema de la escritura

§35: F: listo

§36: E: entonces había que ver qué cosas se acercaban más a lo que uno requería. Entonces había una asociación civil, una... ¿cómo es que se dice esto? Una cooperativa, o había que este, hacer una ¿cómo se dice? Una sociedad de responsabilidad limitada... entonces, lo que más se asemejaba era la asociación civil

§37: F: dale

§38: E: entonces elegimos como marco jurídico la asociación civil, y con ese marco fuimos a ver para pretender que se iban a escriturar las cosas. Entonces ellos, el gobierno dijo "no se van a escriturar las tierras si es que ustedes no tienen un Libre Deuda"

§39: F: un Libre Deuda

§40: E: entonces, fuimos a catastro y en catastro había como ocho o diez padrones que tenían nombre de la comunidad. Entonces había que unificarlo eso y nos pidieron este, bueno, que hemos solicitado que hicieran una forma de pago y, y accedieron a la forma de pago, pagamos la primera cuota y hemos empezado a ver de qué manera podíamos pagar porque era mucho dinero el que había que pagar. Entonces eh, yo era delegado comunal en ese entonces y el cacique de la comunidad. O sea, el delegado comunal es como el intendente del pueblo, entonces como trampolín, usando el poder político lograba abrir puertas, sino era imposible

§41: F: ¿ajá?

§42: E: pero bueno....

§43: F: ¿y eso en qué fecha más o menos usted estuvo en *otros* cargos?

§44: E: y en el año '84

§45: F: ¿'84?

§46: E: claro

§47: F: o sea, '83 era cacique, '84 ya asumió como delegado...

§48: E: claro. Y estuve eh, yo como funcionario público, como delegado, fui cuatro períodos... o sea, estuve 16 años en el poder de la... del estado público acá

§49: F: ajá

§50: E: y logramos desempolvar un viejo decreto del gobierno de la provincia que era el del... Montiel Forzano, que fue gobernador en

el año 1966 y entonces habían hecho un decreto que todas las asociaciones civiles sin fines de lucro no tenían que pagar impuestos. Entonces cuando yo logro ese decreto, y las tierras ya eran del estado porque

§51: F: eran fiscales, claro...

§52: E: por esa ley... entonces fui y lo notifiqué al gobierno por carta documento lo [...] para que me cómo iba, que nosotros debíamos impuestos si las tierras estaban a nombre de ellos. Y me contestaron con un Libre Deuda. Y con ese Libre Deuda hemos podido sentarnos con el equipo técnico del gobierno a ver de qué manera iba a hacerse la mensura y se hizo la mensura de escritorio con fotos satelitales y nos entregaron esa mensura, y con esa mensura se escrituró y se han entregado esas tierras...

§53: F: dale

§54: E: eran 52.802 hectáreas.

§55: F: claro, entonces fue este, o sea la posibilidad que se abrieron para poder acceder a esta inscripción fueron dadas, digamos, de los cambios que se dieron en el país, también me imagino...

§56: E: claro, claro

§57: F: porque '75, ya en el '76 viene la última dictadura

§58: E: sí

§59: F: entonces, claro, era, o sea, esto fue un quiebre, me imagino, también en el proceso de organización ¿verdad?

§60: E: sí, y después yo me empecé a relacionar con esto.... Porque tenía algunas amistades, de gente que había trabajado en Italia que estaba acá en el país y empecé a trabajar para ellos

§61: F: ¿cómo hizo esa amistad decime, si lo permite?

§62: E: hay un señor que se llama Pedro Cerviño, que tiene parientes en Italia y que hoy está en Buenos Aires. Yo me hice amigo de él allá por el año 1973, cuando estaba Perón con vida todavía

§63: F: ¿ajá? que usted estaba en Buenos Aires en ese momento?}

§64: E: sí, en ese... estaba en Tucumán también y venía

§65: F: ajá

§66: E: entonces me hice amigo de Pedro y después nos vimos después de muchos años y cuando yo ya estaba en la comunidad, él me dice "mirá, esto podemos hacer"

§67: F: mirá

§68: E: y ahí es que empecé a relacionarme y tuve ese proyecto con este *LIGIRA*, y después tuvimos la oportunidad de tener otros programas con la comunidad *económica* europea

§69: F: claro

§70: E: y... y yo tuve la oportunidad porque logré la escritura de la comunidad, el reconocimiento del gobierno de la Nación que me mandaron como representante argentino a las Naciones Unidas.

§71: F: ¿aja? ¿cuándo fue eso?

§72: E: en el año 1980, a ver, digo '93, '94

§73: F: '93, '94, las Naciones Unidas en Nueva York?

§74: E: no, no, no... en Suiza

§75: F: en Ginebra

§76: E: en Ginebra, sí.

§77: F: ¿ajá? ¿eso por qué fue, por...?

§78: E: y a mí me ha.... Era el *decenio* del pueblo indígenas del mundo que hacían ahí y ese año era el tema "Salud" y yo fui como representante y me relacioné con el mundo económico entonces logramos otros proyectos importantes para Amaicha, que en realidad nosotros hemos hecho al revés las cosas, porque

§79: F: ¿por qué?

§80: E: cuando yo, eh, en vez de agarrar ese viejo libro de la Cédula Real, concientizarlo al ciudadano amaicheño del patrimonio enorme que teníamos en mano, este, y hacerlo interesar realmente... no, no, no, yo pretendí, creí que eso ya estaba hecho y lo que faltaba era la escritura pública y logré la escritura y la gente es como que no le da importancia. No es que eso ha producido... es más, en vez de interesarlos a los comuneros para que defiendan lo que es... no, han visto como que se había destapado algo que era sumamente importante en lo económico, que se pueda traer dinero de otro lado, pero no le dieron importancia. Entonces yo conseguí algunos otros proyectos:

hicimos nogales y cuántas cosas, bueno en otros pueblos que están dentro de la comunidad y no le dieron importancia. Era como que bueno, les corresponde.

§81: F: claro, pero ese proyecto *ECIRA* por ejemplo se dio antes que se pudiera...

§82: E: claro

§83: F: eh, hacer la escritura ¿verdad?

§84: E: sí, sí, sí

§85: F: empezó antes...

§86: E: sí, antes, antes. Y después lo traje con la Comunidad Económica Europea cuando ya teníamos la...

§87: F: escritura.

§88: E: sí

§89: F: dale, entonces, bueno

§90: –

§91: F: este... contar un poco qué, cuál eran los presupuestos de este proyecto *ECIRA*, digamos

§92: E: mire, no teng-

§93: F: los presupue-

§94: E: claro, que....

§95: F: o sea, los proyectos, más bien el presupuesto, no me interesa tanto el tema económico, o sea, más bien lo que se pretendió hacer, lo que se hizo y lo que se ha quedado.

§96: E: con el *ECIRA* era para hacer semillas de alfalfa fiscalizadas. Hicimos el acuerdo con la gente de Santa Fe para

vender lo que podíamos producir, pero fue un proyecto mal parido

§97: F: ¿mal parido?

§98: E: claro, porque a la gente de Amaicha por aquel entonces lo que nos interesaba a nosotros era traer fondos para ver que la gente cambie su situación económica, ni siquiera ponerse a pensar y decir bueno, cuál va a ser la finalidad de eso porque la gente con dinero ya piensa distinto y demás, pero bueno, hemos traído eso que no lo armábamos nosotros porque no teníamos técnico, eh, siempre los proyectos se han armado afuera, han venido acá, lo han visto, han dicho “esta bien, así, ya está”. Pero ¿dónde es, ¿cuándo uno dice que estaba mal parido? Porque yo si fuera que vienen y me dicen “mirá ¿cuánta tierra tenés? Podemos poner eh, una, dos, tres, diez hectáreas de cualquier cosa, bueno, pero tomá los fondos para que comprés la herramienta, para que comprés esto” pero ¿y quién me para la olla? si yo voy a estar, esto para que empiece a producir voy a tardar dos años, tres años y ¿qué como con mi familia si me dedico a trabajar? Bueno, ese tema no ha estado contemplado, ni siquiera el presupuesto para ir a Tucumán a buscar presupuesto para las cosas que había que comprar. Entonces el hecho de que no esté dentro de ese paquete lo que se iba a gastar, lo que íbamos a, este, ha hecho que muchas cosas fracasaran.

§99: F: ah, entonces no contemplaba, o sea, simplemente el proyecto dijo “acá está la plata,

acá están las herramientas, digamos para hacer eso” y no más, digamos, no se interesó en nada más

§100: E: nada más

§101: F: dale

§102: E: eso. Y eso ha hecho que se fracasara.

§103: F: ¿ajá? y cómo es que fracasó? ¿En qué términos fracaso?

§104: E: y fracasó porque este, la gente no podía irse a trabajar permanentemente en esto

§105: F: ¿y cuánta gente estuvo implicada, digamos, en este trabajo?

§106: E: y de los pueblos allá por Salas, por ejemplo, pusimos el proyecto ya con el movimiento, digo, con la Comunidad Económica Europea que era para hacer plantas

§107: F: si

§108: E: y hemos hecho ahí, hemos hecho en Yayamayo, hemos hecho en Los Colorados. Cuando era con el ECIRA hicimos en Encalilla, porque ahí están las tierras para hacer alfalfa y ahí habremos pretendido hacer como 22 hectáreas. Había que desmontar porque era arboleda, había que sacar todo, nivelar los suelos, y perforar pozos y todo ese tipo de cosas. Y así no funcionó porque no había conciencia en el ser humano de decir “yo me voy a sacrificar, y voy a dejar esto y voy a hacer esto, esto es lo que va a dar plata”, no, entonces no, no dieron

resultados, se terminó arruinando lo que, con el paso del tiempo las cosas y quedó ahí, o sea, nadie hoy dice “yo he cambiado mi situación”. Acá los que después con el proyecto de frutales y eso con de la Comunidad Económica Europea, eso ya están algunos proyectos que siguen vivos, ahí ya tienen plantaciones de nogales como estos árboles.

§109: F: ¿esto fue en Salas?

§110: E: sí

§111: F: en El Sauzal, me parece, ¿no?

§112: E: en Salas, sí, pero en el Sauzal tampoco dio gran cosa el resultado ¿no?. En los Colorados sí.

§113: Está, que está para allá, también pusieron un poco nogales, manzanas, duraznos, y eso

§114: F: y de eso un poco. Dale. Entonces, para volver un poco a las cosas, porque yo sigo siendo arqueólogo, entonces me interesa un poco [...] las cosas que quedan, ¿no? porque yo fui a Encalilla a ver esos pozos. Me parece que bueno, por lo menos, yo encontré, me dijeron dos pozos que se construyeron, ¿verdad? Con este proyecto ECIRA

§115: E: sí

§116: F: dale. Entonces esto, bueno, por lo que vi se hizo originariamente como una perforación y tenían el motor diesel para el agua, ¿verdad?

§117: E: sí

§118: F: y luego se cambió a eléctrico

§119: E: claro

§120: F: ¿y ese cambio a eléctrico cuándo fue? ¿fue dentro del mismo proyecto o fue más tarde?

§121: E: no, más tarde, porque eh, yo era delegado comunal y yo fui el que hice poner las redes eléctricas en toda esta zona. Acá los pueblos que están acá, Ampimpa, Salas, eh, está la Fronterita, La Banda, Los Zazos, La Banda de Amaicha, está Salamanca, Encalilla, Tiupuncu, eso toda esa zona hice electrificar yo. Puse 18 kilómetros, o sea, 18.000 metro de línea de media y 22.000 metro de línea de baja, de ahí es que se han hecho las perforaciones, digo, se han cambiado los motores de los pozos y esas cosas

§122: F: ah, pero eso ya no era con financiamiento este del ECIRA, era otro ...

§123: E: no, no, no, era de la provincia

§124: F: era de la provincia, o sea que era parte, digamos

§125: E: claro

§126: F: [...] se aprovechó. Dale. Entonces se construyeron esos dos pozos nomás, digamos, para el proyecto en sí como infraestructura, digamos

§127: E: claro, claro, sí, sí, sí

§128: F: esos dos pozos nomás

§129: E: dos pozos, y de ahí se le ha puesto tractores y todas las herramientas que había que

§130: F: claro, y esos dos galpones que están allá

§131: E: claro

§132: F: en frente de la, del museo

§133: E: en frente de acá de [...]

§134: F: dale, y esos dos galpones, ehm, porque ahora están abandonados por lo que vi, o sea, no hay nada [...]

§135: E: si, bueno, ninguna actividad, sí.

§136: F: ¿y esos cuándo se abandonaron?

§137: E: y eso allá por el año noventa y tanto empezaron a destruirlo ya

§138: F: ¿quiénes los destruyeron?

§139: E: y la gente que, que tiene intereses ajenos a la comunidad pero que son comuneros

§140: F: ¿ajá?

§141: E: han entrado, han sacado las chapas que había ahí almacenadas para hacer otras cosas, y empezaron a destruir todo así que yo ya no estaba en la comunidad, ya había dejado, ya me cansé, porque es muy difícil cuando uno pretende empujar algo que la gente no quiere que funcione aparentemente.

§142: F: claro

§143: E: entonces, llegó un momento que me cansé y dije "bueno, está bien, ya está hecho el..." dios dirá, hoy por lo menos, las tierras están aseguradas porque nadie las va a quitar, están escrituradas...

§144: F: claro, esto usted lo reivindicó como un logro que...

§145: E: claro

§146: F: que usted permitió, claro.

§147: E: después todo lo demás es lo de menos.

§148: F: dale, dale. Y este, si le puedo preguntar otra cosita, porque de estos proyectos uno grande que hubo fue este del Banco Mundial y si me puede comentar un poco porque me interesa como esa Bancos Mundiales, la organización internacional, quizás la más poderosa que existe, y también ¿no? en un determinado momento se empezó a interesar en las dinámicas, en las temáticas indígenas. Este, entonces ¿qué le pareció a usted? Y si me puede comentar cómo logró que Amaicha con Quilmes, ¿no? pudieron acceder a este programa, que era un programa piloto ¿no? del Banco Mundial, entonces cómo logró acceder a eso y qué le pareció, digamos, desde su experiencia que una organización tan grande si quiere este, se interesó por lo que usted me dirá si eran necesidades que la gente, los comuneros, digamos, la comunidad sentía como necesario implementar ¿no? hasta qué punto, digamos, este... esta acción del Banco Mundial intervino para mejorar efectivamente la situación de la...

§149: E: sí, yo creo que es importante lo que pasó, por lo menos están las redes tendidas para volver a reiniciar algo tan importante como esto, pero le

vuelvo a decir, yo lejos de, porque creí que la gente estaba consciente ya de lo que significaba la comunidad, no me puse a hablarles de eso antes de ir a buscar la escritura, porque eso hubiera sido lo mejor que nos podía pasar, que la gente tome consciencia de lo que significa la comunidad, o será que porque el amaicheño pocos son los que viajan fuera de la provincia o del país, que no toman consciencia de lo que se tiene

§150: F: ¿y para usted qué significa tener consciencia de la comunidad?

§151: E: digo valorar lo que uno tiene. Acá viene hoy por hoy la comunidad está escriturada y dicen que no se debería vender porque así dice para que tengamos exenciones impositivas nacionales, provinciales y municipales, las tierras no se tienen que vender. Yo fui funcionario en último gobierno que pasó cuatro años y en la comunidad hay un cacique nuevo que es abogado además, aparecieron 400 nuevos dueños en Amaicha a inscribir el título de compra-venta en la comuna. Entonces ¿cómo que no se vende? ¿cómo que se permite vender? Si ellos son la autoridad de la comunidad deberían decirle "bueno, pará la mano, ¿porqué vas a vender si esto no...?" entonces el hecho de que no es... hoy cualquiera de esos jóvenes que hay por ahí ve alguien dice "che, ¿tenés un terreno para vender?" "sí" y si es por una moto, la cambian por una moto. O sea

no hay consciencia de lo que se tiene, y mañana, hoy ya acá, ya proliferó la droga de tal manera, es porque mucha gente que no tiene nada que ver con nosotros, que son estos que trafican con la droga, están instalados acá en Amaicha y están destruyendo la sociedad

§152: F: dale

§153: E: entonces como hoy cada uno puede tener un título, digo, una propiedad privada porque la cierran y dicen “esto es mío”, ellos compran y están instalados acá. O sea, lejos de dignificar a la sociedad, a esa sociedad que había sido vapuleada en otras épocas, hoy estamos llenos de gente que no tiene nada que ver con nosotros y nos va a perjudicar enormemente.

§154: F: dale

§155: E: y es una situación muy complicada, por eso yo lamento de no haber hecho que la sociedad tenga consciencia de lo que tenía en mano, con lo que se tiene en mano

§156: F: y por ejemplo, si pudiera volver atrás, qué es lo que habría hecho, digamos, para lograr esta toma de consciencia?

§157: E: y primero y principal yo creo que no es un problema solamente de los comuneros de Amaicha. El país nuestro yo conozco un poco lo que es el mundo y lo que es la comu- digo, el país, y veo que todos estamos este, como si estuviéramos todavía una democracia en pañales, que no hay consciencia

de lo que se tiene y que vivimos como vivimos ¿cómo es que podemos vivir pobres, con chicos desnutridos, si producimos alimento para 400.000.000 de habitantes? Y somos 40, y no se tiene qué comer. Y eso no es solamente un problema nuestro, es un problema de país.

§158: F: dale

§159: E: entonces ese tipo de cosas son las que habría que cambiar y yo si pudiera volver a tener el poder, lo primero que haría era hacer infraestructura para ponerla a la gendarmería, para poner otras fuerzas de seguridad, para que no, dejen de estar... acá lo tenemos a Tafí del Valle a 60km, lo tenemos a Cafayate a 60 km, lo tenemos a Santa María. ¿Y ahí por qué no están los hippies? Los tipos que tienen droga... porque no les permiten. Acá es el lugar donde vienen y se afincan.

§160: F: pero esta, este, o sea, esta llegada de los hippies, como usted dice, también tiene que ver con el turismo

§161: E: sí

§162: F: ¿verdad? Entonces, cómo, o sea, eh, también es verdad que se hizo, si me puede decir, yo esto lo hablo en general, pero me parece que se hizo mucho en Amaicha para atraer al turismo como fuente de ingreso también, entonces cómo lo ve esta contradicción, porque por un lado dice que “bueno, sí, vengan a visitarnos”, pero el otro dice que también no quieren ciertas personas que se...

§163: E: claro, lo que pasa es que si nosotros somos dueños de la tierra, somos, podríamos este, ser selectivos para ver quién viene y quién no, con qué antecedentes... porque hay gente que llegó y nadie sabe quién es, ni qué antecedentes tiene, nada, no, no, no se le pide nada de nada. Entonces la gente viene y hace lo que le parece, es más, si tenemos un gobierno que consume, entonces qué más queda para, es tierra de cultivo para los que quieran venir. Porque hoy eso pasa, acá hay gente que son, son gobierno y están en eso. Es una situación complicada

§164: F: sí, no, claro, me imagino que no es fácil, digamos, tener un equilibrio. Esto se... o sea, no es un problema únicamente de acá. Este es un problema, claro, que existe en términos generales, ¿no? ¿cómo hacer para equilibrar lo que viene con lo que queda? Un poco así. Y dale. No, listo... sí, no, ya esto estaba afuera de lo que pensaba

§165: E: sí

§166: F: De lo que pensaba preguntarle, me desvié un poco. No, otra curiosidad ésta, más bien, porque me.... –

§167: F: digamos que estuve por acá, me llamó la atención el predio este de la vieja hostería, que porque bueno, porque me parece que es una también eso, por lo que estuve leyendo, empezó como, digamos, un proyecto de desarrollo para atraer al turismo, la construcción de esta hostería que luego se dejó

abandonada. No sé si usted sabe algo, digamos, sobre, sobre la historia, digamos, de cómo funcionó la hostería, este...

§168: E: la hostería era, digo, en su momento, eh, algo muy interesante para nuestro pueblo y pertenecía al estado, o sea, era de la provincia, y después se la, se cambiaron de mano, si era de turismo, que no, que era... y en definitiva la fueron abandonando. Después la abandonaron y después la solicitó la comunidad para mejorarla, para trabajar ahí y yo no sé si contó con presupuesto o no para mejorarla, pero eso terminó siendo lo que es, una, dos habitaciones donde van y se reúnen y están con eso y nada más, pero...

§169: F: y antes de que se mudara ahí la Casa de Gobernanza, como dicen ahora, ¿dónde era la sede, digamos, de la comunidad?

§170: E: y la sede de la comunidad teníamos acá donde eran los galpones esos que usted dice, ahí este, se estaba construyendo la casa a la par

§171: F: ah, la casa a la par, ajá...

§172: E: sí, y después se la abandonó porque, como le digo, todas las cosas se han venido haciendo y se abandonaron porque eh, antes no había más que ese libro y esa Cédula Real. Nada, absolutamente nada. No es que la comunidad tenía un, algo, por ejemplo, la Fiesta de la Pachamama se hacía en la plaza, hoy se, después de unos años hicimos el predio de la

Pachamama que está cerca de la hostería.

§173: F: claro, ese predio me comentaban, no sé si es cierto porque no pude, digamos, comprobar esa información, no sé si usted sabrá. ¿Este predio también se construyó con el proyecto ECIRA?

§174: E: no, no, no. Ese yo lo hice hacer como comuna.

§175: F: como comuna

§176: E: claro. Y pedí fondos del Ministerio de Desarrollo Social de la Nación que me dieron parte de los fondos para que hiciera eso y la otra parte la puso la provincia para poder hacerlo.

§177: F: ah, dale.

§178: E: eso no es de ECIRA

§179: F: claro, porque me llegó esta información, pero no sabía si era cierto ni nada

§180: E: no, no, no.

§181: F: ah, dale, dale.

§182: E: y después este, eso también lo dejamos una pinturita y después lo dejaron arruinar

§183: F: claro, ahora está a medio hacer

§184: E: sí, sí.

§185: F: y se sigue celebrando ahí... celebrando... o sea, se sigue haciendo ahí la fiesta de la

§186: Pachamama

§187: E: sí, sí, sí. Pero ya es chico

§188: F: claro, ya quedó chico por la gente que viene

§189: E: porque hoy vienen 30.000 visitantes para la fiesta y todo lo que es poco, lo que hay es poco.

§190: F: dale

§191: E: pero bueno, no hay este, no sé si no hay presupuesto, no hay ganas, no...

§192: F: claro, se ha quedado ahí. Dale. Entonces me decía que al lado de los galpones estaba...

§193: E: se estaba construyendo la casa

§194: F: la casa, la sede, digamos, de la comunidad. Pero no se llegó a utilizar como sede.

§195: E: no, no, no. se quedó ahí las paredes hasta cerca del techo pero ya no se puso más plata para... se quedó ahí.

§196: F: pero eso sí estaba con el proyecto o no tenía nada que ver....

§197: E: claro, eso

§198: F: eso estaba con el proyecto

§199: E: eso sí íbamos a hacer.

§200: F: ah, dale. Sí, sí, sí, no, creo que entendí, porque por un lado están bueno, los galpones, y al lado, de este lado, digamos, está...

§201: E: sí

§202: F: que hay como una camioneta abandonada ahí, me parece.

§203: E: sí, también creo que eso sí existe ahí, sí

§204: F: ah, dale, dale, dale. ¿Y eso más o menos en qué año se dejó de construir?

§205: E: y habrá sido y cerca el '90, '88, por ahí.

§206: F: ahá, dale. ¿Y entonces las reuniones, digamos, dónde se hacían de la comunidad?

§207: E: y se hacían ahí en los galpones hasta que eran, porque queríamos techar

§208: F: ah, pero antes de que se construyeran los galpones ¿dónde se...?

§209: E: Y se hacían acá, en la casa de los vecinos

§210: F: ah, directamente.

§211: E: sí, sí, sí, a veces en un lugar, a veces en otro. No había una sede.

§212: F: claro. No, por eso. Para saber si había un lugar físico, digamos, antes de que se construyeran esos...

§213: E: no, no, no. Yo vivía en los Zazos y entonces mi casa era lugar de reunión.

§214: F: claro, dale.

§215: E: así que... así cada, en, a veces en el pueblo de Amaicha, a veces en Los Zazos

§216: F: claro, iba rotando un poco

§217: E: sí

§218: F: dale. Listo.

§219: E: sí, las cosas se hicieron, pero bueno, estamos ahí. Yo no, no tengo muchas expectativas de que esto va a cambiar porque, y

armamos algunos proyectos importantes para que Amaicha pueda progresar porque Amaicha iba a tener un, un parque fotovoltaico y sí, ya estaba todo armado y no sé qué pasó, que decían que este ya lo iban a poner en funcionamiento, cuando llegó este gobierno, y desapareció porque eso iba a permitir que generemos electricidad con el sol para venderle a la minera Alumbreira y a toda la re- al rí- podamos... íbamos a garantizar energía para los valles y para hoy, por ejemplo, si viene un capital que quiere hacer un hotel 5 estrellas, hay que apagar todas las luces públicas para que eso pueda funcionar.

§220: F: ¿hay que pagar, perdón?

§221: E: si tuviéramos un capital que venga a hacer un hotel 5 estrellas, y tendríamos que apagar todas las luces públicas para

§222: F: ah, tendríamos que apagar todas las luces públicas, claro

§223: E: porque no se, no hay capacidad. Entonces, se imagina, si tuviéramos electricidad, en cualquier parte de este valle pueden montar una industria

§224: F: claro

§225: E: cambiaría la vida.

§226: F: claro

§227: E: pero eso desapareció, no sé qué pasó con el proyecto ese. Y acá tenemos, es uno de los pueblos que tiene mayor cantidad de horas de sol por día.

§228: F: claro, sí, no, podría ser una inversión bastante efectiva. Y dale, bueno, no sé, para concluir

§229: un poco recapitulando, si me pudiera hacer como un resumen de eso... podría ser un poco que la cosa que estoy tratando de buscar ¿no? cómo estos proyectos usted me decía que la gente no estaba concientizada, ¿no? entonces cómo se, cómo... eh, de qué manera intervinieron o sea, en la forma en que efectivamente produjeron cambios en la forma en que la gente estaba habituada en usar, en vivir el territorio, y en cambio, digamos, la forma en que se dieron estos proyectos cambió de alguna manera eso...?

§230: E: pero.... El primer proyecto con los italianos, este, digo, llevaron la sociedad trasplantada, porque en Encalilla había una persona o dos que iban a trabajar y de repente íbamos con la camioneta con veinte, treinta personas a trabajar y hacer para que eso pueda funcionar, este, y no pasó de ahí. No es que la gente se interesó y dice "mirá, yo lo veo negocio a esto y ya me puedo quedar acá". No. no. y entonces eso quizás por la ilusión que teníamos, por nuestra juventud y eso, este, capaz que nos hemos equivocado pensando que la gente iba a agarrarlo con el mismo entusiasmo de uno. Pero no. no fue así.

§231: F: no fue así, según usted, por qué faltaba el interés, digamos en esto

§232: E: sí, claro. Y así paso con lo de Los Colorados, ahí anduvo un poco mejor, hoy están las plantaciones de nogales y eso.

§233: F: ajá, porque, por ejemplo, allá en Yayamayo me decían que la red de riego esta que se hizo, este, finalmente no daba como para sustentar a todas las familias, digamos, que estaban allá. Me comentaban que tenían que mover, la, el único regador que había para, para

§234: E: la verdad que no sé yo si fue tan así porque yo fui cuando se inauguró eso y han puesto aspersores en tres o cuatro partes para que.... Claro que la gente también tiene la comodidad que todo le tienen que dar y hacer y no es así. Hay que, si falta algo hay que ponerlo, sacrificarse y ponerlo porque si saben que no va a venir, ya no va a haber más, hay que buscar la forma. Y hay gente que, por ejemplo, en el Sauzal hemos puesto, ehm, hemos hecho muchísimos trabajos para poner plantaciones y eso, y después la falta de consciencia de la gente cuando pasó el tiempo y había poca agua y las plantas se le secaban, han agarrado, han venido y han arrancado todas las redes de agua y le han vendido a todo el sistema de riego que tenían. Entonces ¿hacer semejante esfuerzo para qué? Para nada

§235: F: dale, listo. y, bueno, la última cosa, ultimísima, que también la anterior era la última (Risas) pero esto de verdad para concluir ¿no?... Usted me comentaba que viajó mucho, tuvo

contactos, y desde su experiencia ¿qué es lo que, según usted, ha traído esta forma de inversiones a trabajar con la comunidad? O sea, ¿por qué en un determinado momento, según usted, se dio este, esta toma de consciencia si quiere, de estos organismos internacionales para promover el desarrollo de las comunidades?

§236: E: sí, mire, yo no veo que ha cambiado mucho. Es más, me da la impresión de que el valor que queríamos que se le dé a la propiedad ha sido este, equivocado, porque se le da valor para tener que vender. Y es una pena, porque en realidad este pueblo si tomara consciencia de lo que tiene, otra sería la historia. Hoy, por lo que me comentaba mi papá y lo que contaba ellos de que vivieron sus abuelos y demás, era una cosa distinta, una cosa que se interesaban y todos cooperaban entre los vecinos. Ahora no, somos comunidad de nombre, pero no tenemos espíritu de comuneros, de comunidad, de ponerle el hombro al vecino, no, no, no.

§237: F: ¿y eso se perdió por qué razones, según usted?

§238: E: y se perdió seguramente por eso, por el interés que se tiene de creer que uno solo es el que va a progresar, y está equivocado.

§239: F: dale.

§240: E: así es. Yo no le veo que vamos a cambiar, que me digan ahora sí... no. y hoy están esas miniaturas de hacer programitas para los chicos y eso, pero nadie

ha-, no hay un programa abarcativo que diga que va a cambiar la historia, no, no hay nada

§241: F: dale. Bueno, muchísimas gracias, don miguel, por compartir su conocimiento conmigo.

§242: E: no, por favor, por favor.

Name: Calcha18-19

Place and date: El Remate, CIAV,
August 2018

Transcription by Agustina Ponce
(IAM, Tucumán)

§1: F: una consultita, porque me estaba fijando en ese logo que tienen allá..

§2: E1: si, una pintura rupestre de acá del lugar

§3: F: ¿ajá? y hace cuánto que la están utilizando, así como símbolo de la comunidad, *si es, si es...*

§4: E1: claro, en ese momento, o sea el momento que se ha hecho este tipo de estudios acá dentro del sitio arqueológico, desde ese momento se está usando. Esos son gente de arqueología la provincia de Tucumán. Carolina

Somonte es la que ha hecho los estudios y ese es lo que se ha encontrado en el sitio aquel del Remate.

§5: F: ¿es en El Remate la pintura esa?

§6: E1: no, todo eso es lo que se ha encontrado, y esta pintura se ha encontrado más al sur. *En un lugar es en un salar* que tenemos nosotros, Río Salinas.

§7: F: si, no, porque yo en realidad estoy haciendo un trabajo de investigación acá

§8: E1: ah, mire

§9: F: y justo estaba un poco *laborando* con el cacique

§10: E1: ah, mire

§11: F: porque, no sé, bueno, tiene este proyecto como para declarar esa pintura patrimonio de la comunidad, digamos, a nivel de propiedad intelectual. Entonces estábamos trabajando un poco con eso, y no sabía que ya se estaba empezando, digamos, a mostrar, pero esto lo hizo la profesora

§12: E1: Somonte

§13: F: ¿la Carolina?

§14: E1: sí. Claro, ella lo hizo. Con eso ya estamos trabajando nosotros ahí, porque ella este, ha sido, *bueno, la que ha hecho* los estudios acá.

§15: F: claro, ¿qué se hicieron como hace 10 años, más o menos?

§16: E1: y... más o menos... no, debe ser unos 7 años más o menos que ellos han estado haciendo los estudios acá.

§17: F: ah

§18: E1: sí, ya estábamos nosotros más primero con *el tema en este* y después ya han venido. Y acá acampaban, desde acá iban a hacer los trabajos.

§19: F: ah, dale. Quedó en venir esta semana, creo que va a venir Carolina

§20: E1: ¿esta semana?

§21: F: *que tiene que hacer unos trabajos*, sí.

§22: E1: ¿cómo es su nombre?

§23: F: Francesco

§24: E1: ah, mire

§25: F: sí, sí

§26: E1: ¿usted es de Italia?

§27: F: de Italia, correcto.

§28: E1: ah, mire. Ahí puede dejar los datos si quiere, en el *libro de visitas*

§29: F: sí, ahí bueno, me fijé porque lo vi allá y *dije* “bueno, ah, esto ya me suena de algo” porque justo *es la cosa con la que* estábamos trabajando con el cacique... entonces...

§30: E1: ¿ahí el cacique ha dado a usted para que haga investigaciones con respecto a eso?

§31: F: no, bueno, eso surgió. Porque yo vine con la idea de hacer un trabajo sobre patrimonio y los derechos de la comunidad. Eh, entonces bueno, surgió un poco así hablando y me dijo que tenía esta, esa idea como para solicitar una, como la creación de un registro particular para que esa, sobre todo esa piedra, digamos, porque representa, digamos, ese dibujo que vi en la llamativo, se declare patrimonio de la comunidad y ya no, digamos, de la provincia. O sea que pase a ser patrimonio colectivo de la comunidad. Eso es un cambio, digamos, como por la

legislación vigente, eso no lo incluye este, esta categoría, digamos, patrimonio de la comunidad. Entonces estaba trabajando un poco con eso, a nivel de preparar, digamos, esa solicitud y, y claro, no, entonces ver que ya, digamos, esta siendo utilizado como para llamar la atención que esto pertenece de alguna manera a la comunidad, eso ya va a avalar también ese pedido

§32: E1: claro

§33: F: en ese sentido *se puede* decir. Claro, pero eso claro, eso lo hizo Carolina a todo eso.

§34: E1: sí

§35: F: también a lo otro

§36: E1: sí, todo lo otro lo hizo ella y eso nos representa a nosotros, acá en el Remate ¿no? porque nosotros somos un emprendimiento, un grupo familiar que trabaja acá en *el lugar*, que si bien pertenecemos a la comunidad, pero hay una particularidad por el tema de que nosotros, digamos, es nuestro sello ese. Tenemos un sello *también nosotros*.

§37: F: ¿un sello con el zorrillo?

§38: E1: ajá. sí.

§39: F: y eso cómo empez-, si puedo preguntar...

§40: E1: ahora no sé cómo. Claro, empezó la idea entre nosotros. Uno de los caudillos del grupo este, eh Carolina cuando venía a hacer los estudios

§41: F: ¿cómo es que se llama?

§42: E1: caudillo. ¿qué entendés por caudillo?

§43: F: no, quién era, digamos, ese caudillo

§44: E1: Jesús Silva.

§45: F: ah, Jesús Silva.

§46: E1: sí. Y bueno ahí este, hemos hecho eso. Ahora no sé cómo *va a hacer* la comunidad. La comunidad *lo que lo ha representado* a la comunidad creo que es una vasija, creo. Puede preguntar

§47: F: claro

§48: E1: ésta, por ejemplo.

§49: F: sí, sí, sí.

§50: E1: ¿me entendés? ahora si es esto, no sé. Es como que esto

es nuestro, no sé. Y el cacique lo sabe

§51: F: no po- (risas)

§52: E1: obviamente. Es nuestro sello de este emprendimiento, me refiero. Esa es una institución, ¿se entiende?

§53: F: claro, no, porque eso también habría que...

§54: E1: hay que verlo, porque hay un montón de *otros*. Pero, o sea, si lo sacás a este es como que *te están* sacando algo a vos. *Este [...] es nuestro*, digamos, de este emprendimiento.

§55: F: ah, ¿y ese emprendimiento cómo surgió, digamos?

§56: E1: eh... también con la idea del cacique y nosotros, *atender esto*. La idea, bueno, nosotros hacemos un aporte en temporada alta, el 10% de las ganan-... creo, cual, que no las deberíamos *hacer por nuestra pertenencia a la comunidad*. Y esto es nuestro también, pero le hacemos un aporte a la comunidad nosotros. En verano, enero y febrero, que es cuando más gente viene a *quedar*, sí.

§57: F: ¿y en ese entonces ya era Lalo Nieva el cacique?

§58: E1: claro, y esto han llegado, él sabía de estos estudios que se han hecho también, y no sé si realmente él sabe que nosotros estamos usando este ahí, ese...

§59: F: claro, era también para informarle, porque a lo mejor no sabe...

§60: E1: claro, porque yo lo que sé es que a la comunidad, lo que representa a la Comunidad Indígena de Amaicha del Valle es esto

§61: F: claro.

§62: E1: muy distinto.

§63: F: sí, digamos, era...

§64: E1: él tiene el *RENACI* y bueno, y todo eso

§65: F: claro, claro, claro. Era un discurso más allá, digamos, del sello representativo. Era como para declarar eso propiedad intelectual de la comunidad. Entonces claro, si usted pertenece a la comunidad, no, no debería haber ningún inconveniente, digamos, en seguir

utilizando, digamos, explotando ese, ese símbolo

§66: E1: y yo creería que no, no sé, creería que no. Sino tendría que venir y decirme, así, no, creo que no.

§67: F: claro, no, no, era solo para preguntarle y bueno, aprovecho porque a lo mejor él no lo sabe que se está utilizando ya, y yo creo que pueda fortalecer ese pedido

§68: E1: cualquier cosa comuniqué y digalé no sé qué es lo que comué, porque en realidad si él no lo ha visto acá...

§69: F: claro, claro

§70: E1: y es como que, este...

§71: F: porque eso, bueno, por la historia un poco que sé, eso también se lo descubrió con los trabajos de Carolina y luego en realidad la comunidad se enteró de eso después, cuando estaban haciendo la, el impacto ambiental por el proyecto ese de los paneles, allá en el río...

§72: E1: ahí hemos discutido, y el cacique ha estado de acuerdo con eso, que se haga.

§73: F: ¿Qué se haga qué?

§74: E1: qué se pongan los paneles y todo eso.

§75: F: claro

§76: E1: Él como que estaba muy de acuerdo. Y nosotros éramos un grupo de acá que estábamos resistiendo eso, que no estábamos de acuerdo.

§77: F: ¿estaban resistiendo eso?

§78: E1: nosotros no queríamos eso de los paneles, porque sí o sí iba a afectar. Y aquí hay mucho asentamiento, hay muchos antiguos pueblos, y sí o sí estas *afectando*, estas removiendo y estas haciendo daño, digamos, a la naturaleza. Me parece eso desde mi punto de vista ¿no? y Lalo es como que no nos ha dado bola a nosotros, nos ha dicho “ah, no, es que esto ya está así, así” al final *se quedó*, no sé qué habrá pasado al final, creo que no sé, la provincia no sé cuántas monedas tenía que poner y ahí creo que se ha frenado me parece

§79: F: si, me parece que se ha perdido en el camino

§80: E1: sí

§81: F: ¿pero para el impacto, o sea, el impacto que hicieron, el

estudio de impacto que hicieron que usted sepa, había dado como el ok para poderlo hacer eso, o no sabe? o sea, ¿ustedes...

§82: E1: la mayoría quería. Para nosotros, el grupo, no.

§83: F: claro a nivel de...

§84: E1: porque no todos pensamos igual

§85: F: de consúl- claro no, por supuesto. Digo, esto a nivel de consulta, o sea a nivel de discusión interna

§86: E1: sí, la mayoría *ganaba bajo* y Lalo estaba ahí. Dice que bueno, vos viste cómo es, *muy político [...] fondos provinciales, vos decís, se esta metiendo en muchas cosas que no, no sé, la comunidad tiene sus derechos y a veces hay que saber manejarlos también, saber dónde te metés también, por ahí. Lo veo yo así, ¿no?*

§87: F: no, claro, *que eso yo no me quiero meter en la discusión*

§88: E1: son *doce años de política* ¿qué opina usted, esta bueno que perdure en el tiempo? *Se degeneran muchas cosas,*

¿no? pasan muchas cosas, a veces se revive

§89: F: no, estoy escuchando muchas, muchas posturas, por supuesto. Entonces hay muchos también que critican también ese aspecto.

§90: E1: y sí, *que respete de los dos mandatos* por parte del gobierno, a veces se mezclan unas cosas con otros

§91: F: yo creo que hay un estatuto, *¿no?* de la comunidad, entonces habría que respetar eso. El estatuto se dice que, no sé, que de alguna manera hay que interrumpir, o sea que uno no puede quedarse cacique vitalicio

§92: E1: claro, totalmente

§93: F: pero ya, como le digo, yo puedo tener mi opinión, por supuesto, pero

§94: E1: por eso es importante que le consulte o que el comué de ese tema porque nosotros ya *lo tenemos usando*. Si para ellos es nuevo, para nosotros ya no es nuevo, ya venimos de hace....

§95: F: y ya lo conocían antes de

§96: E1: sí, antes de eso, cuando se ha empezado a hacer *nuestro*

§97: F: antes de los paneles, digamos

§98: E1: claro, no, mucho antes, pues. Si nosotros estamos hace *diez años*

§99: F: porque esto es 2009, claro son 10 años

§100: E1: casi diez años ya, prácticamente.

§101: F: 24 de marzo del año 2009, ya van por los diez años

§102: E1: claro, *¿ve?* entonces es como que... nosotros por ahí tuvimos un pequeño distanciamiento porque, y sí, bueno, nosotros *no coincidimos con algunas cosas de ellos*.

§103: F: claro, claro a nivel de cómo está manejando estos proyectos...

§104: E1: sí, claro y lo que tiene siempre es para unos cuantos nomás, no es para todos. No hay mucha igualdad, tiene mucho grupo y su grupo a veces ha dejado mucho que desear en distintos emprendimientos. Ahí está Pato Mamaní, está el Flaco

Nieva, *la Chagada* es que ya están quemados demasiado en la comunidad

§105: F: ¿por qué?

§106: E1: *que había una comunidad*, se han metido, nunca proyectos han conseguido, siempre han quedado ahí a medias ¿y quiénes han estado ahí metidos? Han sido ellos. Son gente que le gusta meterse en todos lados y así como la gente ya no los quiere [...]

§107: F: ajá, ¿y esos proyectos qué involucraban?

§108: E1: y el proyecto *como ejemplo que siembre alfalfa*, ESIRA se llamaba un proyecto así internacional, nacional, también y entonces ahí *estamos dispuestos* y han estado con otros gobiernos también y ahora se han corrido para el otro lado. No, o sea, la gente no los quiere, *la mayoría no están de acuerdo*. La última política que ha ganado Lalo *la ha ganao con Campa*, o sea, hay gente de otro lado

§109: F: ¿la última política para cacique o delegado?

§110: E1: claro, para hacer renovarse de cacique nuevamente, eso la ha ganado [...] porque ha puesto un montón de *cuernos* ahí, supuestamente esa es rendimiento de cuentas, ha puesto en la mesa y [...] rendir cuenta ellos, cuando nunca habían pasado 8 años y nunca han rendido cuentas a la comunidad, jamás se ha hecho algo bien, como tiene que ser. Y ahí lo mandó a llamar, comué ha venido gente ahí ha invitado, y bueno la mayoría obviamente, lo han llevado. Ha sido más político que otra cosa, *han llevado la gente en vehículo, le han mostrado todo ahí así* y siempre han hablado y [...] tienen que saber cómo es la mano y obviamente se han preparado para eso, pero en la propia condición política de la comunidad, dicen que nunca puede ser las tres veces reelecto. Ta' bien dos, pero tres no. Entonces ahí es como que él viene cambiando las cosas. Y claro, está bueno ¿no? que siga estando, quiere seguir, la ha encontrado buena ahí ¿no? y si...

§111: F: y usted por qué cree que sigue teniendo, a pesar de todo sigue, a pesar de esos problemas que usted está vivenciando porque hay bastante gente que también lo apoya, lo sigue apoyando, a pesar de que en la constitución de la comunidad exprese el límite de los dos mandatos...

§112: E1: y sí, claro. Yo creo que la gente de él, alguna otra jugada que hacen

§113: F: ah, ya que está un grupo bien...

§114: E1: claro, más o menos, sí. Me parece que por esa parte más que por *lo que está haciendo*. usted ve, no sé qué es lo que está haciendo. ahora en la bodega no sé si usted conoce mucho ¿cuánto hace que está por acá? La bodega no da mucho más que a tres personas no nos está dando mucho más trabajo. Por eso nosotros damos a veinte personas trabajo en verano.

§115: F: claro

§116: E1: así sea temporario, pero la gente viene y se trabaja y se lleva su dinero a su casa, o sea.... El... a esta empresa está

bien, si él la quiere meter en la política *porque este no es proyecto de él, es de otra gente, y esto es nacional*. Igual es también, uf, la gente ha hecho política hace poco y ha dicho que eran 200 puestos de trabajo en esta empresa, esta a gatas tiene 12, sí, pueden mentir, esas cosas no van. Me parece tan raro tipo así de esa manera... algunos la deben pasar re bien, están más cerca de ellos, pero después la otra parte son casi como 7000-8000 habitantes en Amaicha del Valle, y hay pueblitos también que necesitan ayuda del gobierno, del estado, bah, de él como cacique y no, no hay mucho. La bodega es su caballo de batalla. Siempre ¡uy! ¡La bodega de Amaicha! ¡Por lo menos si hubiera 10 trabajando ahí! No hay ni siquiera 2 creo, no sé si hay tres personas

§117: F: sí, no parece que está yendo muy bien [...] la bodega. Dale, entonces eso, digamos, si te puedo pedir, yo aprovecho siempre la información

§118: E1: igual usted ha visto, una bodega así como esa es una bodega que está muy de primera, así que tenés que le va a, con qué

la vas a hacer trabajar pa'... acá no sé si alcanza esta, *esto no es Cafayate*, no, ¿cuántas hectáreas de vid tenés que tener para que una bodega así

§119: F: claro

§120: E: como que empezó con los techos primero y se olvidó del cimiento, más o menos.

§121: F: eh, muchos me están diciendo eso, o sea, me están diciendo con esas mismas palabras, justamente. Sí, no, no, no, claro, eso es un tema, claro, exactamente. Dale. Y en cambio, o sea, esto ustedes tuvieron algún apoyo también por la universidad para montar el emprendimiento o fue autónomo, digamos, como...
Cómo surgió

§122: E1: y esto es casi la mayoría es autónomo, *esto va dejando* la gente. O sea, a ver, esto nace con la idea aquí sí, eh, se ha filmado una película

§123: F: ¿qué película?

§124: E1: ahí tenemos cardón, ya se venían listas a comerlas

§125: F: ¿ah qué comen los cardones las cabritas?

§126: E1: sí, esos cardoncitos de ahí, y este... claro es una película nacional que se llama Aballay, el Hombre Sin Miedo, y acá han elegido como escenario para la película. Ahí comienza la idea de la pulpería en la película.

§127: F: ah, mirá. ¿Esto era....

§128: E1: no esto era tierra de na-

§129: F: claro, pero la estructura la hicieron para la película

§130: E1: para la película

§131: F: que era la pulpería, mira...

§132: E1: muy rústica, que nada que ver, ya le hemos cambiado revoque, techo, todo, cañas, todo. Antes era todo es jarilla, algunas cortaderas, era bien rustica la com- y que bueno, la película está en internet, la puede bajar, están muy buena. Hermosa película, había 70 extras de acá de la comunidad.

§133: F: ¿y eso fue antes del 2009 o cuando fue?

§134: E1: eso fue, sí, en el 2009, ahí empieza con él, la construcción. Creo que la película era 13.000\$, bueno Jesús Silva

este el que lleva a cargo la obra y el que hace hacer eso. Bueno, ahí ha dado trabajo también creo a 15 personas, que se ha hecho esto, se ha hecho la película y ha quedado el lugar.

§135: F: mirá

§136: E1: ha pasado un tiempo, eh, no sé quién porque nadie cuidaba estos lugares, *entonces ahí* se han metido alguien, han metido fuego y se ha incendiado todo lo que es el techo, se ha quemado todo, palos, todo. Porque estaba en un lugar abandonado, porque esto ha sido como aquella parte, ponele, no tenían, no había nada aquí antes de la película, antes de la construcción. Y bueno, entonces ahí Jesús dice “bueno, no puede quedar eso así” o sea, ahí parece que a esto hay que darle una mejor este, funcionamiento o algo así. Hemos entao’ a pensar entre nosotros “bueno, sí mirá, la gente viene aquí, igual, también...” bueno, listo, acá se pone un ingreso, vamos a... crear una fuente de trabajo

§137: F: ¿la gente antes pasaba a visitar las *cascadas*?

§138: E1: pasaba, te dejaba basura, pintaba las rocas allá, ¿entendés? Algunos ¿no?, no tampoco vamos a meter a todos en la misma bolsa, pero siempre por uno a veces pagan todos también ¿no? a veces vos te ponés de mal humor porque en realidad allá adentro, si vos te ponés a ver, están pintadas las rocas, ponían ahí quién había entrado, la fecha, el nombre...

§139: F: claro, sí, marcando, digamos...

§140: E1: sí, la novia, “yo he venido con tal persona”, a quién le importa eso, o sea. Es que a estos lugares hay que respetarlos. Para mí no solo es un lugar bonito sino que es un lugar espiritual, hay mucha buena energía adentro y todos estos lugares porque *acá* han sido transitados por nuestros antepasados, ¿no? me parece, yo lo veo desde ese punto de vista. Hay gente que sí, que disfruta viendo la naturaleza y hay otra que si puede quemar o hacer daño también lo hace. Hay distintas... hay gente y gente, digamos, también ¿no? que vienen

§141: F: claro

§142: E1: pero, entonces como que... de ahí nosotros hemos iniciado esas expectativas de crear una fuente de trabajo más en el verano, *ahí donde te da mas*

§143: F: donde hay más trabajo, digamos

§144: E1: donde se puede trabajar mejor, sí. Y ahí estamos trabajando. Y bueno, Lalo después se ha desentendido, siempre ha estado lejos el de este proyecto es como que, como que, a ver... él lo veía como que si no lo dejaban manejar a él, directamente no se hacía cargo, no se metía mucho y bueno, Silva le resistía del otro lado con el grupo, con nosotros y le hemos dicho “no, bueno, si no querés, bueno listo, no nos *ayudés más nada*, nosotros vamos a seguir esto así, de esta manera vamos a trabajar”, “sí, pero que no....”, después nos querían boicotear, si nos hacían, nos han hecho, mandaban gente *como dice* “El Remate era gratis, que no se debe pagar”, o sea, nos estaban boicoteando mal la gente de Lalo. Y nosotros no hemos aflojado,

hemos seguido, *ahí con* problemas jodidos ahí, mal ¿no? ciertos problemas con el pueblo y el turista que venía con el papelito *que no se debía* a pagar, o sea...

§145: F: ¿un papelito que no se tenía que pagar?

§146: E1: sí, era un lugar gratis, público, cuando él nomás sabía del emprendimiento, pero todo era porque ha habido un problema con nosotros y bueno. Después para que firmen este convenio

§147: F: ¿qué convenio, que me decía...?

§148: E1: acá tenemos firmado un convenio nosotros por 50 años con el cacique que nosotros *no vamos a dejar* este lugar, pero que nosotros tenemos un 10% de las ganancias de este lugar, aí que por un ingreso se iba a hacer...

§149: F: ¿cuándo lo firmaron al convenio?

§150: E1: 5 años atrás más o menos.

§151: F: 5 años atrás

§152: E1: (asiente). Y bueno, por eso estamos, sino no hubiéramos

estado [...] pero nosotros a veces renegamos mucho porque aquel tipo de allá [...] el observatorio de Ampimpa. Hay gente de la universidad, no sé si hay... es un lugar grande y que tienen mucho movimiento, pero no sé si habrá 10 personas trabajando ahí de la comunidad, creo que hay más gente de la universidad, más gente profesional que otra... gente. Y ellos no están haciendo ningún aporte a la comunidad y el club tampoco está haciendo un aporte a la comunidad, entonces y nosotros somos de acá ¿por qué tendríamos que hacer un aporte? como lo mejoramos al lugar y vamos haciendo cosas mejor, ese debe ser un aporte que tampoco se ve mucho. Ellos decían “el aporte que hagan ustedes vamos a emprender otra cosa, vamos a hacer otro emprendimiento como ese en otro lugar” y no lo han hecho. Entonces...

§153: F: o sea, ellos decían “con el aporte que ustedes dan vamos a mejorar...” ¿ese mismo lugar u otro?

§154: E1: a hacer... no, otro. Ellos querían otro en otro lugar.

§155: F: oh, o sea, diferente del Remate, en otro lado.

§156: E1: sí, en otro lado. Para crear fuentes de trabajo para unos cuantos más y nunca se ha hecho eso. Y bueno, ya después últimamente nah, que sí, que nosotros eh... le hemos vuelto a dar y tampoco han hecho nada y bueno, y ha quedado ahí, inconcluso eso. Entonces es como que esa parte no está muy de acuerdo él con nosotros.

§157: F: dale

§158: E1: sí, pero sí hay una parte que eso tendría que ver el, digamos

§159: *(Saludan a una persona más, que se aproxima)*

§160: E2: hola

§161: F: qué tal, cómo va?

§162: E1: del sello, eso que capaz que no sabe, o no se ha dado cuenta. Seguramente en el pasado *él también* los habrá visto a los estudios esos

§163: F: claro, no, [...] o sea, porque me decía que lo usan también como sello, como para papeles oficiales, alguna cosa de

esas, ¿podría, podría, si puede, mostrarme alguno si tiene?

§164: E1: hm, creo que no lo tengo acá, ahora no. pero sí, este, si, de esos estudios lo tenemos ahí en mano, pues he hecho hacer en el libro de visitas también

§165: F: claro, dale. Y usted sabe porque bueno, la cuestión era un poco tratar también de rescatar la historia, la, hacer como una, porque según, digamos, esos cuentos que dicen que hay, digamos, todos los cuentos que se narran sobre el zorro y el diablillo, o sea, ¿usted sabe algo de esto... si, no sé, fue eso también parte de la elección de ese símbolo como para sello de acá?

§166: E1: hm, sí, yo creo que sí, o sea, hemos estado de acuerdo, porque hemos, es más nosotros hemos elegido a ese

§167: F: ¿Qué?

§168: E1: le hemos elegido a ese, porque había otros más, *que los tiene...*

§169: F: ah, ¿qué otros eran?

§170: E1: y no me acuerdo bien ahora qué otros eran

§171: F: ¿pero igual eran pinturas rupestres?

§172: E1: claro, del mismo río de ahí

§173: F: del mismo río

§174: E1: sí. Pero habíamos elegido éste nosotros.

§175: F: ¿y qué les llamó más para elegir ese?

§176: E1: me parece por tema del, ahí, como el felino y el, el otro que es como... el hombre o el chamán, como que representa algo del... ¿no? por eso nosotros lo habíamos elegido ese.

§177: F: ¿ajá, y ahora qué representa? O sea, porque yo lo veo, digo "mira, hay un felino y una, un tipo con cuernos" digamos, pero no...

§178: E1: ¿qué le parece, qué es el otro?

§179: E2: un vikingo

§180: F: ¿qué?

§181: E2: ¡un vikingo!

§182: F: ¡un vikingo, por eso! O sea cada uno lo ve y lo asume con las cosas que tien-

§183: E2: no, ese que está ahí es un chamán. ¿ve? mirá, aquel el de la bandera tiene otro formato y el del medio es un chamán también. Sería como eh, que el antiguo tenía más contacto con el animal, la parte natural, es lo que se ve. y ahora no se puede ver.

§184: F: ¿quién no lo puede ver?

§185: E2: y ni nosotros, ni la gente...

§186: E1: sentate, así conversamos

§187: E2: claro, digamos que yo creo que si vos ves un león, no creo que te lo vas a ir a hablar ¿ve?

§188: F: no, claro (risas)

§189: E2: en cambio el indio era más na- consciente y tenía sus partes como razonar con el animal... como.

§190: F: ah, entonces tu crees que por eso, digamos, que tiene tanto, que llama tanto también ahora, porque recuerda esto...

§191: E2: no sé si llamará, pero es lo que los arqueólogos han traído el dibujito ese. No sé qué representación tiene para ellos. Para varios tiene diferentes formas, ¿ve? del punto de vista

§192: F: o sea que eso que me decía era de los arqueólogos la interpretación

§193: E2: no. Ellos lo han traído de donde han encontrado esa pintura en la parte de Las Salinas y de ahí era como que ellos asociaban y no sé qué decían.

§194: E1: y nos [...]

§195: E2: yo no la he visto a esa pintura realmente. No la he visto así porque no quieren decir a dónde está

§196: F: ¿los arqueólogos?

§197: E2: claro. Unos malditos, porque no es de ellos.

§198: F: (risas)

§199: E2: ¿ve?

§200: E1: yo sé que ellos han traído unas cuantas de... y acá las elegí y estaba Jesús, como le digo, que es el *que... el inventor*. Y acá *entre todos* las elegimos, les nos gustaba.

§201: F: le gustaba más

§202: E1: ellos decían “mirá, acá tenés esto...” y hemos empezado a ver ahí y... y por eso

§203: E2: ¿vos sos Francisco?

§204: F: sí (risas), ¿de qué me conoce?

§205: E2: todos te conocen aquí

§206: F: (risas)

§207: E2: ve, como eso, también ¿ve? de naturaleza ¿Usted hace la tesis o qué?

§208: F: estoy en ello. Esto haciendo ese trabajo para la tesis

§209: E2: ¿arqueólogo es usted?

§210: F: arqueólogo, medio antropólogo, medio estoy metido ahí en temas de derecho indígena, derechos humanos. Entonces sí, el tema es justamente ver cómo también eso que me decías, cómo hay casi siempre, las interpretaciones de los arqueólogos y las comunidades donde trabajan son muy distintas eh, y eso puede, puede generar problemas más complicados como en Quilmes, por ejemplo, o situaciones un poco más de diálogo como pasó

acá, porque acá vinieron los arqueólogos y dijeron “mira, ustedes tienen eso” básicamente ¿no? pero igual se mantienen esas posturas diferentes

§211: E2: claro

§212: F: era un poco rescatar esa historia ¿no? entonces, estoy siguiendo la pista a ese dibujo

§213: E2: ¿y a tu vista qué ves ahí?

§214: F: claro, por eso yo les decía qué cosa les llamaba, porque ahí yo veo, claro, yo, bueno, he leído bastante sobre temas de cosmovisión indígena y toda relación con el territorio, entonces me llama más la atención cómo

§215: E2: ¿el dibujito?

§216: F: como el dibujito que está, sobre todo esto, que le está, sé que están juntos.

§217: E2: claro

§218: E1: para mí es el hombre y la naturaleza, lo veo así.

§219: F: así es

§220: E2: y sí, antes tenían como más, porque es más... naturalidad

§221: E1: el animal, es la naturaleza, ósea lo que hay es, yo creo, así

§222: F: o sea, eso representaría. O sea, el chamán que le da, digamos, la, o sea, que abraza, digamos, esa naturaleza.

§223: E2: ajá

§224: E1: sí, sí, naturaleza. Lo interpreto así. Que no he leído mucho, ni tampoco ellos han explicado mucho de ese tema, sino lo han usado como sello. Ahora él me dice que esta haciendo un trabajo y que Lalo quiere que ese, como que sea un sello que represente a la comunidad. En general, ya no en este lugar. Es que acá está representando este lugar ese trabajo que han hecho ¿no? pero él me dice que, bueno, Lalo lo quiere que sea ¿cómo es? Explícame un...

§225: F: claro, sí, es un poco... es más bien una cuestión de... no sé de detalle a nivel de legislación. De eso se trataría más bien. Porque cuando lo encontraron los arqueólogos, vino Carolina, el equipo, lo encontraron y eso supuestamente, no sé bien si lo

habrán hecho, pero me imagino que sí, esto tiene que estar registrado, o sea, acá todo sitio arqueológico

§226: E1: sí, sí se han encontrado

§227: F: que se encuentra tiene que estar registrado, tienen que mandar una ficha con toda la información esa a Buenos Aires, en el instituto este de Buenos Aires y luego cada provincia se ocupa, digamos, de proteger supuestamente y conservar ese sitio arqueológico. Entonces los patrimonios son del Estado. O sea, pertenecen la propiedad...

§228: E2: ¿pasan a ser del Estado?

§229: F: claro

§230: E2: ¿por qué?

§231: F: porque es así. (Risas). Porque la legislación dice eso, dice que el patrimonio, todo patrimonio

§232: E2: claro, todo arqueológico es del Estado.

§233: F: eso es del Estado a nivel de legislación.

§234: E2: mirá.

§235: F: entonces lo que estaba proponiendo Lalo era crear como registro de patrimonio que ya pero sea, donde se certifique de alguna manera que eso ya no le pertenece al estado o a la provincia, sino que es patrimonio de la comunidad

§236: E2: de la Comunidad de Amaicha. Claro. Bueno, a mí me parece bastante interesante esa parte

§237: E1: sí

§238: F: y entonces, claro, porque ese dibujo, por ejemplo, esta pintura, y no tiene nin- a la fecha, digamos, no tiene ningún resguardo para que otro venga, le saque una fotografía y la puede utilizar para no sé, para camisetas, por ejemplo, y las vaya vendiendo así. En cambio, si se certifica eso, si el tipo viene y hace ese tipo de operación, ya le van a poner una multa, porque cómo si está utilizando, está robando, claro...

§239: E2: ah, claro, no podes [...]

§240: F: está robando la imagen que pertenece a la comunidad. Sería trataría de crear un resguardo más que...

§241: E2: claro, ahí entendí. Para que nadie saque fondos ni lucre de la parte esa.

§242: F: exacto.

§243: E2: bien

§244: F: y esa era un poco la idea, por eso digo, es más, crear como una categoría especial que no existe para, para claro, una mejor, un mejor resguardo del patrimonio de la comunidad ¿no? Entonces como les decía, surgió un poco hablando con él eso, estaba explicando un poco las

§245: E1: claro, el nunca te dijo "El Remate lo tiene" ya más o menos

§246: : no, no, por eso me llamó la atención

§247: E1: para mí él no sabe, pero este ya desde que se ha hecho ese estudio ya lo utilizamos nosotros

§248: F: probablemente él no lo sabe, porque por la historia que él me contó, se enteró digamos de esas pinturas a raíz de los paneles [...]

§249: E1: porque yo lo que, yo le explicaba a él que es lo que yo

sabía era de que esa olla representa la comunidad en general, digamos, que está ahí

§250: E2: claro, la ollita de... realmente

§251: E1: sí, esa en general. Pero esto *se iba, es como que este trabajo se ha hecho*

§252: F: sí, no, claro, por eso le decía... más allá del sello, se trataba más bien de, o sea, del objeto y de la imagen física la protección, claro. Y luego, claro, también el sello este de la vasija es una vasija que está en Buenos Aires.

§253: E1: claro sí

§254: F: Igual están tratando de hacer pedidos para que el museo

§255: E2: ¿recuperarla?

§256: F: sí, para que el museo la devuelva, pero parece que no le dan mucha bola para eso

§257: E2: no, y es complicado

§258: E1: se van de acá y no vuelven más

§259: 2: tenés que mover muchos papeles como para mover eso.

§260: E1: las cosas que han pasado así, ¿no?

§261: F: claro, es una cuestión más bien de... o sea, por eso a mí me interesa esta conexión entre patrimonio y derecho

§262: E2: ha sido mucho, muy huaqueado, digamos, este lugar

§263: F: claro, porque eso fue, no que eso no fue huaqueado, fue un investigador que lo descubrió. Eso lo llevó para Buenos Aires, entonces la cuestión es un poco decir que efectivamente esa excavación se hizo según las costumbres de la época -que ya pasó como un siglo- donde la comunidad, o sea, esto igual era territorio de la comunidad, pero el investigador venía, hacía excavaciones sin que nadie supiera nada. En cambio ahora cuando viene Carolina, les pide. O sea, hay que pedir el permiso a la comunidad para hacer la, para hacer las excava-

§264: E2: y sí, es que antes era como más liberal, ahora ya es un poquito mejorcito, ya está morando, pero igual

§265: F: claro, entonces es una cuestión también para remarcar

que el territorio le pertenece a la comunidad, entonces también todas las cosas, la... esos actos que en esa época eran legales de alguna manera, en realidad no lo son. Entonces se pide la devolución para eso, también ¿no? es un poco esa la cuestión y sí, no, entonces, se lo voy a informar por si no lo sabía, porque eso también es importante que esté, si no está al tanto, que lo sepa

§266: E2: ¿vos por ejemplo que lo ves así, cómo te es para lo que vos querés hacer vos, lo que, estudios que quieras hacer, y viéndolo ya así te es más fácil para hacer cosas con eso, o empezar de nuevo con eso? No, no entiendo.

§267: F: eh, ¿qué?

§268: E2: si tenés que hacer un estudio y utilizar eso, ya está utilizado ¿te es más fácil para vos algunas cosas o empezar de nuevo... o cómo?

§269: F: no, yo, o sea, para mí es interesante porque, o sea, porque la misma imagen se ha, digamos, elevado a representativa de la

§270: E2: en general

§271: F: de la comunidad, o por lo menos, de parte de la comunidad para ese emprendimiento eh, ya antes que surgiera digamos ese proyecto de Lalo. Entonces es *hacer así*, como es una imagen muy poderosa, de alguna manera ¿no? que está siempre, desde que la descubrieron, por lo menos desde que se dio a conocer, está participando de muchas cosas esa imagen, y ese es mi interés, digamos, más allá del uso que ustedes querrán hacer de esto, eso ya no me, no me, o sea, no es mi problema, digamos, pero tampoco sería justo que yo diga algo a propósito de esto. O sea, yo simplemente para mi investigación me interesa como trazar el recorrido de esa imagen, cómo la descubrieron los arqueólogos, cómo la apropiaron ustedes, cómo ahora está siendo, digamos, al centro de este proyecto que tiene, que tiene en mente Lalo de la propiedad colectiva del patrimonio, y entonces rastrear un poco esto. Luego ya, claro, como toda cosa que participa en las relaciones, eso también puede provocar problemas, me imagino. Eh, ojalá que no, pero, o sea, es siempre

como si tu metes una persona que antes no conocías y la metes adentro, entonces eso ya provoca cambios, digamos, da cuestiones y entonces bueno, yo desde mi punto de vista es simplemente buscar un poco esa, esos encuentros de esta pintura con las diferentes personas que se va encontrando.

§272: E2: ¿y no la ha ido a ver usted a la pintura todavía?

§273: F: no, no me han dicho dónde está

§274: E2: claro, los arqueólogos no le han querido decir. Yo sé que está desde el río, el Río Las Salinas pal fondo, pero no la ubico yo tampoco. Dicen que es una piedra.

§275: E1: ¿ahora dice que viene Carolina?

§276: F: sí, así me dijeron, una chica que trabaja con ella.

§277: E2: estaría bueno para ir a verla, conocerla.

§278: E1: sí, si viene ahora, no sé cuándo

§279: F: eh... me decían que van a venir esta semana y la

siguiente. Y bueno, estoy tratando de contactarla para ver si puedo... la conozco, estuvimos hablando el año pasado con Carolina, pero

§280: E2: ¿qué le parece a usted ella como...?

§281: F: ¿ella? no, estuvimos hablando un ratito con ella y el marido, Carlos Baied. Y sí, un poco hablando sobre el tema, porque como habían trabajado tanto tiempo acá en la comunidad, quería escuchar un poco qué le parecía el trabajo, cómo se había dado, esas cuestiones. No recuerdo *dar como (risa)*... no sé qué persona es ella. Estuvimos hablando

§282: E1: si, no, claro, casi nada, digamos.

§283: F: un ratito

§284: E2: claro

§285: F: la conocí un par de horas nomás, pero... digamos, me dio una buena impresión, pero no podría profundizar más en eso. Eh... si, no, pero bueno, espero poderlo...yo, bueno, me imagino que la idea también será la... o sea de difundir más este

patrimonio, que es *parte de la comunidad*

§286: E2: ¿por qué, de la Ciudad Sagrada o qué parte del patrimonio?

§287: F: bueno, en general diría ¿no? también eso si estamos hablando de eso del río Las Salinas

§288: E2: claro como que sea más, vos decís, para más visitas?

§289: F: o más visitas o para que no sé, que se conozca más, incluso ¿no?... parte del lado de la visita que pueda Pueda crear...

§290: E2: claro, porque a mí mucha gente, mucho alboroto, también ¿no? destrozan todo.

§291: F: claro, claro, por supuesto

§292: E2: en cambio, tenerlo lindo, así un par que sepan, pero nadie más... más escondido esté, mejorcito es, pues...

§293: F: claro, esa es una cuestión también que hay... hay que tener en cuenta y sí, no, claro.

§294: E2: ¿qué otro lugar ha recorrido de la comunidad?

§295: F: eh... bueno, en realidad no mucho.

§296: E1: ¿cuánto hace que está por acá?

§297: F: estoy desde finales de julio, más o menos, un mes y medio más o menos. Sí, sino bueno, entonces estuve haciendo, si bueno, los recorridos y luego, en realidad, digamos, otra parte del proyecto que estoy haciendo de la investigación esa es buscar lo que ha quedado de esos proyectos de desarrollo, me decían por ejemplo el de LEIRA, eh, entonces ver un poco lo que había quedado de esa, de esa, de esos proyectos

§298: E2: ah

§299: F: entonces fui a ver allá un poco en Encalilla, que allá trabajaron los de LESIRA y también otro en Salas que hicieron también, en Yayamayo, pero no llegué a ver, no llegué a ver la obra porque era la Fiesta de la Virgen de la Merced. Entonces yo llego ese sábado con la idea de hablar con el... con el señor que se había ocupado en el proyecto, pero estaban todos metidos en la fiesta, no hubo

forma de [...] re lindo para ir a la fiesta y sí... y eso nomás y justo, bueno, venía planeando la visita acá desde hace mucho, porque

§300: E2: ¿nunca había venido usted por acá?

§301: F: no, no, no había venido

§302: E2: ¿y qué te ha parecido? Mas o menos a la entrada, hasta ahora....

§303: F: hasta el momento, no, si está re bien acá. Ahora todavía no he bajado, pero...

§304: E2: claro, no, pero el ambiente, eh, afuera, se siente

§305: F: ¿el ambiente cómo?

§306: E2: ¿te ha gustado la llegada o no?

§307: F: ¿la llegada acá? Sí, sí, sí, o sea, está bien, no es difícil llegar tampoco, o sea que... eh, le estaba diciendo antes que pensé que el [...] dejaba más cerca, entonces una vez empecé a caminar dije "mira, ¿cuánto, dónde estoy? ¡Igual me he perdido! O sea... (risas)

§308: E2: como tres kilómetros capaz que has caminando, más o menos.

§309: F: más o menos, pero...

§310: E2: ¿ha ido al dique o no? ¿o ha venido directamente para acá?

§311: F: no, vine directamente para allá, [...] *a la vuelta igual, me fui para*

§312: E2: claro...

§313: F: sí... *así que voy a aprovechar ahora para bajar, y ver un poco...*

§314: E1: ¿*Qué?*... ¿y Lalo le había comentado de este emprendimiento aquí o no?

§315: F: eh, no, no directamente, pero tampoco hablamos mucho sobre eso, o sea, hablamos muy en general sobre el tema de la tesis, como él es abogado, digamos, la parte que más le interesa es la parte de

§316: E1: política

§317: F: derecho, esas cosas. Por eso surgió luego la cuestión ésta de, de crear ese registro, entonces le estuve comentando eso, que tenía pensado recorrer un poco esos proyectos de desarrollo para ver qué era lo que había quedado, porque eso

muchas veces se hacen las cosas, funcionan hasta que esté la plata

§318: E2: claro, y después ya quedan ahí

§319: F: y luego para totalmente, entonces, eh, ver un poco lo que se ha abandonado, lo que sigue, lo que ha cambiado un poco en relación con esos proyectos. Esta es una arqueología que le dicen “del pasado reciente”, estoy en eso, digamos, como otro, como otra línea de investigación y luego sí, también ver cómo se va, digo, aprovechando, cómo se va, digamos, este, cómo se van construyendo relaciones a partir del patrimonio. Entonces por eso, estaba interesante esa historia de cómo ha surgido ese emprendimiento ¿no? porque fue por una necesidad, digamos, de control, crear puestos de trabajo, controlar lo que estaba pasando

§320: E1: claro, es así la idea, así comienza aquí. Que anteriormente ha sido la película, que se hace esta parte

§321: F: lo de la película también es fascinante, porque, porque se reaprovechó ese lugar

§322: E1: ha quedado solo el lugar y ha pasado lo que ha pasado, y bueno ya no queda otra que *acer sitio*.

§323: F: ¿desde que se terminó de filmar la película hasta que se.... Porque pasó que se quemó el techo ¿no? me decía... ¿cuánto tiempo habrá pasado?

§324: E1: hm, sí, la película se ha filmado no sé qué tiempo más o menos, Claudio, si ha sido después del...

§325: E2: y como hm... no, a ver... como cinco meses capaz que ha sido, después ha sido el incidente, más o menos

§326: E1: después de cinco meses que ha pasao-.... Porque este lugar estaba, no vivía nadie, ha quedado otra vez como...

§327: F: ¿el incidente esto que dice [...]?

§328: E1: lo han quemado sin querer capaz

§329: F: ¿y qué año sería eso?

§330: E1: hm... nueve, parte del dos mil nueve, dos mil diez...

§331: E2: claro

§332: F: o sea en el mismo año que luego hicieron... ah, o sea que fue todo muy...

§333: E2: claro, ha terminado la película, pasó *pos* un tiempo y después justo ¡plug!

§334: F: ah, no... pensé que había quedado como abandonado por varios años! No, porque...

§335: E2: Es que ya teníamos como

§336: F: la idea ya la tenían?

§337: E2: de trabajar en la parte esta, con las partes de la Quebradita y proteger el lugar

§338: F: ajá

§339: E1: sí

§340: E2: eso, y de ahí *ha salido* todo. De ahí lo hemos habitado. Cambiado muchas cosas y *desde ahí se empezamo a quedar ahora a las noches, todo*.

§341: F: ah

§342: E2: ¿a Jesús Silva lo ubica usted?

§343: F: no, porque estuve hablando con Jorge Sosa, y él me mencionó su nombre también

§344: E2: a Jesús Silva sí... lo importante ya cuando *el pueblo* va a encontrar, o a veces está aquí también, es bien *que charle bien con él*, muchas veces le va a decir de principio a fin

§345: F: si, no me encantaría. ¿y cuándo sabe, cuándo podría?

§346: E2: estaba en casa ahora, estaba, sí. Ya la otra semana, por ahí ya...

§347: E1: viene así, viene así, *como rotando con los otros changos*, capaz que [...]

§348: F: dale. Si, no, yo me voy a quedar... bueno, estaré viajando el domingo ese por el tema de la Visa, porque ya llevo como tres meses en el país, yo estoy con la Visa turística, entonces tengo que salir y volver a entrar. Entonces aprovecho para ir a San Pedro de Atacama, hacer 3 o 4 día y luego vuelvo. Entonces ya para la siguiente semana capaz si está acá... porque yo tengo *en cuanto* a Jorge, me pasó el contacto de Vicente. Entonces estuve...

§349: E1: sí, Vicente se iba hoy.

§350: F: me comuniqué con el en otro momento y me decía que

quizás lo ubicaba la semana siguiente a *Don Silva*. Y si, no, como decís, si él era el caudillo, digamos, de la situación igual estaría lindo ver un poco también...

§351: E1: claro, es importante. Él sabe desde el principio *cómo es*

§352: F: sí, que bien. Dale.

§353: E1: y sí, después le comenta a Lalo, que ha visto ahí los...

§354: F: sí, le voy a decir. Mañana o pasado ya nos vamos a reunir

§355: E1: sí, puede que no sepa, como tiene muchas cosas, capaz en la cabeza...

§356: E2: vamos a denunciar si *tu haces* el sello de acá

§357: (Risas)

§358: E2: nosotros somos los autores de esto ¡Ay Dios!

§359: F: si, no, por eso yo trataría simplemente de crear una, una normativa o un respaldo

§360: E2: sí, porque ahora tienen de sello ellos tienen el indio, ¿Qué no?

§361: F: eh, el sello de la comunidad tiene...

§362: E2: el rostro...

§363: E1: sí, sí

§364: F: claro, está eso, está la vasija esa... claro. Eh, sí, si no lo sabe se lo voy a decir

§365: E1: ve? [...] si no sabe, lo va a venir a [...] ¿no? (Risas) pero sí había un par más...

§366: F: no, también para que ustedes, los dos, sepan que se está haciendo eso y... no sé, que estén al tanto... me parece también importante

§367: E1: no, está bien... escuchemé, man... yo creo que - es mi postura ¿no?- igual esto es de la comunidad... no es mío tampoco

§368: E2: claro, es de todos

§369: F: claro, de esto se trata básicamente

§370: E1: nosotros simplemente trabajamos. Pertenece a la comunidad y trabajamos *en este lugar*

§371: 2: no, pero yo creo que si se le da un buen uso, sí. De diez.

§372: F: claro, no, por eso, o sea, de esto se trata ¿no? también tratar de regular un poco el uso que se pueda hacer de eso.

§373: E1: sí, claro. Sí, sí, me parece bien. Mientras que, sí, que lo hablen... si salía de sorpresa sí, como que... *digo por* Silva, a veces... Silva es un poco más [...]

§374: F: si, no, espero no haber metido pata ni nada, porque no creo que era algo secreto que estaba haciendo (Risas)

§375: E1: no, todo bien. Igual es bueno que lo charle

§376: F: si, no, me parece *importante* que se conozca porque...

§377: E1: esas cosas están nomás, sí... es más con Silva va a hablar mucho más que temas de ese, porque ese está metido hace rato... conoce muchos temas de...

§378: F: ¿quién?

§379: E1: Silva. Y sabe de los proyectos de ESIRA, eso va hablar mucho mejor que yo, porque él conoce bien el tema, además ha estado... y él conoce ¿cuánto la comunidad? Como quince años

que está empapado con el tema ¿no?

§380: E2: más o menos

§381: E1: claro

§382: E2: y era... compartían casi los mismos pensamientos que Lalo

§383: E1: es más sí...

§384: E2: es más, nosotros hemos trabajado junto con él. Cuando se ha hecho el sello del indio, desde ahí ha venido la idea más o menos, nosotros la hemos destinado. Y después se han separao' los temas ¡pum! Y hemos, se hemos separado de la comunidad y ellos por un lado, y Lalo por otro lado. Por el tema del entorno que tenía, era muy sucio.

§385: F: ¿era sucio?

§386: E2: vos viste cómo es. En todos lados hay.

§387: F: sí, sí, no, me imagino

§388: E2: y bueno, por eso se han separado, *eso después*. Y nada más. Eso ha pasado. Pero sí, si ha sido seguidor. Andaba en la campaña el tío ese.

§389: F: ah, mirá.

§390: E1: este sí, ha sido lo que, digamos, de alguna manera Lalo está ahí ¿no? porque en realidad Silva era... ha *sido de uno de las votaciones... el primero de las votaciones...*

§391: E2: claro nosotros hemos sido cuando él ha empezado

§392: E1: hemos hecho la política, digo

§393: E2: ajá. con él.

§394: E1: con campaña y todo

§395: E2: claro, con campaña. Y él ha quedado allá y nosotros para acá. Pero nos llevamos bien, se llevamos bastante bien y él sabe más o menos como somos. Eso nomás.

§396: E: claro. Esta bien. Listo. bueno, voy a aprovechar para hacer una caminatita. Una caminata...

§397: E1: es fácil el recorrido. El camino ya te lleva.

§398: F: sí. Y bueno, el sitio no sé si se podrá o no

§399: E1: dar una... quería caminar un poco, irse por ahí...

§400: E2: ¿usted se va a la cascada o no? yo tendría que

comer y ahí lo acompaño. Estaría bueno.

§401: F: dale

§402: E1: capaz que hasta que se desocupe de la cascada ya va a ir el, ya

§403: E2: ahí vamos para el primero, y después vamos al segundo [...]... ¿vos vas a ir al *frente* y a la Ciudad Sagrada, qué no?

§404: F: ¿qué, qué es el frente?

§405: E1: no, el quiere ir aquí nomás.

§406: E2: al primer sitio

§407: E1: esto por *lo menos* quiere ver

§408: F: ¿la Ciudad Sagrada es Los Cardones?

§409: E2: claro sí

§410: F: ¿pero eso ya queda más lejos?

§411: E2: sí, enseguida

§412: F: ¿se llega?

§413: E2: está de diez el día, mire todavía

§414: E1: él es el que decía...

§415: 2: ¿usted es Francisco?

§416: F: sí

§417: E1: sí, ese es el tema.

§418: F: dale. Bueno....

§419: E1: ¿lo quiere hacer al largo o éste nomás?

§420: E2: mientras vamos caminando te... te digo, ¿ah?

§421: F: mientras vamos, ya me va diciendo cómo es la cosa

§422: E2: no va a ser muy lejos, ni nada, ya te digo, pero está bueno.

§423: F: sí, sí... [...] dale. Listo. está bien, bueno, entonces me bajo a la cascadita....

§424: E2: ahí te busco yo al rato

§425: F: dale perfecto. Bueno...

§426: E2: nos vemos

§427: E1: ¡nos estamos viendo, che!

Name: Calcha18-20

Place and Date: Amaicha del Valle, September 2018

Transcription by Ana Victoria Leiva (IAM, Tucumán)

§1: PM: de tu cuestión de la nota que salga compartir familiarmente

§2: **E: esto me parece espectacular**

§3: PM: te das cuenta?

§4: **E: si, si esto es lo mejor.**

§5: PM: empiece cuando quiera.

§6: **E: si empezamos, retomando un poco lo que decíamos la otra vez desde lo que ha sido su experiencia la primera pregunta que le haría más que la historia es la experiencia que ha tenido en ese lugar, luego ya pasaremos a contar la historia, pero lo primero porque es importante ese lugar para el territorio**

§7: PM: yo creo que la importancia de la hostería o este lugar, los que la han conocido funcionando, porque ya hay nuevas generaciones, hay muchas que no la han conocido y para lo que nosotros hemos conocido ha tenido mucha importancia turística, te das cuenta que nos visitaba gente de otros países, había otro movimiento se veía acá en Amaicha del valle, yo la he conocido también grande porque he vivido en los zazos y no teníamos posibilidades de venir todos los días o gozar de lo que la hostería tenía porque tampoco era

para cualquiera, era para afiliados del automóvil club, no cualquiera podía gozar de los servicios y después ya cuando he sido grande la he conocido, he trabajado en ella, hachador de leña, cargador de la caldera, funcionaba una caldera a leña para tener el agua caliente para un sector, un ala de la hostería que era planta alta y planta bajo y la parte del anexo a donde está instalada hoy la casa de la comunidad eso no tenía agua caliente de la caldera entonces si era muy importante. Hay nuevas generaciones que no la han conocido desgraciadamente funcionando como funcionaba con el automóvil club

§8: **E: Entonces la señora está diciendo los eventos, me hizo recordar**

§9: **SRA: Claro es importante porque era el único lugar**

§10: **E: Eso era importante cuando lo teníamos nosotros porque antes no se hacía ningún evento**

§11: **SRA: Se hacían casamientos, cumpleaños de 15, reuniones, era el único lugar**

§12: **E: Claro que podía abarcar tanta gente**

§13: PM: Después lo que yo te contaba el otro día nosotros no cobrábamos el alquiler del lugar físico, nosotros estábamos ahí, cobrábamos el servicio de la comida esas cosas, yo le había dicho que el comunero debía gozar del servicio de las instalaciones sin cobrarle no? Si se cobraba cuando vos me decías

prepárame 50 o 100 pollos, asado o esas cosas.

§14: E: Pero lo que es el acceso a ese lugar

§15: PM: No, no, no yo creo que hay mucha gente de la comunidad que recién ha conocido cuando yo estaba.

§16: E: Porque esto que estaba diciendo porque un poco de lo que estaba leyendo sobre el lugar es que se hizo allá el parlamento indígena del '72 o '73 me parece.

§17: PM: Si nosotros por ejemplo se hizo el parlamento indígena, dicen que se hizo yo no andaba, nací en el 65, me contaron que se hizo el parlamento indígena ahí. Lo que se hizo el segundo parlamento indígena ahí

§18: E: El segundo?

§19: PM: Claro en el año 2014 más o menos

§20: E: Y se hizo ahí también?

§21: PM: Si ya la tenía la comunidad

§22: E: Claro si no porque por eso, porque la cosa que me gustaría rastrear con esa cosa de la hostería es que importancia puede

§23: PM: Te digo lo deben haber hecho en aquella época porque estaban los militares te acordas?

§24: E: Claro

§25: PM: Y como que el parlamento indígena algunas veces, porque aquí hay compañeros indígenas que

estaban tensas con los militares, ha sido así, si nosotros queremos escapar de la realidad no lo deberíamos hacer, hay personas que han vendido a otros hermanos por estar con el poder, y lo deben hacer tomado de prepo para hacer el congreso indígena ahí, porque siempre, toda la vida ha sido que no podía ir cualquier persona a la hostería únicamente llegaban los afiliados del automóvil club, vos tenías que ser afiliado

§26: E: Claro por eso...

§27: PM: Antes del '64 '92 no ha sido algo público de nuestra comunidad, yo no creo que alguno de nuestros comuneros se haya ido a alojarse ahí. Es muy difícil

§28: E: Entonces como puede ser que un evento de tanta envergadura política?

§29: PM: También puede ser, pero cuando yo estuve, cuando yo la tenía a la hostería eso servía para hacer la concentración de los jugadores de los equipos de acá de la zona, aquí hay un equipo de fútbol que es Deportivo Amaicha, en los Zazos deportivo los Zazos san ramón que ellos juegan a la liga santa mariana de fútbol que pertenece a la AFA, entonces cuando yo lo he tenido hubo personas que fueron por primera vez a alojarse ahí, yo he tenido niños también alojados, a los jugadores le hacía la concentración ahí también, le cocinábamos con los dirigentes de este equipo, y entonces le dábamos comida.

§30: E: Entonces una vez que cerraron digamos, cerraron

puede resultar extraño que este evento en ese caso se haya celebrado allá en esa época

§31: PM: Claro solamente vos si tenías plata ibas cuando lo tenía el automóvil club, ibas si tenías plata si no tenías plata no iba. Se hacía notar una diferencia en la sociedad, no era que era el hotel del pueblo, la hostería del pueblo, las piletas por ej. Me acuerdo que no podías ir, yo he trabajado ahí y a mí me decían vos fijate que no venga nadie de acá y se meta adentro, en las 2 piletas.

§32: **E: Era como un espacio**

§33: PM: Entonces esto también yo creo que la reacción de la gente cuando viene el gobierno y termina el contrato con el automóvil club, como que la gente no ha hecho nada, me parece que también ha sido un poco eso que se la llevan si yo nunca he podido ir para ahí. Me parece que la reacción de la gente ha sido algo así.

§34: **E: Claro como un lugar que estaba aquí pero no era de aquí digamos**

§35: PM: Lógico, de acá yo no creo que haya habido uno que haya sido socio del automóvil club, acá el que gozaba por ej., yo me hice amigo del concesionario que era Raúl Ocampo, entonces yo conocí la hostería que a mí me llevaron para hachar leña, antes no pasábamos en burro para el otro lado pero no podías llegar, realmente hay historias verdaderas y así con los otros concesionarios anteriores, porque había un régimen donde vos como concesionario debías hacerlo

cumplir, y ese régimen era de que únicamente el socio del automóvil club tenga derecho a las instalaciones de ese establecimiento, no era para cualquiera.

§36: **E: Como un club privado?**

§37: PM: Exactamente! Un club privado.

§38: **E: No claro, esto es importante ver un poco también las contradicciones que se tienen**

§39: PM: totalmente y vos saber que yo algunas veces me pongo a pensar porque la comunidad no ha reaccionado y me parece que es uno de esos los motivos.

§40: **E: entonces bueno me ha quedado saber porque se habrá celebrado ahí el parlamento indígena, tendré que buscar un poco de información al respecto**

§41: PM: si claro, ojala que te la manden bien porque muchas veces

§42: SRA: Ya murieron

§43: **E: Claro**

§44: PM: es cuestión de que uno viva su momento, cuando han ido le han dicho consencionario tome plata para que aquí se haga el parlamento indígena

§45: SRA: y lo más probable

§46: **E: Claro porque también puede haber pasado eso**

§47: SRA: Y lo más probable

§48: PM: Vos te imaginas yo en mi juventud, a los 18 años que me

vengo de Los Zazos para acá para Amaicha, y a los 19 años ahí conozco yo a este muchacho que es mi amigo el hijo del concesionario, a los 19 años, y de ahí el me lleva como, nos conocimos en la calle y el me lleva como un amigo de él, porque él había venido hace poquito de Tucumán y no tenía amigos, nos hicimos amigos yo antes nunca había ido, nunca había podido entrar. Una vez me acuerdo que nosotros salíamos a hacer la Pachamama, y sabían hacerse las pascanas, mi mamá sabía trabajar en las pascanas

§49: **E: Que es pascana?**

§50: PM: Pascana es un ranchito que se hace para la fiesta de la pachamama para vender comida

§51: **E: Ah dale**

§52: PM: Y nosotros nos venimos de los Zazos y entonces vos sabes de que nos venimos de allá y al segundo día de trabajo y pasamos por ahí con un amigo mío que todavía existe y queríamos irnos a bañar, claro veíamos el agua tan linda y que se yo

§53: **E: Y sobre todo en verano jajajaja**

§54: PM: Claro, claro, nunca hemos podido pasar porque ahí había cuidador, tenías bañero, cuidador que te cuidaba la hostería, no, no, no podías pasar, había portones, y cerraban los portones y telas por entero y no podías pasar y había perros grandísimos me acuerdo, no podías pasar.

§55: **E: Entonces en esa época el concesionario era Ocampo**

§56: PM: Claro cuando yo la conocí, cuando yo la conozco y mira que yo he vivido en Tucumán, en Amaicha en Los Zazos, pero yo la conocí a los 18 años porque me hice amigo del hijo del concesionario, ahora hay muchas personas que la han conocido siendo de acá, cuando yo la tenía últimamente porque antes como en todo pueblo, se discriminaba.

§57: **E: Bueno entonces sí, para pasar un poco a la historia más formal de la hostería, entonces cuando se construyó con que términos y hasta su experiencia más directa no?**

§58: PM: Bueno la construcción ha sido en el año 50 al 55 se han construido 3 juntas las de Cafayate, Tafí del Valle que esta es una réplica de la de Tafí o al revés, nada más que esta es la revés y la de Amaicha han sido las 3 que se han hecho esos años, así me contaron.

§59: **E: Y la construyó la provincia?**

§60: PM: La provincia y ahí se hizo el convenio con el automóvil club

§61: **E: Directamente**

§62: PM: Así es directamente, se hizo con el automóvil club

§63: **SRA: Un comodato**

§64: PM: Un comodato claro

§65: **E: O sea la provincia le daba el inmueble y la gestión?**

§66: PM: Para que el automóvil club haga el usufructo de eso

§67: **E: El usufructo**

§68: PM: Si y así el automóvil club puso todos los bienes muebles y el auto móvil club era los muebles, y en ese momento los concesionarios en esa época tenían que rendir cuentas al automóvil club no a la provincia

§69: **E: Los concesionarios?**

§70: PM: Claro

§71: **E: O sea que el automóvil club tenía la concesión y le daba la concesión a alguien de acá, de Amaicha?**

§72: PM: No si nunca ha sido de acá los concesionarios, todos han sido de otras partes de San Miguel de Tucumán, del Sur tb, nunca han sido de acá, porque seguramente necesitaban experiencia en negocios y todas esas cosas, ibas a una licitación me parece y tenías que tener un potencial económico, un respaldo económico me parece para esta de concesionario ahí, y aquí ha sido un pueblo de medio para abajo, nunca ha sido un pueblo con personas ricas.

§73: **E: entonces esta gestión del automóvil club siguió hasta?**

§74: **PM: del año94?**

§75: SRA: mmm no, la gestión del concesionario que fue cuando vinimos nosotros

§76: **PM: claro cuando se desarma el contrato**

§77: SRA: que fue en el '90, 91`que llegamos nosotros y en el año `94 `95 a mediados fue la provincia le entrega todo lo que sería los bienes muebles que viene

a ser todo lo que está adentro inclusive instalación de luz, instalación de agua, sanitarios, todos son bienes muebles, lo único que dejaron es la infraestructura que eso era de la provincia, todo lo que estaba adentro era del automóvil club. Se entregó en ese momento estaba como secretario de turismo el sr. Sisto Terán y el gerente general de la firma del automóvil club que vino acá

§78: PM: A decirnos a nosotros

§79: SRA: Claro a decirnos era don Cesar Augusto Arrieta, Arrieta era

§80: **E: y quien era este?**

§81: PM: Perteneía al automóvil club

§82: SRA: Al automóvil club, entonces ellos vinieron pasaron revista de lo que había entonces dieron la orden de que se retire y se retiró todo, vino este sr. Que ya era concesionario de la hostería de Tafí, vino con camiones un día y se llevó todo, después las cosas no se las llevo todas a Tafí, quedaron acá en una casa de Amaicha

§83: PM: algunas cosas regalaron

§84: SRA: algunas cosas regalaron

§85: PM: los mismos que andaban cargando los empleados de la comuna se le ha regalado cosas

§86: SRA: Porque en ese momento no eran cosas nuevas, eran cosas que estuvieron en la hostería desde el momento que se las hizo, eran bastante deterioradas, muchas refaccionadas pero no eran

nuevas, y si las donaron porque evidentemente no iban a continuar esas cosas acá en uso, pasaron a desuso, a desguace, y ahí se le hizo la entrega y ahí dejó de funcionar la hostería pero porque la pretendía la provincia venderla, de hecho la vendió a una firma Berbeluc

§87: PM: no primero a la 118 te acordas?

§88: SRA: aja a la línea 118

§89: PM: O 18 118 algo así era que han llegado unos gordos

§90: SRA: Claro vinieron, la vieron después se fueron después vino berbeluc

§91: PM: Una empresa berbeluc decían

§92: E: Y estos que hacían?

§93: PM: Y ellos la desarmaron

§94: SRA: Sacaron las ventanas, los pisos, las puertas ventanas sanitarios levantaron el piso, sacaron las paredes que tenía recubierta con machimbre, la desarmaron, ellos la desarmaron con la idea de volverla a armar de otra forma y así quedo, sin contar que la gente de acá termino de sacarle las tejas,

§95: PM: Las puertas que han sacado eran llevadas por la se han hecho pago, los obreros tb han hecho pago porque la empresa ha venido y se ha ido, ha venido los ha hecho trabajar 3 meses 4 meses y se ha ido, y los obreros han sacado las puertas las ventanas y se las han llevado

§96: E: Y esto en que año habrá sido?

§97: SRA: Después del `95 habrá sido hasta el `98 habrá estado en esas condiciones.

§98: E: ósea desde el `98 a ahora esta así?

§99: SRA: está en esas condiciones

§100: PM: es lastimoso, a mí me gustaría se haga un buen proyecto y se defienda que eso en nuestro, se haga un buen proyecto para que continúe como alojamiento o alguna cosa de bien público porque es un terreno muy grande, y hay otra infraestructura que puede servir todavía.

§101: E: Y ojala rescatar la memoria sirva para poder rescatar algo no? El propósito del trabajo es eso.

§102: PM: Si, si claro por ejemplo Se podría pensar en un futuro muy lindo en esa parte y ponerse a decir no esto es de la comunidad, e ir por partes haciendo

§103: E: Claro de a poco

§104: SRA: pero en la comunidad hoy en día vienen sin fines de lucro vienen a prestar sus servicios dentista, peluqueros de la ciudad de san miguel vienen a ofrecer su trabajo, porque acá la sociedad nuestra no tiene grandes ingresos, no los tiene, es muy limitado entonces esa gente viene a prestar sus servicios, porque acá peluqueros hay dos y están abarrotados o sea es ir y esperar y espera, entonces vienen peluqueros y todo el mundo va,

vienen dentistas t todo el mundo va porque a lo mejor

§105: **E: Y justo se ponen allá?**

§106: SRA: No se ponen en cualquier parte, no tienen un lugar y estaría bueno que esas habitaciones que están libres, se las acondicione, como para que tengan un lugar estos, vienen oculistas también siempre vienen profesionales entonces estaría bueno que se acondicione ese lugar para que puedan trabajar y no tengan que estar yéndose con sus equipos y dejarlos para poder volver la próxima vez que tengan planeados, estaría bueno eso porque se puede brindar mucho a la gente refaccionando eso.

§107: PM: incluso mas al salón se lo puede refaccionar que sirva para fiestas de la comunidad que sirva para cumpleaños algún agasajo esas cosas porque acá no hay y más si tenés que pagar muchas veces los chicos, la sociedad como esta ahora te dicen papa quiero hacerme 15 años o cumpleaños, bautismo casamiento y no hay y se podría hacer eso no? Eso queda ya a criterio de cada uno. Pero lo que se ha hecho bien la comunidad es rescatarla.

§108: **E: justo a esto iba, porque hablando con el cacique me aprecio interesante ese tema, que se está ejerciendo ese derecho al patrimonio que es mi tema de trabajo, para mi es el ejemplo perfecto para delo que estoy tratando de hacer. Entonces le iba a preguntar si recuerda un poco cuando se**

tomó el lugar y que recuerda de este aspecto?

§109: PM: Si cuando se tomo fue en el 2009, si los hermanos de acá de Amaicha con ayuda de la gente de Quilmes, los ayudaron, empezó a limpiar, es lindo recordar eso, empezó a limpiar y acondicionar casualmente a la cocina la habían acondicionado como oficina de la comunidad. Lo que era la cocina de la hostería

§110: **E: Lo que era el anexo?**

§111: SRA: No, no

§112: **E: Entonces me confundí, el anexos es?**

§113: PM: No no el anexo es lo que está funcionando ahora

§114: SRA: Actualmente

§115: PM: Cuando se toma, no estaba en condiciones entonces cuándo se toma, se toma todo pero lo que estaba en condiciones era la cocina.

§116: **E: Y la cocina donde estaba?**

§117: PM: A la par del salón, atrás de la estufa, atrás de esto

§118: SRA: De la estufa

§119: PM: Atrás por el costado ahí estaba la oficina del cacique incluso había vidrios rotos pero era una de las mejores condiciones que estaba yo creo que ha sido un acoto que han dispuesto muy bueno, eso si hay que decir esas cosas, no me gusta lo quedado que están, han hecho hasta ahí pero sabes yo te agarro todo y empieza a hacer, entonces sí ha sido un acto muy bueno. Muy

bueno los de Quilmes, en esa época se los veía a los de Quilmes que han venido

§120: **E: a los de Quilmes del sitio?**

§121: PM: los de la comunidad de Quilmes que han venido a colaborar con la comunidad de Amaicha a apoyarlos para que se haga, y vos sabes que de aquella época los Quilmes han tomado conciencia y han tomado más fuerzas ellos también para ocupar algunos terrenos que le corresponden por ley, nada más que no lo hacían porque respetaban a la provincia y a los terratenientes que hay en Quilmes, y vos ahora uno ve que realmente el descendiente de Quilmes ha hecho sus casas o está haciendo sus casas donde cree que es conveniente para ellos, está bueno eso y eso ha sido un puntapié inicial para que ellos digan yo también tengo lo mío y vamos a pelear por la parte territorial

§122: **E: bueno si**

§123: PM: yo creo que lo que hemos podido contarte te hemos contado y nos has dado la posibilidad de poner nuestra opinión más allá de lo que se pueda decir por ahí, la opinión mía es esta, yo he nacido y me he criado acá y a los 18 años recién he conocido adentro por hacerme amigo, son cosas que han pasado, también reniego en aquella época de las autoridades de la comunidad como no han salido a decir ellos esto es territorial estas son tierras nuestras

§124: SRA: pero es que en ese momento, en realidad esto, la construcción de la hostería la hizo el gobierno, acá hay un no sé si es un problema pero acá el suelo, el terreno es comunitario

§125: PM: Es nuestra

§126: SRA: No tiene dueño, no es dueño el estado, cada quien que se descende de lo que en su momento nombraba la cedula real son los dueños y señores de la tierra. Cuando se construye esta hostería, que vaya a saber en qué términos se la habrá construido, en ese año debe haber estado tu abuelo como cacique, debe haber habido algún arreglo para que se haga porque no se podía hacer construcciones

§127: PM: Pero después de él han venido varios caciques y tenían la misma autoridad que el pero nunca han venido no señores esto, cuando ha venido el automóvil club nunca ha ido el cacique a decir sr usted no me saca nada.

§128: **E: Y porque no hará pasado eso?**

§129: SRA: No se...

§130: PM: Hoy por ejemplo yo te voy a decir una cosa hoy tienen interés en decir mira como está hecho pedazo la hostería, pero cuando la hostería funcionaba nadie tenía interés en conocerla adentro, porque? Porque algo te impedía

§131: SRA: Estaba limitado

§132: PAM: Algo te impedía, escúchame yo soy de acá y a los 18 años por ser amigo conozco

adentro y hay mucha gente como yo me parece, entonces esos también te ha llegado y bueno lleven todo no se ha hecho, no es como ahora, hoy vos vas a un establecimiento público, no hay privado ya acá, pero eso lo impone Lalo, no impone los caciques anteriores, eso lo impone Lalo a que los derechos sean iguales, incluso más por ej. hay personas que viven acá y vienen con esa costumbre de allá de Tucumán y Lalo a nosotros nos ha enseñado a decirles para vos estas en mi tierra y respétame a mi antes que yo te respete a vos sino tratame por igual sino vienen personas muy abusas.

§133: E: Y eso por su experiencia familiar que su abuelo y su padre fue cacique antes no era así?

§134: PM: No te impedían mucho. Había un respeto con la comunidad pero la igualdad no creo que había.

§135: E: La igualdad con respecto a qué?

§136: PM: la igualdad correspondiente a las instituciones a esas cosas, por ejemplo antes nos decía nosotros la maestra estas saltando como un indio, hoy no puedes decir esas cosas porque te corresponde una denuncia, es un maltrato, discriminación.

§137: E: entonces la autoridad del cacique antes, como se ejercía esa autoridad?

§138: PM: se ejercía tanto, porque aparte que han pasado por muchos gobiernos, acordate que

en aquella época se luchaba mucho con los terratenientes y los militares y también te agarraba la iglesia y te hacía pedazos, eran tres cosas fuertes militares, terratenientes y la iglesia porque acá hay muchos terrenos de que la iglesia ha agarrado, no es que tampoco tenías para elegir cual iba a ser tu religión, a vos te decían vos vas a rezar el padre nuestro, el avemaría y vas a comulgar y esas cosas te decían y hoy ya no, yo tengo un hijo que no quiere comulgarse y listo ya está, esto es así, y tampoco había otro trabajo con la iglesia acá y algunas veces está bien si la vez de la parte disciplinaria esas cosas está bien, pero hoy ya ha cambiado totalmente y también hay muchas otras religiones, vos puedes optar si no te gusta esto te vas para el otro y en la escuela mismo no te dicen nada, antes capaz que te hacían quedar de grado si no hacías la comunión y entonces ahora ya no.

§139: E: Entonces si un poco al cambiar las condiciones en general también ha cambiado la forma en que se puede ejercer esa autoridad

§140: PM: Totalmente, acá cuando vino Lalo, ha sido porque nosotros veníamos sufriendo una grieta impresionante, una división de nuestra comunidad, Lalo ha sido una persona muy inteligente, Lalo ha sido una persona que ha podido hacer que nosotros podamos convivir sin ninguna, sin tener problemas unos con otros

§141: SRA: Con igualdad

§142: PM: Claro con igualdad, acá por ejemplo con Lalo no ha habido la otra fuerza política de la comunidad, antes no, antes había dos fuerzas políticas acá o tres y eran divisiones muy grandes pero Lalo hizo muchas cosas para Amaicha, principalmente enseñarnos en que nosotros deberíamos compartir y estar de acuerdo, conversar y dialogar antes de ir a otras cosas.

§143: *Video 3:*

§144: PM: En la parte política (no se entiende) jajajajaja

§145: *Rien ambos un rato*

§146: PM: y bueno vos sabes que el otro día yo estaba en un grupo de un club y hemos hecho un grupo de los decanos, de Atlético Tucumán, el más grande del Norte, y sale un muchacho diciendo acá yo lo único que no quiero que se converse de política

§147: **E: Lo único que no quiere?**

§148: PM: Claro que no se converse de política y después cae con una pelota. Y yo digo uh esto se va a transformar aburridas las reuniones, a mí me gusta conversar de política, y un día cae a la reunión con la pelota y dice vos sabes que esta pelota me ha dado un tal intendente y que no decís vos que no se puede conversar de política? Que le vas a decir a los chicos vos esta pelota me la ha dado este intendente y ese intendente es político le digo te das cuenta que uno siempre termina así?

§149: **E: Jajaja claro incluso con una pelota jajaja**

§150: PM: Si jajaja

§151: **E: Si, Si, y me olvidaba una cosa porque me dijo el otro día que su abuelo hizo el convenio con el agua?**

§152: PM: Ah fuiste?

§153: **E: No todavía no pude rastrearlo porque la Sra. esta, está la chica y siempre me dice que ella no sabe mucho que hable con la Sra. Jovina entonces tengo que esperar un día de estos que este ella**

§154: **SRA: Marta es**

§155: PM: Sabes con quien tenés que hablar vos? Porque la Jovina como esta chica entraron recién acá entonces muchas veces no, la Jovina principalmente no es de acá, no quiero discriminar tampoco, la chica esta que ha entrado ella tampoco se ha criado acá se ha criado en San Miguel de Tucumán, usaba Amaicha solo para el veraneo porque hay una potencia económica entre ellos. Búscala a Marta Avalos, no

§156: **SRA: Marta de Avalos**

§157: PM: De Avalos

§158: *(El sr entrevistado da indicaciones de cómo llegar a la casa de la Sra. Marta de Avalos)*

§159: **E: y ella estuvo a cargo de la biblioteca**

§160: PM: Durante años

§161: **SRA: ella sabe en qué libro esta ese tratado**

§162: PM: después contame porque yo también necesito una de

esas, no la tengo. Es una persona que es de acá ella sabe

§163: **E: va a estar bueno conversar con ella**

§164: PM: vos sabes que hay un convenio que se hizo en el año 1935 con los Zavaleta los terratenientes de Tafí del Valle a donde se traía el agua de ellos, de ellos se traía el agua para acá

§165: **SRA: De sus terrenos**

§166: PM: De sus terrenos, de sus tierras eso hizo un convenio Agapito Mamani, mi abuelo no, eso dice ahí firmado incluso dice que únicamente se va a usar esa agua que viene de allá para acá para bebederos de animales nada más, no para sembradío, porque una vez quisieron sembrar a la orilla del canal entonces el agua que viene para acá y de ahí hemos saltado nosotros, pero gracias a ese convenio mira vos que realmente han sido personas que algunas cosas las veían con futuro porque había dos partes de agua, una parte territorial de los Zavaleta y otra de los corralitos que pertenece a la comunidad, pero la de los corralitos se secó porque hubo bajada de las crecientes de lluvia, bajada de

§167: **SRA: Desprendimiento**

§168: PM: Desprendimiento de los cerros entonces se ha tapado un poco el agua. Y nosotros nos seguimos alimentando de esta agua, así (señala con sus manos a ambos lados) como yo estoy a la izquierda estaban los corralitos y para acá el agua de los Zavaleta, se hizo un convenio muy bueno.

Vos sabes que es importante recalcar eso, realmente la visión que han tenido

§169: **E: Si, otro tema que estoy tratando con el trabajo es los varios proyectos de desarrollo que se fueron implementando a finales de los 80 con varias financiación de varios entes como banco mundial, nada que ver con agua, es un tema jajajaja que sigue**

§170: PM: En esa época ha sido un desastre políticamente nuestra comunidad

§171: **E: Porque la cuestión que estaba tratando de ver cómo me parece interesante como las ruinas de la hostería están contando una historia y lo que estoy buscando son las ruinas de estos proyectos de desarrollo a ver qué historia pueden contar, están esos galpones al frente del museo Pachamama que se construyeron con el proyecto Ecira**

§172: **PM: Ecira, calif**

§173: **E: Entonces les preguntaba si ustedes conocer algo respecto de esto?**

§174: **PM: Yo te cuento, yo he sido una parte muy importante en mi comunidad para que Lalo estuviera donde está, yo he sido un luchador de la corrupción en Amaicha del Valle, hay algunas cosas de que por ejemplo hemos sido muchas personas, hasta en la cárcel yo he estado por la comunidad, en la época de Bussi, gobierno democrático,**

el cacique Miguel Santos Pastrana me ha hecho meter en cárcel a mí.

§175: **E: Porque razón si puedo preguntar?**

§176: PM: porque Miguel Pastrana ha sido una persona muy corrupta, acá vinieron mucho dinero, mucho dinero

§177: SRA: por tras de esos proyectos

§178: PM: y a través de ese dinero mal hecho esta un tractor incendiado, están los galpones tirados, herramientas que han robado pero millonadas

§179: SRA: vehículos

§180: PM: vehículos que los traían un mes dos meses nuevitos y desaparecían, ha sido un proceso muy feo para la comunidad, atrasado mucho.

§181: **E: si por eso me vino, porque esto no lo tenía pensado cuando llegue pero me di cuenta charlando que esto impacto bastante para entender la condición actual**

§182: PM: Héctor Cruz tiene un título de propiedad dado por, el museo pachamama él tiene su título de propiedad dado por el Sr. Santos Pastrana, vendido, no es que te han dado por buenito, le han dado porque ha puesto palta y encima más, con una evaluación fiscal.

§183: **E: Que es eso?**

§184: PM: Que el terreno tiene precio, vos con esa escritura podés ir a los bancos, y decir yo

tengo mi escritura y mi título dice que puedo sacar tanta plata porque mi tierra sale tanto, no es como ahora q es nula la propiedad, te das cuenta? Es la única persona que le ha dado con evaluación fiscal, con valores, lo ha vendido lógico, acá se han hecho muchas cosas. He estado en cárcel 15 días, en la cárcel no en la policía

§185: SRA: Por denunciar

§186: PM: Por denunciar toda esa corrupción, porque este estaba prendido con todos los gobiernos de turno, justo esa época estaba Bussi, mucha plata amigo, mucha palta era como para destruir Amaicha y construirlo de nuevo y es una lástima, por ej. Te cuento figuraban 20 hectáreas de aromáticas y después han hecho la denuncia que agarrado granizo, vos te imaginas poner 20 hectáreas de aromáticas en aquella época?

§187: SRA: Después algo se quemó

§188: PM: Claro después radiocomunicaciones, después el complejo este de la pachamama, pozos de agua figuraban

§189: SRA: Teléfonos celulares inalámbricos para las comunidades

§190: PM: Muchísima plata amigo

§191: **E: Y todo eso estaba en que proyecto específico?**

§192: PM: En el ecira, después era calif del banco mundial era esa plata y sin decirte proyectos nacionales, en la época de Amadeo

§193: **E: Que Amadeo?**

§194: PM: Amadeo que era secretario de desarrollo social de la nación, si habré viajado a Bs As a buscar pruebas, no muchas cosas malas, por eso yo te digo creo que Lalo ha sido una persona muy especial en la comunidad, nosotros deberíamos.

§195: **SRA: Todas estas cosas en Italia no pasan no?**

§196: **E: Si, o sea corrupción en Italia hubo**

§197: PM: Ah si el proyecto venia de Italia no? Jajaja

§198: **E: De ahí me surgió el interés porque me dijeron a aquí la primera ONG que estuvo trabajando era Italiana, a ver que se hizo con eso, no porque sea Italiano quiero controlar que se hizo con la plata**

§199: PM: Yo te voy a decir una cosa no tiene la culpa el chancho sino quien le da de comer, no tiene la culpa Italia, el banco mundial, no si han sido proyectos muy buenos para un desarrollo importante de nuestra comunidad, el culpable han sido los de acá, los nuestros han sido los culpables, porque si vos me decir yo te traigo este proyecto para que hagamos esta mesa y yo te diga la mesa tiene 4 patas, porque el italiano ha sido muy delicado para hacer este proyecto pero si yo voy y me encontrado una mesa que tiene 3 patas, 2 patas la culpa es mía, como voy a hacer una mesa de 3 patas. Ay no me acuerdo del italiano un grandote rubio que yo fui a verlo a Bs As.

§200: **E: No claro**

§201: PM: Nosotros si ellos hacían el 50% de ese proyecto nosotros no estábamos como estamos, no estamos necesitando el dolor, estaban dolarizados los proyectos, no estábamos necesitando ser empleados públicos porque iba a ser un desarrollo muy bueno de cultivo como otras cosas.

§202: **E: Claro, un poco la cuestión era esta si estos proyectos como estaban diseñados respondían a necesidades que se sentían en la comunidad**

§203: PM: Total, aparte de necesidad era las costumbres nuestras

§204: **E: Y como se iba articulando esas costumbres que llegaban?**

§205: PM: No realmente el proyecto se ha hecho a base de las costumbres nuestras, no es que se articulo

§206: **SRA: No o sea hicieron proyectos productivos hoy y como solucionar por ej. La falta de trabajo entonces habrán pensado acá en Amaicha con que se puede trabajar aromáticas perfecto.**

§207: **E: Y quien ha dicho aromáticas?**

§208: **SRA: Y gente de acá habrá dicho aromáticas, el fuerte nuestro hagamos aromáticas, produzcamos aromáticas para el mundo porque eso es nuestro fuerte.**

§209: PM: Sabes lo que era por ej. producir aromática te traían, te han

puesto el tractor, te han puesto el arado, te han puesto la camioneta, te han puesto los obreros y te han puesto la venta digamos el marketing que le decís ahora, oficinas aquí y allá, te lo han puesto todo, en el proyecto decía todo eso, empezaban con 20 hoy cuantas aromáticas íbamos a tener porque como comunidad nos teníamos que ir multiplicando, hoy tenemos 20 familias mañana tenemos 40 familias, 20 familias porque a lo mejor cada una tenía una hectárea, entonces hoy capaz que éramos la producción más grande de argentina de aromáticas, podríamos exportar, no se iba a hablar solo de arándanos de Tucumán, sino tener que haber hablado de pimienta, comino, tomillo, orégano entendes, ajo.

§210: **E: Y eso se desperdició según ustedes por pura**

§211: PM: Se quemó, lo agarró el granizo

§212: **E: Pero nadie vio esas cosas?**

§213: PM: No es verso, cuando yo los denuncié, porque yo soy el que ha denunciado toda esa corrupción

§214: **E: Y eso cuando lo denunció?**

§215: PM: En el año 1998, 97 98 ha sido una pelea impresionante

§216: **SRA: Del 98 en adelante**

§217: PM: Yo he sido la única persona que lo denuncié penalmente incluso más hasta el proyecto lo denuncié

§218: **E: Al proyecto en sí denunció?**

§219: PM: Si lógico a todos

§220: **E: Al ECIRA digamos**

§221: PM: También, también

§222: **E: Porque de alguna manera el ECIRA apoyaba a Pastrana**

§223: PM: Y lógico, No el ECIRA en si sino los representantes de ellos.

§224: **E: Si claro**

§225: PM: Ha sido un proyecto muy lindo, muy lindo pero la parte humana era la que falló, había dos o 3 camionetas en esa época, no cualquiera se compraba camionetas 0 km, tractor nuevo hoy esta quemado esta tirado

§226: **E: Donde esta tirado**

§227: PM: Atrás de la comunidad ahí esta tirado

§228: **E: Ah este que está en el patio, al lado de la pileta**

§229: PM: Claro y han quemado a un muchacho de acá, que estaba a favor de la corrupción, estaba a favor de Cruz ahí ha habido (*pregunta a su esposa unas cosas*) cuestiones de la venta que primero le ha vendido y después le ha querido recuperar las tierras y ha querido sacar los postes y pum, Cruz le ha tirado gasoil. Entonces acá ha fallado mucho (*habla muy bajo*)

§230: PM: Es como te digo mi visión era de la hostería es la que te he dicho y mi visión de esto de la comunidad es esta, es la mía

aparte yo lo he vivido, yo he sido el que he denunciado a todos los sinvergüenzas. Yo ves no tengo teléfono porque me viven amenazando en esa época no teníamos celulares, me vivían amenazando que iban a matar a mi hija, recibía muchas amenazas, muchas amenazas, esto ha servido no para que yo sea el cacique sino para que venga una persona como Lalo y sea el cacique, hoy por hoy una circunstancia de pleno avance para nuestra comunidad, porque antes yo era un poder, ojo de acá nadie se quería meter en contra de Pastrana, nadie se quería meter, no lo quiero a Ecira, pero nadie quería los papeles, sabes lo que ha costado recuperar papeles, lo que ha costado que nosotros tengamos papeles, que conozcamos los proyectos

§231: E: Porque estos proyectos lo tenían ellos?

§232: PM: Lo tenían ellos

§233: E: Los italianos y ecira iban al cacique que era Pastrana en ese entonces pero ya no se hizo

§234: PM: No se hacía asamblea pública porque era un proyecto de gran envergadura, no era un proyecto de 3 millones de pesos, vos con 3 millones de pesos que haces? Tu casa haces, era un proyecto importante creo que el dólar estaba 1 a 1.

§235: E: Claro pero esto es importante porque en esa época ya existía, bueno Argentina no lo había rectificad todavía el convenio 169 ya era un hecho,

§236: PM: Total

§237: E: Entonces de esta manera llegamos

§238: Fin video 3

§239: PM: Hay personas que no se han prendido, yo y mi familia, hay varios que no nos hemos prendido en esto, yo también tengo que agradecer de la forma que he sido. Vos me decía ahora anda a denunciar y ahora ya no, ya pienso en los hijos pienso en los nietos, pero en esa época amigo, yo venía de Bs As, me bajaba del colectivo y ahí estaba la brigada esperándome para meterme en cana, por el complot que había, como se manejaban ellos, una vez irrumpió un congreso internacional que lo querían poner a Pastrana vitalicio acá en Tucumán

§240: E: Como fue eso?

§241: PM: Han venido por una semana era el congreso y al último lo querían nombrar, como un ejemplo a Pastrana ponerlo vitalicio.

§242: E: Y quien hacia ese congreso?

§243: PM: Y lo hacia la plata de todos los proyectos que habían venido, y han traído todas las autoridades de las comunidades indígenas de los países, ahí conozco Perú, México, todo, lógico vos lo invitas a todos ellos, todo pago y claro que van a decir que bueno Pastrana me ha invitado, hemos juntado 5 o 6 piernas de acá y lo hemos desarmado al congreso, el ultimo día que le hemos desarmado el congreso. Si vos no vas a ser si sos un

sinvergüenza, y ahí estaba el abogado, ministros y todo no, vos sos un sinvergüenza, si te he metido en la cárcel, si me has metido en la cárcel porque estaba Bussi, en esas épocas vos me decías tírame un carro lleno de basura y te tiraba un carro y ahora ya no jajajajaja. Vos me decís denúnciame a mí y ahora ya no ya soy viejo jajaja jajaja claro yo a ellos los dejaba los abandonaba

§244: SRA: No señor, yo esa vez te acompañe

§245: PM: A no te digo que yo en esa época yo te dejaba

§246: SRA: Si

§247: PM: Abandonaba a mis hijos por andar, por tras de buscar pruebas porque sin pruebas no se podía hacer anda

§248: E: **Y esos papeles me dijo que los fue a buscar a BS As y estaban en BS As en desarrollo social?**

§249: PM: Estaban, en desarrollo social, estaba un italiano que no me acuerdo como se llamaba jajaja jajaja y así hemos (*habla muy bajito*)... Hoy me rio pero en esa época mis hijos sufrían, mi mujer sufría, mi mamá vivía no creo que les haya gustado que yo este preso 15 días. En esa época había parte de la comunidad que apoyaba y había parte que decía no te metas y bueno me he metido...

§250: E: **Si se apagó jajajajaja**

§251: PM: Vos sabes que yo tengo todos esos papeles pero me da nostalgia mostrarlos, me da cosa

te lo juro porque he pasado, la comunidad ha pasado cosas muy feas, como te estaba diciendo que yo tenía un teléfono de línea y lo he tenido que sacar por las amenazas que tenía, pero siempre me he considerado una buena persona y he luchado por mi comunidad, a mí no me iba a parar eso, en esa época no me paraba nadie por dios, jajajajaja. No me paraba nadie ni mi mujer ni mis hijos me paraban jajaja

§252: SRA: siempre trabajo por el bien común, de hecho lo sigue haciendo al bien común, actualmente se lo hace de otra forma

§253: E: **Claro uno va cambiando su forma de actuar, entonces le pediría si tiene esos papeles si lo podría ver jajaja jajajajaja**

§254: SRA: no esos papeles están en el despacho del abogado

§255: PM: escuchame una cosa vos sos amigo de Mario no? Bueno Mario también tenía yo le había dado a él, es primo lo quiero mucho a Mario y él fue cacique y bueno veníamos en esa cuestión de cacicazgo y se tenía que presentar otro, tenía que ir a una lección Mario y no se presentaban otros porque querían hacer caer as elecciones esas, y me tuve que presentar yo y bueno jajaja me ha ganado por 10 votos jajajajaja

§256: E: **Ha sido parejo**

§257: PM: Pero es primo hermano y lo quiero mucho

§258: *Ríen juntos*

§259: E: **Si no hay problema**

§260: PM: Escúchame una cosa yo te digo, ha sido una cosa estar preso político es feo, pero toma contacto con Mario decíle que he dicho yo, él lo debe tener más a mano, que te lo busque al convenio del ECIRA, muchos valores, muchos números, lindo para que Amaicha crezca, y claro hoy por hoy año noventa y pico 20 Hectáreas ahora en cuanto podríamos haber andado te aseguro que no existiría montes sería todo agua y sembradíos, €era una cosa muy linda.

§261: PM: Francesco ha sido un gusto conocerte, por lo menos nos hemos reído más allá de todo, ha sido cosas tristes que te he contado, porque estar preso no ha sido lindo, no ha sido lindo ver que nos roben la plata, no era lindo ver una mole turística como la hostería y que no podías ir ni a bañarte ni poner los pies en el agua, triste para Amaicha.

§262: **E: Bueno terminamos aquí**

§263: PM: Espero que te sirva para algo

§264: **E: Por supuesto yo agradezco su disponibilidad para acogerme en casa**

§265: PM: Soy así, tengo 120 niños dando de comer todos los sábados

§266: **E: Y agradezco haber compartido tanto, y que pueda servir para rescatar un poco, entender el valor que tiene esta historia para el presente y el futuro de la comunidad. Bueno muchas gracias.**

§267: PM: Después pásame la grabación

§268: **E: Claro.**

Name: Calcha18-23

Place and Date: Talapazo, CIQ,
October 2018

Transcription by Agustina Ponce
(IAM, Tucumán)

§1: F: este, es una investigación sobre... bueno ,yo soy arqueólogo. Lo que me interesa es el patrimonio cultural, pero digamos ,dentro de este, esta categoría de patrimonio, para mí es importante también rescatar la historia sobre el territorio, y entonces todas las cuestiones que tienen que ver con la reivindicación de la... de los derechos del territorio [...] esto forma parte de cuidar el patrimonio, digamos, de alguna manera. Básicamente, un poco, muy resumida es un poco el tema de la tesis que estoy haciendo.

§2: E2: ah, es una tesis

§3: F: es una tesis, sí.

§4: E2: ahá. Y más o menos cuáles son los puntos que estará tocando?

§5: F: bueno, Doña Rosa me ha contado un poco toda su historia de cuando ha empezado a luchar con los terratenientes, y bueno, tratar de rescatar esa historia para que se conozca. Yo lo que voy a hacer un poco es recolectar información y luego, bueno, voy a tratar de hacer como un mapa, para poner esta información en un mapita.

§6: E2: claro, en el territorio que [...] sí estábamos participando de [...] patrimonial. Una ley marco que están haciendo, donde es

como muy difícil, un tema muy difícil, marcar un límite entre lo que el gobierno era de nosotros y lo que *es de nosotros [...] del gobierno*. Venimos como muchos años de reclamos territoriales y a medida que se fue transformando el tiempo, a medida que se fue transformando el tiempo, y las leyes fueron transformándose cada grupo que parti- cada gobierno que vino puso su sello y su forma a las leyes, en donde nosotros hemos quedado ¿cómo es la forma de dejarlo al indio afuera? Una, de que no nos reconozcamos como indios. Entonces en la educación se nos prohibió eso, entonces los vas a escuchar hablar a los mayores de los indios, y no como nosotros.

§7: (se aproxima alguien y hablan. Inaudible)

§8: F: muy cariñosos esos chivos

§9: E2: lo que pasa es que son criados porque las madres no los quieren.

§10: F: ah!

§11: E2: entonces se los cría como bebés y ellos se sienten bebés. Es el gran problema [...] no han tomado la mamadera, porque sino...[...] el burrito que también es huascho

§12: F: huacho, que no tiene madre. Me enseñaron esta mañana esa palabra.

§13: (intercambian palabras entre ellos)

§14: E3: chivos, qué hacen acá... váyanse para allá. Sientesé

compañero. ¿qué información quería usted?

§15: E2: no, por eso le estaba explicando que por qué esa resistencia de nosotros.

§16: F: me estaba diciendo que se reconocen como indios, no como nosotros, que me parece muy interesante.

§17: E2: es que... a nosotros por mucho tiempo se nos obligó a desconocernos como indios. Era una mala palabra decir "somos indios"

§18: E3: bueno, pero por eso digo, vamos a contarle que es lo que pasó porque son los acontecimientos que se dieron

§19: E2: bueno, por eso...

§20: E3: la invisibilización, el despojo... el atropello, bueno... las muertes que hubo, todo lo que pasó. Por eso te quiero preguntar ¿qué parte de la historia querés? ¿la reciente, la que sigue o la más antigua? La podemos dividir en tres, en cuatro, en cinco, en diez... ¿cuál te interesa? Si tenés tiempo para escuchar...

§21: F: claro, no, por eso la cuestión del tiempo, que no quiero molestarlos yo a...

§22: E2: no, es que recién llegábamos. Bueno, te dejo yo con ellos, me voy yo.

§23: E3: pero *wera*, qué te pasa?

§24: E2: nada, estoy cansada. Hoy estoy fatigada.

§25: E3: ¿vamos a dar información o no vamos a dar información? *Solo Quilmes parece*

que no me consideran de la comunidad y ahora sales huyendo.

§26: E2: lo que pasa es que fue un día así... lo que no, lo único que le decía era eso. Toda nuestra comunidad y no nuestra, sino todas las comunidades de la argentina sufrimos la educación argentina y en la educación argentinos y en los documentos argentinos se nos llama ciudadanos para desconocer quiénes somos. La forma de ser invisible es ser ciudadano. La forma de no devolvernos la tierra es ser ciudadano, porque la ley del ciudadano no hereda nada, compra todo. En la ley del ciudadano la herencia de la forma en que nosotros la concebimos no existe. Nosotros concebimos la herencia de que los que quedan en la casa son los que heredan porque existe una continuidad. Simplemente una continuidad y a veces estamos arriba, a veces abajo, a veces acá, y sin embargo nos movemos de acuerdo a los animales. Ahora ya no tanto porque bueno, cada vez hay más gente que compra nuestro territorio y no importa qué ley hay porque la ley que dice que no se puede ni comprar ni vender ni dividir ni transferir, esa misma ley da a dos dueños el poder. Y a nuestros hijos les enseñan a tener vergüenza. Porque en los libros y hasta el día de hoy o hemos muerto y dice "debido a esto y aquello, han bebido, han comido", HAN, HAN, es un tiempo muy pasado. Y en un tiempo presente no estamos, porque al tener un documento pasamos a ser

ciudadanos. Entonces cuando decimos “en los tiempos de los tiempos, nuestra gente ha mantenido el territorio en todas las formas que se puede mantener un territorio”.

§27: F: ¿cuáles son esas formas que se puede mantener un territorio?

§28: E2: la primera, los abuelos se fueron pero retornaron. Cuando cumplían diez años de obligación, volvían. De hecho, de todos lo que se llevaron, y cada vez sabemos que son más porque están apareciendo documentos de la iglesia que antes no se podía acceder, en esos documentos de la iglesia donde antes no se podía acceder ahora encontramos las listas de donde fueron llevados los nuestros. Entonces los abuelos retornaron acá y lo primero que hicieron cuando comprendieron fue comprarle a los españoles el territorio. Y fueron con animales cargados, dicen que cuarenta animales con oro, hasta Buenos Aires y compran el territorio en 1776. Se les da un cincuenta y pico de años después se les da documentos de esa compra nuevamente

§29: F: ajá

§30: E2: y los nuestros siguieron sosteniendo el territorio y retornando acá. No importa dónde los llevaban: volvían, se volvían, y se quedaron acá primero con esos papeles. Después arrendaron la tierra y hay documentación de eso. Para qué? Para que el tiempo que no

estaban acá, haya alguien trabajando esta tierra y poder volver. Después se volvieron y se quedaron aquí ¿y qué paso? Cuando comenzaron a tener que ir al servicio militar se les cambió el apellido, y acá se iba, por ejemplo, un *Cafuel*, un Chalemín, y de allá venía un Montenegro. Se iba un *Eske* y volvía un Costilla. O sea, cuando hacían los documentos *en* el servicio militar le cambiaba.

§31: E: eso yo voy a tomar agüita.

§32: E3: te traigo.

§33: E: sí

§34: E2: le cambiaban los apellidos a los varones. Entonces las mujeres tomaron la resolución de tener hijos para cualquiera y para ninguno. Y para cualquiera y ninguno significa “tengo hijos para los hombres de la comunidad pero para ninguno” porque entonces podían seguir con los apellidos. Lo ponían el nombre de ellas. Las ellas conservaban los apellidos hasta que nos dieron el documento para votar, libreta cívica, y se nos comenzó a cambiar los apellidos. De hecho hasta el día de hoy es difícil que cases a una mujer porque no quiere ser de nadie. Otra forma de resistir fue hacer caso a los patrones. De hecho, cuando se dieron las encomiendas, se daba encomienda de indio, no de tierras. No existió la encomienda de tierras. Y cuando termina la Real Hacienda que estaba en Salta, pasa a Tucumán, termina en estas tierras siendo tierras valdías, no importa que había

documentos, que los abuelos pagaban impuestos tanto al gobierno de España como al gobierno nacional de la República Argentina, no importan las obligaciones, lo que nos ponen algo que se llama “Teniente de agua” y lo que teníamos que pagar era el poder, primero eran las aguas, y ese teniente de aguas después inscribió a nombre de él las tierras. Aquellos que tenían grupos de indios pasaron a tener tierras. Y así fuimos yendo despojados año tras año hasta que al último tuvimos que pagar nuestro territorio con el ganado o la siembra que teníamos. Y se le pagaba a los terratenientes, que ya te contó Doña Rosa,

§35: E3: el uso, *si mal no recuerdo*

§36: E2: el uso.

§37: E3: se hablaba de arriendo, pero una forma antigua que venía desde la colonia. No... más antes te llevaban a trabajar, como no sé si le contó de su papá, el hombre a la desmonte o siembra de cada año, cosecha de cada año, ¿pero quién cobraba? El terrateniente, por el uso de la tierra de los que estaban acá. Cuando vino Perón cambió las leyes, entonces después empezaron a cobrar ellos acá. Iban a trabajar y acá venían, cobraban. Si no podían pagar les sacaban la hacienda, cierto porcentaje, para pagar el yerbaje y... o las cosechas, de tres partes se llevaban dos ellos. O sea, de tres partes, ellos se llevaban dos, quedabas vos con una sola, así vos has trabajado, vos has sembrado, vos has

cuidado todo el año y después ellos se llevaban tres partes

§38: E2: dos partes

§39: E3: dos terceras partes aproximadamente. Entonces... eh... bueno, perdón, te interrumpí, estabas contando vos.

§40: E2: no está bien...

§41: E3: bueno, seguí. Después vas a decir que no te dejé hablar.

§42: F: (risas)

§43: E2: no, bueno, y entonces qué paso... las que quedábamos acá siempre éramos las mujeres. Entonces la medicina, la sanación, la historia, la tierra, quiénes viven o no... ellas saben perfectamente quiénes han vivido hace doscientos, trescientos años acá, y quiénes son hijos de quiénes y quiénes nietos. Quiénes se fueron, por qué, y quiénes están volviendo, si es verdad que pertenecen aquí o no, o al territorio. Entonces a veces nos vamos, a veces volvemos aún ahora. Pero siempre mantenemos el territorio. Entonces no importa la ley que hagan, no importa porque la ley dice que esta tierra ya es de nosotros porque vivimos acá y nunca hemos dejado de vivir acá y sin embargo no te sirve nada de las leyes argentinas porque en el momento de ver qué pesa, pesa cualquiera menos el indio. Ahí si sos indio, ahí ya no sos ciudadano. Y entonces comenzamos en que cómo defender lo tuyo, cómo defendés para los que vienen, para los que quedan... cómo defendés tu agua, como... suponete, hoy hay

un hallazgo de cualquier cosa...
una monedita...

§44: F: ajá...

§45: E2: vienen arqueólogos, antropólogos, historiadores, geólogos, no sé, una manada le digo yo. Y todos analizan todo y se la llevan. No nos preguntaron para entrar, no nos preguntaron para tocar, no nos preguntaron y no nos preguntan pa' qué sirve. Porque según dicen no sabemos. Pero si no nos preguntas y si no haces la pregunta correcta a los abuelos... si vos venís y le preguntás a un abuelo pa' qué sirve esa olla, el abuelo no te va a contestar porque vos ya sabés la respuesta. Entonces, "¿y pa' qué cree que sirve?" Te va a contestar, te va a evadir. En cambio, si vos te quedas en los días, te va a decir "traigamé esa tistincha... vamos a pelar maíz". Entonces no es que no sepamos, no hablamos de la misma forma. Eh, para nosotros los abuelos que están durmiendo son muy sagrados y cuando nosotros nos toca dormir también, entonces por ahí vienen se llevan las urnas, las ponen a las urnas, las sacan de nuevo y se las vuelven a llevar y nunca devuelven. Y nunca te devuelven qué investigaron. Jamás. Pasan años y por ahí encontramos alguna referencia. Y es doloroso cuando... por ejemplo, vino un médico hace cinco años, *qué estuvo el Karin, Ra?*

§46: E3: ocho años más o menos...

§47: E2: ocho años

§48: E3: nueve

§49: E2: vino a decirnos que iba a hacer libros del conocimiento de las hierbas y que nosotros digamos pa' qué son esas hierbas. La cuestión que las abuelas de acá, de Quilmes, dijeron "no". La gente dijo "no". pero como ya estábamos en el horno hemos ido y hemos escuchado y la gente de Amaicha de abrió más y él hizo un libro... completo.

§50: F: [...]

§51:

§52: E2: sí... y llevó, llevó cualquier cantidad de hierbas y de todo. Él hizo su libro y trajo diez...

§53: E3: pero pará, pará, pará, pará. Él hizo para Amaicha pero para nosotros lo que le exigíamos que el *ritual* sea nombre nuestro, no de él. No, *no había*. Se fue y no nos hizo el libro. Ahí, esa diferencia... llévate, sí seguí hablando...

§54: E2: entonces ¿qué es lo que pasó? El asunto que las abuelas no te van a dar todo el secreto de inmediato. Te van a decir "bueno, este es para el dolor de panza, para qué se yo y qué se cuando" pero nosotros no tomamos hierbas únicas. En la medicina de nosotros no existe eso. Entonces si no sabés con qué mezclarlo estas en el horno porque no vas a conseguir lo que estas buscando. Y hay hierbas que son para varones, y hierbas que son para mujeres, hierbas que son para los... bueno... todo esto no le dijeron a ese señor. Hizo el libro, qué se yo, en Amaicha, y después

vino, dejó diez, y después le vendía a la misma gente que le había enseñado le vendía el libro. Y se lo vendía a un precio...

§55: E3: eso es de menos, eso es de menos...

§56: E2: y no nos reconoció

§57: E3: porque el después se hizo con esa información otro libro más completo y lo... con su nombre, como se *realizaba*... vive en Córdoba. Pero ese, digamos, ese robo de la información eh, no está bien. Y no está bien que hoy los estados se jacten de decir que el patrimonio cultural y natural les pertenece al estado o a la provincia, *al estado provincial*, y que los administradores son los que han estudiado: arqueólogos, geólogos, este, antropólogos, historiadores, nosotros quedamos afuera.

§58: F: esto es, justamente, el tema que estoy trabajando, así que...

§59: E3: claro, a nosotros, a mi, nosotros, ella es miembro del COFAR. El COFAR es una organización donde están todos los ólogos. Confederación creo que es

§60: E2: Confederación Argentina de Folklore.

§61: E3: Confederación...para... Folklore... y FF ¿no?

§62: E2: Claro, Confederación del Folklore Argentino.

§63: E3: pero en realidad son los que, que se dice, son los guardianes del patrimonio y todo lo que hay que cuidar, pero

nosotros vemos, son los que más se roban las cosas ¿me entiende? Y después eso [...] llevamos para el museo *como está cuidando la provincia*, o en la Nación y después salen como muestras, no sé, en Alemania, en Francia, en Italia, en España

§64: F: sí, sí, sí

§65: E3: en Estados Unidos... eh.... Y bueno, después quedan afuera, no vuelven más. Entonces ¿quién debe ser el verdadero guardián de ese patrimonio, ese legado?... que nos pertenece a nosotros, los pueblos originarios. Entonces esa jactancia es de quitar el derecho también es un despojo, porque ahora también le pertenece al Estado. Una persona que es declarada "patrimonio viviente" también es patrimonio de la provincia o de la Nación, ¿y de los pueblos que pertenece qué pasa? La medicina nuestra debe ser una medicina que nosotros ejercemos la medicina. Comprobamos que es... eh... mire... yo soy más suficiente que la medicina científica ¿sí? Hay cosas que la medicina científica destroza a las personas porque las cortan por todos lados y nosotros con unos simple técnicas sacamos el mal de la persona. Entonces y ese es un conocimiento propio nuestro, un legado, que bueno, como ella decía, manteniéndose por ejemplo la lengua, se ha mantenido el secreto porque justamente nos han para hacernos olvidar de nuestra historia, de nuestro legado cultural nos impusieron la religión, nos

impusieron otra lengua y otro sistema de, digamos, de gobierno. Pero aún así todo lo que ha quedado se ha conservado en secreto. ¿por qué? Porque al que hablaba kakán le cortaban la lengua, seas hombre o mujer. Al que oía le cortaban la oreja y eso hay pruebas documentadas y también, cómo se llama, un rosario de orejas: están en algunos museos, sabemos. ¿está bien? Entonces por eso es que se mantuvo en secreto. E hicieron bien los abuelos en mantener el secreto y la medicina hoy... sí, porque ahora nos dicen que nosotros somos este, bueno, que es tan medicina, que es tan efectiva la medicina científica y que nosotros somos unos brujos o atorrantes, este, parlanchines que decimos cualquier cosa y damos cualquier cosa y podemos matar a la gente o matamos a la gente, que no es así, porque esta es una medicina que está probada de hace miles de años ¿me entiende? Nosotros acá viene mucha gente de afuera a dictar cursos sin desmerecer a las otras pueblos; vienen de México, vienen de... vienen Mayas, vienen de Colombia, vienen de Perú, de Bolivia. Y nosotros estábamos ahí hasta que nuestros abuelos nos dieron permiso, a salir y llevar la palabra por situaciones que se estaban dando. Y bueno, es como que despertó de repente o de golpe un gran vuelo, *el merilao sherkai*, o como le conocen, la Nación Diaguita

§66: F: ¿qué era esto que decía antes “merilao sherkai”?

§67: E3: es una palabra kakana que quiere decir “nación” y el verdadero nombre de nuestro pueblo “sherkai” ¿entiende? Entonces y los abuelos han mantenido el secreto de la lengua, las mujeres han guardado ese legado y se las hacía jurar, cortaban pinchando la lengua que no iban a revelar el secreto. Por eso se mantuvo hasta ahora, por eso decimos que está viva. Y los que estudian los lingüistas dicen “ah no, pero ¿quién la habla? A ver, dame un ejemplo de cuántas personas” digo, ehm... “te dijimos que eso se mantuvo en secreto. Las que vos posiblemente crees que hablan no te van a decir porque tienen un juramento”. Y ahora, creo, yo siento que *estoy violando esa ley*, diciendo “no, ahora es momento de hablar, es momento de enseñar a las nuevas generaciones” ¿sí? Por lo menos en un 70% en un 60%, porque un momento algo tiene que quedar para seguir resguardando ese legado, lo que tenemos. Entonces eh, ahora, por ejemplo, cuando se arman las leyes a nosotros no nos invitan a participar para armar las leyes de protección, quedamos fuera. Y cuando vemos, por ejemplo, hace poco se discutía una ley de la propiedad comunitaria de las tierras, que hace a los pueblos originarios, pero en la propuesta que tenían de ley decía que los lugares arqueológicos o de importancia quedaban como

§68: F: fuera de la propiedad comunitaria

§69: E3: claro, quedaban adentro, pero el Estado intervenía y ponía dinero para preservar eso...

§70: E2: área indígena

§71: E3: ósea que *todos* quedamos como propietarios de ese lugar, como nosotros nos pasa con Quilmes, y nosotros dijimos “¡no!”, al menos yo dije “¡no, por favor!, si eso ya era nuestro. Hasta cuándo vamos a estar silenciados, hasta cuándo van a seguir quitándonos el derecho de vivir como verdaderamente, como un pueblo verdadero, con una cultura propia, lengua propia, una espiritualidad propia”. No hablemos de democracia, no hablemos de nada. No hablemos de equidad, de justicia, si eso no se da. Acá, por lo menos en este país, eso no se da, no. y los hechos no es que los diga yo. Los hechos que en forma cotidiana están como la matanza, la persecución y matanza de los Mapuches, como la persecución y matanza de los Wichís, de los Pilagá, de los Toba, o de la gente que vive para el norte, ya sea por las, por quitarles las tierras para la siembra en la selva, o quitarles las tierras para explotar minerales en la zona cordillerana. ¿me entiende? *Nosotros hemos [...]* muchísimo cuando se instaló la minera acá, Minera Alumbreira. No sé si alguien te nombró la Minera Alumbreira

§72: F: claro

§73: E3: ¿me entiendes? Y no la pudimos parar, pero creo que sentamos un precedente. Hemos

luchao' muchísimo y contamos bueno, pasao, la gente nuestra algunos apoyan pero la mayoría no entiende de qué se trata. Al olvidar, por ejemplo, si la lengua no se habla para muchos, hablan el kakán y no saben que lo están hablando, han hecho olvidar. En la historia nuestro pueblo desde que se [...] desde antes han participado en todas las gestas patrióticas y no sale en ningún libro, no hay ningún prócer indio. Son todos son hijos de españoles. Es una tierra tomada por otra gente, lamentablemente. Y los gobiernos te lo dicen, gobiernos son siempre de ellos, no hay Ning- no puede salir ninguno de los nuestros. Hoy es la excepción Bolivia ¿me entiendes? Entonces aún se sigue cercenando los derechos de los pueblos originarios de América. Creo que en el mundo también. Y sabemos por qué pasa eso, porque nosotros nos oponemos. No somos un pueblo que si hablamos de rentas económicas

§74: (*se cae el grabador*)

§75: ¿Se te cayó?

§76: F: sí (*levanta el grabador*)

§77: E3: no nos sirve, no le servimos a nadie, porque nosotros nos oponemos a que se *destrocan* las selvas. Nosotros nos oponemos que se destrocen los cerros, se saquen los minerales, ¿me entendés? Nosotros nos oponemos que venga y se cave y se saquen las piezas o las momias, porque sabemos por qué están ahí, para qué se las ha puesto...

§78: F: claro

§79: E3: ¿me entiendes?

§80: F: bueno

§81: E: ay dios, me olvidado del agua hoy día

§82: E3: no, ya fui a traer ahí

§83: E2: ya han regado. Ya están regando

§84: E3: ya están regando

§85: E: ah, bueno, [...]

§86: E3: aunque se firman convenios internacionales, aunque se hacen tantas cosas, nuestros derechos siguen cercenados.

§87: F: ya

§88: E3: entonces si vos querés publicar algo, espero que vayas y publiques la verdad de lo que te estamos diciendo (Risas) que escribas la verdad

§89: F: yo lo que estoy haciendo, a parte de recopilar historias, también tratar de caminar y aprender a la vez, o sea, así que la verdad de lo que está apareciendo acá para mi, no otra cosa

§90: E3: claro. Todo parece bonito, pero no es tan así. Seguimos si-... y esta situación nuestra acá en Tucumán, comunidad de Quilmes, Talapazo, es la misma en el sur, en el este en el oeste. Es lo mismo.

§91: F: ya

§92: E3: nosotros estamos, somos un país que estamos en cuatro lunaciones. Noroeste

argentino, norte grande de Chile, sur oeste de Bolivia y una partecita sería, una parte sur de Perú, pedacito. Pero ¿qué pasaba con el problema de los chi- que había en el sur con los Mapuches que aún sigue? Decían “no, que los Mapuches son chilenos, que los mapuches son argentinos, que quieren...” cosas falsas y desconociendo lo que ya está conocido, ya está estudiado desde hace muchos años, mucha gente lo ha investigado, como que los Mapuches son un pueblo creado después de que se creó el Estado argentino. El Estado argentino es nada en el tiempo al tiempo que llevamos nosotros.

§93: F: claro

§94: E3: hace poco se encontraron ahí en Catamarca, o cerca de La Rioja, de Catamarca - La Rioja

§95: F: Catamarca creo que es... los cuarenta mil años.

§96: E3: cuarenta y dos mil años.

§97: F: parece que era Catamarca.

§98: E3: sí, sí, Catamarca. Yo tengo entendido Catamarca.

§99: E2: Catamarca no... ah, sí... Catamarca

§100: E3: entonces eh, pero nosotros podemos hablar de mucho más tiempo, no de cuarenta y dos mil años. Pero bueno, con cuarenta y dos mil ya igualmente nos conformamos. (Risas). Ya la teoría de la *Lilith* de África ya quedó como una niña

joven en la antigüedad. No, Lilith no... Lucy era ¿no?

§101: F: Lucy

§102: E3: entonces...

§103: F: si, no, me parece estupendo todo eso porque, como le decía, yo estoy trabajando eso. Desde la arqueología me metí a investigar un poquito más la cuestión de los derechos humanos, derechos indígenas, justamente porque me parecía que.... Yo siendo Italiano me interesaba la historia de acá, entonces me fui a España a estudiar la "arqueología de América" que la llamaban allá. Y, pero bueno, sentí que no podía entender lo que me estaban enseñando sin conocer la realidad, digamos, de los pueblos indígenas en el presente, porque todos pasaban como como cosas muy pasadas, como decía usted.

§104: E2: mirá lo que te cuento. Yo soy una *Liriwari*.

§105: F: ¿qué? no sé lo que es, perdón.

§106: E3: una mujer medicina.

§107: E2: una mujer medicina.

§108: E3: sanadora, una médica de nuestro pueblo.

§109: E2: y... entonces este... hay cosas que no podía comprender. Y al mismo tiempo no las podía explicar. Entonces comencé a estudiar.

§110: F: claro

§111: E2: [...] maestra. Después pasaron los años y comencé a estudiar, y a querer comprender

para poder explicar, para poder explicar algo que no puedo explicar a veces en términos castellanos. Como, cómo siento y por qué pienso. Por ejemplo, para nuestros abuelos, nuestro cuerpo está dividido en tres partes y una de esas es el quicha, cuerpo,

§112: F: cuerpo físico

§113: E2: nuestro cuerpo físico que actúa exactamente igual que la tierra. Y ese cuerpo físico que actúa exactamente igual que la tierra, los abuelos dicen que a esta altura está lo que llamarían Dios. Las primeras células que nos forman, que para ellos son espíritus, *que nombra espíritus, Kelák*, entonces este... y que ahí es donde se concentra la mayor energía para curar cualquier cosa. Entonces nos preguntaban por qué orábamos al norte, y como no nos preguntaron, directamente inventaron de que porque están los incas. Nosotros no, ¿vos ves caminos del inka por los territorios nuestros?

§114: F: dicen que hay

§115: E3: no entremos en detalle

§116: E2: ¿a dónde?

§117: F: pero dicen que hay

§118: E2: no hay. Por el territorio Calchaquí no entraron porque éramos enemigos. Cruzan por las bandas, por lugares donde no hay ni agua, ni comida, no hay nada. Si yo soy, si esa es la ruta 40 incaica, ¿por qué no fue por los pueblos que era más fácil? Y esas son rutas algunas para cortar y algunas que están sobre otras rutas antiguas, muy antiguas.

Pero no es porque están los incas. Oramos al norte porque si ves a la Madre Tierra, el Ecuador sería este. Entonces donde mayor contacto tenés con la Divinidad, si la vamos a llamar así, que tampoco creemos que sea un viejito sentao' en algun lao'

§119: F: sí, sí, sí, sí, sí.

§120: E2: este... por eso giramos la vista hacia ahí, para allá. Giramos la vista para allá para tomar la energía de vida *del Todo*, porque nuestros abuelos decían que ahí está la energía del Conocimiento del Universo, como dicen que la energía del ser humano en esta parte tiene el conocimiento del universo en la persona. Y no giramos al este porque no creemos que haya ningún dios ahí. Para nosotros giramos al oeste, desde el norte al oeste porque en el noreste se hacen los cambios. Ahí termina todo. Ahí se muere, ahí se... o se sana. Ahí es el cambio total. Y los remedios se dan para el oeste. ¿Y si vas a buscar para el oeste qué encontrás? Remedios. Giramos al sur, porque estamos en el sur. Y el sur tiene el viento que marca las cosechas. Cuando llega ese viento, todos los frutos caen, se maduran del todo. Entonces oramos ahí, por eso giramos al sur. Y cuando pedimos energía para todo esto, recién giramos al este. No tomando al sol como un Dios, no tomando a la Luna como un dios, sino tomando la energía de esos seres...

§121: E3: como energía masculina

§122: E2: y femenina.

§123: E3: femenina también, sí. Los dos al mismo tiempo.

§124: E2: y... a los astros, como también parte de esa energía en movimiento. De hecho los morteros comunitarios que...

§125: E4: ¿Quieren que les prenda la luz acá afuera?

§126: E2: nos van a comer los bichos.

§127: E3: sí, sí, sí, sí.

§128: E2: y traeme anchi ¿sí? Un poquito después voy a tomar. Eh... en el centro de esa oración...

§129: F: ¡opa!

§130: E2: se encuentra un cierto equilibrio divino. Entonces nuestras ceremonias se parecen y no a las ceremonias incaicas. De hecho, no rezamos igual porque cada comunidad tiene su propio rezo. Y ahora los nuestros bailan saya.

§131: F: ¿qué es saya?

§132: E2: esa ¡saya! ¡negra! (canta)

§133: F: (risas) dale, dale, dale

§134: E2: ¿y por qué? Suponete, hace unos años hice yo acá... gracias... decidí no hacerle caso a las abuelas eh... decidí no hacerle caso a las abuelas y enseñar en la escuela kakán. Dije que iba a enseñar simplemente saludos: decir "hombre", "mujer", "mamá", "papá", "perro"

§135: E3: *decir los adjetivos [...]*

§136: E4: invierno, verano...
¿quiere usted, abuela?

§137: E2: otoño, verano, invierno.
Son cosas sueltas como para
recordar.

§138: E4: ¿quiere?

§139: E2: hacer el pago a la
tierra no como la hace el inca,
porque no es parte del inca
aunque sí nos impusieron el
quechua durante 50 años. Y se
nos obligó a hablarlo ¿y qué es lo
que logramos? Quichua. Y no
podíamos saber de qué se
trataba, cuál era el problema y lo
descubrí hace muy poquito.

§140: F: ¿el problema para que
las abuelas les decían que no les
enseñara?

§141: E2: no. del quechua al
quichua.

§142: F: ah, del quechua al
quichua.

§143: E2: en quechua hay tres
vocales. ¡ay, como una lingüista
me senté a hablar! Y en el kakán
hay quince. Por eso tenemos el
problema de cómo vamos a
escribir. Yo puedo decir “a
coistak” y es una “a”. O decir
“ócsnom”, y suena al medio. Y
puedo decir “otxs”, y suena a “k”.
o sea que no es la misma vocal.
Entonces, o como palabra cómo
escribo “sticls”. Me dijeron que lo
solucionaban con el latín y hemos
visto que no. Y yo tengo el
problema que las abuelas me dan
permiso ahora a escribirlo, pero
tiene que sonar tal como suena.
Así que no sé cómo vamos a
hacer un libro pa’ que suene
como suena. Y la lingüista que

está trabajando con nosotros
tiene sus grandes problemas para
hacer los sonidos todavía de las
vocales.

§144: F: ¿para escribirlo,
digamos? ¿para reproducirlo en
escrito?

§145: E3: escrito

§146: E2: escrito. Y bueno, nos
sentamos y estamos ahí
trabajando y va comprendiendo la
forma.

§147: E3: por eso te decía que
enseñar kakán es un 60%. No
completo porque hace muy muy
complicado. Solo aquellas
personas que bueno, que sean
elegidas para llevar el
conocimiento completo.

§148: E2: y en eso de ser una
liwa, una *liriwari*, mi abuela
decidió que yo fuera antropóloga,
porque me dijo “la única forma
que el blanco va a comprender,
porque vos sos mediana”, y va a
ser este... que vayas y aprendas
con ellos sin que ellos sepan
quién eres. Y muchos años
estuve ahí aprendiendo.

§149: F: ¿dónde fue eso?

§150: E2: en La Plata.

§151: E4: sírvase, abuelita.
¡amigo! Anchi.

§152: F: bueno, gracias... no sé lo
que es exactamente *la señora...*
(risas)

§153: E4: ahí le va a contar la
abuela.

§154: F: (risas) se dio cuenta de
mi perplejidad

§155: E2: es una, como una bebida-postre que tenemos.

§156: E3: hecha de maíz. Maíz molido

§157: E4: con limón y azúcar

§158: F: bueno, muchas gracias.

§159: E3: y algunos componentes más.

§160: E4: el amor del tío *Vais*

§161: F: está rico, sabor de limón. Claro, entonces fue a La Plata a estudiar antropología, me ha dicho.

§162: E2: y bueno, tratar de hacer comprender cosas como el mortero. El mortero es un *picoy*, no es un mortero.

§163: F: ¿es un...

§164: E2: *picoy*. Nadie molía nada ahí adentro. Es para ver las constelaciones y no me creían. Es para ver los movimientos de luna y los movimientos de sol. Y registrar los movimientos de sol, y registrar los movimientos de luna. Y registrar movimientos de estrellas que aparecen y desaparecen en los tiempos para marcar los tiempos de siembra, cosecha,

§165: E3: ciclos

§166: E2: ciclos. Y hay ciclos cortos, hay ciclos de un año, que son 13 meses, hay ciclos más largos de 3 años, hay ciclos de 8 años, y hay animales que se ven. Entonces acá no se ve una llama ni matando. Vos te vas de noche, sacás la foto al cielo y se ve un gato. Entonces los nombramos de distinta forma. Y lo que hacían los

abuelos es registrar eso en morteros, porque lo veían ahí. Cuando las estrellas entraban ahí, ellos sabían en *qué tiempo estaban*.

§167: F: ¿y cómo reflejaban las estrellas? ¿había agua en estos... en los morteros?

§168: E2: agua. Son espejos. Y de hecho si vos moles algo, el mortero tendría sí o sí golpes, sí o sí desgaste, sí o sí algunas rupturas del mismo grano. Y los morteros que vos ves pequeños y todos juntos no tienen nada de eso.

§169: F: ya

§170: E2: entonces no eran para lo que dicen. Y ponen "mortero comunitario" y cualquiera. Siempre hemos tenido picanas, conanas y un montón de otros morteros los seguimos teniendo hasta el día de hoy. Y vos pones a dos de nosotras amontonadas a moler maíz o algo por el estilo y nos peliamo' (risas). Así que no estaba bueno eso

§171: F: (Risas) esa podría ser una buena explicación.

§172: E2: en Córdoba no querían entender que esos morteros de río son morteros de invierno y lo que vas a ver ahí son estrellas de invierno. Y que los morteros de arriba del cerro son de verano. Y ahí vas a ver estrellas de verano. Y que no, que sí, que no. y entonces ya un día me enoje y digo "bueno, vamos al río". No se veía un mortero que pasa el río. Les digo "a no ser que mi abuela haría molienda acuática, no hay

otra forma de explicarlo” porque en el verano esos morteros están bajo el agua. Y en invierno podés acceder a ellos caminando. En—y justo en invierno no tenés nada que moler, a no ser que maíz seco. Y tratá de moler un maíz seco en ese chiquitito. Te va a pegar en el ojo. Entonces eh, es como yo siempre digo: es simple y solamente mirar, sin inventar.

§173: F: ya

§174: E2: dicen que, algo que hemos estado discutiendo es ¿por qué Córdoba del Tucumán, Salta del Tucumán y Tucumán? ¿por qué la Gobernación de Tucumán si la Real Hacienda estaba en Salta, no en Tucumán? ¿y por qué se la llamó Gobernación “del Tucumán” a esta basta región? Tarija, Toxo Moxo, Norte de Chile, once provincias argentinas, algunas enteras, otras mitad, otras pedacito, y todos los documentos dicen “tenían lengua kakán”. O Kakán con Sanavirón, es Lules con Kakán. ¿Y cómo explicar un territorio tan grande mas grande que el incaico? ¿por qué los españoles que no cambiaban nada le pusieron a todo este territorio así? Porque todo este territorio pertenecía al *sherkai*. Porque todo este territorio decía “lules”. No, no decía “lules”. Decía “el territorio del tucumanai, el territorio de los tucu”, el territorio de un pueblo confederado cuando en Europa no entendían eso. ¿cómo explicar una confederación si todavía dependés del rey? ¿cómo explicar una confederación hecha de la palabra y la alianza en

matrimonios? ¿cómo explicar una lengua no impuesta sino sostenida? ¿cómo explicar que desde que llegaron los españoles acá les dijimos “no”? y no hubo mucha... gracias

§175: E4: de nada

§176: E2: no hubo mucha tranza. Dijimos “no”. porque ya veníamos escuchando de cosas que estaban haciendo en otros lados y cada una de las alianzas que hicimos todas las rompieron, entonces nuestros abuelos no les creían. Y estuvimos 133 años peleando y después seguimos, pero ya no podían decir que éramos nosotros.

§177: E3: y aún sigue la resistencia

§178: E2: al año de llevar a todos los Quilmes después de siete años de asedio y que lamentablemente quien nos vendió fue una coya, que seguimos teniendo problemas. Bajamos y al año nos volvemos a rebelar. Y si ya nos habían llevado a todos ya no podían decir que eran ¿quién? Los Quilmes. Entonces los llamaron los Acalianes. ¿y de dónde los sacaron? Del Colalao del Valle. Al año nuevo se vuelven a sublevar y son los Ancoana, Anconana aquí abajito. O sea, eh, y después ya fueron y compraron el territorio. Y después fueron a pedir los documentos que tenían que mandar de España, lo traen y lo vuelven a pagar, y cuando es el 9 de julio de 1816 acá en Tucumán, lo llevan y pagan impuesto de tierras. Y después siguieron

pagando, pagando, pagando, pagando y hasta el día de hoy seguimos sin las tierras de nosotros. Y fue.

§179: E3: eso en la ley de ellos, pero en la ley nuestra seguimos estando acá. A pesar de todo. Sí. A pesar de todo lo que pasó seguimos viviendo. Se resistió, se aguantó, se aguantó

§180: E2: se aguanta

§181: E3: todo lo que había sido nuestros abuelos antes, los sacaron, los llevaron a servicio de encomienda por diez años y la obligación esa se mantuvo como obligación a través del tiempo hasta hace poco, y aún hoy hay lugares donde todavía le exigen la obligación: trabajar gratis al que dice ser dueño de las tierras. O sea, pero bueno, cuando... por eso puede *incomodar pero [...] que me hagas preguntas más que [...]*

§182: F: (Risas)

§183: E3: ¿qué es lo que querés vos?

§184: F: no, yo, bueno...

§185: E2: nos quedamos conversando

§186: F: nos quedamos conversando, exactamente, que es la cuestión. Yo vine para otra cuestión, una cuestión que a mí me parece relacionada, que era lo que decía del proyecto de *riego*. Porque... porque es algo, una intervención en el territorio, digamos, una intervención en el territorio que viene manejada desde la propia comunidad,

entonces una forma de decir “acá decidimos nosotros las cosas cómo se hacen”. Eh, la parte que me está interesando es cómo estos proyectos surgen cuando ya se ha dado el reconocimiento constitucional y se ha movido, digamos, cuestiones, y ver un poco estas redes que se van, que se van construyendo

§187: E3: claro

§188: F: ¿no? eso en la ciencia política le dicen “subjetividad”, o sea la capacidad de poder ejercer un control sobre el territorio, básicamente, una soberanía.

§189: E3: subjetividad... ahá...

§190: F: eh... como una subjetividad como pueblo. O sea entenderse una comunidad como una gente, digamos, que puede decir “nosotros queremos que esto se haga acá, y queremos que esto se haga según estas condiciones”. Y entonces me estaba interesando un poco ver en primer lugar cómo se ha dado esto, en qué medida puede ser también una forma que tiene el Estado o Organizaciones Internacionales de meterse adentro de las políticas de las comunidades, eh, o sea, ver un poco lo bueno y lo malo que puede resultar de estos proyectos, que me parece, la parte más reciente está muy conectada con todo lo que estamos hablando porque está, es una forma de articularse con el exterior que se tiene, pero dentro de un contexto que ahora supuestamente se dice que existen los derechos de los

pueblos indígenas, están reconocidos por la constitución, están reconocidos por Naciones Unidas y toda cuestión. Como decía usted, hacen muchos tratados internacionales ¿pero luego cómo funciona?

§191: E3: en realidad no [...]

§192: F: exactamente

§193: E3: hay que hacernos valer, no sirven para nada, por lo menos. Pero creo que está en el tema que nosotros eh, comprendemos todo eso que está aprobado, todo eso que está escrito y lo hagamos propio para reconocer nuestro derecho y defenderlos y hacerlos valer [...]. La, bueno, vamos a hablar, como vos me pedías, como me pides. Amaicha y Quilmes en otro tiempo era una misma comunidad. Amaicha es parte de Quilmes. Cuando como comentaba ella, ya cuando se compra esto, porque se los saca a los Quilmes en el año, a un grupo, en 1666. Y al año siguiente, que se levanta y al año siguiente se vuelve a levantar otro grupo y así, y se consigue un documento que se conoce como la Cédula Real y eso está fechado en 1669, tres años después que nos sacaron. Y después dice, cuando reclamaron esto, que acá el gobierno o la Gobernación de Tucumán tenía que reconocer [...] *en ese momento*, dice, la Cédula que antes dimos, era 1716, el 2 de abril de 1716, la Cédula que antes dimos al Cacique de Quilmes de todos los pueblos, don Diego de Guatibaitina, eh entregamos tuitas estas tierras para él y su indiada, que no se

había quitado en ningún tiempo por persona alguna y después dados los límites ¿sí? Pero es, es una compra en realidad, eso es en 1669. Y las autoridades que figuran ahí en 1716 ya no están, por supuesto, ahí por eso ahí nombra a varios, inclusive a Mercado de Villacorta, que ha sido el que hizo la campaña del desalojo de los Quilmes y bueno, y después cuando van a reclamar ese documento cien años después ¿sí? Eh, perdón, van a reclamar casi cien años... a ver... 1716, no, perdón, van treinta, cuarenta años más después en 1753 va Francisco Chapurfe, hijo de Guatibaitina, o Francisco Chancana, pero ya cacique de los Amaichas. O sea, hijo de Guatibaitina pero él es cacique da Amaicha. Va a reclamar esos documentos a Buenos Aires, eh, que decía que tenía valor la palabra escrita, y lo tenía escrito en un cuero. Y esos documentos aún se conservan. En base a esos documentos se hace el reconocimiento a Amaicha, porque también se hace un proyecto para hacer la, ¿cómo se decía? El estudio de tiro, la mensura, ¿sí? De las tierras...

§194: E2: el asunto que se hace el reconocimiento de la tierra de Amaicha y no de Quilmes.

§195: F: claro

§196: E2: ¿y qué pasó? Automáticamente dijeron “bueno, esta tierra es de la comunidad” y comenzaron a cercar pedazos y a no dejar pasar a la gente para su casa, entonces los obligaban a

vender. Y eso es lo que pasó en Tafí.

§197: F: claro

§198: E2: obligaron a vender porque te encerraban la tierra, o sino iban a la casa de -suponete- Doña Rosa. Esperaban que Doña Rosa esté sola y venían y la obligaban a firmar boletos de compra-venta y cuando ella decía que no había vendido, ya estaba ese documento

§199: F: *dentro del patri-* claro.

§200: E2: entonces este... por eso ahora se pone en esta ley de que no se puede ni enajenar ni vender ni nada las tierras nuestras, pero igual hay un montón de comunidades que están haciendo el estudio territorial y hay ciertas leyes que protegen: dicen que no se puede ni comprar, ni modificar ni vender

§201: F: claro

§202: E2: y sin embargo lo hacen lo mismo

§203: E3: los terratenientes. [...] la gente pueda hacer un desalojo *firmado*, ese es el problema que hay. Bueno, te explicaba el tema de... de... Quilmes y Amaicha. Después cuando se hace, se abre la escritura pública o la escritura de las tierras en Salta eh, unos cuántos años antes que en Tucumán y una terra- una tal Brachieri inscribe desde San Carlos, pasando Cafayate más allá como 20 km, inscribe todas esas tierras hasta cerca de Santa María a nombre de ella, pero cuando se abre en Tucumán a los pocos años después van los

nuestros con este documento a inscribirlo y no lo toma, solamente lo anota que se presentó un grupo de indios con una Cédula Real, pero dice como ya estamos, como ya cambió el sistema de gobierno este es un documento que no es válido. Esta bien. Y fueron muchas veces... bueno. Hasta que, bueno, este, hacen un acuerdo y los Amaichas hacen un acuerdo que ellos le dejaban *esta desde el río para acá a esta terrateniente* y del río para aquel lado

§204: F: Amaicha

§205: E3: quedaba para los Amaichas, pero era una franja. Después ellos se pelearon y lograron una extensión un poco más grande, que llega hasta el río del *Remayo* más o menos, los que tienen conocimiento de eso, pero es mucho más cerca *de lo que es*. Y nosotros quedamos ahí. Después todo esto se va pasando a otras manos, a otros encomenderos, otros que explotaban las tierras y hasta el día de hoy, bueno, los últimos que han quedado son la familia Chico Cano, son las que más este hoy nos hacen problema por este tema. Pero dentro cuando sé después, cuando viene un gobierno democrático, eh, en el caso de un gobierno de acá de la provincia de un cantante, que era Palito Ortega, firma ese documento para Amaicha, pero más antes estaba ese proyecto este que te digo, que decía primero se iba a hacer el estudio de los títulos y para las mensuras para Quilmes y después en el

segundo, en la segunda etapa de Amaicha. No, lo hicieron al revés: primero para Amaicha y después Quilmes. Cuando lo firmó para Amaicha, *o sea no sacó, no se hizo*, y no les quisieron enviar desde el estado la segunda porque habían hecho mal ¿me entendés? Entonces quedamos perjudicados nosotros. Entonces para ellos sostuvieron esos documentos. Bueno, a la final lo hicieron valer, bueno, Ortega firmó en reconocimiento pero aún es un documento que está ahí entre comillas porque aún no tiene el dominio, ¿sí? Legal como una escritura, porque *está* el papel. Entonces eh, pero por ejemplo, en base a eso se hizo el proyecto este de Italia ¿sí? Era de APS, vos que sos italiano conocer, pero yo te voy a decir “Asociación de *per civil*, o Asociación para el Desarrollo” ¿así es?

§206: F: creo que me contaban... bueno, lo averigüé también “Asociación” no... ¿cómo era?

§207: E3: APS

§208: F: APS. Associazione per la partecipazione allo sviluppo.. Asociación para la participación al desarrollo.

§209: E3: algo así, algo así es. Entonces...

§210: F: es sviluppo la única palabra, digamos, que no se puede entender, que es desarrollo

§211: E3: sí. Este..

§212: F: claro, que yo, bueno... perdón que lo interrumpa, pero yo llegué a eso porque allá en

Amaicha me estaban comentando y yo, bueno, presentándome, decía “bueno, soy italiano” entonces empezaron a recordar de estos italianos que viajaban por acá y ahí se me... porque también en Amaicha hubo otro proyecto grande que también era de otro italiano que era Proyecto Esira, no sé si lo ha-

§213: E3: sí, sí, ESIRA sí lo conocemos, sí.

§214: F: entonces bueno, a partir de esto me fui interesando a ver un poco qué ha quedado de esta cosa. No porque sea italiano, pero porque digamos ha surgido en el medio de las conversaciones esta, este aspecto ¿no? entonces... cerrando paréntesis, perdón

§215: E3: sí, sí, en realidad ¿qué ha quedado? Bueno *pero* eso se hizo en dos, tres, eh bases de Amaicha, o sea comunidades chicas ¿sí? Bases... y acá en Quilmes, una sola. En el caso nuestro Talapazo.

§216: F: ah, o sea que solo [...] solo en Talapazo

§217: E3: claro, solo en Talapazo, porque no daban las condiciones *plurales* por el reclamo de los terratenientes, por el manejo del agua acá, el manejo del agua como recurso, como bien, lo tenemos nosotros. Nosotros repartimos los turnos, *reunimos de acuerdo* si necesita medio día, un día, o noche y día que son 24 horas, depende. Eso lo manejamos nosotros

§218: F: ¿y en otras comunidades esto no es así?

§219: E3: había, sí, ciertos conflictos. No se llegaba a acuerdos, entonces por eso se hizo acá ¿sí?

§220: F: dale

§221: E3: y pedían ellos para que se pueda hacer en Amaicha que haya sí o sí al menos una comunidad más involucrada. Entonces como éramos vecinos Quilmes, bueno, se hizo acá. Y bueno, fue interesante el proyecto. Se hizo. Se hizo riego por gravitación ciega, tenemos pendiente de arriba y la misma pendiente da la presión para riego por goteo para aspersores y x...x...

§222: E2: que ese es el que está andando

§223: E3: y que se lo usa, a medias... no está completo porque la gente todavía no ha terminado de comprender el uso real de este sistema de riego. Algunos lo han usado un tiempo, después lo han cambiando y decían "bueno, no, porque el goteo, por ejemplo, para nogales no da"

§224: F: eso me dice todo el mundo, que el goteo para nogales no da.

§225: E3: y sí, no da porque bueno, es poca el agua, entonces mejor es darle un riego por bañado... bueno... también depende como lo [...] también, porque en nogal tenés que regar todo lo que abarca la copa ¿me entendés? A medida que crece la

planta todas las raíces que absorbe están hasta donde llega la copa ¿sí? Bueno hay que hacer un riego así. Pero bueno, la gente piensa que si le echas una taza de... digamos, un pozo de agua, ahí está mejor, bueno, no sé. Pero está ahí a medias. Puedo decir que no se ha llegado a comprender el riego todavía ¿me entendés?

§226: F: claro, que un poco la cuestión que me interesaba es ver cómo este sistema iba, digamos, creaba conflictos con el sistema anterior de la acequia, digamos ¿no? hasta qué punto las dos cosas conviven...

§227: E3: claro, pero facilitó.

§228: F: facilitó

§229: E3: facilitó el traslado del agua, y bueno, de lugares donde no llegaba, no, era imposible que llegue el agua, por manguera llega ¿me entendés? Entonces bien, eso sí nos abrió los ojos. Por ejemplo arriba, esta agua que viene por ahí es un vertiente que ha estado años y años agotado. Entonces yo, después que pasó esto, con invertí como pude más mangueras y saqué ese vertiente que está así como un bajo, pero sale el agua acá arriba. Ponés la manguera, bueno, pero es por el desnivel. Vos así lo ves de cerca, decís "no, es imposible que salga el agua", pero bueno, sale. Entonces ahora por eso usé y bueno, estoy en ese tema de bueno, estoy haciendo mi casa más abajo y de hacer todo... de usar todo riego o sea, hacer un uso racional del agua, un riego

sistematizado sería ¿me entendés?

§230: F: claro

§231: E3: por goteo y por aspersión. O sea, regar por canales, por bañado no, va es imposible ahí sobre que está imposible, sí o sí lo tengo que hacer de otra manera ¿me entendés?

§232: F: dale

§233: E3: entonces sí... eh... yo lo veo bueno, pero tengo que terminar mis cositas, mi casa y poner, empezar a poner las plantas, me tiene mal por el tema de las plantas. Bueno y fue una linda experiencia porque nosotros, Amaicha en ese momento, nosotros había ciertos conflictos, estábamos, no estaba eh, al día la, con, propiedad era una asociación civil nuestra comunidad no era una comunidad con personalidad jurídica reconocida por el estado como comunidad, era una asociación civil que te exige balances, rendiciones anuales, gestión con presidente, tesorero, todo un sistema que cada vez que haces balance, asambleas, tenés que traer veedores del estado y es un sistema que a nosotros no nos sirve, no nos sirve en realidad. No nos servía porque era engorroso y por eso la comisión se ha atrasado varios años, quedó ahí que no se podían poner al día con todo eso, entonces bueno, hasta que ha salido la posibilidad de reconocimiento de la personalidad jurídica nacional que eh, no te pide balances anuales, tampoco

recibir, no se recibe todo el año plata del estado, de nadie, o sea, qué vas a rendir, se te hace engorroso a veces. Entonces cuando hay un proyecto sí, ahí se rinde en tiempo y en forma. Como después vino acá en Quilmes, el otro proyecto lo administró Amaicha que estaba legalmente pudo administrar ese de APS

§234: F: ah, o sea que este APS lo administraba Amaicha

§235: E3: Amaicha y...

§236: F: ustedes estaban como, digamos, parte, pero...

§237: E3: claro, pero dependíamos de lo que decía Amaicha

§238: F: claro, luego vino el DCI

§239: E3: claro, después vino el DCI cuando Amaicha ya tenía problemas por algunos proyectos que habían pasado, eh, problemas con los caciques también que no se ponían de acuerdo, había dos, tres caciques... un problema interno.

§240: F: sí

§241: E3: y nosotros estábamos bien. Nos tomaban de reconocer como comunidad, o sea, nos daban la personalidad jurídica y sale el tema de, del DCI, Desarrollo de Comunidades Indígenas, que es un dinero aportado por el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, el BIDF, Desarrollo y Fomento creo que es, el BIR... Banco Interamericano

§242: F: se ve que era del Banco Mundial

§243: E3: que es parte del Banco Mundial, hicieron una deuda que se encarga el Estado, pero bueno, el Estado Argentino con nosotros tiene una deuda milenaria, por todo lo que nos quitó, por todo lo que nos hizo sufrir. Yo creo que eso ha sido una devolución un poquito de tanto que se nos que se nos sacó y se nos sigue sacando, ojo ¿eh?... entonces hicimos ese proyecto eh, fue para hacer actividad para fortalecer institucionalmente ¿sí?

§244: F: ¿con eso se construyó la casa de la comunidad ahí abajo?

§245: E3: sí, bueno, pudimos hacer muchas reuniones, pudimos planificar para hablar, poner de acuerdo para los proyectos, hacer priorizaciones, ver el tema de educación, ver el tema salud, ver el tema eh, del patrimonio que tenemos, sí porque nosotros siempre hemos estado pensando en la autogestión de nuestros recursos, nunca hemos pensado darle a nadie

§246: F: claro

§247: E3: eso era idea nuestra y aún la conservamos y eso es bueno ¿sí? Que hay gente en la ma-, digamos, son un porcentaje eh, interesante que, aún decimos “no, lo que es de la comunidad lo tiene que administrar y gestionar la comunidad. No le podemos dar a otros”, que es el problema que tenemos por Ciudad Sagrada con el gobierno de la provincia ahora, haceme acordar para hacer el cierre al último ¿sí?

§248: F: ¡perfecto!

§249: E3: sí, bueno y cuando vino el DCI, nosotros dijimos estamos *desear* las actividades a fortalecer eh, fortalecer institucionalmente, después hicimos otro proyecto para fortalecer eh, el tema, el rescate de las semillas que se habían perdido, que por sequía, por muchos motivos, y eso llevaba toda una vuelta, se le daba a la gente y después la gente tenía que devolver, ya sea en dinero o en semillas, para que ese banco sea rotativo para que ¿me entendés? Siga rotando a través del tiempo

§250: F: ¿ahá?

§251: E3: bueno, y después otro ha sido el fortalecimiento de la actividad artesanal, *ha de ser* para mí los proyectos más importantes ¿me entendés?

§252: F: ¿esto siempre dentro del DCI o en otro marco?

§253: E3: del DCI, DCI, siempre DCI. También se hizo un proyecto para el estudio de títulos para poder llegar a la *regulación dominial*, que bueno, quedó ahí. Se hizo y quedó ¿me entendés?

§254: F: ya

§255: E3: este... después hicimos otro proyecto para pozos de agua, acá escasea el agua, por las sequías, por los cambios climáticos que están, que cada vez son más... más duros, más pronunciados ¿me entendés? Se siente más

§256: F: ya

§257: E3: eh, pero bueno, nosotros sí lo hicimos bien. Se

logró este ¿cómo se llama?
Recatar las semillas, se hizo los pozos esos, bueno algunos esos los hicimos en lugares, como recién teníamos las primeras experiencias, bueno, los que contratamos y bueno por ahí se hicieron en lugares que después los pozos decayeron, bueno, cosas así que pasó

§258: F: ¿quizás me comentaban en los Chañares?

§259: E3: no, acá se hizo uno fue... en El Paso, está bien, ese tira mucha agua, está bien, pero con una consecuencia como ahora se han hecho otras bodegas, se han instalado ahí, se han metido de prepo aunque protestamos, aunque hicimos ciertas actividades para que no sea, se asienten, se metieron nomás. Hay uno ahí italiano, que por eso tenemos que hablar sobre eso

§260: F: ¿ahá?

§261: E3: y eso a las comunidades de arriba, al pinchar las venas, que porque viste, dice que las napas por las capas geológicas hacen presión, el agua sube y baja de las montañas. Entonces arriba ahora al *volar* esas empresas, que hay una bodega, ahí, esta *también iba a hacer* bodega el italiano

§262: F: eso *para ir en el paso siempre dicen*

§263: E3: esa bodega de *Posse* y después están los italianos *por* eso está el pozo en el paso que es de la comunidad. Entonces por eso se secó las aguas de arriba

§264: F: ahá

§265: E3: y Los Chañares se está secando la vertiente. Queda un solo vertiente y eso no alcanza para todos los que están ahí. Y en nuestro lado también disminuyó en un 70% 80%, o sea, muy poca agua. O sea, es bueno hacer las perforaciones acá abajo, pero también con el tiempo dañan a las aguas de acá arriba. Acá también algunos pozos *que se han perforao* en Colalao, acá bajó el caudal de agua allá también. Entonces digo, si se sigue perforando, con el tiempo acá las aguas van a bajar muchísimo. Tendríamos que pensar bien eso. Agua sí, *abajo hay*, pero tendríamos que pensar cómo hacer ¿no? de hacer que no afecte las cuencas de las montañas.

§266: F: ya

§267: E3: eh, pero bueno, bien, ese proyecto nos fue bien, y bueno, quedaron, nos fortalecimos. Y por eso después tomamos, cuando se hizo la reforma de la Constitución de la provincia en el 2006. También participamos activamente *en base* con este proyecto también, este, reunimos muchas a gente de distintas zonas de la provincia que ahora son comunidades ¿sí? Y logramos la reforma de la Constitución de la provincia, donde incorpora, se incorpora los derechos por primera vez de los pueblos. Y ahí dice "la provincia de Tucumán reconoce las tierras y territorios que tradicionalmente han ocupado los pueblos

indígenas [...] político, social, económico de dichos pueblos”

§268: F: claro

§269: E3: y así reconoce, digamos, en primera persona su acervo cultural y....

§270: F: claro. Sí, entonces un poco la cuestión era, hasta qué punto estos proyectos han ayudado en el proceso de organización

§271: E3: si lo ves de una forma positiva sí nos han ayudado, nos han ayudado, no podemos decir que no. sí. Eh, esto es una nueva forma de riego y bueno, si las aguas se apocan tenemos que utilizar estos. Si las aguas bajan, digamos, esto nos viene bien para seguir sosteniendo. No creceremos más con campos de cultivo, pero sí podemos sostener lo que tenemos. Depende de cómo baje el caudal ¿me entendés?

§272: F: sí

§273: E3: y si baja el caudal bueno ya es otra cuestión. Si baja demasiado, si llega a ser

§274: F: si ya no da ahí, claro tampoco se puede ...

§275: E3: va a ser difícil para nosotros.

§276: E2: pero ¿y qué nos trae también algunas cosas? Quilmes nos trae un dolor de cabeza constante

§277: F: ¿Quilmes se refiere como...

§278: E2: la Ciudad Sagrada.

§279: F: ... la Ciudad Sagrada? Dale.

§280: E2: ¿por qué? En este ping pong entre el gobierno y nosotros eh, hay algunos de los nuestros a los que lo peor que hay es un indio blanco o blanquiao'. No ha cambiado su tez ni su raza, pero se cree más blanco que el blanco. Entonces nos llevan, mandamos a alguno que es *más de las leyes*, mas estudiado, nos lo pasean por todos lados, nos lo muestran otra cosa y lo ponen a favor de ellos ¿y cuál es el problema? Un cacique como el que tenemos que él siente que tiene que quedarse hasta el día que se muera y en una de esas se le va a dar el gusto pa' que deje de joder, sostenido por un gobierno. Entonces ¿qué ha traído esto? División. Una división terrible porque quienes parecen muy amigos no lo son. Solo ven el negocio. Y el negocio podríamos hacerlo bien sin destruir, sin romper, sin cavar más allá, hay demasiado creo que "calchaquí" como nos dicen, o "Quilmes", ya muestras arqueológicas tenemos y para poderlo vender [...] te dicen "calchaquí" o te lo disgregan para darle alguna invención metodológica de un mismo pueblo a través del tiempo. Mal estudiado, mal datado, mal clasificado. Ahora vas al museo de Amaicha y dice "Museo Incaico" y no hay nada inca ahí. Nada, pero nada nada.

§281: F: ¿qué museo de Amaicha está diciendo?

§282: E2: el de la plaza.

§283: E3: ¿lo viste?

§284: F: eh, ¿lo que está en la biblioteca?

§285: E2: sí

§286: F: bueno, sí, lo pude ver, pero lo tienen muy cerrado adentro.

§287: E2: y también el que está en Tafí no es Inca.

§288: E3: claro, pero son muy poquitas las piezas que hay, lo más importante está afuera. Son cosas muy...

§289: E2: bueno, dice "preincaico" y la palabra "preincaico" se llama ahora todo "inca".

§290: F: ya.

§291: E2: *¿y a qué vale esto?* La deformación de la historia trae mala información y hace que un pueblo se dirija a mirar con ojos que no ve.

§292: F: ¿y qué le parece ahora el centro de interpretación que hicieron allá?

§293: E2: un asco. Pero...

§294: F: bueno (risas)

§295: E2: te voy a decir algo: yo soy doctora en Antropología Forense. Y soy muy conocida por mi trabajo y no me vas a decir a mí qué es inca, qué es preinca y qué no es inca. Entonces cuando me entrás a clasificar y a meterme un inca que no andaba por acá porque es simple, como todo lo que estudio y vi, es muy simple: si yo pertenezco al imperio incaico ¿sí? Pertenezco al imperio incaico, ¿por qué los incas

vinieron contra nosotros? ¿por qué se alían con los españoles? Y vos documento donde encontrás iban 23 españoles, 5000 yanaconas. 30 españoles, 2000 yanaconas. ¿y qué son "yanaconas"? ejército incaico. ¿por qué aquel que se supone soy parte de algo me entrega al enemigo? No existe eso. ¿Por qué el camino viene por lugares entre los territorios de nosotros solamente a lugares donde eran lugares de trueque? No tampus, lugares de trueque. Y porque no eran imperio. Porque ahora querés clasificar territorio que lo está haciendo en Salta Vialidad Nacional está trabajando el Camino de Inca y lo están llevando a donde quieras.

Entonces esa historia mal contada

§296: E3: esa historia mentirosa, porque es, ¿cómo sería? Es como que yo, vos tengas una familia con cierta historia, y yo venga y cuente otra cosa que no es tuya

§297: E2: te mente un ancestro que sea, qué se yo... Sadam Husein

§298: E3: o sea, *como que yo te diga que sos chino o ruso* y que han pasado por ahí, que tenían camino y que tenían un imperio y bueno... [...] llegó Atila, llegó no sé si llegó también cómo se llama el Gengis Kan, pero (risas) E3: *¿me entendés lo que te quiero decir?* O sea, esa historia mentirosa. ¿Nosotros por qué nos hemos llevado mal con los incas desde siempre? Por las distintas formas de ver y entender la vida. Ahora llaman una idiosincrasia de vida, distinta, digamos, de ver y

entender la vida, o sea, de ser, de vivir y hacer. Entonces ellos, sabemos nosotros, somos el único pueblo que decimos que ellos son *un pueblo de advenidizos de América*, no son americanos y eso nadie lo dice ¿me entendés?

§299: E2: sí dicen. Ahora sí lo dicen.

§300: E3: y que... ah, bueno, no sé ahora, pero antes *no los [...]* por lo menos no lo dice, y hace poquito vino a la Ciudad Sagrada, el conflicto que hay, el gobierno de la provincia nos paga un viaje a un grupo de la comunidad para ir a Perú. Y yo fui a Perú pero para averiguar más o menos lo que pasaban sobre estas cosas que se dicen

§301: F: ¿fue a Perú con ese viaje?

§302: E3: sí, sí, estuve en Perú como 10 días, 12 días allá

§303: F: claro, sí, bueno [...] *eran noticia*, digamos

§304: E3: y los museos más importantes dicen "preinca". Todo allá hay piezas, todo que se ve, es preinca. Cultura mochica, cultura tihuanaquense, cultura... ¿me entendés? Entonces... y las huacas que hay también todas son preincas y pucha y digo ¿y a dónde está lo inca? Y había *un museo* que yo quería ir y no nos llevaron, era el museo de los incas. Pagué y me fui a ver y todo lo que vi ahí sí conocí. Ese andá y vé, Perú en Cuzco está todo lo que se ve es preinca. Sí algunas armas que tenían época que han

estado los eh, los que había hecho el cambio, empezando de Pachacuti, *Mama Ocllo*, para adelante, ¿sí? Los 13 o los 14 incanatos que han sido los más reconocidos, más famosos, pero ahí ¿me entendés? Y lo digo ¿y todo lo que se ve? todo lo que se ve realmente no se puede hacer de ciento cincuenta mil, cien, ciento cincuenta mil, que ha sido el período de apogeo de ellos. Y lo explican como ¡suó! Y le sacan yapa y para colmo los guías no muy convencidos porque tampoco les cierran ciertas cosas, pero dicen "sí, los incas, sí, hemos llegado hasta Mendoza, hasta Tierra del Fuego, hasta Colombia". Mentira, no se hacía. El camino, el Capac Ñam, el famoso que hablan, es un camino preincásio, estuvo hace miles de años y los pueblos era nuestra costumbre ir a truequear, intercambiar. Pero no solo eso, era a buscar y a sostener la amistad y el diálogo con los otros pueblos para que no haya guerra. Porque acá no hubo guerras como hubo en Europa, en Asia o en África, no, no hubo. Entre nuestros pueblos no hubo. Solo en casos donde hubo escasés de comida, hubo cambios climáticos muy marcados

§305: E2: numerosos

§306: E3: pero si no, no. y hay una bandera que hoy explican con la bandera, la Wiphala, eso me acuerdo donde dice el mapa de los pueblos que están ahí, los cuarenta y un pueblos que han acordado sostener la paz, y se iba, viajaban cada cierta época

del año, un grupo de gente de distintas comunidades, distintos pueblos, recorriendo ese camino. Y bueno, lo que ellos venían para acá, porque pasaban por los cerros, no entraban por los pueblos, y bueno, a los lugares de trueque con todo su colorido, su música muy... pero ver de un imperio no. Y nosotros también íbamos para allá y a nosotros, el que salía de acá tenía que conocer por lo menos siete lenguas para poder salir. Por eso estaban los

§307: E2: Huarasay

§308: E3: los Huarasay o Huaraj, que eran los que hablaban siete lenguas y podían ir a intercambiar porque si yo llevo un producto que hago acá, nosotros nos distinguíamos porque éramos, trabajábamos con los cristales, eran por excelencia nuestro trabajo. Para explicarle a otro, si *había* un cambio, teníamos que hablar su lengua, sino ¿cómo nos íbamos a hacer entender para qué se iría?

§309: E2: para qué llevábamos eso

§310: E3: para qué llevábamos eso. ¿me entendés? Entonces eso. Y mire, yo le hablo de los pueblos de las veces que se han encontrado. *Hablaban de* cuarenta mil años, sabía que los incas están acá desde dos mil años, dos mil cuatrocientos años. Venían más antes, pero desde que se han asentado y han empezado a tomar territorio y le dao' lugar ha sido de esa época, entonces *iban...* y nosotros acá

les decimos “kchl” o “cachjua” y es una palabra cacán que significa “el que se lleva todo”. Y se lo dijo una abuela del norte de Chile cuando ellos hicieron hace unos años el Congreso Internacional de Lengua Quechua, Quechua. ¿usted sabe lo que significa? Le dijo eso. Que hoy podemos decir “el que se roba todo”.

§311: E2: ahí nomás le han puesto runa simi (risas)

§312: E3: ¿se da cuenta? (Risas)

§313: E2: nuestros abuelos *eran buena gente*

§314: E3: y cuando fui a Perú, comprobé que muchas comunidades que no se llevan bueno con ellos. Entonces ¡ah, acá hay otra historia! Ta' ahí, pero no la quieren sacar a luz ¿entiende?

§315: E2: y qué....

§316: E3: entonces eso que pasó, perdón, ya te doy la palabra. Que pasó entre nosotros, cuando vinieron *como dicen* los documentos de ahí en casi todos los lugares que fueron los españoles vinieron con los yanaconas. Y les pregunté allá cuando fui ¿qué es un yanacona para ustedes? y con orgullo dijo “es un servidor del imperio, del incanato. Es un servidor del incanato” [...] o un pueblo sometido lo mandaban a pelear para ellos.

§317: F: bien

§318: E3: *para pelear con los españoles*. Pero no se cuenta la

historia qué pasó cuando llegan los españoles ahí a Perú. Esa no la quieren contar estos sinvergüenzas, atorrantes. Pero nosotros sí las sabemos porque nuestros abuelos sí han guardado. Acá tenemos un hombre algunos que le dicen “numanioj”, un numanioj es el que conoce la historia del pueblo muchos, muchos años atrás.

§319: E2: quince mil años puede narrar.

§320: E3: el último numanioj que estamos viendo tiene conocimiento de quince mil años atrás. Mire ¿no? hay que tener, es el numanioj, el conocedor, el que lleva, el que conoce las familias, cuántos nacimientos hubo, qué tiempo, cuántas muertes, quién... y va marcando

§321: E2: y lee las, lee las tablas de los abuelos, las piedras

§322: E3: entonces ese iumanioj llevaba todo eso, entonces sabemos quiénes son ellos, pero hemos mantenido el secreto para no ser totalmente vencidos, porque hay un documento de 1612, o 1500... 1600 creo que es... dice: “Estos indios son tan fieros y bárbaros pero lo que sí, no desconocen la existencia del espíritu. Cambiándoles lengua y la creencia logramos lo que queremos”

§323: E2: dominaros.

§324: E3: lo dicen ellos.

§325: E2: ¿y qué es lo que nos hacen?

§326: E3: por eso nosotros cuando se encontraban con un humanioj con un tucma, con una liriuari, un hombre de conocimiento, lo mataban, lo quemaban vivo, porque tenían que sí o sí anular el conocimiento como dé lugar para hacer lo que ellos querían hacer

§327: F: claro, esto se entiende que, bueno, en Europa quemaban libros, bueno, personas también.

§328: E2: mataban personas. Acá también.

§329: E3: y también la Conquista empezó con el perdón de la Inquisición. Si a la Inquisición que sufrió Europa se trasladó a América porque en ese tiempo empezó la Conquista acá también. Te doy la palabra.

§330: E2: los mayores inquisidores son los que fundaron. Los que Mercado y Villacorta además era un inquisidor. Este... Lerma era el inquisidor acá, en toda la parte de Sudamérica y era el... tenía en Salta su sede eh, contra Tucumán, en un lugar contra Tucumán que bueno, después se hundió, y el terremoto de Esteco y toda la historia. A lo que iba era esto: hasta el día de hoy no nos dejan ni siquiera hablar nuestra lengua acá en el territorio. Yo me puse a enseñarla acá ¿y a quién me pusieron en contra? Al mismo pueblo.

§331: E3: *con el cura de la comunidad*

§332: E2: ¿por qué? Porque en un día de la madre mostré a los chicos cantando, mostrando todo

lo que habían investigado y representando una historia antigua que está pintada. Y me levantaron porque dijeron que era indecente el tipo de danza que tenemos, que ya para qué vamos a hablar. Acá hay gente que quiere que hable inglés, francés, italiano, ruso, pero no la lengua de nosotros y es el mismo pueblo nuestro.

§333: E3: sí, pero también *hasta ahí nomás llegamos*

§334: E2: hay grupos que se han vuelto lo que yo te dije “indio blanco” y que desprecian lo que es y te das cuenta cuando hablas con ellos porque automáticamente te plantean divisiones, internismos, no sé. Porque en esa forma nos tienen dominados.

§335: E3: claro y ...

§336: E2: ¿podría hablar un ratito?

§337: E3: bueno, le quería decir *una corta, perdóname*, que la gente sobre que vienen los estudiosos “no si el kakán está muerto, es una lengua muerta”. “No” les decís “sí existe, sí se habla” y ahí como le creen más al que viene de afuera, dicen que es una lengua muerta [...]

§338: E2: y simplemente quédate callado y fíjate cuando estén manejando las cabras, cuando hablen cuando estamos hablando entre nosotros no vas a comprender mucho de lo que decimos, ni la forma en como lo acomodamos. Por ejemplo, nosotros decimos “se vemo” porque en el idioma de nosotros

se usa así, “*s’nakhe*” entonces no decimos “nos vemos”, “se vemo” decimos, porque es parte del idioma de nosotros. Usamos el “se” en vez del “nos”. Y así *vamos*. Podemos hablar horas solamente con vocales, podemos estar hablando por teléfono y decir “hm... hm.... Ahá....” Y podemos estar hablando y nosotros sí nos entendemos, pero otros que están ahí no van a entender qué estamos diciendo. Y todavía nosotros tenemos los monseñores nombrados en España en todo el territorio

§339: F: mira

§340: E2: no son argentinos, no, son nombrados en España. Todavía el gobierno me pone a un Chaile, lo sostiene con dádivas y dándole cositas y por ejemplo, mañana hay una reunión y mandan a llamar a todos los delegados, pero no todos los delegados fueron invitados, porque como no se puede hacer una elección ¿y por qué no se puede hacer una elección? Porque no todas las bases tienen delegado. Y justamente una base que es muy conflictiva y donde está la mayor cantidad de población de los nuestros. Entonces, no teniendo delegado dentro del grupo, es una base que te puede traer serios inconvenientes al elegir un cacique si ellos no están.

§341: F: ¿qué base?

§342: E2: la base de Quilmes.

§343: F: ahá.

§344: E2: son tres Quilmes, y base Quilmes Bajo, suponete, no está clara la elección y muchos no están de acuerdo. Quilmes Centro está agarrao' de los pelos - tampoco tienen ¿no?-

§345: E3: ahora ya han elegido

§346: E2: ¿ya han elegido?

§347: E3: [...] ahí también en Quilmes Rincón lo han elegido a uno

§348: E2: raro. Quilmes Rincón no, y como te digo, ahí es donde hay mayor población de nosotros.

§349: F: ahá. ¿y hasta que no tengan todas las bases delegado no se va a hacer la elección del nuevo cacique?

§350: E3: claro

§351: E2: ¿y entonces qué hace el gobierno? Crea el conflicto, lo sostiene a través de punteros políticos, de dádivas, paga a algunos delegados que ya hace años sabemos que son vendidos, pero y que la gente no los saca porque saben que el gobierno a esos les dan cosas, proyectos, ehm

§352: E3: sí, traen cosas [...]

§353: E2: cositas

§354: E3: bolsones, dan camas, colchones, eh, frazadas, cosa que con eso *compra* a la gente. Y eso es...

§355: E2: carga pal' teléfono, con eso te digo todo.

§356: E3: eso ya es muy bajo

§357: E2: ¡pero es verdad!

§358: E3: pero la gente por eso, y por eso estamos divididos. O sea, se recuperó la Ciudad Sagrada y primero fue hoy se conoce la unión de los pueblos [...] soy yo el gestor de eso. Yo empecé a convocar en el 2000. En el 2005 [...] la casa de Quilmes ya oficialmente con un estatuto, la presentamos para que se conozca. Y creció mucho, eran, éramos tres, cuatro comunidades. Ahora son veinte, *en Salta somos* más de cuarenta, en Catamarca, Santiago, se han sumado provincias, se despertó. Pero ahora falta que se levante y camine este pueblo. Pero eso es un proceso. Y después con la Ciudad Sagrada hemos empezado... ¡qué has puesto mucha atención!, ¿eh?

§359: F: ah, no (risas)... bueno, sí, porque me interesa

§360: E3: y después...

§361: F: pero he prestado atención a todo lo que han dicho, no solo (risas)

§362: E3: con la Ciudad Sagrada también organicé, planifiqué y ejecuté la recuperación de la Ciudad Sagrada, que después por, bueno, por mis hermanos, por esas peleas políticas, como está explicando ella, y bueno, empezaron a hacer cosas, bueno, no rindieron, se empezó a crear un problema más grande, pasó el tiempo, pasó el tiempo, no rindieron, pasaron cinco, seis años y bueno, hasta que un grupo de Quilmes – Quilmes se decidió y tomó el lugar y están ellos ahora ahí, pero en definitiva son grupos

de la comunidad y ellos también, bueno, ahora están en la misma. Ya pasó un tiempo, varios años y no han rendido, entre ellos también una historia, bueno, pero el gobierno ha fomentado esa división. Yo me hicieron muchas cositas, ¿me entendés? Porque yo he defendido muchas tierras, he ido y he puesto el pecho en varios lugares para defender la tierra ¿me entendés? En Colalao, en El Paso, acá abajo, en El Bañado, *juana*, varios lados he andado en muchas comunidades, hace poquito *estuvimos en e*[...] porque ahora están queriendo tomar tierras, *quieren tomar* y quieren vender rápido ¿me entendés? Y... o en otras comunidades, como los Lules, como he estado en Tafí, como he estado en Divisadero, como he estado en Animaná y así otras comunidades así, bueno... por esto de defender nuestro territorio y que nos unamos eh, por eso se creó el *Indiaguita*. Entonces ahora el gobierno dice, bueno

§363: E2: las dividió

§364: E3: estábamos divididos, unos quieren trabajar con el gobierno, otros no queremos, queremos hacer como te dije, la autogestión propia

§365: F: ¿pero de qué manera? ¿de qué manera el gobierno se metió en esto? O sea, qué hacía para, porque, hizo que “bueno, esto es de ustedes” porque lo reconoció con la sentencia, con todo fue, que dijo que esto era de la comunidad.

§366: E2: no, no hizo eso. No dice eso la sentencia. La sentencia dice clarísimo que hay dos derechos que todavía no se han podido aclarar, que los que estaban implicados en este juicio no podían ser juzgados este, por, eh,

§367: E3: *porque eran unos conflictos*

§368: E2: y para llevarlos presos porque era un conflicto de intereses.

§369: E3: una disputa de los derechos vigentes. O sea, los derechos privados y los derechos comunitarios indígenas. Pero eso en cuanto a las tierras, pero en el caso de la Ciudad Sagrada

§370: E2: no, pero ¡pará! No reconoce ahí todos los hermanos de nosotros yo no sé cómo leen, hay dice que esto en lo comercial se tiene que diluir y se tiene que ver cuál de los dos derechos es el que pesa sobre el otro, si el comunitario o el indígena. Nosotros no tenemos en todo el país ni-

§371: F: ¿el comunitario o el privado, está diciendo?

§372: E3: [...]

§373: E2: ¡bah! El comunitario o el privado.

§374: F: ya

§375: E2: en toda la Nación de la República Argentina, no existe por más que tengás todas las leyes que hay, porque vienen en el Estado Nacional, pasan a las provincias, algunas provincias adhirieron, otras no, eh, las

provincias que adhirieron tenían que bajar al Estado eh, legislativo y todavía de ese Estado tenía que bajar a los municipios y se tenían que ahí reglamentar, mientras todos estos pasos no estén dados, esta ley está escrita pero no sirve.

§376: E3: yo explico

§377: E2: y esto no se puede aplicar. No está reglamentado. Entonces ¿qué es lo que pasa? Sí tenemos un montón de leyes pero cuando vas a la disputa, no existe reclamo para el indio, pero sí para el privado, y acá no hemos ganado tierras, acá no dice que la tierra es de nosotros. Esto, esta resolución que hace la jueza dice simplemente que no van presos porque esto no va en la parte jurídica más que una contravención y que todavía esto se tiene que poner a dilucidar. Y tiran cuetes y todo lo que quieran los hermanos pero es verdad que no es nuestro. Y Ciudad Sagrada hay un gran conflicto ahí ¿por qué?

§378: E3: [...]

§379: E2: República Arg-

§380: E3: son derechos que tenemos que

§381: E2: claro, o sea, vamos desde lo jurídico

§382: E3: eso, déjame terminar de hablar a mí, porque yo soy el que [...] de eso y vos estas hablando

§383: E2: la, p' sí, de dónde vo'... te acompaño, papi.

§384: E3: (risas) Claro... o sea la Ciudad Sagrada, eh, cuando la recuperamos para la comunidad sí nos hace un juicio el gobierno eh, entre Tucumán Turismo. Pero después nos enteramos que Ciudad Sagrada por ley está como patrimonio nacional

§385: F: claro

§386: E3: o sea que ya patri-debe ser, depende del Estado Nación. Y no sé por qué la provincia, como debe ser, que a través de Estado Ente Tucumán Turismo este, se gestiona eso, pero nosotros nos damos cuenta que Turismo no es el organismo indicado para gestionar ese lugar, por lo que significa, por lo que por toda la riqueza cultural que hay. Turismo puede estar como un eh, asesor apoyando esto y *va a hacer lo que* es Turismo, es negocio, porque eso [...] que necesita *chuschar* algunos fondos, sí lo sabemos, pero nosotros acá también necesitamos para un desarrollo de nuestros pueblos, un desarrollo en, cómo se llama, en lo agrícola-ganadero, desarrollo en lo... cómo se llama, en la educación, en la salud, en el trabajo, en la vivienda, ¿me entendés? No... y eso lo tenemos que... yo no me veo colgado del bolsillo de ningún político, no me veo ser mendigo de ningún Estado provincial y nacional, quiero *autogestión* y quiero ser yo *a beneficio* de mi propio destino, si teniendo tantas cosas que tengo ¿por qué tengo que estar siendo alimentado como un parásito del Estado? Ahora si el

Estado nos quiere hacer así por lo que vemos, por lo que contamos que ofrecen a la gente, será porque tiene los intereses que hay acá son mucho más importantes. La ganancia que pueden acá son mucho más jugosas. Sabemos que quieren hacer hoteles de 5 estrellas, sabemos que quieren hacer casinos, pero eso no está en nuestro, en nuestro, cómo se llama, interés, podría decirte. Nosotros, nosotros podemos hablar de la riqueza cultural que tenemos, pero eso, en eso no tenemos lugar, *anda* allá afuera, lejos, allá en la ciudad podés hacer todo lo que quieras, pero acá en territorio nuestro, digamos, va a ser muy perjudicial ¿me entendés? Entonces... y también vemos que es una desinteligencia, teniendo tanta riqueza cultural eh, que lo descuiden, que nos quieran someter y que nos quieran quitar por eso, someternos, meterse ahí para dirigir ellos para traer gente, porque ahora [...] están haciendo un corredor turístico desde Estados Unidos, Canadá, Estados Unidos y todo ¿me entendés? Que *van a ir a Perú*, de Perú pasa acá a Tucumán, Tucumán a... pero eh, ¿nosotros qué papel jugamos ahí? O sea ¿vamos a hacer cabañitas para recibir gente? ¿vamos a... este...? *Capaz que por ahí uno no se acuerda*. Porque yo sé que ellos quieren hacer lo que ellos pretenden hacer porque más piensan en el negocio que en la identidad de un pueblo, que eso fue una cultura viva de un pueblo, eso no me parece justo ¿me entendés? No, no, no, ahí

estamos hablando de otra cuestión, pero muy diferente. Y muy triste en estos tiempos que estamos ya, en el milenio que tiene el mundo y toda la base que hay, que aún se siga pensando en una forma retrógrada ¿me entendés? Y también desconociendo porque si hablemos de [...] son unos mentirosos si van a sanar, nosotros vamos a sanar personas y... hay personas que han estado quince, veinte años, una persona más de cuarenta años con tratamiento médico, nosotros lo sanamos en menos de seis meses. Entonces hay una cierta diferencia que hay una... hay algo que se tiene que considerar, acá hay una riqueza cultural y acá no nos pueden apagar porque tienen intereses por el patrimonio por la gente que pueden traer ahí, la plata que pueden ganar, por los minerales que hay que nos quieren sacar y llevar. Hoy... por eso te digo, este gobierno que firmó que no, levantó todo lo que sea el cobro de impuestos a las empresas extranjeras que te sacan el mineral ¿me entendés? Entonces estamos a expensas de que cualquiera venga, se ponga a explotar los cerros y llevarse minerales por nada, entonces sea sí tengan en cuenta los que estamos allí ¿me entendés? Y nosotros hemos reclamado, nos hemos resistido cuando llegaron los españoles, antes hemos resistido otras invasiones, hemos resistido de los Tagua, de los Aymara, después de los Incas, reiteradas veces, después de los Incas con los españoles con los

incas, *siendo que han venido porque venían en sociedad*, hasta que nos agarro que caigamos como pueblo, pero bueno, pero y aún se siguió este.... Resistiendo y aún estamos en esto, estamos, seguimos resistiendo diciendo que nos respeten. Ya es tiempo, ya es hora. Ya no queremos que nos vengan a dar la mano, queremos que nos saquen la mano de encima para poder ser nosotros lo que queremos ser.

§387: F: dale

§388: E3: no sé si dijimos todo, si querés decir algo más vos, yo ya, yo [...] dejé todo.

§389: F: ya es tarde, también

§390: E2: ya es tarde.

§391: F: pero no, muchas gracias, por esta -espero- primera charla, espero que pueda haber otra

§392: E2: suponete que...

§393: E3: sí, sí

§394: E2: suponete....

§395: E3: no, hay mucho más. Le comentamos mucho resumido...

§396: F: no, bueno, he quedado con su madre que tengo que comprarle el libro porque (risas) pero ahora no tenía [...]

§397: E2: suponete que los incas vinieron y el inca somete a la mujer. La mujer no es nada. Ni física, ni mental, ni sexual, ni espiritual, ni emocional. La mujer del inca solo existe en el papel de algo para procrear. Vos las ves calladitas, urpilita, ahí calladita mientras los hombre bla bla bla. Y he acá que nosotras no somos

iguales. Una coya y una quechua juran ser trabajadoras.

§398: E3: cuando se reciben de mujeres juran al servicio

§399: E2: cuando se reciben de mujeres

§400: E3: trabajo

§401: E2: ellas son servidoras. Y nosotros juramos valor.

§402: E3: cuando se reciben de mujeres.

§403: E2: cuando nos cortan. Mirá, ahí, ahí, ahí. Y nos recibimos de mujeres eh, juramos valor. Nunca estamos por debajo del varón. Estamos al lado. De hecho, alguna vez cuando le pregunté a mi abuela por qué los varones van adelante, y me dijo: '- ¿Viste que se cae el cerro? -Sí. - ¿Viste que viene el río se lleva todo? -Sí. - ¿Viste que hay vívora, escorpiones, arañas, puma y todo más? -Sí. -Bueno, ellos van delante por eso. Cuando nosotros llegamos, ya está limpio, está el fuego hecho y nosotros juntamos. Cuando hemos terminado de juntar ¿quiénes cargan? Ellos.

§404: E3: *nacimos para eso*

§405: E2: ¿y nosotras qué vamos haciendo? conversando y hablando atrás. Entonces cada cual en su trabajo y en alegría. Y un inca venía y quería que yo me arrodille, que yo lo sirva, que yo esté por debajo de un hombre.

§406: E3: y eso

§407: E2: entonces

§408: E3: el machismo ese eso es europeo - asiático ¿no?

§409: E2: entonces tenemos grandes problemas. Y desde entonces hasta el día de hoy, cuando tomamos algo generalmente van uno o dos hombres, vamos todas las mujeres. Donde avanza una mujer, ningún hombre retrocede. Fíjate en las fotos y vas a ver que estamos todas ahí y aquí no hay mas mujeres que varones. Y además cuando nos vamos, dejamos paschada la olla. Si querés comer vas a ir a donde estamos nosotras. Y por eso ahora cuando se vuelve blanca una de nosotras, no por el hecho de ser blanco y ser negro, ser amarillo, sea distinto, sino el alma de estar sobre el hermano.

§410: E3: eso, no hay discriminación.

§411: E2: a eso llamamos nosotros "blanco" y para nosotros "blanco" es muerte. Entonces es - y no porque vinieran los blancos, siempre fue igual- nuestro luto es blanco, es nada. Entonces en estos tiempos cuando una hermana quiere que le enseñés inglés, francés, a los chicos y no la lengua de nosotros, te das cuenta que esa hermana no está mirando. Y cuando no estás mirando, no comprendés nada.

§412: E3: [...] *bueno, si eso es un procedimiento nuestro*

§413: F: claro

§414: E2: ahá. Bueno, ahora sí te dejo y te cuento que algo de italiano tengo, por eso soy blanquza, ojos grandes ... Ponsina

§415: E3: [...] mi abuelo con un indio.

§416: E2: una historia aparte. Se portó muy bien el italiano y lo amé. No, mi bis abuelo fue excelente y Heriberto Ponsina, todo lo que se puede llamar un hombre excelente ,y mi abuela decidió estar con él porque la obligaron a casarse el día que lo mataron a su padre acribillado en la plaza Independencia en Tucumán y le dijeron porque él era, quería ser militar y como no tenía ciudadanía, no podía y le dijeron "si te casás con la india sos militar".

§417: F: claro

§418: E2: ella tenía trece y él dieciocho. Y él la respetó hasta el día que ella decidió estar con él. Y ella decidió cuando tenía veinticinco años y le dio cuatro hijos. Y él la ayudó a pelear los papeles para ser nombrada cacique y lo conocí , por eso te digo, fue excelente y mi abuelo más o menos. Pero a los dos los amé. Así que bueno, algo de por allá tengo. Y bueno...

§419: E3: ¿y el grito?

§420: E2: ¿y el grito de las mujeres ahora?

§421: E3: sí, si querés

§422: E2: Se van a asustar todos.

§423: F: eh, no sé. ¿es muy [...]?

§424: E3: así nomás, *no es para que grités...*

§425: E2: bueno. El grito de las mujeres es "¡harumá!" y significa "siempre libre" y cuando nosotras

gritábamos harumá acá, los españoles salían matando porque decían que preferían enfrentarse a un hombre y nunca a una mujer de nosotros. Y bueno

§426: F: qué bueno

§427: E2: ha sido un gusto, perdón que lo hemos... así.

§428: F: bueno, mejor así entonces.

§429: E2: así yo, vos vas a estar sobre mí, o yo sobre vos. Entonces no es amistad. Así los dos, es igual

§430: F: me parece. Yo siempre lo hago esto, pero nunca había reflexionado (Risas)

§431: E2: ahora estamos en igualdad

§432: F: espectacular. Bueno, muchísimas gracias.

§433: E2: y por ejemplo, mañana creo que el gobierno va a hacer una tirada como la taba.

§434: E3: mañana tenemos una reunión con el gobierno, en la ciudad.

§435: F: ¿ah, sí?

§436: E2: mañana él se va como delegado. Yo iba a ir, pero no... no tengo ganas. Eh, y creo que lo que van a hacer es tratar de que como no han elegido todavía el cacique, darle otra prórroga a Chaile.

§437: F: ¿pero eso podía ser? ¿o sea, podría ser que el gobierno dé la prórroga y no la misma comunidad?

§438: E3: que nosotros le demos prórroga. Ellos no pueden dar prórroga.

§439: E2: ellos no. Y no sabemos porque dicen, primero decían que vayan todos los delegados y ahora están poniendo problemas para que vaya un grupo de delegados y ya nos hicieron una vez así. De acá llevamos un grupo de gente que íbamos con un mandato, llegamos a Tucumán y había un grupo de los nuestros, que son punteros políticos y pagados, y ellos también votaron. Estaba todo armado.

§440: E3: o sea, *ellos tenían cinco*, vos preguntabas... yo me opuse siempre, cuando estuvo el otro gobierno y estaba el otro presidente, que era Racedo Aragón, me opuse siempre. Y cuando han hecho esa jugada, llevar gente para firmar, yo no firmé, no quise firmar, dije, pero sí tengo fotografías filmadas que estuve en esta reunión. Y ella tampoco firmó

§441: E2: porque no me dejaste.

§442: E3: yo no la dejé, bueno, ella quería firmar, y bue...

§443: E2: yo iba a poner mi firma, iba a poner "en disconformidad" para anularles la...

§444: E3: el acta

§445: E2: el acta. Pero bueno, él no me dejó

§446: E3: y bueno, así en cuanto a [...] ese sitio, pero como después, bueno, como se dividió, se suspendió y estuvo parado y después lo conocimos al grupo

GESTAL para terminarlo. Pero mirá, hermano... ¿vos ya fuiste a Ciudad Sagrada?

§447: F: Estuve el año pasado. Este año todavía me falta la visita.

§448: E3: bueno, usted habrá visto, está el sitio ese, está el comedor, están los dos hoteles que está ahí sobre el sitio. A mí me parece un despropósito. No me parece. Es una falta de respeto total. Yo digo decimos Ciudad Sagrada, usamos un término español, porque es un lugar sagrado. Para nosotros de verdad es un lugar sagrado. Lo lamento y lamento mucho que ellos no comprendan eso.

§449: F: ¿ellos, a quién se está refiriendo con eso?

§450: E3: al gobierno. Al gobierno y a todos *los que están contratados ahí*.

§451: F: sí.

§452: E3: inclusive cuando lo tuvo privatizado, lo tuvo Cruz, que es uno de los nuestros, pero es un negociante más porque habla del indígena, pero no tiene sentimiento porque no respeta nada. Con el proyecto que consiguió se hizo todo lo que hizo ahí ¿me entendés?

§453: F: sí, sí, sí

§454: E3: entonces no me parece que... ellos sí venían, *desarmaron* museo, lo arreglaron, lo hicieron el salón, decían que va a estar el museo. Yo no lo conozco todavía, porque quiero saber, le hemos pedido el listado de las piezas

¿cómo se dice ahí el listado de las piezas?

§455: F: la, cómo sería, la colección...

§456: E2: sí, la colección

§457: F: el registro, digamos

§458: E3: sí, un registro de las piezas que sabemos que hubo una cierta cantidad. Nunca nos quisieron dar. Y sabemos, yo, por lo menos, sé de un lugar donde hay algunas piezas que han estado en el museo de un tiempo, entonces ¿puede un organismo de estado...

§459: E2: yo compré una.

§460: E3: ¿podemos dejar ahí? A ella le vendieron el que estaba privatizado le vendió una a ella

§461: E2: Cruz me vendió un pluviómetro.

§462: E3: y está en el museo de Salta y bueno... entonces ¿pueden ellos manejar una situación? ¿puede Turismo manejar una situación?

§463: F: claro

§464: E3: ¿no le correspondería, por ejemplo, a Patrimonio...

§465: F: Ente Tucumán Cultura

§466: E3: claro, Ente Tucumán Cultura...

§467: F: sí, esto es una cosa muy rara, porque en Tafí, por ejemplo, los menhires, el Parque Menhires está bajo el Ente Cultura

§468: E2: pero eso es un despropósito.

§469: F: es un despropósito total, por supuesto

§470: E3: ¿pueden ellos entonces...

§471: E2: por ejemplo ¿cómo pueden ellos enterrar un menhir hasta el cuello?

§472: E3: ¿puede le Patrimonio?

§473: E2: sabés por qué el *bonito* está enterrado?

§474: F: no, explíquemelo.

§475: E2: el bonito es un menhir de una persona que está así, con los ojos muy abiertos, la boca en posición o de dolor o de estrabismo, algo, y tiene un cierto relieve y pelo largo. Pero el problema del bonito es que tiene un, una espada entre las manos y tiene *runas*. Quien lo vieron y de donde lo sacaron tenemos problemas bárbaros con los vikingos, y de hecho en la raza de nosotros hay gente de cabello rojo y pelo, ojos negros o verdes

§476: F: mirá

§477: E2: pero en medio de los cerros donde no hay ninguna cruz ¿no? y alturas, gente muy alta y gente mediana y gente muy chica. Tres alturas bastante discordantes. El asunto es que tenés en Catamarca también pinturas de gente a caballo y que decían que eran los españoles, pero si vos los ves, no son españoles. Y nosotros en los menhires tenemos runas, pero nadie quiere verlas, porque si hay pinturas también de un barco vikingo, con los escudos y todo. Pero es que cuando ellos

vinieron, no teníamos la cordillera y no eran vikingos y las historias narran que de donde ellos vinieron era de un continente que ya no está en el océano pacífico. De hecho Cafayate y todo eso encontrás ballenas, quiere decir que en... o sea bueno.... Ballenas. Encontrás, este, la osamenta -como dirían acá- de ballenas fósiles de ballenas y animales de la Quebrada de las Conchas, porque tienen conchas marinas

§478: F: ya

§479: E2: aquí también hemos tenido *el oleaje* de mar y fue en otro momento geográfico, que se supone que no había vikingos. Entonces eh, y ellos quedaron en *nuestros* rituales y en muchas cosas. Y eh, acá en las bolsitas que tiene el museo de Bravo en Cafayate, esas bolsitas de cuero, si la convencés a la señora de Bravo, cuando alguien le ha dicho que era runa, no sé quién le ha dicho que las esconda y están metidas en las bolsitas, son las dieciséis primeras runas, y acá las abuelas las nombraban de otra forma pero están escritas. Y bueno, y... y como la historia es difícil de contar y no podemos tener vikingos acá y sin embargo en el Paraguay hay, y hay caminos para llegar hasta aquí. Está como no sé cómo vamos a contar una historia así. Se sostuvo que en el Tucumanae la raza de mujeres metro ochenta, hombres hasta dos metros, dos metros siete, dos metros quince. Ah, no que en Córdoba no hay, no hay, no hay, que es mentira, joven

más alto, más atrás, más petisito, que esto, que aquello, y que otro... tenemos un cuerpo de 4300 de dos metros diez. Y lo que encontraron ahora en Cerro Colorado que son distintos tiempos de un cementerio, mujeres de un metro ochenta. O sea hay un montón de cosas que ahora, por eso me llamaban, tenés que ir al Cerro Colorado y no morir, y ahora están todos ofendidos este, porque cuando hablamos de las leyendas y de las historias antiguas, y ahora los abuelos están volviendo para que se comprenda

§480: F: bueno

§481: E2: así que bueno, ahora sí te dejamos, comemos huevos si podemos...

§482: E3: ¡y hay mucho más para contar!

§483: F: me imagino. Dale.

§484: E3: [...] tenemos cómo se construyó todo en Tucumán, en Tafí [...] los gobiernos, cómo están ahora... y aún siguen cerradísimos, te digo ¿no? es la lucha constante. Pero bueno, nosotros seguimos mirando y creo que ya no nos van a apagar esta llama, este fuego indigenista. Seguimos venerando, cuidando, sino hasta agradeciendo a la Madre Tierra, cuidando que esta casita, esta nave tierra siga verde, porque lo verde es vida. Eso no lo saben comprender gran parte de la humanidad.

§485: F: dale. Una última cosita pequeñita, que algo que surgió ahí en Amaicha. ¿ustedes saben

algo sobre algo que llaman "chiqui"?

§486: E2: ah, sí.

§487: E3: ¡eh, te podemos contar pfff!

§488: F: bueno, entonces eso va para el otro. (risas). Perfecto. Me quedaba la curiosidad.

§489: E2: no, ve, te podemos contar muchísimo.

§490: E3: te puedo contar de kakán chiqui, te podemos contar de pujuiyay, del yastai, del surmnaj...

§491: F: [...] sobre algo que tiene que ver con el sitio de las piedras grabadas. [...] para la otra vez que venga, que igual les puede interesar

§492: E3: [...] [canta] El señor de la Guerra.

§493: F: así que sí, bueno [...]

§494: E3: [...]

§495: E2: nos vemos entonces

§496: F: bueno, nos estamos viendo.

Name: Calcha18-26

Place and Date: Talapazo, CIQ,

October 2018

Transcription by Ana Victoria

Leiva (IAM, Tucumán)

§2: **Desde arriba?**

§3: SR: Si, el canal tiene manguera

§4: **E: Aja**

§5: SR: Ahí nomás por la acequia

§6: **E: Y esos caños que he visto en la acequia esa son las mangueras que dice o no?**

§7: SR: Si algunas si, algunos vecinos tienen la manguera esa y ahí arriba tienen la cisterna

§8: **E: Ah donde se acopia agua**

§9: SR: Claro ahí juntan el agua y la unen para uso de las casas, para jardines, huertitas, más las plantas, mayoría es con el agua corriente.

§10: **E: Y no sé si me puede contar algo usted, porque estaba tratando de buscar información sobre un proyecto de desarrollo que se armó aquí hace como unos, como en el 2003 por esa fecha, no sé si**

usted recuerda algo al respecto?

§11: SR: Sobre qué?

§12: **E: Era un proyecto de riego y habían puesto unos nogales me parece**

§13: SR: Ah sí, el proyecto no sé cómo se llamaba, en ese proyecto venía el tema de las mangueras y de plantas frutales. Si no se en que año habrá sido pero si, si han venido, en ese año se han hecho la cisterna, se han dado las mangueras, las plantas, algunos se han sumado al proyecto y otra gente no, los que se han sumado esa gente tiene las mangueras

§14: **E: Ah los que tienen la manguera son los que se sumaron al proyecto**

§15: SR: Si, si, exactamente ahora entre ellos se comparten, es un grupo, no sé qué semana le toca al grupo ese el agua, son como 3 o 4 familias que les toca el agua y no sé qué día a la semana pero a ellos les toca.

§16: **E: Ah ustedes no se sumaron?**

§17: SR: No, nosotros no hemos entrado en el proyecto ese

§18: **E: Puedo pedir porque razón no se decidieron a sumarse?**

§19: SR: No sé porque ha sido, se escucha a una mujer de fondo lejos...

§20: **SRA: tenían que pagar mucho para usar las mangueras, ** (se escucha muy lejos y ruidos de agua y algún tipo de televisor?)**
Mi marido no quería entrar en eso**

§21: **E: Entonces vinieron aquí con el proyecto**

§22: Han venido con eso y han tenido plata....

§23: SR: Posibilidad de entrar

§24: **No se acuerdan como es que tuvieron esa posibilidad de entra acá? Ustedes no sabían nada de esto, ustedes simplemente vinieron**

§25: Claro se formó un proyecto

§26: Se escucha muy bajo a la Sra. hablar,

§27: SR: Hay una Sra. aquí que ella sabe bien, Ella ha entrado en eso, después le han quitado pero no sé porque le han quitado la manguera y se ha retirado

§28: **E: Quien era esa Sra.? Si puedo preguntar**

§29: SR: Ya la voy a llamar para que le explique bien

§30: **E: Ah bueno no quería molestar**

§31: SR: Ella sabe bien del tema, allá está mama, ella sabe cómo es la historia porque se han dado mangueras, aspersores, han puesto plantas en la escuela, plantas injertadas, nogales,

§32: **Nogales más que nada**

§33: SR: Si, si, han dejado

§34: **** (Se escucha agua y un televisor de fondo) ****

§35: Silencio

§36: SR: Cuando vino usted?

§37: **E: Ayer llegue, recién ayer y me voy a quedar 10 días, poquito tiempo en realidad**

§38: SR: Usted anda acá o en varios lugares?

§39: **E: De momento acá en Talapazo luego voy a ver si puedo moverme también a otro lugar, pero estuve en Amaicha antes de venir acá**

§40: SR: Y disculpe, de parte de quien viene usted o quien lo manda?

§41: E: A claro si porque ayer lo explique, este es un trabajo para mi tesis de doctorado, así que no me manda nadie básicamente, yo vine acá por las casualidades que me trajeron acá básicamente, no hay otra razón para explicarlo a eso y justo bueno me intereso esta cuestión de los proyectos ahí en Amaicha y me comentaban que estos proyectos que me está contando también era parte de eso era también allá en un pueblo de Amaicha, entonces ahí me decían en Talapazo al lado de Quilmes también se hizo, entonces por eso me comunique con Sandro y me vine para aquí. Siguiendo un poco esa pista.

§42: Sra.: ella es la Sra.

§43: Buenas tardes era como le va?

§44: DI: Bien, un gusto

§45: Francesco, un gusto.

§46: DI: Está visitando Talapazo

§47: E: Estoy visitando y haciendo preguntas molestas jajajajaja

§48: DI: No, no es molesto, siempre que se maneje con la verdad no es molesto.

§49: E: No porque me decían, estoy haciendo un trabajo de investigación para mi tesis doctoral, entonces estoy buscando recopilar historias sobre el pueblo y ver algunas cuestiones que intervinieron acá en el territorio que me parece que son interesantes rescatar, y justo estábamos hablando de este proyecto que hicieron con el riego y trajeron frutales y me decían que usted me podía contar algo al respecto.

§50: DI: claro yo me había entusiasmado mucho con el tema de las mangueras y todo eso, porque eso tiene de todo así que entonces bueno me he entusiasmado, pero lo que pasa que como no estoy siempre aquí yo voy y vengo y me han empezado a cuestionar que yo no mandaba mano de obra, yo hablaba gente que vaya les

pagaba y ellos decían que no iban, es más me han hecho tirar áridos y los que dirigían el tema que no iba a estar, ya tenía la manguera hasta ahí y un buen día me la han arrancado a la manguera y se la han llevado, y uno pide explicaciones y me han dicho que era porque yo no había aportado lo que correspondía

§51: E: Pero esa gente quién era?

§52: DI: Eran los lugareños, eran 2 o 3 los dirigentes de aquí

§53: E: De acá del pueblo eran?

§54: DI: Si, si

§55: E: Y quien era si puedo preguntar? Quienes manejaban eso?

§56: DI: Estaba a cargo el que era delegado de base en ese entonces, porque nosotros tenemos la organización de la comunidad india no sé si la conoces

§57: E: Si, si

§58: Bueno está compuesta por las 14 bases y cada base tiene su referente, entonces era el sr.

Antonio Caro y después estaba Marcelo Flores, ellos eran, pero el que estaba era Caro y todos apoyaban, no he tenido el carácter de plantarse pero un buen día *.....* y bueno ahí esta

§59: E: Porque no estaba aportando? Según ellos

§60: Porque yo consideraba que sí, es más un día nos dicen tenemos que venir a trabajar en la escuela porque era una forma de aportar y yo fui con mi sobrino fuimos a limpiar, hemos puesto plantas de la huerta, y ahí hemos estado trabajando, pero bueno parece que eso no satisfacía así que bueno me han llevado la manguera, lo único que me ha quedado es el aspersor y pienso que algún día tendré manguera y podré usarlo al aspersor.

§61: E: Claro porque ahora tiene el aspersor pero no le llega el agua?

§62: Si, si, y yo lo tenía adentro sino me llevaban todo.

§63: E: Y me decía que estaba entusiasmada con eso?

§64: Claro a mí me había interesado mucho, es más por ahí no lo interpretan tanto al proyecto, había mucha gente que estaba negativa, que dirigían decían que quizás eso no le ha gustado, querían una parcela de tierra que yo les dé para hacer trabajos comunitarios y yo le digo que por ahí no conviene eso, es lindo muy buena la idea, pero cada uno quiere mejorar la parcela que tiene, no le parece? Y después ya se podría pensar en eso, porque cada uno quiere mejorar por lo menos hacer llegar la manguera hasta la parcela que tiene, en cambio si yo le daba el espacio ese, todo me iban a volcar en ese espacio y no sé si iba a funcionar porque uno está de acuerdo y ya ven si uno no trabaja y otro sí, yo pienso que es aquí la cuestión, que no les ha gustado, pero a mí me aprecia muy buena la idea de que cada uno mejore lo que tiene, porque si tiene una parcela aparte comunitaria ya se iba a volcar todo a eso, entonces venían plantas y querían hacer plantaciones comunitarias y todo lo contrario cada uno a

puesto plantas en su parcela y aun las tienen, y a mí me parece que ha sido la mejor forma, pero bueno yo no me quejaba al último, si me ha molestado un poco pero lo he aceptado.

§65: E: Y recuerda cómo fue que los informaron sobre ese proyecto?

§66: DI: Eso de la comunidad uno de los dirigentes había bajado ese proyecto para Quilmes

§67: E: Quién era? El cacique u otra persona?

§68: DI: El secretario

§69: E: Como se llamaba?

§70: DI: Santiago Santos, él lo ha bajado y también en la misma idea de hacer un trabajo comunitario y bueno medio que el delegado de base a dicho no, no conviene, mejor es que nos den para cada uno, esas cosas, y terminan diciendo de Caro que era el delegado de acá, bueno si ustedes no lo quieren, lo llevo yo y al toque le han dado.

§71: E: Ah, o sea que bajaron ese proyecto para la comunidad?

§72: DI: Claro, para la comunidad cualquiera de las bases que quiera

§73: E: Cualquier base

§74: DI: Si, en primer momento era para la base de Quilmes y medio que no les gustaba la idea de un espacio comunitario cada uno quería llevar a su parcela las mangueras y todo lo demás y eso fue.

§75: E: Y así fue que el delegado de acá

§76: DI: Aprovecho la oportunidad de decir yo lo llevo, pero un poco también tenía la idea de hacer algo comunitario y la gente no quería eso, quería cada uno su parcela

§77: E: Pero usted no sabe cómo venía ese proyecto? Como venían los papeles? Si era para cuestiones comunitarias o cada parcela?

§78: DI: En un primer momento era comunitaria y así lo analizábamos nosotros este bueno no es que se llegue a todos o a la mayoría, bienvenido sea, porque por ahí ya surgen esas cosas, usted ve en las

corporaciones lo que ocurre, tenemos la experiencia en campo de los chañares por allá cerca de Quilmes hay enormes proyectos y se veía que era una corporación que ni sabíamos que era, se terminó y han dejado todo tirado, han deforestado porque ahí teníamos campos de algarrobo teníamos para forraje de los animales, porque todos tenemos animales y ellos han limpiado todo,

§79: E: En los chañares?

§80: DI: Si en campo de los chañares, y después quedo todo abandonado debe haber mangueras enterradas

§81: E: Y esto era otro proyecto?

§82: DI: Era otro ese lo han bajado, creo que era de los funcionarios del gobierno algo así

§83: E: Ah creo que entendí que proyecto era, este era que venían con el INAI?

§84: DI: Capaz que ahora han venido pero este que le estoy hablando yo ha venido de la comunidad económica europea

pero tenía articulación con el INAI

§85: E: Ah los Chañares entonces

§86: DI: Si y bueno los que han recibido ese beneficio, están bien, ha sido muy importante

§87: E: Pero no se prendieron todos?

§88: DI: Claro, un poco los asustaba la idea de que decían que no nos va a convenir o que tenemos que pagarlo, esas cosas, como nunca se había recibido

§89: E: Claro que me decía antes la señora antes que había que pagarlo para usar esa manguera

§90: DI: Claro pero en un primer momento siempre se piensa en eso, pero uno le hace ver que no es así el tema, no se interpreta bien, y ahí han aflojado y había sí que poner la mano de obra y aquí era el dirigente y yo únicamente para este lado y para allá son muchos. Así que como sea estamos tirando, y ahora siempre me piden agua, algunos tienen necesidad en el día que lo tengo yo y me piden y

no tengo problema yo les doy a pesar que no tengo manguera, aquí tienen el chorro y me la vuelven a poner en el canal, en cambio ellos tienen agua permanente cuando esta para allá, por las manguera todas las casas y nosotros no tenemos , por turnos, si a la señora se le secan los tanques y ya no tenemos agua y hay un vertientita ahí

§91: E: Ni siquiera para la casa?

§92: DI: No nada, no tenemos nada. Antes cuando yo era joven me iba al rio a llenar los baldes, pero ahora ya no, ya está más arriba el vertiente, pero antes históricamente todos íbamos al rio a traer el agua, juntábamos agua cuando estaba el turno para acá pero se acaba, así que hay que traer agua más limpia por lo menos para tomar, del vertiente y ahora esta ese vertiente y la idea es algún día poder sacar una manguera aquí para el consumo.

§93: E: O sea que bueno este proyecto fue solo para los que se prendieron para eso, no fue para todo el pueblo

§94: DI: Claro venia dirigido para todo el pueblo, pero empiezan esas desconfianzas, aparte tiene un carácter raro este hombre y muchos no lo aceptan por eso

§95: E: Este delegado que usted me decía?

§96: DI: Claro, si, si, allá arriba había un puesto donde todos teníamos hacienda allá nos juntábamos íbamos cuando había que ver, hacer carnear, bajábamos al rio llevábamos botellas, botellitas, subíamos y al ratito teníamos que volver, entonces estaba yo con la agente sanitaria que era de acá y le pedíamos al delegado una manguera para que le dé a la Sra. que saque agua, y han dado vuelta y vuelta hasta que han aceptado, ple hemos hecho ver todos los pros y contras era una señora grande y le han puesto la manguera y subía el agua, tenía su baño instalado y han hecho una huertita, todo, yo no me he beneficiado con ese proyecto pero me encanta los que se han beneficiado es muy importante.

§97: E: Y antes que viniera eso todo era por acequia?

§98: DI: Si todo por acequia, después vino la universidad a trabajar por acá se ha decidido hacer el canal, esa ha sido la primera vez, también era un problema

§99: E: Cuál era el canal?

§100: DI: Ese que va por ahí

§101: E: El que va por ahí que pasa el agüita

§102: DI: Usted ha pasado por ahí? Ese de piedra que pasa el agua

§103: ** Se sienten silbidos**

§104: DI: Nosotros todavía estábamos bajo el dominio del terrateniente, pero que puede decir el terrateniente si algún día nos dice que nos vamos le va a quedar el canal hay que hacerlo, aparte nosotros tenemos derechos adquiridos sobre esa acequia nosotros somos dueños de mejorarla

§105: E: Ah mira

§106: DI: Y bueno se ha hecho en canal y también eran dos delegados que luchábamos por

eso, para que se haga el canal, el resto también tenían miedo que no querían trabajar, en ese momento la universidad buscaba un proyecto de plan trabajar no me acuerdo como se llamaba el programa, saca ese proyecto para que los que trabajen cobren algo, así que ahí se han entusiasmado más y lo han hecho

§107: E: Y cuándo fue eso? En qué año maso menos?

§108: DI: Y habar sido en la década del 80

§109: E: Del 80?

§110: DI: Si

§111: E: Y la universidad vino directamente a hablar aquí o hablo en Quilmes con los dirigentes de Quilmes?

§112: DI: Claro tampoco querían los dirigentes querían acercar a la universidad, ellos venían con la idea de querer trabajar con las comunidades y era un proyecto que financiaba la Kellogg's que financiaba a la universidad

§113: E: Que es kellogg's?

§114: DI: La kellogg's es esa fábrica de galletas algo así, y eso financiaba

§115: E: Pero de acá de argentina?

§116: DI: No lo entendía bien, pareciera que estaba en Brasil porque el que ha venido, el que dirigía eso era brasilero por la forma de hablar y bueno él decía que nos va a dar, de platita para que hagan el proyecto, que para nosotros era un caudal de plata y él decía un poquito jajajaja si ahí se ha empezado a trabajar, han perdido los miedos de los terratenientes con ellos porque venían a capacitarnos, venían técnicos, asistentes sociales, médicos, psicólogos, todo, el equipo de la universidad

§117: E: La universidad era de Tucumán?

§118: DI: Si, de Tucumán. Y ahí han empezado a perder los miedos la gente, porque antes ni siquiera, por lo menos en el bañado nadie quería hacer casa de material porque el terrateniente no iba a querer.

§119: E: De material que sería?

§120: DI: Sería de adobe, una casa más digna, que hacían ramas así y le tiraban barro y el techo y era de vinchucas se llenaban ahí y después claro no querían hacer y después ha venido un enfermero y él se ha puesto firme y les ha dicho todos tienen que hacer casas

§121: E: Un enfermero?

§122: DI: Si un enfermero

§123: E: Ahí en el bañado?

§124: DI: Si, y él les ha dado impulso a la gente para que se hagan sus casas. Y en mi casa la Sra. del terrateniente se para en la ruta y mira la casa y dice a ustedes quien los ha autorizado que hagan esa casa? Y nadie, nosotros nomas nos hemos decidido porque ya no podíamos vivir con vinchucas. Y esto no es tierra de usted, ustedes si querían hacer tenían que ir a otro lado a comprar y hacer. Sra. le digo pero si algún día que nosotros nos vamos, la casa va a quedar para usted para su quinta, nosotros nos vamos y no nos vamos a llevar la casa ay nunca más me ha dicho anda, y así le molestaba a ella.

Quería q vivamos en un ranchito como vivíamos antes y así ha sido la lucha. El enfermero ha dado mucho impulso a la gente

§125: E: Quien era ese enfermero? Como se llamaba?

§126: DI: Él era Javier Fernando Villagrán

§127: E: Villagrán?

§128: DI: Él era,

§129: E: Pero era de aquí?

§130: DI: Él era de fuerte quemado, ahí nomás, él trabajaba ahí,

§131: E: Y eso fue siempre en los 80 que decía?

§132: DI: No eso ha sido en la década del 50 cuando ha venido el enfermero este cuando ha empezado a trabajar y después a empezado la movida de la tierra, que teníamos que luchar y defender la posición de la tierra, porque antes cuando no le gustaba algo al terrateniente nos decían desocupen y váyanse. Y de ahí se han empezado a defenderse así, se han organizado, la comunidad india

§133: E: Pero ese enfermero no tenía nada que ver con la comunidad?

§134: DI: No, nada que ver

§135: E: Pero empezó a hacer entender?

§136: DI: Si, sí. Nada más que el como era de salud aportaba todo al mejoramiento por la salud

§137: E: Claro y luego usted recuerda cuándo es que se fue organizando más la comunidad como ahora como organización?

§138: DI: Venía trabajando bien pero después por esos intereses tontos han empezado a decidirse así que ahora están enfrentados ellos, los dos grupos.

§139: E: Antes me hablaba de este Santos, que por lo que he leído un poquito

§140: DI: Claro, él ha sido el que se ha separado y a formado otro grupo, porque había peleas entre ellos, internas, había 3 dirigentes eran Francisco Chaile, él y después Gerónimo y la pelea era entre ellos 3 que no

entendíamos porque y terminaron dividiéndose. La pero de los momentos ha sido cuando este señor Caro, tiene su parte buena que hay que reconocerlo que él es el que se ha plantado y ha hecho que allá en las ruinas de Quilmes la administraba un empresario entonces ya se había cumplido el convenio y hasta que se lo a desalojado al empresario y ha empezado la administración y venia mala la administración y por eso han sido la pelea.

§141: E: Claro hace unos años ha habido enfrentamientos fuertes no? Que lo metieron preso a Chaile.

§142: DI: Si, sí. Y todo eso le decía yo era la delegada de base les decía, todos hablaban de r a denunciar yo aquí lo más correcto es reunirse hablar y ponerse de acuerdo y no ellos querían que lo detengan, lo han hecho detener le han pegado, todo. Después ellos han vuelto a tomar posesión y ya les han pegado al otro bando y así, y después quedo un poco ahí, después han hecho intento otra vez de hacer la toma del cacique

y ahí es cuando le ha salido mal, después decían que plata, plata, plata para el cacique, *...* ningún momento he estado de acuerdo que se hagan esas cosas, que había que ir a hablar y lo menos que querían era hablar. Una vez ha venido un grupo ahí a donde estaba y no los han querido recibir

§143: E: Un grupo de?

§144: DI: De los otros, la otra parte y no los han querido recibir y así no van a arreglar nunca, aunar los criterios como está manejando uno que es lo que quieren y ponerse de acuerdo y ahí se han calmado un poco, pero ahora no sé qué es lo que hacen, no está funcionando ahora me parece

§145: E: Pero que fue que los empujo digamos a tomar la ciudad en primer lugar o sea para expulsar al empresario ese?

§146: DI: Claro, era para hacer el manejo ya la comunidad y bueno han obtenido el manejo y luego el problema era porque no hacían un informe del manejo.

§147: E: Pero en ese entonces quien era el cacique Chaile?

§148: DI: Estaba de cacique Chaile y de ahí ponían los administradores y nunca informaban a pesar de que se les pedía

§149: E: Pero era toda la comunidad todas las 14 bases

§150: DI: Si, y ya después se ha informado, había dinero y decíamos ya hay que darle un destino a ese dinero porque no tiene sentido tener plata depositada, entonces hemos llegado a un acuerdo que se dividía en partes iguales a las 14 bases y se la entrega, que administren bien ese fondo va a tener parte la otra vez y el que no ha administrado bien que se olvide, y ya empezado que no, que no va a ser partes iguales, que hay bases que tienen muy pocos habitantes que tienen que ser menos. Y digo si es verdad que tienen menos habitantes pero el acceso que ellos tienen es distinto al del lado de la ruta, Colalao del Valle quería llevar la mayor parte porque tenían muchos habitantes pero ahí

tienen el correo, tienen el médico, la escuela, los negocios si quieren comprar algo ahí está, en cambio aquí hay que bajar para allá si compra material tiene que subir y eso implica costo y todas las otras localidades chicas Los Chañares, ranchillos, entonces tienen que ser partes iguales, ahora que administren y demuestren que han invertido bien ese fondo eso era lo que teníamos que hacer.

§151: E: Y nunca lo presentaron a esa rendición?

§152: DI: Y no han querido, no ya a aparecido Delfín Gerónimo y ha dicho que porque tienen que estar repartiendo la plata, bueno pero para cuándo? Qué sentido tiene estar ahí amontonando dinero y después cuando han empezado las peleas no sabemos que se ha hecho la plata

§153: E: Ósea que ha traído muchos problemas

§154: DI: Si, si, y ahora que han ido a peor nos tampoco informan que han idea a hacer, que acuerdo han hecho nada,

nos que querrán hacer ahora, porque en esa época cuando ha sido el desacuerdo, venían del proyecto del centro represa como es

§155: E: Centro de interpretación

§156: DI: De interpretación, eso y uno que le desconfiaba, de ultima hemos dicho que se haga y se empezó a trabajar y ahí se ha armado el despiole

§157: E: Y ahora usted lo conoce? Porque lo acaban de inaugurar

§158: DI: Si

§159: E: Fueron a visitar

§160: DI: Si

§161: E: Que le pareció?

§162: DI: Una inmensa obra y los que saben más de eso, nos. Ellos sabrán opinar, a mí me parece una inmensa obra. Y después que estaba este otro grupo nosotros pedíamos que nos reunamos, que nos informen de la plata que ellos tienen, si nos han invitado, hemos ido, entonces

preguntamos con el centro de interpretación que va a pasar?

§163: E: Ajá

§164: DI: Y si ustedes quieren pedís, firmar un acta y decir que se continúe el dinero esta

§165: E: Que se continúe dice?

§166: DI: Si

§167: E: Que se había parado cuando fue el enfrentamiento?

§168: DI: Si, entonces se ha hecho una nota y se ha pedido que sigan

§169: E: Al ente turismo?

§170: DI: Si, y lo han terminado

§171: E: Pero lo siguen administrando solo

§172: DI: Los que están ahí, ellos son los administradores

§173: E: Que es el grupo de Quiles pueblo

§174: DI: Claro, si el grupo ese que está ahí

§175: E: Pero ustedes de acá de Talapazo si quieren ir a visitar el sitio tienen que pagar entrada?

§176: DI: No, para los lugareños es entrada libre, para los turistas se paga

§177: E: Pero que le pareció como transmiten el mensaje los museos, para ver un poco si efectivamente lo que querían explicar con ese centro de interpretación a usted le aprecio haber aprendido algo cine so?

§178: DI: Sí, hay cosas que por ahí alguien decía y ahí están para aclarar esa información. Hay muchas cosas que no las han puesto también.

§179: E: Por ejemplo que cosas?

§180: DI: Mucho accionar de gente que ha trabajado mucho por la comunidad eso se han olvidado, porque antes la gente luchaba a pulmón, no tenía ningún apoyo de nada ni para viajar, nada por eso en realidad tenían que trabajar por entero, nadie tenía para la comida, cada uno podía, si tenía un animalito lo llevaba, una señora lo cocinaba y comían y cuando venía gente del gobierno había que esperarlo. En cambio ahora si tenían plata del proyecto cuando se reunían cada 2

semanas se reunía el consejo y tenían presupuesto para comida, para pagar a la cocinera, antes no, no había anda de eso y ahora la verdad estoy desconectada porque ya no soy delegada de base, ya no participo.

§181: E: Y cuando fue delegada usted?

§182: DI: Y hasta el 2010 creo que he sido

§183: E: Desde cuándo?

§184: DI: Yo he tenido 2 periodos cada periodo de 4 años

§185: E: O sea 8 años desde el 2002 vendría a ser

§186: DI: Si.

§187: E: Bueno o sea que para usted falta esa parte de organización de la comunidad en ese centro de interpretación

§188: DI: Si, si

§189: E: Es más bien la explicación del sitio arqueológico

§190: DI: O capaz que está pero yo he ido 2 veces y no lo he podido ver, pero no se

§191: E: Pero si lo hubiera visto, le hubiera llamado la atención

§192: DI: Si, se merece que se conozca esa persona y si he visto gente que ha empezado ayer, están y no han tenido mucho la actividad brillante y están ellos.

§193: E: Están dónde?

§194: DI: En el centro de interpretación, figuran

§195: E: Figuran

§196: DI: Es más hay una diapositiva donde están ellos

§197: E: O sea la parre más reciente no la más antigua

§198: DI: Si

§199: E: Mire usted, por ejemplo, perdón si le pregunto esas cuestiones pero aprovecho, toda esa parte de reconstrucción del sitio esta explicada esa cosa más o menos o no?

§200: DI: Si, si

§201: E: O sea de la gente que estuvo trabajando, de los lugareños que estuvieron trabajando

§202: DI: La lucha por el reconocimiento, a eso me refiero yo, la gente que ha trabajado por la lucha del territorio

§203: E: Del territorio

§204: DI: Claro porque por ej. Hay un señor que es del Pichao y ellos porque mi abuelito él estaba en esos momentos en el movimiento, creo que era en el 46, debe haber sido cuando van a Bs As

§205: E: Ah, si

§206: DI: No era el éxodo jujeño

§207: E: Era el malón de la paz

§208: DI: Eral el malón de la paz tiene razón eso era, Y bueno de ahí se les prende la lucecita y alguien habrá venido a decir que se tienen que organizar y se han empezado a organizar y en eso estaba mi abuelo, el abuelo de este Caro

§209: E: Como se llamaba su abuelo?

§210: DI: Mi abuelo se llamaba José Antonio Tolay (creo) y pero cuando era la caída del gobierno en el 55 cuando ha sido, ahí

quedo parado todo, ya nadie hizo anda y mi abuelito fallece también y ha quedado parado todo y en la década del 70 parece este señor del Pichao donde nos hablaba y nos decía que teníamos que continuar, que hay que defender el territorio y vino con Santana Campos, con él y ahí también ha sido una movida bastante

§211: E: Y este sr del Pichao como se llamaba?

§212: DI: Feliciano Condori, él vivía en la ciudad joven se fue a trabajar y entonces se quedó, y entonces viene y decía que había que y ahí comenzó el movimiento hasta la actualidad

§213: E: Recuerda usted si participo o le han contado hubo unos parlamentos indígenas

§214: DI: Si el primer parlamento indígena fue organizado por ellos

§215: E: Fue en Amaicha

§216: DI: Si en Amaicha y ahí ha venido gente del sur, del chaco, de Formosa, había una monja también

§217: E: Una?

§218: DI: Monja

§219: E: Monja?

§220: DI: También estaba ella ahí y bueno los políticos apoyaban hasta que se ha creado la ley 23312 ahí se ha creado y les ha costado para hacerla aprobar era una estudiante de derecho en la UNT que era jujeña Lidia Apasa se llama no sé si la conoce

§221: E: Como se llama?

§222: DI: Lidia Apasa ya es grande

§223: E: Ah no la conozco

§224: DI: Ella ha empezado a trabajar ahí hasta que han hecho la ley y entonces estaba y el que la ayudado mucho era Fernando de la Rúa

§225: E: El presidente?

§226: DI: Si, en ese entonces

§227: E: Ah pero después fue presidente

§228: DI: Entonces seria diputado algo así, porque ella se reía la doctora apasa ya tenían todo listo para ir y había unos que no querían entrar que ya tenían el espacio que le había

solicitado De la Rúa para que vayan y se apruebe eso en el senado creo que era

§229: E: Claro

§230: DI: Y entonces dice que estaban algunos que no querían entrar entonces era Frity, no estaba recibido de abogado y decía que no se quería meter para presentar el proyecto de ley y santana era tan enérgico que lo agarro de aquí y le dice vos pasa y han tenido que entrar si o si al senado con los papeles y aprobaron la ley y eso se acordaba Larrua porque cuando ha sido el relanzamiento de agente sanitario, promotores de salud nos llamaban entonces que dice que nosotros teníamos eso pero aquí nunca llegaba y nos preguntábamos porque era el relanzamiento, y porque está la plata pero no baja a la comunidad entonces había otro relanzamiento y vamos ahí y era presidente De La Rúa y Eulogio frías también y él se para ahí y lo ve y lo reconoce en el acto, trabajamos juntos sobre la ley le dice. He tenido la suerte de llegar a la casa rosada yo con ellos, porque adentro de ahí

estaba yo de aspirante a promotora de salud y había que ir a figurar por el tema del proyecto y eso ha sido no por la comunidad, es más cuando invitan a Delfín Gerónimo porque él era uno de los referentes, no quiso ir y entonces don Adán Díaz, lo conoce?

§231: E: No

§232: DI: Era un ex delegado de Colalao del Valle, él es el que ha hecho todos los trámites y nos ha llevado y se ha hecho eso, él ha bajado todo un equipo de salud desde bs as que venga a Quilmes y diga que ese proyecto existe y si les interesa para seguir dando plata pero aquí no ha llegado

§233: E: Aquí nunca ha llegado

§234: DI: Nunca, y ese proyecto ahora esta gente trabajando pagado por el estado, mire si era importante eso.

§235: E: Claro

§236: DI: Yo no entre ahí porque ya era grande y aparte me ha salido eso de la jubilación anticipada y yo me he acogido a

ese beneficio y ya no podía entrar

§237: E: Claro en esto

§238: DI: En ese programa ANAIS se llamaba nos ahora como se llamara

§239: E: Claro

§240: DI: Con ese programa también han ayudado muchísimo, por eso hemos conocido que había esto y lo hemos puesto al tanto a Don Adán y le han dicho bueno usted tiene que ir como delegado y muévase por la universidad, sabíamos que ellos han presentado el proyecto, así que la universidad ha aportado mucho para nosotros. Usted de que universidad viene?

§241: E: yo trabajo en una universidad de Inglaterra

§242: DI: No es tucumano?

§243: E: No, yo soy italiano

§244: DI: Ah, es italiano.

§245: E: Si no solo, pero tengo una beca de acá del gobierno argentino y a través de esta beca, en realidad de las conexiones que tengo con la

universidad de Tucumán pude pedir esa beca, pero mi institución es esa universidad en Inglaterra. Muy interesante lo que me cuenta señora muchas gracias.

§246: DI: Si yo creo que todos debemos ser muy agradecidos con la universidad que nos han venido a capacitar y explicar que hay para nosotros, para nosotros nunca llegaba nada y ahora tienen becas, tienen transporte, están los agentes sanitarios, están cobrando ya empleos, cosa que antes no había anda, los puestos sanitarios estaban el Colalao del Valle y médicos había en Cafayate o Santa María, no había más. En cambio ahora tenemos médicos en Amaicha, vienen especialistas cada 15 días

§247: E: Claro ahí en Amaicha

§248: DI: Si, y todo se lo debemos al director de ese proyecto que fue Carlos Fernández.

§249: E: A ver si me puede colaborar con esa potra preguntita porque estaba tratando de rescatar un poco la

historia cuando fue la época de la dictadura, de los militares no sé si usted tiene algún recuerdo sobre eso

§250: DI: Si, después que fue el parlamento, va uno deduce ahora que sabría ser denuncia de los terratenientes que no le ha gustado eso y han aparecido los milicos acá que uno era subversivo acá y Santana Campos todo los que andaban ahí en el movimiento y fue duro eso porque se han llevado gente a Famailla, vino un camión y los cargo a todos los que andaban en ese movimiento y se los ha llevado y nos hemos asustado por supuesto, nunca ha pasado esas cosas, en mi casa nosotros sabíamos escuchar radioteatro, escuchando la novela a la 1 o 2 de la tarde estábamos escuchando y sentíamos que toreaba el perro y en eso mi mami dice vayan a ver que ve ese perro y salgo y que impresión fea estaba lleno de milicos

§251: E: Aquí?

§252: DI: En mi casa allá en el Bañado. Yo tengo dos casa, una

aquí y una en el bañado porque mi mamita era de aquí y se casó y mi papa

§253: E: Y se fueron a vivir en el bañado, claro que me comentaba que construyeron la casa.

§254: DI: Si, estaba llena de milicos. Yo no sabía ni que iba a decir nada entonces dice si para acá viene Santana Campos, no, para acá no viene y han empezado a mirar y había dos bolsas de cemento y dicen y eso quien les da? Eso nos han dado de la organización esa y para qué? Para que hagamos la defensa del rio Santa María y que más dice Santana, no habla de la tierra y anda más, nos hace entender que nosotros tenemos la posesión y seguían preguntando que ya ni me acuerdo y al final se han ido y en otras casas han ido y los han sacado nomas, al sr. Morales no figura ya

§255: E: Sr. Morales? Quien era ese sr.?

§256: DI: Él era también el dirigente de la base y de ahí lo han llevado porque andaba con

santana y lo llevaron detenido, después a un sr del bañado que se llamaba Ramón Soria, en Quilmes una Sra. grande, y los otros ya han fallecido. Y Costilla también está, él está en Quilmes, ahí eran las reuniones en la casa de él y por eso, cada vez que había reuniones estaba lleno de militares a la vuelta.

§257: DI: Y eso me han preguntado de quien es la tierra, y bueno los terratenientes nos decían que eran los dueños, pero nosotros estamos aquí hace muchísimos años, nosotros somos la 5ta generación de la posesión de la tierra, eran los bisabuelos, después los abuelos los padres y ahora estamos nosotros, entonces eso nos dice Santana que tenemos que defender eso y no pagar, eso era lo más importante y algunos tenían miedo y pagaban igual, mi papá ha pagado hasta el último porque decía si nos sacan a donde vamos a ir? Y nosotros éramos 9 hijos, y el pagaba y después ya ha entendido que no va a pagar, el pagaba iba el pastoreo de la hacienda, venían

y miraban cuantas cabras tenia contaban y había que pagarle por cada una, que si eso es de la naturaleza, porque tenían que pagarle a ellos? Pero era todo obra de la naturaleza, porque tenemos que pagar? Y es eso lo que nosotros estamos defendiendo, ahora vienen muchas corporaciones que quieren apropiarse de la tierra, en Colalao han hecho emprendimiento de viñedos, no sé qué más, pero que bueno sería que fuera la gente de la zona, pero solo los llaman para abrir surcos y después hasta luego, yo tenía un sobrino que ha trabajado ahí y ni siquiera agua le llevaban y en una parte que había viña había unos muchachos que no habían llevado agua estaban muerto de sed y estaban las viñas regándose con el goteo, ellos venían y habían tomado agua de ahí y han ido a parar al hospital porque esa agua estaba con químicos y ellos no sabían y eso nadie lo dice, si ellos creen que han hecho grandes emprendimientos y han dado muy grandes beneficios y no es así.

§258: E: Y qué le parece ahora esta cuestión de la defensa del territorio?

§259: DI: Y yo pienso que tenemos que fortalecerlo cada vez más por los que vienen, no pierdan la lucha, por ej. Se dice que el ex gobernador dice que va a venir a comprar, no sé a quién ira a comprar, todos los campos que nos quedan, y ahí va a ser otra lucha

§260: E: El gobernador de Tucumán?

§261: DI: El ex gobernador Alperovich, si ellos dicen que son los dueños de allá de Colalao

§262: E: Y quieren comprar para acá?

§263: DI: No sé a quién le irán a comprar, quieren apropiarse, si nos van a invadir los campos y después de que vamos a vivir? = si los campos los necesitamos para la hacienda aparte que la población va creciendo y necesitamos espacios para trabajar, aquí en Talapazo había 5 casa antes, mire ahora hay muchas familias ya y eso esta pasando en todos los pueblitos

y si ellos nos invaden ese territorio y antes se iban todos a bs as porque decían que se vivía bien pero muchos están volviendo porque no les gusta ya y personas mayores sin trabajo, que se han jubilado se vuelven acá, entonces el espacio tiene que estar. Yo lo veo desde mucha ambición si ellos están en el gobierno cobran sus señores sueldos y se jubilaran y todo, dejen los campos para nosotros, sabemos que existen un montón de proyectos de apoyo pero nunca llegan si el único proyecto modelo es el de Talapazo

§264: E: Cual? El que me comentaba?

§265: DI: Claro el de las mangueras, después han dado nogales y ahora le han financiado cabañas al turismo y después las otras localidades no, este hombre es muy audaz y tiene contactos. Así que al territorio hay que defenderlo, es de los nativos, de los originarios, ellos son profesionales pueden vivir de otra manera,

§266: DI: la otra vez viene el ex gobernador Alperovich y nos reúne para decirnos que quería promover la artesanía, que saben hacer los artesanos? Y bueno en eso tiene que trabajar dice, porque el turismo va a avanzar por acá y tienen q hacer y hablando de turismo nosotros sabemos que existen financiamiento para cabañas, nosotros queremos hacer cabañas como las de Talapazo para recibir a los turistas, primero hagan las artesanías y las cabañas no son para ustedes, claro porque ellos tiene programado hacer grandes hoteles, entonces nosotros vamos a hacer el plato gordo para ellos y después, entonces eso digo yo tan solo están pensando en ellos, porque no dan las cabañas? Si a Talapazo le han dado debe haber algún programa? Entonces porque no dan cabañas a otros pueblitos para que se quede el turismo, porque en Cafayate en la época alta ya no hay lugar se vienen a Colalao y Colalao tampoco tiene mucha capacidad y no todos los turistas son 5 estrellas, algunos son para cabañas.

§267: E: Entonces aquí se ha pasado de la cuestión del agua al turismo ahora?

§268: DI: Si ellos están trabajando con el turismo

§269: E: Sí, yo estoy parando donde Sandro. Bien interesante lo que me comentaba sobre ese canal, que vino el proyecto de la universidad, uno va descubriendo cosas que no conocía

§270: DI: Si y los militares a la gente que han llevado las han tenido unos días en Famailla y las preguntas que le habían hecho era si había subversivos aquí, que veían, Santana viene con Condori solo a hablar del territorio, no se ve más anda, nosotros no vemos anda, eso han dicho en Famailla y ellos han hablado entonces que era el militar, el gobernador militar y ellos le han dicho que vayan y que sigan trabajando pero que trabajen y los han detenido, los han llevado y han quedado los familiares llorando.

§271: E: Entonces la cuestión era Santana Campos que me

dice hacia hincapié en la cuestión de no pagar

§272: DI: Claro nos asesoraba, nos hacía reconocer los derechos, porque si les estamos pagando reconocemos que son ellos los dueños y al no pagarle no los reconocíamos, pero había uno de los terratenientes que ha dicho bueno si, tienen razón y se han dado cuenta que ellos solos no pueden manejar el territorio, solo cobrando y la gente ya tenía menos hacienda y se iba, y si no tenían la plata venían y salvaban los animales y se los llevaban

§273: E: Y quien era esa gente?

§274: DI: Los terratenientes que eran chico Sosi, chico Feijo, chico Cano

§275: E: Que son de estos que se ve en el Bañado esa casa grande?

§276: DI: Si así era la casa de ellos

§277: DI: Y después chico Sosa en Colalao, chico Cano también en Colalao pero ya han fallecido el único que queda es chico

Freijo que vive en Tucumán y chico Sosi que vive en Colalao

§278: E: Así que se fueron?

§279: DI: Claro han aceptado la realidad, y lo único valorable que han tenido los terratenientes es que ellos no han vendido a un foráneo, otras personas capaz que lo venden al territorio o no habrán podido vender no sé. Vendemos la finca y que se las arreglen con el que viene, pero ellos no han vendido, ellos la han tenido ahí hasta que nosotros la hemos recuperado, eso es lo único rescatable que han tenido los terratenientes.

§280: DI: Eso les digo yo como en el caso de Tolombón, ellos han vendido y han venido gente de afuera y los han sacado a todos y los que no han podido sacar el estado ha hecho un barrio para que vayan a vivir ahí.

§281: E: Interesante, y a ver si porque lo que estoy tratando de hacer como un mapa y en este mapa poner aparte de esa historia que me está contando usted, también unos lugares que estén asociados a esa

historia y si usted tendría que rescatar algunos lugares importantes para esta historia de reconocimiento, que lugares según usted serían importantes para remarcar?

§282: DI: Y para mí serían importante las 14 bases, porque las 14 bases tenían un representante y la sede era si en Quilmes ahí se reunían todos

§283: E: Claro pero más en chico, por ej. Talapazo que lugares son importantes para poder contar esa historia, si viene alguien de afuera o sus nietos y dice acá en ese lugar ha pasado esto y esto es importante porque se conecta con esa historia de lucha que usted me está comentando

§284: DI: Y últimamente fue algo importante aquí en Colalao, había una parte que la han tomado porque había un grupo que se había organizado como comunidad y tenía los campos desocupados y la gente ha tomado una parcela y después esos terratenientes no la querían reconocer y han empezado denuncias y las 14

bases iban a defender ese espacio y hasta que después había enfrentamientos con la policía y los lugareños y cada uno a usado su arma que tenía, la onda, la piedra y los otros venían con las balas y han hecho retroceder

§285: E: Claro eso fue importante no? Paso hace poco? Me estuvieron comentando

§286: DI: Y después lo otro en la subversión que todos tenían miedos de reunirse más cuando los han llevado.

§287: E: Claro

§288: DI: Y cuando han ido a Tucumán a trabajar y que estén tranquilos pero que no reciban gente desconocida, gente que venga rara, nos explicaron todo, cuando vean ese tipo de gente avisen urgente, pero nunca han venido gente sospechosa que sean subversivos

§289: E: Y Santana Campos luego volvió a pasar por acá?

§290: DI: A estado mucho tiempo y después se ha ido y ha vuelto cuando estaba viejito,

venia un día y volvía pero después falleció, él ha tenido 3 hijos acá en el valle, una es profesora de historia y vive en Tucumán, la otra chica también está en Tucumán estudiaba periodismo y el otro chico estaba trabajando en la minera La Alumbraera

§291: E: Ah mire trabajando en La Alumbraera. Bueno como me ha contado muchas cosas le estoy muy agradecido pero le pediría si podemos firmar como una hojita que me permite usar esta información que usted me dio, esta es una de las cosas que me piden en la universidad y como ha sido tan generosa para comentarme mucho tendría que aprovechar un momentito y que firme, suelo hacerla firmar antes pero como estuvimos conversando, que dice que está participando de la investigación de forma voluntaria y que yo no la he forzado jajaja

§292: DI: Usted dígame donde porque no he traído los lentes

§293: E: Aquí

§294: DI: Aquí arriba o abajo?

§295: E: Aquí en la línea de puntos

§296: DI: Y aclaración también?

§297: E: Si aquí arriba.

§298: E: Aquí si me puede aclarar su nombre

§299: E: Bueno Muchas Gracias.

§300: DI: Cuánto tiempo se queda usted? O en Argentina va a estar un tiempo

§301: E: Yo vengo de Amaicha, estuve 3 meses desde junio y ayer he llegado aquí y me voy a quedar 10 días en principio y luego voy a ver si regreso aquí pero también me gustaría visitar otras comunidades de base

§302: DI: No lo ha visitado a Cano?

§303: E: No pero justo le quería preguntar dónde vivía para ir a molestarlo jajaja

§304: DI: Ve aquí del camino, siga por ahí

§305: E: Ah porque tuve que pasar una escalerita entonces sigo el camino

§306: DI: Si. La madre de él ha sido muy luchadora, yo ya no he

pasado en esos tiempos, eso ha sido más antes cuando desalojaban y aquí también han venido mi abuelito a desalojarlo y justo dice que habían quedado ese día que tenían que sacar todas las cosas que iban a venir con las mulas y le cargaban todo en la ruta y que hagan lo que quieran

§307: E: Los terratenientes?

§308: DI: Si, entonces dicen que mi abuelito les había dicho que le den tiempo para saber a dónde ir y él había ido a fuerte quemado a vender la haciendita que tenía para comprar un terrenito para hacer la casa y estaban con todo listo y el día que iban a venir estaba la hija bien enferma y bueno la hecho ver que no se pude ir porque estaba enferma y se han compadecido y no lo han llevado y así enferma enferma hasta que se ha muerto, que sería de la pena que tenían que desarraigar que se ha enfermado y eran 3 hijas, era mi mami, ella y otra tía más, las 2 han quedado y ella ha muerto.

§309: E: A ver si me quedo más tiempo, me gusta mucho acá jajaja es muy tranquilo.

Name: Calcha18-28

Place and Date: Talapazo, CIQ,
November 2018

Transcription by Ana Victoria
Leiva (IAM, Tucumán)

§1: E: Trabajo de investigación para tesis, una tesis

§2: DR: Para saber cómo es lo de uno como ha sido, que?

§3: E: Exactamente esas eran un poco las cuestiones que quería rescatar

§4: DR: Y eso para que lo quiere?

§5: E: Esto es para hacer un trabajo para la tesis y para entregarlo acá a la comunidad cuando termine voy a hacer como un informe.

§6: DR: Por ahí no ha tomado datos por ahí, explicaciones en otras casas?

§7: E: Si, sí, estoy recorriendo, estoy haciendo un poco un recorrido y me decían que don Antonio me podía comentar algo por eso me vine acá.

§8: E: Se comen cualquier cosa los perritos jajaja buscando el tabaco son muy viciosos jajaja

§9: E: Entonces no se usted me puede comentar un poco

§10: DR: Nuestra lucha ha sido desde muy chica, yo tendría 5 años, entonces empezamos con la lucha de los terratenientes porque yo tengo entendido que mis abuelos ancestrales nos dejaban la tierra para nosotros y no tienen

por qué abusarse ellos de nuestras tierras, entonces aquí han desalojado a una familia entera

§11: E: Desalojaban?

§12: DR: Han desalojado y después no podíamos encontrar donde esta y hemos hallado lugares inhóspitos sin agua, sin nada, y de aquí teníamos nosotros la huerta que estaba de todo, nos han cerrado la puerta y nos han puesto las cosas en el sendero y no teníamos a donde ir, pero bueno mi papa lo siguió al juicio, hizo un juicio y lo gano y como yo he sido chica una persona muy inteligente, yo no me perdía conversación, estaba ahí escuchando lo que decían ellos, como luchaban, hasta que un día ha venido contento y ha dicho que ya había ganado y si queríamos volver a la casa, nosotros encantados queríamos volver a la casa y entonces hemos vuelto a la casa hemos tomado posesión de nuevo y ahí sacanos si podes no, ya estábamos muy..... Así como me ves, desde entonces, he tenido una lucha muy grande con los terratenientes. He estado por todos lados defendiendo a los demás y gracias a dios si he conseguido muchas cosas, muchas cosas he conseguido, he conseguido de que no paguen yerbaje, no paguen la arrienda, que no paguen el agua, que no dejen de dar pasto a los terratenientes por las vacas y todo ellos, los explotaban de tal manera que tenían que darles, daban novillos, vacas, ovejas, cabras a una señora le dejaron el corral vacío, con todos los chicos para

darle de comer, porque siempre en el campo comemos mucha carne de carito porque criamos, y entonces me dio tanta rabia, me dio rabia

§13: E: Y como hizo para que terminara eso?

§14: DR: Y bueno cuando nos han vuelto a llevar y nos cobraban de años atrás yo he esperado hasta el último momento para poder entrar, y entonces estaba *.....* yo le digo que estaba todos los papeles amontonados ahí y entonces agarre y *.....* Pagarle tres años atrasado y porque le digo? Bueno le vamos a aumentar desde entonces. Claro la gente miedosa, ignorante se dejaba dominar porque éramos esclavos del poder, del terrateniente, y eso no podía ser que toda una vida vivamos esclavizados a lo que ellos digan, entonces cuando me agache él se agacho a alcanzarme los papeles y yo *.....* estos van a ir conmigo también porque era la suma de todos los arrenderos, entonces esa señora que le había vaciado el corral no me quiere pagar y voy a tener que poner la cuenta en el banco para que vaya a pagar allá. Mire amigo le digo, póngala donde quiera ella no tiene, todavía no se ha cansado de dejarla sin tener que darle de comer a los hijos y está molestando todavía. No le va a pagar un 5, póngalo donde quiera porque después va a tener que levantarlo porque ella no tiene con qué pagarlo, no importa a donde quieras anda, ella no te va a pagar,

hace lo que quieras pero ella no te va a pagar, y más de eso dice las tierras, también todo está aumentando y va a pagar. Yo? Porque? Yo no pago, sabes porque por que las tierras son mías. Y quien te las ha vendido? Esas son mías porque me las ha dejado los antiguos le digo, ustedes se han hecho dueño, han sido unos sinvergüenzas porque estaban las tierras vacías se han subido en el algarrobo más alto y lo que alcanzaba la vista se han hecho dueño ustedes y ahora no hay derecho de que ustedes tengan grandes extensiones y que nosotros no tengamos donde vivir. Ahora yo me opongo a todas las cosas que están haciendo ustedes, no les vamos a pagar el agua nada, y hagan lo que quieran, vaya donde quiera, nosotros somos los auténticos dueños, nosotros, entonces dice ya te voy a hecha, hecha lo que quiera, vaya a mi casa y hecho y ha venido con la policía para hacerme asustar, como yo soy una mujer, no tengo miedo, yo soy capaz de, he luchado todo el tiempo así como me ve, he luchado todo el tiempo, no para mí, sino para las 14 comunidades de Quilmes, de la comunidad india Quilmes, y le digo, haga lo que quiera, aquí yo no lo reconozco ninguno lo vamos a reconocer y entonces dice ya va a ver, cuando hablo con la policía me olvido ya las cosas, como digo una cosa digo otra, pero todo la verdad, yo peleo, no peleo hago dialogo por la verdad y la justicia, porque cuando hay justicia y tiene que hacer las cosas verdaderas tienen que hacerlas sino que no se

metan porque cuando los originarios hemos quedado ahora ya se han vuelto fuerte, porque ha habido uno que ha hecho quitar el miedo, aquí vamos a luchar, vamos a ir, después hemos ido a la comuna, hemos ido a la casa de ellos en Colalao y después también ha venido un diputado a meternos miedo. Qué te parece Sra. Si vas allá a La Banda te damos 50 mts cuadrados para que hagan sus casas y tengas sus hortalizas y le digo yo con la edad que tengo, ya era mujer grande no voy a ir a hacer patria en otro lado, no tengo necesidad porque yo ya demasiado he trabajado, otra cosa si ellos exigen que nos vamos bueno paguen desde la primera piedra que hemos levantado en el terreno este nos va a pagar el trabajo y así podemos irnos, *.....* y de donde van a sacar plata, y bueno vamos aquí no hay mas que hacer, no escuchan nada y así han sacado la gente, muy cortante soy yo, no estoy para estar aguantando mucho y después han venido con la policía y yo estaba haciendo tortillita, pan y dice que lindo para tomar el mate con tortillita y entonces digo si ahí tienen pan que quieren servirse mate? Bueno he tendido la mesa y le he servido a la policía a él y al juez que han venido, y a que han venido? Hemos venido a pedirle que firme aquí esta nota para que me reconozcan que yo soy el dueño. Ni muerta! Yo esto es mío, no es de usted, y ustedes que han creído que yo he hecho alguna muerte? Porque me han traído a la policía si no he hecho ninguna muerte, y ya han tomado mate

márchense no quiero escuchar mal, cortante. Y se iban riendo de que no tengo miedo a la policía ni nada, es que antes hacían entrar miedo y como tenían toda la autoridad a su favor, entonces llévelos preso cuando no cumplían la palabra cuando no pagábamos.

§15: E: Y como termino ese miedo?

§16: Ese miedo porque así, yo a mí ya me dio bronca, como a una Sra. Le van a vaciar el corral.

§17: E: Claro pero cuando terminó el miedo? Cuando ya no tenían miedo de esto?

§18: DR: Yo desde chica ya no tenía miedo porque ya mi papa nos enseñó, y como le digo yo siempre era curiosa y estaba metiendo las narices donde sea. Yo he sido una persona muy inteligente y así he luchado y defendido mi valle y después ya hemos empezado por otras cosas y hemos llegado por Quilmes y hacíamos reuniones para tomar la Ciudad Sagrada que la tenía un empresario, y esa era nuestra. Primero hemos tomado un terreno para hacer una casa aquí al lado de la ruta y después ya se hemos ido para arriba a la ciudad sagrada, siempre andamos en grupo nosotros y turistas también nos han acompañado y hemos ido a rescatar la ciudad sagrada.

§19: E: Usted estaba ahí cuando se rescató?

§20: DR: El hombre ya no estaba ya se le había cumplido el contrato que tenía con el gobierno y hacia 4 años que estaba gratis.

§21: E: Y porque dice que es de ustedes la ciudad sagrada?

§22: DR: Porque son de nuestros antepasados, de nuestros indios pertenecemos nosotros y nunca niego eso, usted es francés italiano y es de la sangre roja, pero nosotros somos de la sangre legítima de aquí, yo no hablo de los de allá tampoco, de aquí y hay que defender y enseñar a los demás que aprendan a defenderse. Después yo he sido agente sanitario y empecé a exigirle a la gente para que todos mejoren sus viviendas, nada de miedo y después decían no que el patrón, qué patrón? Y cuando he ido no hacían nada y después les digo NO! NO! NO! NO! aquí ustedes van a cumplir mis órdenes! (con más énfasis) van a mejorar sus viviendas, van a hacer letrinas, van a vivir como corresponde! Y de ahí se empezó a mejorar todo, todo se empezó a mejorar. Y en la ciudad sagrada hemos ido y hemos tomado y usted me pregunta si porque? Y porque son nuestras anteriores porque eso ha quedado ahí para nosotros no para el gobierno ni para el presidente para ninguno! Eso es nuestro! Después ha querido venir una empresa aquí a explotar las minas y la hemos sacado zumbando! Yo más que todo he ido y *.....* el camino y hemos estado esperando y esperando y han venido como a estas horas, éramos 3 los que estábamos esperando, y entonces se hemos levantado y bueno digo ahora se va a armar la podrida y a no tener miedo y no amedrentarnos y ha venido un auto con unos gallegos y han visto

y se han bajado y me dice porque han cerrado el camino? Porque no queremos que pasen, la comunidad no quiere que pasen, entonces dice no si nosotros venimos, queremos trabajar aquí, NO si ustedes no son dueños y tampoco le permitimos que vengan a tocar las cosas de aquí y entonces dice no que yo voy a pasar, No vas a pasar y se han subido al auto y me ha hecho así y yo estaba delante de él y entonces un bastón más largo que este lo he puesto sobre el parabrisas y se ha asustado y me dice cuando me vas a dejar pasar? No te voy a dejar pasar, cuando vengas no vas a pasar porque esto es nuestro, no vas a venir a tocar las cosas nuestras, el hecho es que no estaba yo y ya habían hecho el campamento, es que la gente les entra el miedo pero si vamos a la realidad usted se va a dejar quitar que las cosas que sabe que son por ley que son de usted? No, no es cierto? Y que usted ha trabajado, ha hecho la casa, el baño, ha hecho acequias, canales, todo y aquí vivíamos muertos porque el agua que tomábamos era de la acequia, no teníamos anda ni canales, ahora tenemos luz eléctrica, tenemos canales tenemos manguera, tenemos de todo ya, es una comunidad chiquita pero con todo. No hemos aflojado y hemos empezado a trabajar y hacer casas, habrá visto x ahí. Tenemos que hacer ver nuestra hombría, nuestra capacidad porque lo que es nuestro, es nuestro entonces después ha venido y se ha puesto a llorar el que estaba encargado y

me ha dicho que no, que verdaderamente eso es nuestro y nos ha dejado no se hasta cuando vendrán a molestar, porque yole he dicho muerta me van a sacar viva no, porque soy así porque yo tengo que defender nuestros vienes lo que nos han dejado nuestros ancestros. Porque la gente no tiene por qué sufrir y andar mendigando para hacer su casa, hacer estudiar a sus hijos, para poner una lechuga, NO! Aquí en este territorio, en este valle tenemos para sembrar y mantener a la familia sin necesidad de migajas, porque esos vienen con migajas y hay muchos que necesitan y ahí nomás se entregan no! Hay que trabajar la tierra, sacarle el fruto y comer de ahí porque para eso está la tierra, dios no ha bajado del cielo para venderle a nadie la tierra y el que dice que es el dueño es mentira, porque la tierra usted va pasando de generación en generación todo lo que ha hecho en estos años, mañana se muere y viene otro a trabajar y la tierra está ahí no se va ni tiene dueño, porque los dueños son los que trabajan, no cualquiera. Nosotros aquí trabajamos y ponemos como corresponde, como usted ha visto es un pueblito, una comunidad chiquita pero esta con todo lo quemas necesita. Que hay todavía mucho que hacer pero yo ya no salgo porque estoy anciana ya no puedo, ya no puedo caminar casi, pero deje mis huellas BIEN ONDAS (muy enfática) para que todos sigan, para que no se dejen engañar con la gente mala. Yo no insulto a nadie sino digo la verdad,

son gente mala, gente avaro porque quieren para ellos y no para los humildes, para los pobres que necesitan y no tiene que ser así y bueno nosotros no diré que ha sido una lucha vana, porque hemos conseguido y estamos todavía aquí, esa es la lucha que hemos tenido y la gente ha hecho su casita, ha mejorado su vivienda y pueden trabajar tranquilos sin que nadie los saque y si vienen a sacarlos le vamos a hacer frente ya les he dicho que no vamos a bajar los brazos, nosotros no insultamos a nadie no vamos con armas ni con machetes ni con rifles ni anda con EL DIALOGO, CON LA PALABRA con eso se ganan los cielos no vamos a ir a regar de sangre sin causa la gente no, toda una vida de lucha desde que yo he empezado a luchar nunca se ha visto sangre en esta tierra nunca hemos peleado. Si ha habido enfrentamientos con la policía que venía de Tucumán y no ahí nomás balas de goma porque no aflojábamos y seguimos estando. No ya que van a hacer? Cuando uno lucha por la verdad y la justicia. Porque yo me llevo quienes han sido los indios sea lo que sea no llevamos plumas, no estamos descalzos, pero somos gente de esta tierra, de esta nación ancestral, que antes la argentina ha sido la ARGENTINA DE VERDAD! NACION DIAGUITA CALCHAQUI, REGADA POR CAUDALOSOS TUIDOS, Y ANTES TODOS EXPORTABAN CARNE, LANA CUERO y bueno todo lo que producían ahora que exportan? Yo ni se! Que es lo que exportan y a dónde exportan? No

sé nada! Porque esto ha sido un cuerno de la abundancia antes! Y ahora lo que veo es arriba y más arriba los precios y que de adonde si ni trabajo hay. ***** la gente que vivió en el campo y va a las grande ciudades va a hacer los trabajos más duros y son los mal, mal pagados, porque uno que estén en escritorio en todos lados con corbatita no va a ir y agarrar la pala y hacer las cosas que hacer sembrar, bueno de todo, somos los campesinos, la gente de trabajo, la gente humilde, que hay que pagarle bien, yo veo gente que no tiene ni que comer ahora, los chicos muertos de hambre enfermos, eso es un país que progresa? NO! No es un país que progresa, un país de progreso debe ayudarle a la gente y enseñarles a trabajar, ENSEÑARLE APRA QUE SIEMBRE COSECHE para PARA QUE SE MANTENGAN CON LO QUE LA TIERRA NOS DA, pero si destrozamos y corriendo y corriendo y? ahora esta como esta. Muchas veces en las fábricas largan la leche y cuantos niños están muriéndose de hambre? Eso no es querer el bien de los demás. Yo he trabajado y he sufrido en carne propia para ayudar a los demás, yo mi casita todavía no la puedo terminar, y ya estoy anciana pero yo he trabajado y he dado la mano a todos. Y PREGUNTE, DIONDE VAYA SOY GUILLERMA ROSA SORIA DE CARO y donde sea todo el mundo me conoce y a todos le he dado favores y hay un libro que se llama Doña Rosa porque ahí tengo la vida, y tengo un libro que se ha hecho hacer la

vida de las comunidades, lo tengo al libro lo hemos hecho imprimir la vida mía para que el que quiera saber, ya tengo los últimos los tengo para vender, pero ya no tengo casi anda, los estoy mezquinando, porque ya no voy a trabajar más en libros porque ya estoy vieja no puedo caminar, eso sí que vengan y yo consejo le doy a todos, pero yo salir con la gente ya no puedo, ya la vista no me ayuda, los oídos no me ayudan, pero uno ya se va muriendo de a poco. Pero doy gracias a dios que he conocido en carne propia para conocer el dolor de los demás, porque el que no sufre en carne propia no sabe lo que sufren los demás, yo he sufrido de todo, hambre, desnudez, descalza iba a la escuela ahí en el Bañado, de aquí nos íbamos descalzos por medio de esas piedras esos montes a la escuela para aprender algo, yodo eso he hecho y después cuando no teníamos mi mamá lavaba, planchaba, se iba a ocupar para juntar el trigo cuando era, y después molíamos maíz y trigo la pobre madre para ayudarlo al papá y nosotros ya no teníamos que comer así que un poquito de maíz hervido así peladito eso hacíamos para comer porque no teníamos nada para echar a la olla, trigo también, una mazamorra de trigo, y bueno eso enseña a conocer el dolor de los demás, y usted sabiendo eso los iba a destrozarse? No tiene que ser buen, el consejo de doña rosa tiene que ser para ayudar a la gente, a nuestra nación o su nación que también habrán sufrido así nos. Pero yo soy una mujer, que he recorrido mi

provincia mano a mano, he tenido mis 9 hijos y los he criado como dios me ha ayudado y son muy educados, muy educados son, no serán doctores ni de leyes pero son bien educados, y así ha sido mi vida antes eran senderos aquí ahora hay caminos, escuelas, hay dispensario, una capilla, todo lo mejor que hemos podido avanzar en nuestro terruño lo hemos hecho, y yo todavía, ahora me quieren sacar porque me puedo caer ya no me quieren llevar, yo quiero ir, y es como, es una inteligencia que quiero ayudar a los demás, igual a curar, he ayudado a mucha gente con remedios caseros, porque el hospital semejante distancia 2 días, 1 día de ida y 1 día de vuelta para ponerse una inyección, tofos los días para ir y venir no pues, después he aprendido a poner inyecciones, a hacer partos y de ahí el trabajo que me pidan yo lo sé hacer, de varones y mujeres yo estado haciendo trabajos de todos lados sufrir soles calores y todo.

§23: **E: Bueno muchas gracias por compartir su historia doña Rosa.**

§24: DR: Así que ya sabe ahora si usted quiere comprar el libro como premio de la charla

§25: **E: Bueno, como puedo decir que no.**

§26: DR: Ya la vamos a llamar a la chica para que me lo traiga el libro. Usted me lo va a comprar?

§27: **E: Cuánto sale?**

§28: DR: 600 aunque esta mas, ahora ya está mas

§29: **E: Bueno me voy a pasar otro día porque ahora no tengo suficiente**

§30: DR: Ah bueno pero otro día que llegue, porque otro día se borran si ya los conozco yo esas picardías que hacen jajaja

§31: **E: No, no si quiere jajaja le muestro cuánta plata tengo encima y no me llega, pero sería un gusto volver y comprar el libro. Yo me quedo 10 días así que va haber otra oportunidad.**

§32: DR: Claro aquí hay mucha gente que ha sufrido mucho el desarraigo de su tierra, el desprecio de los grandes adinerados y que uno no, ellos no le quitan nada con que sean médicos, doctores, abogados, no le quitamos anda, caso contrario le enseñamos que tienen que hacer. Hace poco han venido doctores de la nación argentina y después me han dicho de ir a dar una charla en la hostería en Colalao, para contar como era cuando yo había empezado a trabajar de agente sanitario, como había encontrado, como había hecho para seguir adelante, estaban encantado, pero que sea para beneficio bueno no que venga a sacar información y después.

§33: **E: Si mire le cuento lo que quiero hacer con esa información, quiero escribir y hacer un informe y luego dejarlo acá**

§34: DR: Bueno

§35: **E: Para que la gente, para que los de acá puedan leerlo y tengan esa información**

§36: DR: Claro ahora están trabajando la gente con turismo, también hicieron viviendas para la gente, pidieron proyectos para eso, siempre no se hemos quedado quietos y ahora mi marido falleció de 89 años yo también tengo 89 años ya no andaré mucho pero yo voy a hacer todo lo posible para seguir viviendo, porque aquí yo soy muy útil para todos, yodos me aprecian mucho. Yo he ido a España también y ahí en España * ... * los gallegos cuando yo hable subió a la tribuna y dijo quisiera que en el mundo siquiera hubiera 10 mujeres como doña rosa el mundo cambiaría, y me puse a llorar porque yo de aquí de medio de estas piedras, el discurso que a uno le sale del alma que uno ha visto lo tiene que divulgar para que escuchen en otro lado es así, y yo te voy a decir si yo hablo y hablo y hablo y no pasa nada ya no me gusta tampoco, yo tengo que saber la verdad que han hecho con lo que yo he dicho, he publicado. Yo conocí toda la nación argentina la conozco y soy bien reconocida, saben quién soy, lo decía el médico, que tenían que tratar de mejorarme de estar bien porque soy una persona de mucho valor, mucho valor y bueno pero eso los grandes autoridades no ven no miran ni siquiera me saludan, ni un agasajo tanto que hemos trabajado, pero no yo estoy conforme con todo lo que he hecho, de tanto que hemos ayudado a la gente que lo necesita, ese ha sido mi destino mi vida y alegría de vivir en paz y de ayudar a los demás , ese ha sido mi destino.

§37: DR: Bueno ahí vamos a terminar.

§38: **E: Muchas gracias, muchas gracias de verdad, no me esperaba hablar con usted, yo venía para otro asunto para hablar con su hijo para el proyecto de riego**

§39: DR: Mi hijo claro no puede ahora, tiene visitas no puede, por eso me dice mama salga usted atiéndalo, que sabe más de historia, igual él ha luchado junto con nosotros, cuando ha sido grande ya nadábamos la caravana de gente pero no haciendo lio, a mí me da bronca cuando hacen lio cuando quieren algo y empiezan a romper vidrieras por ahí, eso no es lucha! Eso es insulto, como van a hacer eso, si hacer escuchar su palabra pero no pelea no sangre, no muerte, eso ya no es lucha es una guerra, veo también que el presidente los llena de policía la federal la otra, policías y no deja muchas veces de que llegue la gente a casa de gobierno en Buenos Aires, no, hay que escuchar la palabra de unos cuantos no todos pero tiene que escuchar. Yo para ahí no llegue, tenía ganas pero no tenía tiempo yo, porque después, durante 8 años he trabajado como agente sanitario y después he sido artesana de dulces muchos años, hasta que ya no he podido manejar la paila de dulces, ni las cajas ni anda, yo he andado por entere vendiendo todo lo que producía Tucumán, Buenos aires, Quilmes de Buenos Aires, Junín, Tucumán todo el mundo me conoce ahí he estado mucho tiempo yo iba del

mes de abril hasta diciembre he estado vendiendo en medio de ese sol, yo quería ayudar a mis hijos para que siquiera tengan un secundario, porque en 6to año tenían título, entonces yo he ayudado a mis hijos para que ellos el día de mañana sepan defenderse con sabiduría y amor.

§40: E: A ver si me puede colaborar con esto. Lo que quiero hacer para dejarlo acá es un mapa, un mapa de los lugares que son importantes para esa historia que usted me ha contado, entonces si usted tendría que decirme unos lugares de acá de Talapazo, de la comunidad que son importantes que uno va y aparece esa historia, que lugares me comentaría

§41: DR: Si cuando yo salgo en televisión hablando de Quilmes yo salgo como un ejemplo (corre el perro).

§42: DR: Si aquí con el trabajo se puede vivir honestamente tener los frutos que da la madre tierra, lo que se van buenos aires es lo peor que pueden hacer eso está viviendo de mala gente en las calles, yo veo todos los días los asaltos y las cosas que pasan y roban y van a los bancos, ya no se puede salir a la calle no sabe si va a volver o no.

§43: E: Si es otra cosa la ciudad

§44: DR: Hay que dar trabajo y ayudar para que la gente salga adelante y no recorra las grandes ciudades si el campo necesita trabajadores.

§45: E: Claro, entonces lugares estábamos diciendo, unos lugares para usted que sean importantes para esta historia, cuáles podrían ser

§46: DR: Nosotros la otra vez hemos pedido que hagan una escuela secundaria porque los chicos tienen que irse a Santa María o Amaicha, yo decía que pueden hacer en el Bañado una universidad para que los chicos no migren a las ciudades a Tucumán o a Catamarca, para que los chicos aprendan la defensa de todo no para pelear sino para que seamos mejores pero aun los ancestrales todavía no han descubierto el secreto de tantas cosas que son buenos, ellos sacaban de la madre tierra todo, y ahora falta el trabajo, falta de agua. Porque las mineras han envenenado el agua, el pasto, han envenenado todo y eso ha sido una lucha tremenda porque venían con los venenos de mercurio para separar el mineral y aquí con los camiones también los hemos parado y hemos secuestrado los camiones. Han sido luchas duras pero no ha habido sangre nada, si piñas ha habido pero al que lo agarraban lo defendíamos, ahí en Cafayate estaba con mi marido enfermo y ya no (ruido de algo que se cae)

§47: DR: Ha sido una lucha dura pero siempre hemos salido victoriosos porque vamos con la verdad porque queremos hacerlo, y a donde educar a nuestros hijos, ahora tenemos un colegio grande para que puedan estudiar y migrar a otro lado no, con lo que cuesta

un pasaje, los útiles que tienen que llevar, la ropa, todo es cuesta y la pensión que tienen que tener es mucho para nosotros y bueno nosotros queremos que nuestros hijos aprendan y le den empleos aquí y nos e vayan a las grandes ciudades donde se amontona la gente y que va a hacer? Con el tiempo ya son de más y no, eso ya no, porque hay que mejorar la vida de la gente, mejorar el trabajo, la educación, el respeto hacia los demás, eso ya se ha perdido totalmente el respeto, antes si yo eso aprendí de mis padres, de todos mis superiores cuando estaba en la escuela, nos han enseñado muchas cosas y bueno he aprendido y después lo que no podía aprender leía mucho con los libros, libros buenos que me saquen adelante no tonteras

§48: E: Que libros por ejemplo

§49: DR: Todos, ya no me acuerdo los títulos, como trabajar, como se hace esto o lo otro y uno leyendo aprende, así es pero bueno también el padre y la madre tienen que ser responsables para que los hijos aprendan y todos deben aprender a respetar a los demás, al chico, al grande al mediano a todos y el que viene debe aprender a respetar a los demás.

§50: (Ruido de algo que se cae)

§51: DR: Así es señor, la vida es dura y nosotros para comer trabajamos de todas formas para buscar el pan de cada día, no vamos a golpear puertas por ahí, no. Y muchas veces lo que no saben no pueden valorar lo que hemos hecho. Hemos estado toda

la vida viendo al país, yo trabajo en el campo pero veo al paso, ahora no puedo ver el cabrito porque están atajando la policía para que no se pase la gente de un lado a otro. Antes si se pasábamos venía la gente del cerro venía con su partida de carne con sus sales y cambiábamos hacían trueque, cambiaban las cosas y no era necesario la plata tampoco, ellos con su sal, llevaban fruta, maíz y ahora quien lleva? No compra nadie, por la distancia que viven y todo es difícil ahora, la gente ya no puede criar un animal, anda porque ya quieren motos, autos, camiones, motos más que todo se ve en la ciudad dios mío, porque no volemós a trabajar en el campo y defender las aguas para regar y todo, eso debería ocuparse el gobierno y no darle a otro que venga a contaminar el agua de los campesinos, porque es así.

§52: E: El agua de aquí de dónde viene?

§53: DR: No entiendo

§54: E: El agua que usan acá para regar

§55: DR: Viene de los deshielos de arriba de ahí viene, nosotros tenemos agüita todos los días porque tenemos manguera, mi hijo a ahorrado y ha ido a comprar manguera a Tucumán y tiene para levantar de la vertiente no tocamos nosotros, es un chorrito de agua y con eso nos mantenemos antes era un acarreo de agua en baldes, en barriles, damajuanas iba a lavar en el río y todo eso hemos superado y ahora ya tenemos el agüita aquí y ahí abajo en la casa

de mis hijos aquí las haciendas y los burritos del campo ya tienen agua así

§56: **E: Y ese canal de piedra que se ve ahí?**

§57: DR: Allá el de piedra? No manguera tenemos

§58: **E: Ah no llega el canal**

§59: DR: Aquí no ya no sigue más y de ahí ya tenemos manguera, hay que ahorrar para comprar, ahora para ahorrar cada día va subiendo más y no alcanza ni para comer, así es, y que viva la patria nomas.

§60: **E: Me permitiría sacar una foto?**

§61: DR: Bueno, sáqueme, yo no tengo miedo a nadie, con la verdad me conocen bien.

§62: **E: Le muestro a ver si le gusta.**

§63:

§64: [...]

§65: E: nosotros no hacemos mal a nadie. Y si estamos peleando, buscando la justicia, la verdad y la justicia porque todos debemos ser iguales. Todos debemos unirnos, la igualdad, y con uniéndose con igualdad *es cuando hacimo' mucho*. Pero si estamos, si yo soy médica, si usted es abogado, usted es profesor y usted no me *mira bien a mi, ni me habla porque no soy arqueologista*, hace mal, porque usted mismo se está, se está *excavando la fosa* de que no lo quiera. Vos por lo menos. No me quiere, no importa. Nos toman por maleducados, así.

Porque ellos están para educarnos, para demostrar que son grandes. ¿Es así o no?

§66: F: y sí

§67: E: y bueno, así es.

§68: F: así es. Un cigarrito.

§69: E: ¿un cigarrillo? Ah... eso yo nunca en mi vida he tomado ni tampoco la coca. Nada.

§70: F: tampoco la coca?

§71: E: no, no me gusta ningún vicio. Yo soy pura como mi tierra, que Dios nos ha hecho como debemos ser y así debemos ser.
S

§72: F: sí, lamentablemente es un vicio que me gusta, así que...

§73: E: no es usted nomas, hay un montón que de aquí que [...]. Tengo aquí, delante de nosotros no venga a fumar. Vaya a fumar afuera donde no tomemos [...] el humo y sus cigarrillos, que oxidarnos aquí. Es así. Hay que luchar por el tiempo de uno. Hay que seguir luchando para que nuestros hijos no sean esclavos de nadie.

§74: F: a ver si me ayuda con esto...

§75: E: porque aquí se ve todo. Y una madre cuando pare no pare no pare en la [...], pare pisando la tierra. ¿por qué tienen que quitarnos la tierra? Por ahí siempre las peleas por la tierra. Ahí están los Mapuches, tamos aquí ya se ha cesado, pero en otro lado sigue la pelea y claro, ahí, por qué no, gente del campo que no conocemos oficina, que no

saben a dónde van a golpear las puertas, que no tienen con qué pagar un abogado... no eso que se acabe la trampa esa. Que sean corazón bueno y que sepan ayudar a los demás. Sin intereses. Son intereses mezquinos. Así es. Este... todo que, quedaba escuela, pero una escuela *iupia*, una escuela que levante el país, que cambie la comunidad y el mundo, porque uno llega así bien *lerda*, *limpia* también, dice, cómo han hecho para conseguir tantas cosas? Trabajando limpiamente con el respeto. Nada. Pero el trabajo y el respeto. Ahí está mi *chivo*, *eso nos mantenemos con leche*, una compra de los veterinarios. Ellos toman la leche, ahora vo anda a [...] la leche... el trabajo no es deshorna, el trabajo es salud. Vamos si usted *de su ande no son de leche*.

§76: F: no quieren comer

§77: E: se van a acordar *dientes de leche*. Vayan che, caminen. No quieren hacer caso, no hacen caso. Vamos! Váyanse váyanse! (Se dirige a los chivos).

§78: E2: están muertos de hambre y ahora se hacen los de rogar

§79: F: (Risas)

§80: E: vaya, vaya, vaya. Ahí se ha quedado uni ahí. Dos han quedado allá.

§81: E2: ay! Bueno, vamos....

§82: E: el trabajo [...] hoy en día. Es todos los días.

§83: F: ¿y qué le parece eso que ha pasado con la ciudad sagrada?

§84: E: ¿cómo?

§85: F: eso que pasó con la ciudad sagrada, que hubo problemas ahí

§86: E: no, no ha habido problemas. La última vez que... querían vivir sus casas, *querían vivir construyendo* y entonces yo... yo a *esas guerrillas* yo no voy. Yo si no entienden con palabras yo me retiro. Y me he retirado en agosto. Primero de agosto *decían que* me requerían y me requerían y así me pude ir. Cuántos años no he ido

§87: F: y estuvo ahí para el primero de agosto...

§88: E: y había ido a ver qué pasaba. Me han recibido así, sin banderas, si yo he... si uno tiene la razón, por qué va a estar peleando entre hermanos. No!. eso yo no permito que se discutan entre ellos. Si ha sido una división entre comunidades. Bueno, ya, ya somos mayoría ya se ha arreglado. Ya están bien. Así que así debe ser para trabajos unidos. Es mejor. Que si volver a ser a desunirse... no, no, no. no da. Ahí se ha quedao el chivo y no van a ir. Bueno, no sé yo. A los demás ya van a llegar.

§89: F: como trepan esas *gallinas!*

§90: E [...] ya no las dejo para que, bueno, que coman mucho pasto y ya van a empezar a carnear para cambiar la zaf- ya la cría. Pa buscar otra gallina más de *sangre*. Ahí duermen. Ya no son muchas.

§91: F: ¿ahí duermen? ¿ahí arriba duermen?

§92: E: sí, nosotros nos mantenemos con las cosas que nuestros nomás. Con los huevos de ellas, con la carne de los pollos y de ella ya son grandes [...]. Si aquí teniendo pasto que... haciendo más que todo el agua para que corra viento. como corresponde. La gente de las comunidades no va a sufrir si teniendo [...]. Pero si no le dan pelota, qué van a hacer? Nosotros hemos dicho, vamos a trabajar, vamos a tomar, [...] mejorar las viviendas, hacer mejores las casas... de todo, ya, de a poquito hemos hecho porque nosotros no podíamos, estábamos con el trabajo de la hacienda. Pero ya vamos saliendo. Yo he dicho "está bien, no voy a hacer más" porque ya no tengo como *tres cursos* para seguir trabajando, si ya no puedo trabajar. Así que, ya está lo más necesario, pero siempre y cuando uno pueda va a seguir trabajando para la casa, queremos comodidad, queremos la comodidad. Antes *hubieras te querido ir*, bueno, ahí están, uno, dos ,tres, son, tres hay.

§93: F: que han quedado..

§94: E: así es, señor. Qué le sirve y qué le sirve para su corazón también. Que yo no... yo por la verdad y la justicia no me achico para nadie. Para nadie. Yo estoy viendo y trabajaba con la gente y sé que necesitan. No es porque no quieran. Ellos, la gente necesitaba antes, ahora cómo se ha levantado la comunidad trabajando. Uno trabaja y levanta

agua, ya tiene *de lleve*, ya hacen vino. Aquí se hace mucho dulce, se hacía vino patero, se hacía mistela. *Igual las nueces*, alguno tiene para vender nueces. Y bueno, ya hoy en día *se podemos vender porque todo está cortao*, el negocio. La gente también no tiene con qué comprar, será. Todas las trampas que ponen pal campesino, y yo digo ¿cómo quieren que sigan adelante si todo le cortan? No. no se puede. Uno tiene ganas... por ahí dicen "el campesino es flojo, el campo es flojo", cómo no va a ser flojo si no tienen toda [...] por más que busque plata no tiene, y lo que tiene, pues, lo invierte para las cosas para comer, para vestir y también para comprar herramientas, si aquí no dura la herramienta, se acaba todas las herramientas por las piedras. Aquí una planta que uno pone puede cuesta, porque es muy pedregoso. Así es...

§95: F: sí, muchas piedras por aquí

§96: E: y hay, pero sí, de haber vida, hay vida. No voy a decir que no. Trabajando uno tiene. Y sí, también, si... si quitan el agua, si no dan lugar, no ayudan en nada ¿cómo vamos a vivir? ¿de adónde vamos a sacar? *Se fueron a la grande ciudad, peor*. Yo digo, que [...] yo estoy en Buenos Aires, se va el tiempo también ahí y sé lo que es la ciudad: van al trabajo, pagan el tren, pagan colectivo, pagan remis, pagan el gas, pagan su alquiler ¿y qué les queda? Nada. Y después cuando quieren venir se compran una camperita

fina y un pantaloncito y vienen moneando con eso porque no les queda para nada, no les alcanza, no es que van a venir con algo bueno para su familia, nada. Porque todo se le va en gasto, más es para mantenerlo en la ciudad. Para eso nomás es. Por eso hay tantas cosas, tanto asalto, no hablemos nada de la droga porque eso todo esta plagado, plagado. Y bueno... yo creo que ya cumplí con usted

§97: F: sí, muchas gracias.

§98: E: ¿eh?

§99: F: sí, muchas gracias, digo. Por compartir.

§100: E: claro. A donde [...] noche?

§101: F: estoy quedando donde Sandro Llampá.

§102: E: ah, Sandro. [...] más enterado, pero bueno. Esos son pichones recién que están, son gente nueva. Son los hijos que se han criado. Ellos no saben la lucha de antes. No saben lo que uno ha sufrido y ha pasado para luchar. Los viejos sí, ellos sabían. Ellos no, porque son pichones, como digo yo. Ahora es guía de turismo es, pues.

§103: F: ¿qué le parece?

§104: E: guía de turismo, que informan, no, eso se sabrá, no sabrán, no sé. [...] pero la verdadera historia la sabemos nosotros los viejos, como ha ido creciendo cada paso. Ese hecho, [...] perdió un hijo de 15 años perdió la escuela, al otro lado, se ha caído de una camioneta. Eso

me ha quitado la mitad de mi vida a mí. Y

§105: F: para ir ahí al bañado?

§106: E: ah?

§107: F: para ir al bañado?

§108: E: no, no, ahí en Santa María

§109: F: ah, en Santa María.

§110: E: claro, si yo tenía como semillita, aquí, otro allá, otro allá, otro no sé, antes iban a unas casas de familia nomás y muchas veces eran maltratados. Parecían, pensaban que era mamá de doscientos para el campo [...] papeles, peguen, no. todo yo eso he sufrido de mis hijos, todo eso. Yo sé el dolor de ellos. Y sé el dolor de los demás que sufren, que no tienen a dónde poner su hijo a la escuela. Sufren también la gente.

§111: F: por eso hicieron la escuela aquí

§112: E: y sí. Por suerte hemos sido [...] y entonces cuando ha muerto mi hijo estábamos muy tristes, muy tristes. Yo por lo menos estaba muy triste y después no teníamos aliento para nada. Después dice mi marido “¿qué vamos a hacer ahora?” y bueno, digo yo, gestionemos la escuela y la hagamos y vamos a hacer la escuela. Y así hicimos. Hemos gestionado, hemos trabajado, *solo estaba* el sendero, no era un camino no entraba un vehículo. Las barras, todo, hemos acarriado hombro a hombro, a burro, todo ha sido así, a pie, como podíamos. La gente hemos

hecho la escuela. Y se ha hecho, pues. Y ahora a muchos escucho niños que se han ido, que no están aquí. *Se han ido todos* para el pueblo. Y también en ese entonces no permitíamos que la maestra ese esté vagando y no le enseñe. Todo tienen que enseñar. Si es... así que... después ya hecho la capillita, teníamos radio comunitaria, también hemos hecho gestiones y teníamos la radio comunitaria, que no teníamos radio ni televisión, no teníamos nada. Todo ha sido creado por la gente que han trabajado y han traído las cosas para que se hagan. También [...] nosotros se han ido [...] después ya no han querido ayudar en nada y bueno, ha quedado después hemos hecho el SUM, una sala para hacerlo público, que venga la gente, cualquiera de lejos quiera parar, tenga siquiera donde refugiarse, pero no sé qué estará pasando ahora, porque no voy para ahí, no sé. Pero auténticos dueños de todo eso somos nosotros que hemos empezado a... hemos gestionado todas las cosas. Tenido cooperativa y se ha pedido por la [...] de la gente. La cooperativa de la nación hecho las gestiones para que venga para acá, las cooperativas frutífera, trabajábamos lindo. Y bueno, todo eso se ha perdido. Y así hay cosas que yo no me acuerdo, ya pensando ya me acuerdo, porque mi vejez no me da, la anciana edad ya me olvido muchas cosas que hago, si yo me pusiera *entonces* no termino nunca de contar, porque uno, yo soy oído abierto de una historia

ancestral de los que ya han pasado. Bah...

§113: F: bien

§114: E: por ejemplo, no se molesta, no se mueve como se movíamos nosotros. Se íbamos, hacíamos viaje, íbamos y volvíamos a Tucumán gestionando las cosas hasta que conseguíamos lo que queríamos. Ahora yo no sé qué sabrán hacer ahora. La verdad que no lo sé. Y bueno, yo creo que ya hemos charlado demasiado ya.

§115: F: sí, ha sido muy lindo

§116: E: ya así ya *se va paleando* para Sandro?

§117: F: eh, claro, sí, ya voy a regresar. Sí, voy para allá.

§118: E: claro, ya se va pa' abajo ya.

§119: F: para Sandro

§120: E: ah, para Sandro

§121: F: no, me quedo 10 días, hasta la semana que viene me voy a quedar para acá. Por eso le decía que vuelvo a pasar para comprar el libro. Mañana o pasado, digamos...

§122: E: claro, y bueno, yo *le sentía seguido*, decía "cuándo va a venir a comprar el libro?", no aunque no lo compre, pero que sea una historia para que ayude a la comunidad ¿no?

§123: F: **si, no, por eso le decía que lo voy a hacer para eso, como le decía, son historias que se van perdiendo, entonces...**

§124: E: claro, para que nos ayude, nos saque a flote, porque nosotros no necesitamos ropa ni nada, necesitamos herramientas y cosas para trabajar. Plantas, mangueras, eso nomás. No otras cosas

§125: **F: bueno, eso no le puedo dar pero (Risas) una**

§126: E: claro, cosas que sean útiles a la comunidad. Ropa en cualquier lado una ropa usada, una ropa vieja que nos dan y así [...]. Pero no es la cosa así, yo entiendo que andan mejor vestidos, que nuestros puños ganen, pa tener nuestros puños que van a salir a flote. Yo por lo menos, gracias a Dios y a la Virgen, que siempre he trabajado mucho, no me quejo, pero yo veo otra gente que no tiene, no le alcanza y no conoce, no sabe dónde va a ir ni qué va a hacer. Ahí ando en todos los encuentros de mujeres nacionales, andao por ahí yo, yo he andado mucho, mucho he andado, todas las provincias las conozco, todo... y siempre me he anotao, para aprender, me anotaba en los talleres. Yo no iba a escuchar, sino a trabajar. Anotarme en los talleres que daban en cada lugar. y bueno así he aprendido, he alimentado mi cerebro, estudiando, viendo la realidad. Lo que *es de realidad en Santiago*, ahí es terrible. Es una ciudad muy pobre, en Santiago hay mucha gente pobre que necesita ayuda de ropa, de todo. Y como Santiago es tan grande *ahí vemos el lugarcito*, la ciudad nomás, pero hay que caminar. Para conocer

hay que caminar y andar casa por casa viendo. Así usted va a conocer, va a saber [...] sino no lo sabe. Si va... Sandro le ha dicho una cosa, yo le digo otra, el otro dice otro y nunca sabe la verdad. Entonces y usted siempre y hablando con la gente sabe. Sino, no. unos dicen la verdad, otros no... y vaya a saber. Y ahí en Santiago, como digo, es una provincia muy pobre. Mucha pobreza hay en Santiago. Mucha gente pobrísima. Ahí si *le exijo que vayan* y den una mano y hagan conocer lugares como vive la gente. Hay cunas, [...] con los techos rotos, quién sabe cómo viven, sin ropa, con harapos y hay muchos que no podemos llegar hasta ahí ya porque es lejos [...] así es... yo digo, yo siendo que tenga mi cama tendida y la comida de todos los días, el pan de todos los días, no me interesa lo demás. Me interesa que la gente trabaje y tenga y ver yo el sentimiento de lo que he tenido.

Name: Calcha18-29

Place and Date: Talapazo, CIQ,
October 2018.

Transcription by Ana Victoria
Leiva (IAM, Tucumán)

§2: **E: Y usted siempre se quedó aquí**

§3: SRA: Siempre de serena estaba ahí de serena de una fábrica de secadera de fruta. Yo tenía cabras vacas de todo, yo no soy de aquí

§4: **E: Ah, usted no es de aquí**

§5: SRA: No, soy catamarqueña

§6: **E: Su marido era de aquí?**

§7: SRA: Yo he venido para acá cuando tenía 13 años, 14 años.

§8: **E: 14 años?**

§9: SRA: He venido con mi abuelo

§10: **E: Ah no vino cuando se casó con su marido vino antes?**

§11: SRA: No, vine antes, vino primero un tío para las cañas, y después mi mama me ha traído de Agua María

§12: **E: No sé dónde está eso**

§13: SRA: Atrás de este cerro, este cerro va hasta la punta esta y da la vuelta el río eso y viene para acá, para ahí hay un campo, afuera de este cerro y para ahí se han venido, mi abuela vive ahí, yo soy nacida en Belén para los cerros

§14: **E: Belén claro**

§15: SRA: En una parte que se llamaba Yerba Buena así un pueblito como esto, ahí había una escuelita, ahí tenía casa el abuelo, sabe dónde he nacido yo? Bajo un cardón.

§16: **E: Ah mira**

§17: SRA: En el campo tenían cabras y la mama salía a pastar cabras después de las 12 porque trabajaba mi mamá en la escuela, era cocinera, era soltera mi mamá, y después de las 12 tenía que ir a echar las cabras y ahí le ha agarrado el parto ahí en el campo

§18: **E: Uy**

§19: SRA: Y ha tenido en el reboso que decían antes, me ha llevado a la casa a la noche y me ha tenido y la gente no habrá sabido nada, ella habrá pensado que como las cabras tenían en el campo ella podía

§20: **E: Ella sola**

§21: SRA: Ellas usaban esos vestidos anchos que se usaban antes y nadie había notado que estaba embarazada, y no se notaba que estaba embarazada y ya cuando llore pues yo y que pasa decía la vuela ahí recién se ha dado cuenta que ha tenido un hijo la abuela, * * y ya me ha tenido en el campo dice que era un cardón guagudo

§22: **E: Que quiere decir guagudo? Con muchas espinas?**

§23: SRA: No, no muchas guagüitas al lado, visto que se crecen así los cardones?

§24: **E: Ah como guaguas?**

§25: SRA: Si claro visto que se crecen s, muchos tienen así

§26: **E: Muchas ramas digamos**

§27: SRA: Si esas son las guagüitas y dice q iba dando vuelta al sol hasta que llego la noche y me tuvo. Y el padre mío era un supervisor de escuela

§28: **E: Ahí en Belén?**

§29: SRA: Ahí arriba no en belén, era para el cerro. Y la abuela cuando el vino a quitarme a conocerme a mí, la abuela le quito a la mama y me trajo para acá para agua amarilla de chiquita, la abuela me crio

§30: **E: Con su abuela**

§31: SRA: Pero la mamá también venía. Y así vine de agua amarilla me crie y a los 13 14 años vine aquí, a los 10 años fui a la escuela recién

§32: **E: A dónde iba?**

§33: SRA: Ahí en Agua Amarilla, porque atrás de este cerro hay un campo igual a este y yo iba a la escuela, cocinaba para el maestro y estudiaba, de 10 años, así que así tenemos, aquí era la escuela y había casitas que venían los padres del cerro para tener a sus hijos cerquita de la escuela y el viernes ya se iban, yo dormía con una señora amiga en esa pieza, y temprano me iba a hacer la

limpieza en la escuela y cocinar y si no terminaba temprano no iba a la escuela, así que cocinaba temprano, yo he hecho 2 años, hasta 2do grado y no he estudiado más, pero a mí me gustaba estudiar, era hija de un estudiante, tenía esas ganas de estudiar, y después me ha traído para acá la abuela

§34: **E: Acá en Talapazo?**

§35: SRA: Allá en la Banda vivíamos en aquella casa, no sé si ha andado por allá?

§36: **E: No se**

§37: SRA: Pasando el rio,

§38: **E: Ah pasando el rio**

§39: SRA: Y ahí hemos estado muchos años y ya era novia de mi esposo y él se ha ido al servicio

§40: **E: Militar?**

§41: SRA: Si, se ha ido al servicio y cuando ha vuelto yo estaba trabajando en la hostería de Amaicha

§42: **E: Ah, usted estaba trabajando en la hostería?**

§43: SRA: Si en la hostería de Amaicha estaba trabajando

§44: **E: Que gusto!**

§45: SRA: Si y cuando él ha venido mire cuando uno es tonto no? Él no ha ido a verme, no había teléfonos tampoco

§46: **E: No ha ido a Amaicha a verla?**

§47: SRA: No ha ido a verme, después me ha dejado una carta con una amiga mía, y él se ha agarrado con una amiga mía, el aquí se ha agarrado con una amiga mía y cuando él se va me ha contado todo lo que ha hecho y me dio la carta y el en la carta me trataba perdona la palabra de puta arriba y de puta abajo, porque los padres le decían que yo andaba con fulano y bueno digo para que sepa que yo soy una puta ya va a ver lo que voy a hacer, y se hemos ido a un baile, me embarace por hacerle la contra, mire de tonta no?

§48: E: **Claro si, sí.**

§49: DS: Yo le digo a mi hija nunca hagas eso, y bueno la crie a mi hijita, vive en Tucumán ella, se ha ido a los 13 años a trabajar con un patrón y con ese patrón esta hasta ahora, ya no es una muchacha ya manda todo,

§50: E: **Claro**

§51: DS: Ella hace todo, la patrona ya esta vieja así que ella ya hace todo y los hijos la quieren mucho, hay un hijo que la quiere como madre, ella lo reta calladito, ya está mi hija

§52: E: **De la familia**

§53: DS: Claro ya es de la familia y ella tiene 1 sola hijita, soltera también, re joven. Bueno ya ha pasado y a los 3 años he vuelto con mi marido, le iba a rogar a la abuela, me iba a rogar a mi toda esa historia bueno me case, él siempre trabajaba afuera, y bueno me quede con los chicos, me ha

puesto un negocio, tenía un almacén

§54: E: **¿Un almacén?**

§55: DS: Si, del bajo esperábamos el proveedor, todos los jueves tenía que ir así que yo me iba temprano a esperar, a veces venia temprano, a veces lluvia, a veces nos tocaba viento, frio, pero así teníamos que traer, y éramos muchos en chicaje aquí en Talapazo.

§56: E: **¿El chicaje que quiere decir?**

§57: DS: Chicos, mucha juventud había, cada mujer tenía 10 a 8 lo mínimo y yo después hemos hecho la escuela, esa escuela es hecha toda a pulmón, nosotros no era el gobierno, ahora está ayudando el gobierno, pero ya no hay chicos. Yo he empezado cocinando, teníamos 43 chicos en la escuela, pero eran hombres, el más chico tenía 12 así y los demás todos grandes, pero eran como chicos, inocentes, tranquilos, todos ayudaban no decían che vos como ahora, a mí, mis hijos no me dicen che o vos me tratan de usted o si mama, no mamá, mis propias hijas se dejan mandar, yo no. Y después ya me quedé sola y he hecho la casa aquí, hace 2 años he hecho la casa aquí hace 2 años y aquí ya quedé solita con los chicos

§58: E: **Porque antes vivía en la banda?**

§59: DS: ¿En la banda, después ya me casé y vine a donde vivía este chico que da el comedor?

§60: **E: Aja**

§61: DS: Ahí vivían mis suegros, es sobrino mío

§62: **E: Marcelo?**

§63: DS: Marcelo, y de ahí cuando recién me case tenía como 50 cabras, después tenía 1000 cabras, eran muchas y todos los días salía al campo

§64: **E: ¿Y había el camino este?**

§65: DS: No, ese camino lo hemos hecho con mi marido, yo le voy a cuantas personas éramos, cuando yo he venido éramos 9 casitas, y no eran casas así, eran las casas como hacen para los cerros con barro, así nomás, no tiene cara la piedra nada, así nomás lo ponían, así eran las casas aquí, yo tenía un tío que era albañil y él las ha hecho para todas así, la 1er casa era la de debajo de doña Rosa, después ha hecho una piccita aquí, la del viejo Pastrana, todos han hecho con él las casitas,

§66: **E: ¿Ah y queda alguna de esas casas más viejas?**

§67: DS: De las otras no, ellos a donde está el hospedaje ahí era la casa vieja de ellos y después han hecho más arriba y ya han desarmado todo

§68: **E: ¿Claro y de esas casas viejas que decía ya no queda nada?**

§69: DS: No, nada, nada

§70: **E: ¿Ni una paredcita nada?**

§71: DS: Nada, nada y los viejitos eran viejos, le decían Carlos Yapura viejito y así y todo la gente, yo después me he hecho de cabras, eran de ellos, de mi suegro y después compramos con mi marido también

§72: **E: ¿Y se iban al cerro?**

§73: DS: Al cerro y después ya salían los chicos de la escuela, yo cocinaba en la escuela comíamos, hacíamos lo que teníamos que hacer y ya me iba con alguno y los otros se quedaban a cuidar a los más chiquitos

§74: **E: Ah mira**

§75: DS: él venía por las vacaciones, porque nunca se hemos cuidado nosotros, aquí nadie se cuidaba, el que podía tener tenía, como una cabra

§76: **E: Y ahí tenían un puestito para las cabras?**

§77: DS: Ahí han hecho, pero yo tenía otro acá abajo

§78: **E: Tenía corral aquí abajo**

§79: DS: Si, tenía vacas yo para el cerro. Yo cuando me he ido a Bs As he dejado 20 vacas para que me las cuiden, pero no dio ni 1 ternero, tengo caballos en Tolombón

§80: **E: ¿Y se fue a Bs As decían?**

§81: DS: Claro después cuando se han criado los chicos, eran grandes algunos se han ido con su papa a trabajar y algunas chicas querían estudiar, ser alguien,

seguir estudiando y una maestra me decía vaya doña Santos no las haga perder a sus hijas y yo me he ido a Bs As sola hemos comprado un terreno en campo de mayo que era zona residencial y los militares vendían y hemos comprado en esa zona, es lindo, seguro, militar donde nosotros estábamos

§82: E: ¿En qué año se fue más o menos?

§83: DS: En el 82, yo me he ido antes y hemos hecho una pieza de 4x6 y estábamos todos

§84: E: Todos metidos ahí

§85: DS: Y después hemos hecho la cocina y después los dormitorios, el baño, hemos hecho arriba 2 piezas más, así, él era siempre he tenido una casa para vivir y esta le ayudo el tío, pero siempre hemos tenido donde vivir, y esa cocina ha hecho mi hija

§86: E: Esto es más nuevo?

§87: DS: Mi hija lo arreglo todo e hizo esas piezas para dormir. Y así crie a mis hijos, pasé de todo. Y en el 92 muere mi marido, no me ha durado ni 10 años, en el 92

§88: E: Ah mire

§89: DS: Y quede sola con los chicos, una estudiando, todas estudiaban y trabajaban y los chicos también, pero hasta cierta parte y después ya trabajaban los chicos y el más grande cuando a muerto él le ha agarrado una depresión,

§90: E: Si

§91: DS: estaba metido, la señora estaba por tener hijo, él ha muerto el 12 de octubre y la nena ha nacido el 1ro de noviembre, usted cree que ha ido al hospital a verla? No, encerrado estaba

§92: E: Uy

§93: DS: Y mi hijo el más chico, cuando ha empezado la escuela, iba a la escuela técnica el más chico y un día me hace llamar el profesor que usted tiene un chico enfermo? Si bueno acá hay profesores que lo pueden ayudar y me hizo una carta para sacarlo y de ahí me ayudaron

§94: DS: Y lo deje ahí y a la tarde ya estaba mejor, *..... *habla muy bajito no logro entender que dice.....** y se han ido con mi hijo el más chiquito, decidió estudiar hasta que termino la escuela, no ha faltado ni un día y cuando salió tenía todo 10 en la carpeta y le han dado el papel como maestro mayor de obra y en eso trabaja y ahora el hijo es arquitecto y trabajan en eso ellos

§95: E: Qué bueno

§96: DS: Y yo quede con las otras chicas, pero todas han estudiado, las dos más grandes han hecho la secundaria y una estudio enfermería, que es más riguroso, estudio y se recibió y un día veía la sangre y se descompuso, después estudio para maestra jardinera no le gusto tampoco y después para costura y en eso quedo, trabaja en alta costura, cose muy bonito y después la otra más chica, estudio

para abogada se recibió de abogada, primero estaba en la UBA y un periodista de Córdoba murió la viejita que cuidaba ella y él le dio trabajo en la oficina y ahí se ha recibido de abogada de leyes y discriminación, ella y ella es la que está en Jujuy, no sé si usted se acuerda cuando la han sacado a Cristina de presidenta?

§97: **E: Si**

§98: **DS:** Estaba la Milagro Sala allá en Jujuy, y de ahí han mandado dos abogados para que trabajen y la han mandado a ella y hace 3 años que está ahí y tiene 45 años y ella no podía tener hijos, ha hecho todo y después ha venido un médico en Salta, ha vendido una camioneta grande y ha hecho el tratamiento y tiene una chiquita y el que le ha donado le decía papá y este año ha muerto él, le ha dado un acv, y *.....* que ha muerto el padre de la chiquita, era policia, había donado todos los órganos y él tiene otro hijo mas ya los había dejado asegurado a los chicos y esta con la casa que estaba viviendo y ella tiene su casa grande en Bs As.

§99: **E: Qué bueno**

§100: **DS:** Tengo otra hija que es maestra, y ella tenía un patrón que tenía una chiquita discapacitada y esa chica cuando ella la llevaba a la escuela, esa chica le ha dicho mama yo quiero que ella estudie eso y la Sra. le ha pagado un colegio privado y ahí se ha recibido y trabaja de eso con chicos

discapacitados y ella siempre va a verla a la chiquita, le ha costado porque siempre ha estado ahí y tampoco puede tener hijos ella y los varones han entrado a trabajar en la panificadora del norte, uno es panadero y el otro hace masas finas, uno hace 26 años que trabaja ahí y el otro 15. Y el patrón me decía no me vas a quitar a mis hijos porque son muy responsables y van y lo matan al dueño y quedo el hijo. Y el viejito dueño les tenía una confianza que habrá ellos el negocio, era una cuadra, yo siempre que iba me decía no me va a llevar a los hijos jajaja. Y cuando ha muerto mi marido me quede sola, andaba mal, por agarrarme una depresión y una vez ha habido una charla de esas que daban de Colombia venia la Sra. y me dice una amiga vamos santos, y me lleva y he salido sanita de ahí, me han sacado una mochila que traía en la espalda, he salido livianita con ganas de vivir, vos sos una cumblera y tu marido una vara si vos aflojas aflojan tus hijos, y vos sos la cumblera y si te caes vos caen tus hijos y desde ese día seguí luchando, he criado una nietita que entro a trabajar al hospital posadas y la he hecho quedar a la chiquita

§101: **E: ¿Y cuando volvió para acá?**

§102: **DS:** Yo volví en el 2006 pero de pasada iba a volver y después ya me he venido para acá cuando se han recibido, han tenido su trabajo, y en Bs As vivíamos juntos

Aquí un hijo, aquí una hija, aquí otro hijo y un sobrino

§103: **E: Ah estaban todos juntos?**

§104: **DS:** Son de 50 más ero entonces uno ha vendido la otra hija que ha quedado sin casa le ha vendido al del fondo, y así que después y esa chica a agarrado una beca de Giordano y le ha salido bien, fue por todas partes estados unidos, peinando hasta que le dijo mira morocho vos temes habilidad para hacer plata así que le puso una peluquería y ahí se quedó, tiene de todo ahí, masajista para hacer de todo

§105: **E: Qué bueno**

§106: **DS:** Así que todos están más o menos bien, se pueden mantener. Y ya me vine para aquí

§107: **E: Ya resueltos**

§108: **DS:** Si, ellos eran como chicos, todo preguntaban a la madre, mama esto, mamá lo otro, entonces no, casados estaban y preguntaban entonces digo esto está mal y ahora ya están adaptados, están mejor ahora así que así luce, crie a mis hijos, nunca volví a hacer pareja, jamás, quede de 51 años yo y nunca abandone a mis hijos, pero yo digo voy a tal parte y ellos están con los pasajes, me ponen para que me acompañen para que no ande sola, ellos no quieren que haga nada, si es por ellos habrían puesto alguien que atiendan aquí pero a mí me gusta hacer las cosas, mientras pueda hacer no

me gusta estar de vicio, yo me gusta estar tejiendo, haciendo dulces, de todo hago, hago mis telas, vino sabía hacer antes pero ahora ya no, yo no me he quedado quieta, doy gracias a mi abuela, ha muerto de 105 años, mis tíos hace 2 años que han muerto, era soltero y me ha ayudado a criar a mis hijos, ha muerto de 110 años, jamás se ha hecho la pis en la cama, jamás un pañal, y dicen las chicas uh lo que nos espera de mi mama jajaja pero no mi papa ha muerto de 95 años y andaba a caballo, yo soy alegre, no hay q ser tan callado, tan mudo, yo no, hablo cada macana, me gusta estar alegre, reírme, joder, hablar macanas, cuando cantaba me gustaba hacer contrapunto esas cosas, siempre así, a mi poco y nada me ganaban los contrapuntos.

§109: **E: Que son los contrapuntos?**

§110: **DS:** Yo digo una copla y el otro le contesta y yo gane

§111: **E: Y como sabe que ha ganado?**

§112: **DS:** Y porque como que yo le diga un hombre me ha dicho no sé qué de la yegua, he hecho una copla y me ha contestado el "yo quisiera tener esta yegua para amansarla" algo así no? Y el año pasado le ha agarrado al tipo un principio de acv y ahora ha hecho un año y lo que no puedo recuperar es la memoria y ese contrapunto yo le conteste a ese hombre que me ha dicho que era

altanera, así, *.....* y le digo “deja de relinchar potrillo que esta yegua tiene para rato, hasta perder los calzoncillos” le digo y ya gane jajaja

§113: **E: Jajajajaja**

§114: DS: Y que no le decían al otro jajaja

§115: **E: Qué bueno jajaja**

§116: DS: Y así

§117: **E: Y acá siempre se cantaban coplas?**

§118: DS: Claro, esas coplas

§119: **E: Y sabe usted como, porque yo no conocía que se hacia la fiesta de la copla, sabe usted como nació este proyecto de las coplas?**

§120: DS: Y la primera vez lo han hecho aquí en La Banda, somos primos Caro, ellos lo han hecho

§121: **E: Don Antonio?**

§122: DS: Antonio Caro si y después lo he hecho yo 3 años, pero yo no lo he hecho sola, yo era la promotora, me ayudaban entonces traíamos las camionetas llenas y veníamos con todo para acá, rifas, guitarras, cosas grandes conseguíamos nosotros allá, allá también yo he sido muy querida, me dicen ahí che esta infeliz no se hace vieja jajajajaja yo era bien gorda, yo aumente hasta 86 kilos cuando estaba con mi marido, y después baje, prefiero ser así y no porque sufro mucho de la columna, de los golpes de los caballos, yo soy muy amate de los animales,

me gustaba andar en los mejores caballos, de esos tengo los que desfila

§123: **E: Ah mire**

§124: DS: Yo no me quedo callada, a veces las chicas vienen a tomar mate y hablamos macanas como una terapia de hablar macanas y reírse, una dice una cosa y yo les contesto y nos reímos, como una terapia jajá y yo en Bs As el domingo a la tarde iba a jugar a las cartas, era campeona para jugar al truco con los jubilados, pero aquí no son para jugar al truco, aquí en Colalao lo hacemos yo lo hago para que se animen, eso de jugar a las cartas es una terapia para los viejos, no piensan en nada

§125: **E: Y entonces como fue la idea de organizar la fiesta?**

§126: DS: Y eso yo estaba en Bs As en esos tiempos, había muchas cantoras aquí en Talapazo, se iban a Quilmes y los que cantaban eran de Talapazo, nosotros hemos sufrido mucho e Tucumán

§127: **E: Para la ciudad?**

§128: DS: Para rescatarla porque la tenía Cruz, yo tenía los guaguas chiquitos y salía para allá

§129: **E: Salían?**

§130: DS: Íbamos a Quilmes, después a Tucumán a la casa de gobierno y a la jefatura de policía y así y yo me he animado cuando hace 2 o 3 años ha hecho esa fiesta la Cristina que ha hecho para los indígenas

§131: **E: No conozco**

§132: DS: Hemos hecho 7 días hasta Bs As, íbamos en colectivo hasta llegar a una provincia y después íbamos caminando

§133: **E: Hasta llegar a Bs As?**

§134: DS: Desde la Quiaca hasta llegar a Bs As

§135: **E: Ahí**

§136: DS: Y es lindo porque nosotros conocemos a otra gente, en Tucumán había gente del norte con ojotas, los chicos descalzos, al llegar a Santiago ya tenían botitas los chiquitos, la gente le regalaba y así hemos llegado caminando, esas cosas así que uno comparte, y la comida iban haciendo tenían horno eléctrico en una camioneta iba cocinando, parábamos comíamos y seguíamos, a mí me ha gustado porque era una experiencia buena, uno comparte, yo lo lleve a un chico de allá del Bañado y hemos ido y todo eso organizaba mi hija, ya la voy a traer para que la conozca

§137: **E: Bueno**

§138: *Se va la señora*

§139: DS: Esta es ve?

§140: **E: Ah**

§141: DS: Esta es la Milagro Sala, han dio con todas las provincias

§142: **E: Ah bueno está muy orgullosa usted jajaja**

§143: DS: Por eso digo a veces, los hijos son como una planta si no

la riega de abajito nunca va a tener nada. Yo he sido bien firme, sola, así los crie

§144: **E: Qué bueno**

§145: DS: Y estos son todos mis hijos ve, esta es la mayor, esta es la 2da, esta es la 3ra y esta es la 4ta y esta es la Mariela la abogada, y este es el otro chico, esta es la otra chica y este es el más chiquito y esta es la nietita que crie, todos están.

§146: **E: Que linda familia**

§147: DS: Todos juntos están

§148: **E: Qué bueno**

§149: DS: *.....*
y esta es la más gordita, todos son altos, ahora va a venir esta y esta, ella trabaja en el hospital posadas, y está en la facultad ella, ya tiene hijos casados pero está en la facultad, dice que es para cobrar más jajaja le faltan dos años para jubilarse, es jefa de *....* Que limpia los pisos, la capacidad y la prolijidad nunca le van a faltar nada. Que más le puedo pedir a Dios? Nada! Yo si he tenido muchas enfermedades, he tenido 12 operaciones y tengo 8 hijos así en el campo, yo no tenía esas operaciones que hacen ahora, todo aquí en el campo con cuchillo, una vez he tenido 3 operaciones, me han sacado la vesícula, un ovario y un quiste en el páncreas aquí en Cafayate, y me tenía que levantar pero me dolía y yo me levante al baño y el doctor me ha dado la cana jajajajaja le digo no yo soy, no me gusta que me estén

atendiendo y me ha puesto a india, que se ha ido la india decía jajaja. Si yo me cuidaba, de a comida no me prohíben nada, ahora tengo un poquito de grasa en la sangre, me tengo que cuidar de los fritos nada más, pero bien gracias a dios.

§150: E: Y me decía que ha luchado bastante por recuperar ahí en Quilmes?

§151: DS: Si los de Talapazo somos los que más hemos luchado y recién ahora nos han dado 10 mil pesos para hacer esa represa nos si ha visto

§152: E: Los de Quilmes?

§153: DS: Los de Quilmes si nosotros hemos luchado, más de Talapazo ha sido la gente

§154: E: Porque ha sido eso

§155: DS: Doña Rosa porque ellos sufrían porque le llevaban las cosas, a veces venían y les llevaban las cabras la gente que decían que eran los patrones y estaban todos y allá en Pampa llana, mi hija ha ido para ahí, ella conoce todos estos cerros y ella dice que el que era jefe cuando estaba Romero de gobernador en salta, iban y esquilaban las ovejas, sacaban toda la lana, y él iba a sacar todo lo lindo del lomo y le dejaba todo lo más feo le sacaba y le dejaba para los dueños, todo lo lindo. Antonio Caro ha hecho una reunión y de esa vez no han vuelto a dejar, uno el que trabaja, aquí nosotros no dejábamos entrar a nadie, yo le he reclamado a estos chicos, ustedes dejan entrar a

cualquiera, que sabe lo que van a hacer, es muy rico, nosotros siempre lo hemos mezquinado al cerro, el agua es agua mineral esta, toda esta zona han hecho el estudio y esta es agua mineral, han venido de cabeza a sacar el agua a pedrada los hemos corrido

§156: E: a llevarse el agua vinieron?

§157: DS: Llevarse el agua

§158: E: Quienes eran estos?

§159: DS: No sé, tanto que he perdido la memoria no me puedo acordar,

§160: E: Por si se acordaba se lo preguntaba, si no recuerda no hay problema. Entonces el agua es una riqueza que tiene el cerro?

§161: DS: Esta agua quería sacar para

§162: E: Meterlo en botella

§163: DS: Es agua mineral, por eso muchos vienen y toma y le agarra como colitis, porque es agua pura, había u muchacho de Inglaterra que le han dado agua ha tomado y yo le he llenado la botella, dice véndame cuánto es? No aquí el agua no se vende, la Pachamama se enoja y no nos va a dar más agua, no señora y como me insistió tanto le dije que aquí tengo una rifa de la copla y yo vendo como 6 hojas para vender

§164: E: Cómo funciona eso de la rifa? Que el otro día de la reunión no entendí bien

§165: DS: Ya le voy a hacer ver, si o esta apurado

§166: **E: No, no señora yo tengo todo el tiempo**

§167: DS: Yo no tengo apuro ni de cocinar, estas son las rifas * sonido de papeles* se saca este premio, saca el 62 se pone, esos son los premios

§168: **E: 22 premios hay?**

§169: DS: 22 premios, son chiquitos pero

§170: **E: Para bastantes**

§171: DS: Si, son chicos, yo sabía traer cocinitas, cosas de allá, grades, guitarras, amigos de BS As tenían fábrica de eso, íbamos a pedir y nos daban para que hagamos las rifas y ahora lo ha hecho así, yo ponía un fardo de gaseosa y lo último es un cabrito. Si así todo, cuando sale el número

§172: **E: Se dice 1er premio va al número 73**

§173: *sonidos de perros ladrando fuerte*

§174: **E: Hay gente viviendo en el cerro?**

§175: DS: Si ahí arriba de la cascada

§176: **E: En la cascada? Donde queda la cascada?**

§177: DS: Ahí arriba todavía, ahí vive el. Así son las rifas, yo he llevado 6 y he dejado 2 e BS AS para vender y esta me faltan unas cuantas y algún premio vamos a

tener los que vendemos muchos números jajaja

§178: **E: Cómo?**

§179: DS: Si yo vendo los 6 cartones voy a tener un premio por vender. A mí me ayuda mi yerno, mis hijas para ver si puede vender

§180: **E: Pero ahora lo organizan como pueblo?**

§181: DS: Si

§182: **E: Antes lo organizaba usted nomas?**

§183: DS: Si, mire este camino lo hemos hecho nosotros. Teníamos una balanza y hemos hecho el camino para traer la angarilla le decíamos nosotros y después mi esposo limpiaba de abajo para aquí y se veía limpiando y cuando ya veníamos así, ha salido los otros de aquí a ayudar y otro camino venia por el otro lado y ahí se ha compartido y nosotros se hemos ido nomas, teníamos un carrito para traer las cosas pero no teníamos camino y lo hemos hecho nomas, éramos yo mi esposo y era Juan Pablo que ya ha muerto, el tío Isidro que ya ha muerto, Ambrosio que ya ha muerto y quien más? A Don Santiago mi suegro y otro hijo más esos éramos los que hemos hecho el cambio, yo era la cocinera con otra Sra. Yo era delegada de Quilmes

§184: **E: De Quilmes?**

§185: DS: Hemos estado juntos con Pancho Chaile, yo Salí porque me he ido a BS AS y cuando he

vuelto he salido a andar por ahí pero las chicas no quieren y así hemos llegado al camino junto a esas piedras paradas en la casa de Sandro hemos hecho un canchón para que dé la vuelta los autos y un día me iba a Quilmes por la ruta y viene un hombre de vialidad y me dice cuántos caminos han hecho? Este hasta acá, y los otros? Ose yo porque ahí estaban los Caro, los Bordón y los Suarez y le digo este que esta acá ya no podemos pasar por las pircas y usted a q hs tiene reunión? Y yo a las 2 y vamos la llevo, y no era el primer auto cuando hemos hecho el camino tenía que cruzar el padre de Antonio Soria decía ni muerto voy a andar por ese camino, le ha errado una puñalada a mi marido, mi marido a estado 3 meses incomunicado por eso, lo ha denunciado la madre de Caro, una señora de Caro

§186: **E: Pero porque lo denunció?**

§187:

§188: **En esta parte no logro entender lo que dice la sra del porque de la puñalada o algo así? Me es sumamente confuso seguir esta parte del relato*.*

§189:

§190: **E: Ah o sea que estaba?**

§191: DS: Claro era un potrero, *.....* y eso porque ellos no querían que se haga este

camino, por eso ese día que yo he ido con el hombre este

§192: **E: Tiene fotos?**

§193: DS: Si tengo fotos de cuando estábamos trabajando en el camino. No las puedo encontrar ya las voy a buscar

§194: **E: Que cosa?**

§195: DS: *.....* sobre el pelo del animal y ahora tiene su vehículo ella para andar y así llegó el hombre saco fotos todo y le hablo el jefe de él, ya tenía teléfono y parece que le decía todo y a la semana ha visto las autoridades y ha abierto todo, y decían que nosotros hemos hecho y no era calidad y ya lo han registrado como camino de vialidad

§196: **E: Y eso en que año?**

§197: DS: En el 73 hasta el 75 lo hemos terminado

§198: **E: Y usted me dice que se reunía en Quilmes?**

§199: DS: Claro

§200: **E: Y recuerda cómo nació esa idea para organizarse?**

§201: DS: Para hacer allá en Quilmes? Yo la 1ra vuelta no me acuerdo, ya la 2da vez nació tras la Pachamama que se hace el 1ro de agosto, atrás de la pirca esta

§202: **E: La qué?**

§203: DS: Pirca esta está escrita con una cara? Esta la apacheta. **Claro hacemos todos los años**

§204: **E: Empezaron en esa época, en el 73?**

§205: DS: Claro eso no se hacía en ninguna parte todos nos copiaron todo de aquí, después lo hemos hecho en Quilmes, arriba en el rincón,

§206: **E: En el rincón de Quilmes?**

§207: DS: No aquí para este otro lado, donde están las ruinas ahí lo hemos ido a hacer, sabe la cantidad de gente que iba? La Rosa era la 1ra que ha empezado, tenían libros para hacer la Pachamama, Caro Antonio antes que se ha juntado con esta mujer era otra cosa, ahora jode con el cacán que eso era de otra nación no de aquí, nosotros somos diaguitas, ahora Antonio con esa mujer que se metió y nosotros hemos sido de aquí y ahí hemos empezado a luchar por nuestra tierra, no sé cómo ha sido no me acuerdo, una casita que ha sido del río para acá, ahí era la casa central.

§208: **E: Donde era no entendí**

§209: DS: En Quilmes, pasa el puente hay casas para acá y para allá, de la casa de artesanías la siguiente era la casita

§210: **E: No donde está la casa de la comunidad ahora?**

§211: DS: No, no mas allá, yo me acuerdo que cuando más hemos sufrido ha sido cuando han venido los militares, sabe cómo le

pegaban a Jesús? Jesús se llamaba el hombre.

§212: **E: Ah Jesús Costilla?**

§213: DS: Nosotros estábamos cocinar por ellos, y los quilmeños son los que menos han luchado por las ruinas, eran perdón la palabra unos infeliz porque hemos conseguido todo recién se han hecho los dueños, yo les dije el otro día cuando hemos pedido una plata para acá algo nos tienen que dar porque gracias a nosotros tienen todo lo que tiene ustedes ni se acuerdan de los viejos que han estado, yo y pancho hemos sido los más jóvenes que hemos estado, los otros eran viejitos, yo soy la más entradora para hablar y los otros son medio cortos, una que no entienden mucho y yo tanto así andar y mis hijas que me han enseñado mucho me defienden, antes la gente era tonta se dejaba engañar por cualquiera y eso no es así.

§214: **E: Y le puedo preguntar cómo le surgió la idea de celebrar la Pachamama?**

§215: DS: Y la Pachamama porque doña Rosa la vio a la Pachamama

§216: **E: La vio a la Pachamama?**

§217: DS: Si yo creo mucho en la Pachamama, a mí no me comen las hormigas las plantas como decía el chico esta mañana che o te comen la viña? No! La abuela mía era la más viejita que había en Talapazo y ella me enseñó como curar las hormigas hablando con la

Pachamama no echando veneno ni nada, al contrario para que ella comprenda que es la hacienda de ella, los pagaron son las gallinas de ella y las hormigas el ganado no sé lo que será, yo creo mucho en la Pachamama, en cambio una hija, esta hija la drogaron con cerveza pobrecita no la podían sacar un humo que tenía aquí en la mente y justo ese año me quebré yo el tobillo y ella se vino a cuidarme y yo un día le digo al hijo de Antonio que se crio más aquí porque no se van a pasear al cerro y bueno se han ido y yo le pedí a la Pachamama que le pida que me cure a mi hija y bueno le pedí tato, le di la coca, el alcoholo, le di pan a la Pachamama hay que darle, yo ates de tomar me convidan un vaso de vino, antes de tomar le doy un poquito y una señora me dice porque tira el vino? Y otra señora le contesto no ella le da a la Pachamama, de todo hay que pagarle a la Pachamama, que nos dé y no cada uno hace sus comidas y les lleva e la fiesta, cada casa hace su comida y le lleva su comida para compartir la ofrenda que lleva, hace mucho llevaban damajuanas de vio, de mistela, todo lo que cosechamos para echar en la boca, todo lo que se cocina, este año he hecho empanadas nomas porque he andado en Jujuy y he venido unos días antes, y la coca que no le falte, el vino los cigarrillos y de ahí empezamos nosotros, los cantos de ahí ya era que hagamos la copla también, cada zona tiene un tono

§218: **E: Cada zona de dónde?**

§219: DS: Aquí en Quilmes tienen otras maneras de cantar, e Pichao son otras, nosotros aquí otras

§220: **E: Y aquí cómo es?**

§221: DS: Es más extendida, nosotros cantamos con la copla y la tonada y allá no, ellos la copla sola o la tonada sola, y más al norte con un solo palo la caja

§222: **E: La caja**

§223: DS: Yo tengo un yerno que hace las cajas el allá en Bs AS hace suvenires de cajitas y así comencé, después nos han pedido para Quilmes que le prestemos y hemos llevado y después ya se ha extendido y cualquiera lo hace.

§224: **E: Y ahí en Quilmes cuando empezó si se acuerda?**

§225: DS: Y ahí en Quilmes estábamos todos nosotros de Talapazo,

§226: **E: Claro pero en qué año más o menos fuero allá**

§227: DS: No se no puedo recuperar+

§228: **E: Claro yo le pregunto pero no**

§229: DS: Claro no puedo recuperar pero ahora ya ando mejor, pero no conocía ni la gente, a veces no me acordaba como me llamaba yo, pero eso es por la presión, tenía 9/6

§230: **E: Claro pero fue antes de que se tomara la ciudad?**

§231: DS: Antes, claro.

§232: **E: Antes?**

§233: DS: No ya estaba tomada, fueron muchos años, será como en el 63/64 hemos empezado la lucha

§234: **E: 63?**

§235: DS: Si era chiquita la chica mía, la Juana, yo dejaba a la chica con una señora, así y tofo

§236: **E: Y quien estaba ahí? Pancho Chaile?**

§237: DS: Nosotros éramos los más chicos, había gente más grande como la Rosa Caro, Balderrama, y de aquí vamos quedando yo, la Rosa, Antonio y mi cuñada *.....* y estaba con Antonio Soria que éramos los más viejos jajaja

§238: **E: Que les paga directamente a ustedes jajaja**

§239: DS: Hay una señora que le gusta andar conmigo porque para ahí pasa vergüenza porque cuando me junto con gente conocida hago bromas y cuando hemos hecho la copla tenemos que hace reza redondel que hay ahí no sé si se ha dado cuenta usted

§240: **E: Si, si**

§241: DS: Bueno es una caja

§242: **E: Una caja**

§243: DS: Sí, mi hija estaba aquí porque yo me quebré en ese año y estaba con otra chica que era la mujer de Antonio y estaban techado la iglesia y de la iglesia le

gritaban *.....* ellas eran luchadoras, trabajadoras las hijas, hacer todas las cosas, no son de que se van a quedar quietas, hacen de todo, les gritaban porque acarreaban piedras con la mujer de caro, era una lucha pero era lindo, porque éramos unidos, esa escuela la hemos hecho nosotros no el gobierno, ese dispensario lo hemos hecho nosotros no el gobierno, o soy la promotora esa, falta el agua, el tanque y ya está y cuando me he ido a BS As me han sacado las tablas, me las robaron, se las llevaron porque ese mes el delegado que estaba en Colalao les daba 600 pesos de ayuda y como no le han dado se han llevado las cosas que yo tenía. +.....*

§244: DS: De mujer estoy yo y la suegra de Sandro estamos de cocineras, ella nunca ha puesto anda para cocinar. Yo me he ido a Bs As y los chicos tenían que pagar, mire no yo nunca dejo una persona sin darle algo ni que coma algo, nunca cuando vos cosechas o tengas algo convida porque quías no tiene un peso, me reta Sandro usted anda dulce acaba de regalar, no si a mí no me falta nada. Yo le decía ese día *.....* ellos no son capaz de convidar un traguito y eso es feo porque siempre van a andar con la pobreza adelante, yo soy bien pobre y saque a mis hijos adelante entre dios y la Pachamama y esta hija que le digo que me la han drogado se ha ido al cerro, a la

punta del cerro y se han ido hasta la cruz a las 4 de la mañana y han llegado cuando ha salido el sol y dice que han llegado y se ha acostado, en una piedra laja como esta mesa y se ha dormido y el chico que la acompañaba estaba sentado mirándola, si se llega a dormir le voy a pedir a la Pachamama que se levante sanita *.....* porque ella se tenía que volver a BS AS a hacer los estudios y al otro día ha viajado y le han hecho los estudios y no tenía nada, sana del todo y quien la curo? Ella.

§245: **E: Aja**

§246: DS: Había un matrimonio que veía de Quilmes de BS AS tenían hijas grandes y a la Pachamama venían siempre y tenía un varoncito y *.....* pídale a la Pachamama por un hijo y le han pedido y al año han vuelto con el hijito, lloraba el hombre y era creyente todos los años venían. Hace mucho que ya no los veo, ya ha cambiado mucho cuando yo he vuelto de BS AS, ha cambiado mucho, la juventud no tiene la misma forma de atender, el que viene de afuera trae bebida o compra bebida y compartimos con todos pero ponen algo los que vienen y nosotros ponemos un mesón grande y compartimos pero ahora no han hecho, yo he traído 5 kilos de carne y he hecho empanadas y las he repartido con todos y así es la historia nuestra.

§247: DS: Y mi hija esta va a poner racho aquí, comida

§248: **E: Para la copla?**

§249: DS: Si, de allá se viene como 8 o 9 ya van a venir, después esta otra chica dice que viene si le dan permiso va a unir y está seguro va a venir, ella está en Jujuy seguro viene en su bebe, todos se organizamos así,

§250: **E: Qué lindo**

§251: DS: Y yo he hecho la quinta porque cuando yo he venido era un hueserío de plantas, esto es todo nuevo

§252: **E: Porque cuando usted se fue a bs as?**

§253: DS: Si me han robado todo, pero mis hijas me ayudaron e hice la casa otra vez, por eso cuando uno hace bien terminan bien las cosas. No entiende la gente aquí es mezquino, no quieren comprar, cada fiestita que hacíamos la hacíamos aquí, san Antonio, para el día del obrero, para el día de la madre conminaban todos los hombres y para el día del padre todas las mujeres y ahora no lo hacen, nosotros somos quizás se cruzan de palabras y le dura por ahí nada más *.....* y allá se juntan 1 vez al mes todos los hermanos, pero ahora son muchos con los nietos, son muchos, más de 50 se reúnen, porque todos tienen comedores grandes, tenemos una galería grade.

§254: DS: Yo sufrí mucho, he sido asmática, tengo 12 operaciones, 3 quebraduras

§255: **E: Una cosa le quería preguntar señora, que me dijo que estuvo trabajado en la hostería de Amaicha, e que año habrá sido?**

§256: DS: En el 59 por ahí

§257: **E: Ah recién había abierto**

§258: DS: Si por ahí habrá sido, yo era mucama en el 2do piso, yo terminaba temprano, me levantaba temprano limpiaba el patio de arriba y la persona que se iba levantado iba limpiando la pieza y cuando terminaba me iba a la cocina a ayudar a lavar los vasos y me daba otra propina mas. Ya tenía la hijita esta yo y la abuela se quedaba con la chiquita

§259: **E: Y se acuerda quienes eran los dueños?**

§260: DS: Roberto Quiroz me parece que si

§261: **E: Pero era del automóvil club?**

§262: DS: Y debe ser nosotros no sabíamos nada

§263: **E: Y venia mucha gente?**

§264: DS: Y sabe que he hecho para salir porque estaba embarazada de esta chiquita y robe un reloj del patrón y lo puse e un negocio donde más conocían ellos donde iban a comprar ellos para que me metan presa

§265: **E: Porque hizo eso?**

§266: DS: Porque estaba embarazada y quería salir de ahí y no me dejaban, y nadie sabía que estaba embarazada y bueno un día viene la policía a buscarme porque era de oro y han puesto en conocimiento y era yo y yo he dicho que yo era pero no había sacado nada por gusto de zafarme nomas. Me han llevado al buen pastor de mejores y he dicho que no tenía familia y era para dispararme de la abuela y que no vean que estaba embarazada

§267: **E: Si**

§268: DS: Y me he ido allá, me han metido en el defensor de menos

§269: **E: Donde fue eso? Allá en la ciudad?**

§270: DS: Allá en la ciudad, y estuve 1 mes y ha ido el patrón a sacarme y he vuelto

§271: **E: El patrón de la hostería?**

§272: DS: Si el

§273: **E: Y ha vuelto a la hostería?**

§274: DS: No, no ya me quede en la casa de una señora Celia del Bañado, me quede ahí con una hermana y he estado 1 mes y me he venido para La Banda un tiempo y ahí ha nacido la nena. Porque no les quería avisar que estaba embarazada, lo he hecho por eso, para poder salir de ahí porque ellos no querían q salga, era muy confiados conmigo

§275: **E: Y como llego a trabajar allá?**

§276: DS: No sé quién ha venido para acá, no yo estaba trabajando en Santa María y de ahí se han anoticiado que era cumplida

§277: **E: Ah usted estaba trabajando en Sata María?**

§278: DS: Y de ahí me han traído para acá, no tenía nada estaba por hacerme la chistosa, hacerle la contra al otro me he quedado embarazada

§279: **E: Si**

§280: DS: Y después me he ido a la defensoría de menores ahí he estado 1 mes, lloraba el hombre yo lo helecho porque sabía que no me iban a dar permiso, porque si les decía me iban a tener ahí porque me querían como una hija y usted ha dicho que no tiene madre y había ido mi mama y mi abuela a verme jajajaja

§281: **E: Jajaja**

§282: DS: Y mire las historias que uno tiene, pero yo no quería avisar a nadie

§283: **E: Pero usted ya no se quería quedar en la hostería?**

§284: DS: Claro yo ya no me quería quedar ahí porque no sé, ahí vivía el hombre, el padre de la chiquita, por eso tampoco para que no me lo quite, porque para mí los hijos siempre han sido sagrados, a mí no me ha importado que mi hombre ande con mil mujeres, mis hijos para mí eran mis hijos, no los hombres, nunca me enamore bien de un hombre jamás, yo soy bien

machona, no me gustaba, mi suegra creo que no me creía y cuando ha muerto mi marido me dice y bueno ya e ven los machos, que machos? Yo soy jodona, yo hablo macanas, digo cosas y creen que es algo y no es así una mujer cuando se hace respetar no tiene nada que hacer los hombres, no hay que echarle la culpa a los hombres porque es la mujer que dispone así le digo a mis hijas porque es la mujer la que determina de su cuerpo de su vida, no los hombres.

§285: DS: Una vez yo estaba atendiendo a unos hombres que venían de Colalao a tomar y yo dormía en mi piecita con mis chiquitos y una noche yo estaba acostada y el dormía aquí y yo en la otra cama y los chiquitos para el otro lado y golpean la puerta y digo yo que quieren? Que cuando nos va a atender? Y otra vez golpean y cuando ha venido mi esposo le han dicho que me habían hallado encimada con otro hombre y yo tranquila porque no he hecho nada, que me voy a hacer problema por eso si vos crees cree para mí me da lo mismo yo crio a mis hijos y se acabó.

§286: DS: Si yo soy bromista jodona con los chicos ya me conocen y yo como no me quedo callada, todo por hacerme hablar, dice una era no la hagan hablar a esta porque no le van a ganar y así son mis hijas tremendas no se van a callar por nada, mi madre era así pobrecita no se callaba y era

cantora, amansaba caballos ella, que hora es?

§287: **E: Son 12.20**

§288: DS: Ah, me voy a comer ya. Usted va a comer allá?

§289: **E: Si en el comedor**

§290: DS: Así ha sido mi vida

§291: **E: Muchas gracias por compartir sus recuerdos conmigo**

§292: DS: Me dice una era si vos te vas a hacer un libro sacas al pelo dice * suena un teléfono*

§293: **Corte en el audio**

§294: **E: Una cosita que se me ha ocurrido usted recuerda que se hizo una reunión de la hostería con todos los dirigentes de las comunidades?**

§295: DS: Si, si me acuerdo yo estaba de sirvienta estaba trabajando. Cuando uno está trabajando no ve nada ni siente nada.

§296: **E: Claro está con otros asuntos**

§297: DS: Yo en esa escuela he trabajado 10 años gratis.

§298: DS: Está lleno de pasto, no tengo quien me lo corte al pasto.

§299: DS: Estas ciruelas son de hacer pasas y estas son grandes....

§300: **Se aleja la voz**

§301: DS: Duraznos criollos, membrillos, yo tengo toda clase de frutas

§302: **E: Para hacer dulces?**

§303: DS: Para pacer dulces si ya no hay, no he vendido nada, tengo toda la mercadería.

§304: DS: Eso que parece seco son nogales injertados, son todos injertos

§305: **E: Y estos nogales cuando los puso?**

§306: DS: Y estos los he puesto en el año 70 habrá sido, aquellos de allá los grandes eso hemos traído de Mendoza, San Rafael es una nuez larga

§307: **E: Porque se lo preguntaba por un proyecto que daba nogales**

§308: DS: Si, esos sí pero aquellos grandes de allá no, son de las chilenas, larguitas, todo de Mendoza hemos traído de allá.

§309: **E: Las cabras me comen las plantas**

§310: DS: Trepan las cabras

§311: DS: Si me comen arriba, yo la tengo bien limpia y ahora está llena de pasto.

§312: **E: Y esa terracita la hizo usted también?**

§313: DS: Cuál?

§314: **E: Esa pirquita?**

§315: DS: No, la hizo mi marido

§316: **E: Si claro quiero decir**

§317: DS: Eso lo hizo mi marido tofo allá abajo ha cerrado para que trabajemos, antes poníamos maíz

§318: **E: Y ya no se da el maíz?**

§319: DS: No ya nadie come ni locro, por eso la gente está débil, antes todos comíamos maíz ahora a no, ahora comen fideos, arroz, esas cosas embutidas yo no como eso, patos, chorizos eso nunca como yo o me gusta, si lo tengo que comer por necesidad si sino no.

§320: DS: Esta es mi casita

§321: **E: Bueno, muchas gracias**

§322: DS: Esta plantita como sabia tener y este es un deposito, estas son piezas de piedra, aquí tengo la cocina también de piedra, mire el patio que tiene

§323: **E: Qué lindo**

§324: DS: Hemos hecho esto y después la cocina y así voy haciendo de a poquito y esta es la otra finca

§325: **E: Que linda esta rosa**

§326: DS: Todos me envidian que dicen que tengo flores.

Name: Calcha18-35

Place and Date: Talapazo, CIQ,
October 2018

Transcription by Agustina Ponce
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§1: F: porque bueno, para ver un poco qué se puede, se puede comentar de ese respecto, también otra cosa que me, que me está llamando la atención, y bueno, la razón por la que me vine acá a Talapazo

§2: E: ah

§3: F: porque me habían comentado allá cuando estaba en Quilmes que *cerca de* Quilmes, en Amaicha, que se había dado como un proyecto de riego

§4: E: sí

§5: F: ¿no? entonces bueno, estaba también tratando un poco de buscar informaciones, y bueno, más que informaciones, recuerdos, por lo que me he dado cuenta que muchas veces esos proyectos también cómo se va articulando muchos recuerdos alrededor de esta, de esos proyectos que han venido

§6: E: bueno, nosotros, bueno, yo soy dirigente de una base de la Comunidad India Quilmes. Eh, en los años que llevo, llevo más de veinte años de la cual he visto que el gobierno trae proyectos, como éstos de riego presurizado, previamente te vienen, te hacen análisis, te ve qué proyecto va

andar en la comunidad, cómo es, entonces he descubierto yo, digamos, en mi forma de ser, de que te busca qué es lo que querés vos y después apretarte.

§7: F: ¿apretarte cómo?

§8: E: ¿en qué sentido? Por ejemplo... te trae el sistema de riego, te traen las plantas de *viña*, y después si vos no te haces monotributo, no podés vender nada.

§9: F: a ver, explíqueme eso del monotributo, porque ...

§10: E: el monotributo es un... una forma de de vos estar incorporado al gobierno, legalmente, digamos así.

§11: F: ahá

§12: E: y vos tenes una base. Si vos te pasas de esa base, pasas a otra categoría. Y si vos no tenés eso, no podés decir "bueno voy a..." por ejemplo, yo, si yo tengo vino y lo quiero vender, no lo puedo vender si no está registrado en el gobierno.

§13: F: ¿ahá? dale

§14: E: entonces, cuando el gobierno te tiene en la mano, él hace lo que quiere, vos no podés hacer *otra cosa*. Nosotros somos un pueblo originario. Al contrario, porque el gobierno te tendría que dar facilidades de poder comerciar. Si nosotros agarramos una camioneta, me voy a Cafayate, por decirte un lugar, en el camino me enc- es producción mía la nuez. Yo no compré a nadie,

yo la producí, pero la quiero ir a vender en Cafayate, no la puedo vender porque no tengo monotributo

§15: F: ahá

§16: E: me la descomizan y me la quemán, o me la llev-... me la descomizan. Qué es lo que hace gendarmería no sé. Te quitan. Todo un trabajo. Si yo produzco carne, también pasa lo mismo.

§17: F: ¿Porque no está registrada?

§18: E: porque no está registrada. Pero no hay posibilidad de que vos te registres porque nosotros lo que vendemos es ínfimo, porque no es una gran producción.

§19: F: claro

§20: E: si, por ejemplo nosotros... ¿qué vos podés hacer competir con un tipo que tenga diez surcos de viña con uno que tenga veinte hectáreas? ¿Cómo vas a competir vos *en el vino*?

§21: F: claro

§22: E: ¿cómo vas a pagar vos? Vos... y es lo mismo que yo terreno de diez por treinta, a donde vaya estás pagando un impuesto que los que tienen grandes dimensiones de territorio o tierras, yo pago más que lo que ellos pagan por una hectárea.

§23: F: mirá

§24: E: ¿entonces? El pobre paga más que los que pagan. Y siempre el pobre es puntual o el que menos tiene. Cada dos meses, cada tres

meses, las facturas que le lleguen de agua de lo que sea, de donde sea, la paga, porque sabe que si se le acumula no va a poder pagar. Pero el grande que tiene grandes cantidades espera la moratoria ocho años, diez años. ¿Y el gobierno qué quiere? Quiere este, recaudar dinero. Entonces vos sos uno de los grandes que venís ahí, te ponés y decía “bueno, vengo a ver la moratoria”, supongamos que es “x” cantidad, cien de... entonces yo digo: -“bueno, si usted va a pagar, le damos el 50% a pagar” - “bueno, ¿y en cuántas cuotas? - “largas, y finito” Entonces dice - “¿yo pago al 25% de contado? - “bueno pague el 25%, o lleva y paga así, paga el 25” En cambio, yo he pagado 100 ¿y qué tengo? Diez por treinta. Entonces la política de gobierno en estos lugares es así. Paga el que menos tiene. El que más tiene no paga. Tiene de todo. Por ejemplo, ahí tiene, La Alumbreira.

§25: F: claro

§26: E: taba. Eh, las regalías que venía era el 3% de lo bruto. No era de lo neto, del capital que sale, no, de lo bruto. Y vos aquí el gasoil lo estabas pagando, ponele, en ese tiempo, 6\$ -el alumbrado lo pagás aparte, 1.50\$-. ¿y qué te dejaba aquí a vos? Nada. ¿trabajo? ¡no! si la mayoría de los que ocupan ahí son técnicos ¿de dónde vienen? De otro lado, aquí no hay técnicos. Lo que hacen *ahora* es “bueno, te vamos a hacer un canal, te vamos a hacer eso...” ¿y? pero se llevan todo el oro. ¿Por qué no podemos

producir nosotros el oro como argentinos? Porque nosotros todos nos cobran impuestos. Todas las empresas grandes que están en San Juan, las que están en Ushuaia ¿y pagan impuestos? ¡ah, pero vos para cosechar lo que te sobra de lo que vos comés tenés que pagar impuestos!

§27: F: ahá

§28: E: y eso pasa, entonces no vamos a salir nunca *de la pobreza*.

§29: F: ah, pero estos proyectos ¿no? por ejemplo, usted decía que...

§30: E: sí, bueno, ahora voy a eso

§31: F: dale

§32: E: yo voy a

§33: F: bueno, lo dejo hablar entonces

§34: E: yo voy a producir esto, póngale que produzco cien litros de vino. Yo no los voy a tomar a los cien litros esos. Capaz que en el año capaz que me los tomo, pero yo quiero tener algo para echar mano, porque digo se me acaba el pantalón, se me acaba la camisa, entonces yo voy a dejar un vino, no me van a dar una camisa, un pantalón.

§35: F: así está la cosa

§36: E: Tengo que tener la plata

§37: F: claro

§38: E: entonces, yo quiero vender en algún lado "¡ah, no! porque tiene que estar registrado". Y si no lo registro, no está registrado, no lo

puedo vender. En ningún lado lo puedo vender

§39: F: claro

§40: E: entonces yo digo que está la trampa ahí. Te hacen producir, cuando producís te de todo el tiempo que has demorado en hacer la producción, no lo podés vender la producción. Entonces te tenés que dedicar a otra cosa. Y ya han pasao' diez años. ¿y qué vas a hacer con eso que ya tenés hecho y no tiene venta la producción esa?

§41: F: no tienen para vender

§42: E: ahora la nuez no tiene valor. Todo la mayoría ha cambiado la copa, ha puesto Chandler. ¡No se vende la Chandler!

§43: F: ¿la Chandler es un tipo de nuez?

§44: E: sí, un tipo de nuez. ¡No se vende! ¡Nadie la quiere comprar porque es muy cara!. Blanquilla, todo lo que quieras, pero ¿qué te lleva? *Ni me* llevan diez kilos, cien kilos, como te llevan la criolla. Te llevan medio kilo y tenés que tener negocio. Y si tenés negocio, tenés que tener todos los papeles al día. Y el que te compra, bueno, está bien. Yo no sé que bua'sé' pero tengo que pagar impuestos, todo. Ponele que él la venda a 500 el kilo. No, a usted le estará pagando 100, si te paga y te lleva 5 kilos. ¿y qué haces con la otra? Entonces este gobierno te ayuda a hacer la producción, pero no te ayuda a darte el mercado. Te corta el

mercado. Ese es el problema que tenemos nosotros. No es que seamos vagos. Si vos agarrás y decís “bueno, yo tengo esto, esto. Vendo esto, vendo esto, vengo...” ¡no! tenés que tener boleta para vender. Y el que viene así como vos, un turista que viene ¿qué *podés que* llevar? Un kilo, dos kilos... ¿y lo demás? Y todavía capaz que aquí lo compra a un precio, va allá abajo, en otro sector está más barato. Por ejemplo, yo viví carne propia sobre una mujer que tenía tres hijitos. Ella para hacer un chal necesitaba 800 g de hilo. Eh, vamos a poner números - que no son actualizados, sino son aquel tiempo- 800g y ella el kilo eh, lo pagaba 100\$. Y al chal lo vendía a 80\$, porque necesitaba para darle de comer a los hijos. Y el que viene de ahí dice “¿por qué no me vendés más barato?” “no, porque está caro” y como la gente de aquí quiere comer, quiere darle de comer a sus hijos, y bueno, te vas, te vas. Entonces la gente que viene de ajuera la mayoría dice “no, está caro, no lo compre” hasta que te hace bajar la mitad de precio que estabas vos vendiendo. ¡Pero lo vende por necesidad! No lo vende porque le sobre la plata. Necesita algo para darle de comer al día al hijo. Y eso no lo ve el que viene de afuera. Yo veía, por ejemplo, un turista...

§45: F: sí

§46: E: pero no de los que vienen con plata, porque hay gente que, turistas, que vienen y dicen “yo quiero esto, quiero esto”, paga y

ni... pero hay 5 de 100, 3 de 100. Pero la más de la mitad es el que “¡ah, no, pero sí el dulce está hasta aquí! No, yo llevo este, este que está más barato porque tiene una cucharadita más, media cucharada más”. Y si es el vino, igual. Te lo mira y si está más arriba o más abajo. Entonces por ahí medio que te da ganas de decir, vos haces con *todo el esmero*, y vos no tenés para estar calibrándolo ahí y te joden por ahí ¡entonces no hago nada! Encima de que vos tenes que comerte, quemarte todos los días, no hay feriado, no hay descanso. Por ejemplo, yo tengo que estar a esta hora aquí. Vos decís ¿qué carajo hace éste solo? Que las cabras vienen ahí, que no están, pero están por ahí... y esta hora hasta las tres, cuatro de la tarde, es la que más lleva horas, joden, para entrar a la finca. Si yo me voy a la sombra, me comen todo esto. Y eso la gente no lo ve

§47: F: claro, la que...

§48: E: compra. No lo ve. entonces te quiere sacar más barato “no, porque si no les cuesta nada”. No, macana. Cuesta y cuesta mucho. Entonces el agua, por ejemplo, yo la tengo cada veinte días. Y la tengo que usar cien por cien algunas veces, porque usted a veces estoy enfermo, tengo un cumpleaños o quiero ir a jugar a la pelota ¡no!

§49: F: claro, es *todo el día*

§50: E: si no lo puedo dejar, y no me puedo ir a jugar a la pelota

porque yo cuando vuelvo ya las cabras me lo han comido a la mitad. Después tenemos la otra contra, bueno, esta ya es natural. El agua, el granizo, las secas que vienen cuando no llueve como ahora, vamos a ver cuándo llueva. Pero nosotros todavía no es tiempo que llueva. Entonces llega a llover ahora, se puede suspender la lluvia hasta enero. Entonces nosotros no nos conviene. Pero si es que sigue haciendo calor y fiero, así, corres un riesgo de que caigan granizos, que tampoco nos conviene. Entonces eso es natural, esto *total...* pero hay años que vas a producir. Y si *alguien que produce*, es cuando menos vale. Entonces tenés vos, entonces yo lo que tengo que hacer, por ejemplo, yo ahí ya esto está produciendo *hace* tres años. Ya tengo vino de tres años. Y no se vende. ¿Por qué? Porque no tengo la etiqueta. Porque no tengo la evaluación del, del, cómo se llama éste... de la parte vitivinícola del país que maneja todo eso. Tenés que tener un permiso, un número y todo eso y ya tiene que pagar.

§51: F: claro, tenés que registrar la marca, digamos, la etiqueta

§52: E: tenés que *ver*, porque si no registras no podés vender. Y, y después de eso viene lo más jodido, lo que no conseguís: el corcho, la botella, quién te la trae, porque las botellas que te trae, menos de una carga de camión no te trae nadie. Entonces por eso digo yo, para el pequeño productor

no están hechos los mercados. Los mercados en la Argentina están hechos para los grandes productores.

§53: F: claro

§54: E: los grandes capitalistas. Los que van y te hacen pedido y te van pagando de a cuotas. No sé cuándo estarán pagando ellos. Pero lo pagan de contado. Vos tenés que ir sin un celular, nomás, por darte un ejemplo, te vas a Tucumán, a Yerba Buena, por decirte un lugar, y entrás, ponele ahora un celular que esté 10.000\$. Vos vas con 10.000\$ en el bolsillo y lo sacan. El otro que vive ahí nomás que es de Yerba Buena va, saca la tarjeta, paga lo mismo que yo, 10.000\$, pero el 18. O sea que las otros 18 meses, él tiene para hacer su dinero lo que quiere. En cambio yo ya lo entregué todo. Y lo mismo, entonces, el que menos tiene es el que más paga. El que *más* se beneficia. Si vos te vas ahí a ese negocito, mirá... ¿vos te creer que a *nosotros nos van* a vender más barato?

§55: F: ¿qué?

§56: E: que nos venden más barato?... no, lo venden como un turista, igual que un turista. Y siendo que *nosotros le estamos haciendo la vida de él*. Entonces ese comercio, digamos, *es lo que yo opino*. Ya que no hay... antes era peor, hoy estamos mejor que antes en ese sentido, porque antes, estoy hablando de mi abuelo, estoy hablando hace unos sesenta años atrás... él trabajaba

para los que “decían” ser dueños de estas tierras. Así que él tenía una obligación de ir a trabajar cuando cosechaban la viña, cuando cosechaban el trigo, cuando sembraban el trigo, cuando podaban las viñas, cuando había que carnear o cuando había que señalar... esa era una obligación. Después de la obligación, vos tenías que de aquí, de la producción que vos tenías aquí, le tenías que dar la mitad al patroncito y no lo que vos querés. Él venía y se paraba y llevaba de la producción tuya. Y en los últimos momentos ya, ya no te separaba la producción. Ya le tenías que dar la plata.

§57: F: ¿en los últimos momentos eso?

§58: E: sí. Eso estoy hablando como en el '70.

§59: F: ¿ahá?

§60: E: entonces, la gente ya ha dicho “no”. Hay gente que, gente hay... no todos, como en todos lados... que están a favor de salir y están en contra de salir

§61: F: ¿de salir en qué sentido?

§62: E: del yugo, del aprieto de eso, de esa tiranía que decían ser dueños de la tierra

§63: F: ah, ¿y había gente que quería salir y gente que no se quería salir?

§64: E: claro. Como en todos lados. Vos vas a un partido de fútbol y hay este otro que te *daban* pase y los otros que *van a querer*

dos pases. (Risas) Es lo mismo, ¿has visto? Pero los dos quieren hacer gol. Entonces a partir de ahí se le entrega la, la producción y la bota. No la vende. Entonces mucha gente, como no la llevó el patroncito, entonces no le hace falta. No *le dio nunca más*. Y no le podía reclamar. Ha seguido produciendo ... esos *han sido pocos* los que han hecho ese, ese... ese... se han rebelado, digamos, contra ellos. Al rebelarse, al decir “bueno, vos no lo llevaste mi producción, la has botao’ entonces no la necesitás”, pero han sido poquitos. Y eso ha llegado hasta el dos... hasta el noventa y seis, que se ha formado la comunidad recién, la Comunidad India Quilmes. Noventa y seis logramos que la m... porque en el 1974 se ha hecho el primer Congreso Indígena en Amaicha y ahí se logra firmar un acta a donde que dejaban de pagar a los terratenientes, los que decían ser dueños. Pero como digo yo, la gente hay algunos que siguen pagando y otros que no... entonces de ahí entonces la producción tuya empezó a ser tuya, pero *hay mercado*.

§65: F: ¿a partir del Primer Parlamento, el primer encuentro...?

§66: E: sí. Pero no *hay mercado*. Muy poco. Y si salís, vos tenés que, tenés todo al día, por SENASA, que Gendarmería te lo controla, no podés venderlo si no te dejan tranquilo nunca. Si hay gente que lleva, trae de los cerros

la hacienda para vender, llega a la ruta, le queman todo. Le confiscan y le queman todo. ¿Qué lleva para darle de comer a sus hijos? ¿entonces qué tiene que hacer? Botar el cerro, irse a hacer changas en la ciudad. Entonces de esa manera te están quitando el territorio. Te están quitando las raíces. Te están arrancando. Entonces, cuando se produce, yo lo que vi, digamos, con estos proyectos ahora, que están analizando cómo están las tierras para cultivar. Entonces de esa manera, vos te vas a cansar, te vas a ir, esas tierras van a quedar y entre diez, quince años más o veinte años, estas tierras van a estar ocupadas por otros que no somos nosotros.

§67: F: mirá

§68: E: y ahora el turismo. ¿Por qué éste Tucumán Turismo? Porque el gobierno, *aquí esta sobre*. Yo no me incorporo porque no me gusta

§69: F: ah, ¿eso de las cabañas?

§70: E: de las cabañas. Ya la gente dejó de trabajar. Vos entrás ahí adentro, ves quién, qué está trabajada la finca, no, están botados. Ya no quieren *tasar nuestros* nogales, ya no los cultivan, los riegan a medias, porque ya están esperando que venga el turista a consumirle algo y están perdiendo lo que es la cultura del trabajo horizontalmente y la cultura de cómo vivir, de cómo comer, de cómo te vestís, de cómo hablás. Ya estas hablando más

como hablás en la tele. Los chicos ya hablan todo de la tele, ya no hablan de, de, un animal de la zona, del caminar, de traer leña, de comer, ir a levantar un zapallo y llevarlo a la cocina para cocinarlo, echarle agua a una planta. Eso ya no lo hacen. Entonces estamos perdiendo la cultura por ahí. Entonces yo, por ejemplo, a mi hijo también... eh, lo traigo, lo hago ver. Está estudiando, está terminando pero él ve qué es lo que hago todos los días. Él lo llevo, lo hago que me acompañe en algunos lados, en este momento está en la escuela. Pero él sabe para tener esto cuesta. Entonces el día de mañana capaz que él no lo pueda hacer, pero lo va a saber. Y si lo tiene que hacer, lo va a saber hacer. ¿Pero aquel que no le enseña? No va a saber hacer nada. Entonces ahí está el peligro. Por ejemplo, el agua, que estaba yo diciendo que es poca, yo allá en la represa quería poner una brida de 110mm con una llave para que el día de mañana de ahí salgan mangueras cuando el agua esté poquita.

§71: F: ¿ese otro caño que puso allá arriba *al ladito*?

§72: E: sí. No, ese, primero, a donde está el primero iba a ser. Después ellos se han pue-, la juventud, porque ahí veo que no ven hacia lejos, el futuro de aquí a quince, veinte años cómo se va a mermar el agua, no lo ven. O sea, yo preparaba esa represa, ese embalse de una manera de ponerle después un piso de piedra

-bien hecho- de a poco, pero hacerlo y después llegar un momento -porque la tecnología está- busco una, una hidrolavadora y la limpio y le meto una capa de algún material cementicio. Y encima le pongo una membrana elástica que es poliuretano... bueno, tantas que hay... y la impermeabilizo. Y no se me va el agua nunca. Pero ellos no lo ven en eso. Ellos quieren seguir el sistema viejo como está pero no, no va a dar. Si yo lo que busco eso, por ejemplo, ahí va a pasar que yo voy al tema colectivo, comunidad. Ellos ahí con eso están viendo el tema individual, de cada uno

§73: F: ¿pero esa represa no es para... no serviría para toda la comunidad?

§74: E: desde ahí para abajo.

§75: F: desde ahí para abajo.

§76: E: porque tenemos un sistema de riego, que es éste, el presurizado, que está allá arriba el *desarenador*, pero todo el mundo lo ha botao'. Somos dos únicamente los que lo estamos usando.

§77: F: ¿eso donde está la cisterna?

§78: E: ahá.

§79: F: arriba.

§80: E: ese riego viene aquí. Yo tengo gran parte de allá también con riego presurizado, porque no me alcanza el agua, y el agua que tengo por manto es esta parte nomás.

§81: F: ¿y por qué la gente lo habrá botado a eso?

§82: E: es que está, tiene un sistema de pensamiento, de acostumbramiento de que si la planta le llega una tasa de agua, está bien, pero si le cae una gotita, no lo ve. Y el otro problema es que ellos están acostumbrados a regar una vez cada veinte días.

§83: F: ahá

§84: E: y para ellos regar cada tres días, cada cinco días, es mucho. Es perder tiempo. Pero este, parece, sistema de riego que está, que nos han dejado, yo lo comparo con un Alfa Romeo. Nos han dejado en marcha y regulando.

§85: F: ¿y esto también era un proyecto que vino?

§86: E: ha sido un proyecto. El ingeniero que ha venido se ha puesto las pilas porque no hay ingeniero como ese. Hay muy poquitos. La plata que ha venido, la ha invertido como tenía y en buen material. Y te dejo todo para que vos empecés a... entonces qué es lo que tenés *para que tengas bien*, es estar regulando el auto. Vos pisás el embrague, metés primera y empezás. Nadie lo hizo. Al contrario, lo han dejao. En vez de sacar, dejar los goteros estos,

§87: F: ¿sí? Los han sacado

§88: E: sacó para que caiga más agua.

§89: F: ahá

§90: E: y después sacó los filtros porque se ensucian mucho ¿y qué bua' esta' lavando noche fría? Y han hecho trancar todo esto.

§91: F: ah, mirá.

§92: E: como no salía el agua, la han empezado a cortar la manguera para... la han roto toda. Y después que te ayuda el zorro, que te ayuda las ratas

§93: F: claro

§94: E: y ha quedao' botado.

§95: F: y eso que me decían, porque con ese proyecto, este, tenían nogales también ¿verdad?

§96: E: sí, cien plantas de nogales para cada uno.

§97: F: y me decían que con ese sistema de goteo no, no funciona con los nogales porque les trae poquita agua, justamente.

§98: E: no.

§99: F: ¿no?

§100: E: este gotero que vos ves aquí

§101: F: ¿ahá?

§102: E: da cuatro litros de agua por hora.

§103: F: pero que no es poco (risas). Me parece, yo no sé nada, pero...

§104: E: y cada nogal tiene dos goteros cuando estaba recién plantado. Y que después iba aumentándole hasta seis goteros

§105: F: ¿Cuándo ya crecía la planta?

§106: E: y después.... Sí, cuando ya iba a llegar más o menos a una altura. Y después llegaba a los seis, a los diez goteros. Para llegar a los diez goteros ya tenés que hacer una "cola de ratón" que se llama. Poner una unión aquí y a la vuelta cerrá ahí... y ahí...

§107: F: y *darle vuelta* a la planta

§108: E: ... a la planta, todo lo que es la copa. Entonces quedan los centrales y lo otro da la vuelta y se riega toda la copa de la planta, porque la planta *no* es grande, porque están cada cuatro metros

§109: F: sí

§110: E: si no es grande la distancia que está.

§111: F: sí

§112: E: entonces la gente... no lo ve con unos ojos de producción, de que se va a dedicar a esto. Por eso te digo yo que cuando nosotros hemos producido y tendríamos, el único que los ha cuidao' soy yo, yo un poquito y el que está a la entrada de abajo, *ese nogal*, de este lado del camino. Y nadie más. Todos los han dejado *perecer*. Y el que la tiene, una que otra, la han dejado, pero ya por más...

§113: F: claro

§114: E: y *vuelve cada veinte días el agua*.

§115: F: claro

§116: E: *cambié, ahora estoy echando cada, yo le estoy echando cada tres días porque estoy tratando de alguna gente que me convide agua y yo les convido por el turno mío. Entonces yo les convido por una hora, y yo con una hora cada tres días*

§117: F: puede regar todo

§118: E: la mantengo como está. Sí, aquí hay muchos problemas de las hormigas. La cabra. He luchado muchísimo con la cabra, eh, hasta ahora lo he podido lograr, digamos, ya frenar. Pero ya tenés que estar encima. Me he visto obligado a hacer ese alambre que está ahí.

§119: F: claro

§120: E: pero igual me lo pasan. Entonces tengo que estar igual permanente, no puedo salir. Si yo salgo, tiene que quedar alguien aquí. Y no se va a quedar ahí en la casa, adentro. No, tiene que estar afuera viendo a dónde van los chivos. No va a decir "bueno, me voy a poner a hacer algo aquí adentro, y total con la radio está" no, ya perdí. Cuando ya se ha dado cuenta, ya están adentro.

§121: F: claro, hay que vigilar

§122: E: entonces esa producción que vos haces tiene un costo muy grande, digamos, que nosotros no le damos el valor. Le damos el valor que le da otro, porque desgraciadamente nosotros no podemos poner el precio, porque el que viene de afuera te pone el precio. Si fuere que decís bueno,

nosotros, como decir... la nafta. Te la ponen un precio y listo, vos pagala y si no lo podés pagar, dejalo. No, esto, la producción nuestra no es así. Contrario, se paga cada vez menos. Si el año pasado, nosotros hemos tenido una nuez que nos han pagado 160, 150. Más de eso... y la nafta estaba 16\$, creo que 18\$ estaba. Ahora se ha ido a 40\$ y la nuez no se vende. No hay precio pa' la venta. Entonces cómo podés vos decir bueno... pagar un peón que tea' con la nafta ahí ¿cuánta guita se le va para tener un peón y después que no se te venda?

§123: F: claro

§124: E: entonces eso es lo que yo veo que en el gobierno que *nosotros no*. Está bien, nos dan proyectos, nos dan lo que quieran, pero no hay comercialización. No podés competir, no podés ir y decir "voy a hacer una producción, lo voy a ir a vender *al mercado central*". No puedo, porque me come todo el transporte.

§125: F: ¿y por qué se agarraron estos proyectos? ¿No se vio esa trampa, digamos, que había?

§126: E: nosotros creíamos que la gente del gobierno venía con el interés de que nos van a ayudar y nos hemos dado cuenta que no, solo los técnicos vienen a hacer su día, su jornal, su sueldo, su capacitación, su conocimiento, para irse a las grandes empresas. Nada más. Eh, nosotros nos usan como trampolín para estar en el gobierno, para estar en empresas.

Nada más. Una vez que termina el proyecto se va el ingeniero y chau, se acabó todo. Se [...]. Después viene otro, se cambia, viene otro, se cambia, pero bueno, eso. Y ahora está con problemas el gobierno, lo quieren desarticular totalmente. Ese, ese proyecto que se llama "agricultura familiar" tiene 25 años, pero en 25 años no hay gente que diga "bueno, estoy bien hoy con mi proyecto de agricultura que hemos hecho en estos 25 años". No hay.

§127: F: ¿esto era del gobierno nacional también?

§128: E: sí. *No era* el que cría cabras, el que tiene abejas, el que tiene vaca, el que tiene chacras, digamos como, bueno, chacra *hacen comué*, de todo, todo lo que vos podés tener para un autoconsumo. Y bueno, el cultivo de maíz, aquí el tema del agua no podés, aquí no podés cultivar si no tenés agua. Yo, por ejemplo, estoy ponie-, no puedo poner plantas y ahora tengo que regar todos los días como *por ejemplo*, tomate, lechuga, que tengas una huertita, tengo que tener un tacho de 1000 litros ahí para echar todos los días un balde a las plantas, balde a las plantitas y así voy a tener un poco *al mes*. Y ni cuando así se secan, porque se acaba el tanque y no, no llega a los veinte días y vuelta al agua y perdí. Entonces me vi en la obligación de compartir con otro pa' que me llegue antes de los veinte días un poquito de agua por la manguera, porque si no fuese la manguera desde la represa hasta

aquí, el agua que sobra de la manguera no llega. Así que imagínate vos que todavía tenemos noviembre y diciembre y si no llueve ¿qué vamos a hacer con el agua? Y entonces vuelvo otra vez a la represa que no se toma como un tema comunitario. Se toma como un muy individual.

§129: F: claro, por eso le pedía, le preguntaba si esta represa final es comunitaria. No se va a beneficiar uno, no entiendo eso del comunitario en este sentido

§130: E: eh, lo comunitario es que si se piensa en lo comunitario, por ejemplo, el agua estaría entrando permanentemente a la represa. Sea de quien sea. Entonces, para abajo nos repartimos en grupo tres, tres, tres, por decir así un ejemplo, riegan tres de abajo la noche, a la tarde riegan los tres de arriba, al otro día otros tres, al otro día otros tres, y al tercer día vuelve a regar otro el de abajo y el agua está entrando a la represa. No es que hoy está para mí toda el agua y voy a regar dentro de veinte días

§131: F: claro, porque...

§132: E: esto, ahí viene el individualismo.

§133: F: dale porque ahora, por cómo está concebida ahora...

§134: E: la obra es individual.

§135: F: Es individual. O sea, quien quiera, digamos, que se llene la represa, la llena y luego va a soltar el agua

§136: E: claro

§137: F: para...

§138: E: para él.

§139: F: para él nomás.

§140: E: y no nos sirve, no nos sirve. La idea mía era llevarlo despacito eso. Pero hay alguien que se mete en el medio y *comué*, está bien, yo puse ahí, con eso yo sé que el día de mañana el muchacho que tiene la plantación para este lado, de la represa para abajo, vamos a poder trabajar juntos. Entonces vamos a traer una cañería por ahí, [...] entonces eso yo la traigo para aquí y sigo regando. Se, y van a empezar a ver que el agua se, se utiliza mejor.

§141: F: ¿y antes cómo funcionaba la represa esa?

§142: E: y por eso, individual.

§143: F: individual, o sea que quieren seguir con ese sistema.

§144: E: con ese sistema y que no sirve.

§145: F: dale

§146: E: si yo la idea mía era que yo en un momento haciendo la represa, que dentro del año que viene decir "bueno, nosotros tres nos vamos a unir". Ponele que pongamos un número a los turnos, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, llegue hasta los 20. El de abajo tiene el 6 y los otros 5 son de La Banda, por decir un ejemplo. Bueno, se une el 6, 7, 8 y 9 -son cuatro- bueno, esos van a regar todo el día 6. Todos van a tener agua el día 7, todos van a tener agua el día 8, todos

van a tener agua el día 9 ¿sí? Son 4 días. El otro va a ser el 10, el 11, el 12 y el 13. Entonces el día que corresponde al 10 van a regar todos, todos estos, como han hecho en el primero. El día 11, todos, el día 12, todos, el día 13, todos. Y pasa a los otros que serían 14, 15, 16, 17. Entonces riegan todos. Terminados de regar esos vuelve otra vez el 6 y ya estas regando cada 4 días.

§147: F: Dale

§148: E: o cuatro días seguidos cada ocho días. O se puede hacer que se intercale, que todos rieguen un día por medio. O todos que siguen una hora todos los días.

§149: F: claro, se pueden encontrar nuevos sistemas, digamos

§150: E: ¡claro! Entonces pero ponerse de acuerdo. Como te decía yo, no se podemos poner de acuerdo nunca como *este*, que los dos quieren hacer gol. "Yo tengo mi idea" "no, yo quiero salir con mi idea adelante" "ah, no, la tuya no sirve".

§151: F: ahá, dale.

§152: E: entonces ese es el problema que estamos, que estoy teniendo hoy por hoy. Yo quiero llevar adelante pero no se puede

§153: F: dale

§154: E: porque ahí en el... "días comunitarios" dicen ahí. No hay días comunitarios. Ahí son jornales pagados. Porque los que son dueños del agua, los que todavía

manejan el agua, los que son responsables del agua ya están viejos y no le dan el pase a un hijo o nieto que se haga cargo. Entonces el que va ahí a trabajar es peón

§155: F: ¿a trabajar dónde?

§156: E: ahí en la represa. No es interesado. Vos, por ejemplo, si yo te pago me vas a laburar de una manera y con un... con un pensamiento diferente

§157: F: claro, hay un compromiso que es distinto

§158: E: y si vos sos, es tuyo, el *co-producido* va a ser más fuerte.

§159: F: claro

§160: E: más intenso. Vas a ver en *el pie que saca*, la saquemos. "Ah, no, está dura. La dejemos".

§161: F: Dale

§162: E: entonces eso es lo que falla. Dicen "comunitario" pero en la mente está tan fuerte el individualismo que es difícil sacarlo adelante. Creo que eso es una de las cosas que va a seguir estando, digamos, porque está tan metido en la familia, si en los mismos hermanos en cualquier cultura nunca se llevan bien. Pero hay culturas que sí pechan para el mismo lado por más problemas *que haya habido*. El único tema que hasta que yo lo conocí fue el tema de la salud. Si alguien se enfermaba, todo el mundo estaba. ¿Para qué? Para ponerlo en una cama, alzar los pesos y llevar al hospital. Ahí no había domingo, no

había nada. Vos estabas y lo llevabas. Y después de eso, ya es todo... eso sí era comunitario. Eso sí era bueno. Y eso no lo podemos sacar adelante en otras cosas. Ta' metido el dinero y chau.

§163: F: dale

§164: E: cuando hay dinero, ya el comunitario desaparece.

§165: F: dale. Y una cosita, a propósito de esto, que me parece que se va ligando bien, no sé si usted sabe todo lo que pasó bueno, seguro lo sabrá, un poco si estuvo más involucrado por lo de la ciudad sagrada

§166: E: sí

§167: F: que me parece que ahí también, digamos, esta, esta reivindicación comunitaria se ha, se ha metido bastante el dinero y se ha hecho bien individual...

§168: E: eh, bueno, la Ciudad Sagrada tiene una larga historia, muchos años de lucha, hasta que un tiempo, digamos, para no dar fecha porque no me acuerdo, eh, el gobierno tenía que, tenía un testafarro, digamos así, en la Ciudad Sagrada. Y tenía un, un, ¿cómo se llama? Un contrato. Se le venció el contrato, tenía el contrato por diez años, se le venció y ya iban a pasar 5 años y la comunidad le hace un juicio al gobierno que regularice la parte administrativa de la Ciudad Sagrada y no lo hizo, y bueno, hemos tenido que tomar asunto en las cartas, la hemos tomado a la Ciudad Sagrada, hemos logrado

estar ahí. Todo el tiempo que está ahí, el gobierno no ha reconocido que estaba abierta la Ciudad Sagrada, para el gobierno estaba cerrado y ha llegado un momento que han entrado los intereses económicos de personas, digamos, de la nuestra nomás, pero influido por la parte política y terrateniente.

§169: F: ¿ahá?

§170: E: terrateniente mal dicho, sino que eran usurpadores de nuestras tierras, porque terrateniente es otra cosa, nada que ver con usurpador, porque el terrateniente es que tiene una escritura, tiene sus tierras y él gana espacio, que son pocos los que tienen. La mayoría dice “esto es mío”, nada más, pero no hay [...]. Entonces llegó un momento de que, influido por esa gente política y terrateniente, o los que decían ser dueños para que la comunidad no pueda desarrollar su, su economía frente a eso, porque nosotros *no* estaba ahí gracias a ese dinero que entraba ahí, hemos *podido* pelear muy fuerte, digamos, a que no nos quitaran las tierras. Se nos estaba viniendo fuerte, entonces *todos* logro’ parar con ese dinero para trasladar la gente, darle de comer, para llevarla a las movilizaciones, todo era pagado, no queda otra, porque si no, si no tenés con qué moverte también *estás muerto*. Hemos logrado parar, por eso la... si te vas al sur, Fuerte Quemado, está todo cerrado ya para allá, y te vas a.. Chañar Solo, que es el

límite para allá, que empieza Salta, está todo cerrado. Entonces ya deja de haber campo, como había antes. Entonces si nosotros no habremos luchado, no habremos defendido esas tierras, ahora está todo viñado esto. Pero no, dicen, “¿para qué me quitan las tierras si no las van a trabajar?” ¿y a dónde está el poder económico nuestro? No está. *Solo* no tenemos que dejar que no entre, nada más, para poder conservarla. Y sino estamos perdidos. Entonces entra esta gente a la Ciudad Sagrada, eh, un grupo, diciendo que son de Quilmes, que son de ahí, pero más bien era un, un nombre decir que el Quilmes. Han entrao’ ahí, bueno, han empezado, han hecho otro cacicazgo, han estado un tiempo, ahora no sé si está o sigue ese, no, yo me retiré, no seguí la información esa. Y... sé que siguen manejando los hijos del que era el que tenía la concesión vencida en aquel tiempo del gobierno.

§171: F: ¿decís vos de Cruz?

§172: E: volvió, los hijos ya de Cruz, a meterse ahí. Entonces sigue estando, digamos, lo que nos sacan a la comunidad, para hacer entrar a otra. Ahí te das cuenta cómo viene la jugada de otro lado. No es la gente que...

§173: F: *pero ya están manejándolo* con gente del propio Quilmes

§174: E: pero eh, son empleados, son peones. No son este, los que llevan

§175: F: la idea

§176: E: la idea general.

§177: F: Dale

§178: E: es lo mismo que yo agarre y diga “bueno, está bien, yo te doy un 10% y vos hace lo que yo te diga”. Vos te llevás el 10%, tenés la camioneta, la casa, tenés todo, tenés para volv-... pero no lo estás manejando vos. Entonces eso es lo que está pasando. Y bueno, hay gente que se está beneficiando, hay gente que está peor que lo que estaba antes, del mismo pueblo. Nosotros no nos preocupa porque de alguna manera, bueno, *como han dicho ellos*, si ellos van a ir a la Ciudad Sagrada, van a pedir dinero, pero sin ninguna condición. De una manera u otra, esa Ciudad Sagrada la hemos luchado todas las comunidades que pertenecen a la Comunidad India de Quilmes. Pero ahora quieren, cuando ya está “ah, no, ya es mía” o sea, es solo de Quilmes. Entonces no es así. La comunidad cuando se ha parado, se ha parado por todo el territorio, lo ¿y por qué te digo “territorio de la comunidad”? porque la comunidad tiene 70.000 ha. De la cual, este, gran parte de esas 70.000 ha han quedao’ en la parte de Tolombón, de Salta y bueno, no se ha podido lograr más, pero bueno, algo.... Amaicha sí, mantiene todavía un poco más, porque no ha perdío’ el cacicazgo nunca. Quilmes sí lo ha perdío’, lo han hecho perder. Entonces estamos sobre, digamos, de una historia muy dura, muy castigada.

Por eso decía yo que en el '70 se terminaba un poco el tiranismo de los que decían ser dueños de las tierras, entonces de ahí empezamos a trabajar y hasta esos entonces, Amaicha con nosotros no nos llevábamos bien porque Amaicha fue un tipo que la gente de ese tiempo era la que ayudó a que se vencieran los Quilmes en 1666. Ellos son los que en la zona sur han tomao’ el agua pa’ dejarlos sin agua. Y los del lado norte han sido los Tolombón que *los acusaban*. Cuarenta y cinco días los han tenido sitiados ‘*ande* lo han podío’ vencer. Pero no los vencieron los españoles, *han sido* lo que nosotros llamamos “los indios amigos del español”, o sea el español siempre venían cuatro o cinco, los demás todos eran indios. O sea, nunca han venido españoles-españoles a hacer la guerra, siempre eran lo que, la cabeza, y bueno, así fue, así es la historia no solo aquí, en el mundo. Los genocidios no han sido solo aquí, en el mundo también han sido así que... o sea, lo que vío, lo que veo yo aquí es que a nosotros nos quieren hacer desaparecer de aquí de una manera u otra. Por eso el tema de la economía que te truncan en la producción.

§179: F: dale

§180: E: sí, yo la tengo clara, pero pocos la ven. Entonces la toman como que yo soy un tipo de que estoy contra la comunidad para bien propio. Y no, yo lo veo, lo que el corazoncito de ellos no tienen un corazón comunitario, sino muy

individualista. Sobre, hoy veo muy concentrado en el turismo, preparándose también para hacer una Fiesta de la Copla y ya la copla ya no es nuestra. ¿Por qué? Voy a hacer una crítica, digamos, de eso. Que lo veo yo como pueblo, este, la crítica mía es que si la Copla es una fiesta ancestral, una fiesta de nuestra cultura, para revalorizar nuestra cultura y para que se revalorice la cultura tiene que venir la familia. Si, no sé cuánto estará, desgraciadamente yo no compro, yo todo me mantengo. Si vos venís con tu mujer, con tus dos hijitos, y vos tenés que venir *el bolsillo así*, si un locro te van a cobrar 80\$, un plato de locro. Un sándwich entre 70-80\$ también, eh, una gaseosa y un vino, ponele que te tomés, por decir así, porque no hay medio, todo es litro, y son 300\$ y porque es fiesta. Eh, bueno, y sumá las empanadas, sumá qué más podrías comer, por decir “querer comer” porque no vas a comer... el locro son cuatro platos, ponele 3. La empanada van a ser una docena ¿y cuánto está la empanada? No sé. O si... eso es al mediodía. A la tarde querés comer un sándwich, una empanadita o algo más, sumá cuanta plata es. ¿Podes vos comer como yo, ir a la Copla? No puedo ir. Entonces la fiesta no es mía, la fiesta no es de mi cultura. La fiesta es del que viene de afuera, para el que viene de afuera, y el que viene de afuera viene con la platita contadita. Yo hoy tengo que gastar 200\$ y ¡a la mierda! No gasto más. En cambio, el que viene de aquí, te

lleva al hijo cuando por ahí tiene platita -quizás la plata del sueldo del mes o más, que ha guardado- lleva al hijo, la mujer, comen, se toman unos vinos y vuelve seco, pero ha gastao' todo lo que ha tenido. Y ha pagao' calladito. Yo pienso que para que sea cultura, para que sea nuestro, tiene que ser nuestro. ¿De qué manera? Bueno, el, la comida para una familia, que sea una familia de la cual vos puedas comer bien y pasarla bien, porque la panza llena de un chico se la pasa jugando. La panza vacía se la pasa llorando. Van a pasarla bien a la fiesta, el chico tiene que andar jugando, divirtiéndose. Entonces, si vos no le das de comer en la fiesta, no sirve. Vas a ir a hacerte mala sangre, pue', a renegar con tu mujer, con tu hijo que está llorando. Y vos no tenés para pagarle lo que él quiere. Sino entonces ¿pa' qué salís? Creo que eso es lo que nos estamos perdiéndose la cultura, la fiesta se esta yéndose de las manos, por sobre el precio de las comidas. Ahora, la bebida, que la pague el que la quiere. Bueno, esa es la bebida.

§181: F: claro

§182: E: allá. Pero de la mesa, yo pa' una cultura que sea mi cultura, tiene que comer bien, como en mi casa o mejor que en mi casa. Entonces en mi casa me tengo que servir, allá me van a servir. Si tengo que pagar, pero que coma bien. No quiero que me la regalen, no que me den un plato de locro

gratis ¡no, no, no, no! yo quiero que me den, quiero pagar lo que se gasta, lo que vale la comida, no lo que no vale. Si yo te voy a hacer un ejemplo: un locro, voy a hacer en un tacho de 40 litros, que me voy a sa-, por decir un ejemplo, a 80 platos. Yo a los 80 platos si yo los vendo y me pongo pa' los 40 litros, tengo 4 litros, 4 kilos de maíz, 4 kilos de zapallo, por decir algo, pata, tengo ponele porotos... ¿y qué puedo gastar? 200\$. Pongamos un ejemplo, ponele 500 en todo el gasto para hacer el locro. Y saco 80 platos. ¿cuánto si yo gasto 500, cuánto le tengo que sacar? Póngale que yo quiera ganar, que me, lo cobro 1000. Entonces esos 80 lo divido en 1000. Los mil los divido en 80. ¿Cuánto me sale cada plato?

§183: F: no sé, con las matemáticas no soy muy bueno (risas)

§184: E: bueno, si yo estoy sac-voy a estar sacando a diez pesos más o menos.

§185: F: claro

§186: E: diez, veinte, por ahí. ¿Pero por qué tengo que cobrar 80\$ a mi propio, si ya he ganao'? yo creo que las buenas fiestas son cuando vos comés bien. Y las malas fiestas son cuando hay llanto, porque hay hambre. Entonces vos empezás una fiesta a la mañana, a las 10 de la mañana, a las 8 de la mañana, a las 12 comés bien, seguís a la tarde, a la tarde comés bien, a la noche tenés un buen baile, una

bueno joda ¿eh? Y te vas al amanecer, cantando y feliz. No porque has gastado, porque has chupao', sino porque has comido bien. Después está la otra que ya la cultura ha dejado de ser. Ya no usan en la cultura las comidas tradicionales, ya toda comida chatarra que viene de afuera. El sándwich, el pancho, la milanesa, bueno... ya las comidas tradicionales se están perdiendo. Y vos andá a pedir allá un mote, por decir así -lo que comemos nosotros, siempre hemos tomado con mate- "¿y eso qué es?" te van a decir. (risas). Se está perdiendo todo, o sea, eso es lo que nos está llevando a la pérdida de la parte comunitaria ¿por qué? Porque no tenemos ya la mentalidad comunitaria, tenemos una mentalidad muy individualista. Yo te jodo a vos por el dinero, por más que seas mi amigo, lo que sea, pero si vos me prestás dinero, te voy a hacer sufrir para devolverte. No está el que era antes "che, tal día voy a traer". Sabía que tal día iba a traer, porque sabía. Ahora ya no eso. O sea, antes la palabra era un documento, ahora ya no. hoy es una farsa. "¡Ah, ya le he jodido! ¿Qué le he hecho firmar? Nada, también que se joda". Antes no. porque vos tarde o temprano ibas a necesitar otra vez, o el otro va a necesitar de vos. Pero hoy ya no hay eso, se perdió. Hay, queda, digamos, gente de 60 años para arriba todavía que... pero ya en la juventud que tiene 20 a 50 años, ya no, ya tiene otro pensamiento, otra visión de la vida, sobre el

dinero, la verdad. Si ellos no, o sea, el que no ha salido de aquí, no ha vivido en otro lado, no se da cuenta que está sentado sobre una silla de oro y se va a buscar en otro lado. Si yo, por ejemplo, sigo cultivando esta tierra y la dejo para mi hijo, yo sé que con él va a poder vivir él y toda su familia aquí *dentro, pero trabajando*. Y no va a necesitar un peso de afuera. Pero si yo me dedico y me voy a la ciudad donde yo tengo un sueldito y tengo un terrenito, ese terreno nunca va a ser mío, porque el día que lo deje de pagar los impuestos me lo lleva el gobierno. En cambio, esta tierra no. Éste no se vende, no se enajena, nada. Intransferible. No puedo decir “bueno, yo la voy a transferir a uno que viene de afuera” no puedo, que la tierra es de la comunidad. Lo mismo puede ser lo que yo he puesto, lo que está trabajado, pero hasta ahí nomás. Todo lo que está plantado es de la comunidad. Si está la casa hecha, yo no la puedo destechar y llevarla, porque todo el logro es de la comunidad. ¿Yo pago el ripio, la arena? No, puedo ir y sacarlo. La leña antes no lo podía. Y eso no le dan valor. Hoy entran “ah, no, lleválo nomás, total...” ¿y después que vas a hacer si no, no está la leña? Vienen y cortan árboles a otros que venden árboles, matan árboles pa’ vender vigas. ¿y? no llueve ¿dónde van a hacer crecer nuevas plantas? Entonces también la parte interna nos estamos destruyendo. Si hay alguien decí “vos tenés en tu sangre descendencia de indios”

“¡no, no, cómo voy a tener!” “sí”, no dicen que sí soy un pueblo originario. Y el que lo dice, es porque le conviene, no porque lo sienta. Ese es el otro *del*. Y aquí hay varias, somos poquitos ¿no?, aquí, en Talapazo. Y a parte Talapazo no es el nombre, el nombre es Talapá.

§187: F: ¿ahá? No sabía eso

§188: E: Talapazo le ponene cuando llega la escuela.

§189: F: ¿Cuándo llega la escuela?

§190: E: ahá. Ahí le cambian el nombre.

§191: F: ¿cómo, cómo se ha dado eso?

§192: E: escriben todo lo que se escribe cuando vos vas al al registro civil a asentar a tu hijo y así le falte una letra. Y ese quedó el nombre para toda la vida.

§193: F: ¿y era Talapá?

§194: E: Talapáh. Talapáh.

§195: F: Talapáh

§196: E: (enfatisa la terminación del nombre) “-áh”. Si, no es Talapá o Talapáz. Talapáh, “-ah”. Esa fonética.

§197: F: y eso lo...

§198: E: Claro, y por ejemplo, Chaco ¿qué es Chaco? Zona de caza. Y qué es una zon- un lugar de caza, es Chásco, no es Chaco. Es Chasco. Chas. No, si le han puesto Chaco porque así suena en

castellano, pero le falta una parte de la fonética.

§199: F: ¿y de dónde viene esa fonética?

§200: E: y de los pueblos originarios. No sé qué idioma será, guaraní, será, eh kakán, será quechua, no sé. Pero tiene esa [...].

§201: F: claro

§202: E: porque nosotros, que es diferente, por ejemplo, yo veo una persona allá, yo pienso que es “fulano de tal”. Me arrimo, le quiero hacer una broma y no es. ¿Y nosotros qué decimos? ¿vos qué decís cuando no es la persona esa? ¿Qué nombre das ahí vos?

§203: F: eh

§204: E: ¿qué te ha pasao’ a vos cuando vos ibas y te encontrabas que no era esa persona?

§205: F: eh, no sé (Risas)

§206: E: ¿no tiene un nombre en su idioma, en su cultura, cuando vos vas y te sorprendés? Por ejemplo, vamos a un caso tuyo, digamos, mas cerca de la ciudad. Vos has entrado al baile, has visto una chica de espaldas, y vos has dicho “esta es mi amiga, una novia, una exnovia” que vos te has arrimao’ y le has querido hacer broma, y cuando llegas, se da la vuelta y no es, es otra. ¿qué te pasa a vos? ¿cómo se llama ese, esa acción que has ido a hacer y que ha sorp-

§207: F: ¿confusión? ¿sorpresa?

§208: E: confusión. Nosotros decim- bueno, confusión

§209: F: digamos, porque no sabía. Ahora me está haciendo pensar en este nombre, pero la verdad que [...]

§210: E: bueno, nosotros le decimos “chajquiao”

§211: F: ¿chasquiao’?

§212: E: sí. “yo he ido y me he chajquiao” y *de ahí* es “chaj-”

§213: F: “chajquiao”

§214: E: no decimos “ya me he chasquiao”. “Ya me he chajquiao” digo.

§215: F: “chajquiao”

§216: E: o sea, está esa fonética que muchas palabras se han perdido’ y se han pasado a castellano con algo de fonética que no las han explicao’. Entonces nosotros hemos estado haciendo, y he dejado, no he seguido yendo, en la recuperación de las palabras que quedan que no son del castellano.

§217: F: ¿a dónde estaba yendo *en esa*?

§218: E: en Amaicha. Sí

§219: F: ahá

§220: E: y así varias palabras que nosotros tenemos en, eh, en nuestro vocabulario diario, que nuestros abuelos, bisabuelos, las decían y nosotros las hemos ido cambiado más al castellano, como decir así, si se dice de ésta manera... entonces así las hemos

ido perdiendo, también. Pero si nosotros logramos recuperarla, digo, sería bueno, pero estábamos perdiendo.

§221: *[suena un celular y se interrumpe la grabación]*

§222: E: lo hago con, cómo se llama, con esmero, con buena voluntad y no con picardía de esconder algo o querer sacar algo, eso a mí no me gusta.

§223: *[se interrumpe la grabación]*

§224: E: entonces yo no tengo tiempo, no tengo tiempo para hacerlo. Tengo que sacar y cambiarlo la vara y volverlo a poner el techo nuevo.

§225: F: ¡ah!

§226: E: pero tengo un problema allá en la esquina que se... me han entrado las hormigas y se está

§227: aflojando la esquina.

§228: F: ¿ahá?

§229: E: entonces más trabajo todavía. Así... no sé. No la quiero desarmar porque ese es de... mano

§230: de mi viejo.

§231: F: claro

§232: E: entonces esa es la primera cocina que han hecho cuando ellos han venido, que nosotros

§233: éramos chiquitos.

§234: F: ahá

§235: E: y esta, y era la piecita ésta. Allá. Y después hemos agregado esto, para allá, para atrás... pero eso está primero ahí adonde hemos crecido todos, digamos, ahí, en el invierno.

§236: F: claro

§237: E: entonces por eso no he querido... yo ahora quería desarmar el techo y volverlo a armar tal

§238: cual está. Pero no, una cosa otra solo no. No lo quiero desarmar porque no sé si lo bua' armar

§239: después.

§240: F: claro, entonces mejor dejarlo como está.

§241: E: así como van teniendo ahí

§242: F: claro. Y me decía al principio que usted era dirigente de acá de una base...

§243: E: sí, del Pichao.

§244: F: ¡ah, del Pichao!

§245: E: sí.

§246: F: ¡ah, mira!

§247: E: bah, ahora le dicen "El Pichao". En realidad es "Pichao".

§248: F: Pichao nomás... sin artículo....

§249: E: sí. Sin artículo. Así como Talapáz. No dicen "El Talapaz". Pero después ya lo bua' decido "El

§250: Talapazo” van a decir...
(Risas) ya le van a poner artículo.

§251: F: (risas). Ah, sí. El año pasado estuve recorriendo un poquito más y fui a visitar Talapazo.

§252: Hablé un poco con Doña Laura, Laura Liendro.

§253: E: ah, eso el Pichao.

§254: F: el Pichao, el Pichao.

§255: E: sí.

§256: F: sí, a ver...

§257: E: sí, Laura Liendro es una chica que no se creció aquí.

§258: F: sí, me estuvo contando, sí.

§259: E: o sea, mucho de cultura de la zo-... o sea, la cultura se hace a donde vos vivís.

§260: F: ¿ahá?

§261: E: con la gente que vos vivís, conocés sus buenos y sus penurias.

§262: F: así es

§263: E: entonces sino no podés saber el vecino co-... hablarle al vecino.

§264: F: claro

§265: E: por ahí dicen “che, ese viejo es malo”, pero por algo. Andá a verlo por qué es malo. Para vos

§266: es malo. Capaz que él defiende lo suyo. Si es malo, que uno no pase por el cerco. Y si, claro, si

§267: vos pasás por el cerco y le dejás el cerco bajo, la puerta abierta, más bien que va a defender lo

§268: suyo. Entonces por eso es malo. Muchos dicen que es malo porque no me dejan pasar por la

§269: finca y tienen razón. ¿Y si después entran los animales y comen lo que él ha trabajao’? está

§270: defendiendo su derecho. Entonces por ahí vienen las cosas. Después están bueno, los

§271: buenitos-buenitos que después así se ven también. O sea, cuando vos sos muy buenito-

§272: buenito, te quedás solito también (risas)

§273: F: hay que equilibrar

§274: E: todo es un equilibrio. Ni muy muy, ni tan tan.

§275: F: me llamó la atención el otro día que estaban, cuando estábamos ahí en la represa, que me

§276: dijo algo como “trabajamos con lo que tenemos y con lo que sabemos”. Algo así me dijo. Me

§277: había quedado en proceso.

§278: E: y es verdad. Aprendí yo, digamos, eso, porque yo tuve la suerte de que me crió una abuela.

§279: Y ella me sabía decir “en la vida hay dos cosas: pri-... una es que la juventud es un engaño de la

§280: vida. Y dos, la calle es una escuela y vos sabrás por dónde te vas a ir. Yo no te voy a decir que

§281: eso es bueno o esto es malo. Lo bueno y lo malo van a ser para vos, porque cuando llegues a

§282: viejo vas a tener tu premio por lo bueno o por lo malo que hagás. Y nadie más te va a recibir

§283: los palos que vos.” Y era verdad. Así que primero es el engaño de la juventud y es verdad. Vos

§284: cuando sos joven te las sabés a todas, tenés fuerza, no dormís, vas donde querés, volvés a la

§285: hora que querés, renegas con quien querés, pero cuando pasan los años, llegás a los 30 años,

§286: tenés los hijos y empezás a agachar la oreja. Se acabó la juventud. Es un engaño. Te la creés

§287: toda, pero no sos nada.

§288: F: sí

§289: E: y eso nos pasa a todos. Yo también me acuerdo que mi abuelo me mandaba a echar el agua

§290: de arriba y yo me ponía a jugar con los loros por ahí y demoraba:

§291: -“¿Y a dónde estabas?”

§292: - “No, si he echado el agua”

§293: - “No, vos te has ido a jugar” dice

§294: ¿Cómo carajo sabía mi abuelo de que yo me había puesto a jugar? Y ahora me doy cuenta que

§295: uno en todo lo que anda, va hasta allá, sabe en qué tiempo uno va y vuelve. No te podés - salvo

§296: que tengas que hacer otra cosa- demorar más, pero sino no, va y viene. Y ya tenés calculado,

§297: así que no, a nadie lo va a pasar. Por eso dicen “vos me querés pasar a mí, si yo ya lo he

§298: hecho”.

§299: F: claro

§300: E: y yo ya pasaba para esa edad. Y ahí veía yo cómo la-... y ahí mi abuelo también decía “la, la

§301: vejéz es linda y es fiera, porque es como... ah, y porque tenés experiencia. Y la experiencia es

§302: como un calvo- un peine para un calvo.”

§303: F: no sirve para nada

§304: E: no sirve pa’ nada. ¿Vos viejo qué más te sirve la experiencia? ¡ya no tenés fuerza! Y es

§305: verdad, de tantas cosas que me dice así y hoy las analizo y es tan verdad, tan verdad que...

§306: después otra de las cosas que él me decía “vos cuando

venga alguien y te quiera dejar algo que

§307: le guardes, vos decile 'pongalo ahí' y no le preguntes cuándo lo va a venir a llevar. Él sabrá

§308: cuándo lo va a llevar. Pero cuando él lo venga a llevar tiene que estar ahí. Usted no lo toque."

§309: Ahora ¿por qué lo hacía? Para mí era un respeto, una responsabilidad, una confianza que le

§310: tenía al otro, que cuando vuelva ahí iba a estar. Y así estaba, así hacía él. Porque él vivía allá

§311: en, en la entrada de Talapazo hay una casa, para abajo, donde yo también me crié, ahí sabía

§312: vivir en los últimos años. Y así como él era bueno, yo digo ¡cómo te premia la vida!, ¿no? él ha

§313: muerto de 83 años. Y él a la mañana se levantó, se fue a, al cerco, dio la vuelta todo el rastrojo

§314: -le decimos nosotros- volvió a la casa, tomó mate con mi abuela y fue, vio a los anim- los

§315: chanchos, dio de comer, volvió, se sentó, a las 12 hemos estado comiendo con la abuela, ella

§316: era renguita. Ella cuando era joven, 15 años, la voltió una yegua y le ha quebrao' la cadera.

§317: Entonces este, la abuela viene y le sirve un plato de comida y le pregunta ¿vas a comer más?

§318: porque sabía comer poco, pero cada 3 o 4 horas, así. Comía a la mañana, comía a las 10, comía

§319: a las 12, comía media tarde y a la hora, así, y ahí se iba a dormir. Este... "sí, voy a comer un

§320: poco más". Agarra, estaba en la mesa y había una puerta a la cocina. La abuela ha ido a la

§321: cocina, traído con su bastoncito ha traído el el plato y le pone. Y claro, ella llega por ahí, y el se

§322: estaba sentadito así. "¡Eh, viejo, ya te has dormido!" ya había pasado. Yo digo ¡qué tan linda

§323: muerte, che! No sufrió nada. Y yo digo ¡tan bueno ha sido él en la vida para tener ese premio!.

§324: Entonces ahí yo veo que, lo que decía él, cuando llegamos a viejo vas a tener tu premio por lo

§325: bueno o por lo malo que hayas hecho. Pero un premio al final vas a tener. Y no lo va a pagar ni

§326: el vecino ni el otro de allá, lo vas a llevar vos. Entonces ahí yo me di cuenta que... que la vida

§327: tiene premio por lo que hagas. Y hay gente que está en la cama ¡ay, ay, ay! Años postrao',

§328: llagao'... y empezá a recopilarme ¿qué ha hecho en la historia de él? Y no ha sido muy bueno,

§329: por eso está así. Entonces esas son cosas que uno le quedan marcao' en la vida, digamos, de lo

§330: que te habla y después vos la palpás.

§331: F: claro

§332: E: entonces esas son cosas que, que a uno lo llena de una satisfacción de que tiene que hacer

§333: las cosas lo mejor posible, no para uno, sino para que queden los que vengan. Tuyo u otro.

§334: Pero que quede bien. No que cuando venga el otro se caiga, con la intención de que pase eso.

§335: No. O que cuando el otro está haciendo mejor, palanquearle para que se le volqué el hoyo. Y

§336: así pasa, por ejemplo, un ejemplo, por decirle: yo me voy y qué se yo, casualidad, no he cerrao'

§337: bien la puerta. Pasa otro por ahí: "Está abierto, no lo voy a dejar así nomás", pero el que es de

§338: buen corazón viene y te la cierra, aparte no entran animales. Hay otros que pasan y te la abren

§339: a propósito, y yo creo que esos también tienen premio. Tarde o temprano llega.

§340: F: dale, y una cosita aprovecho más... que me estaba hablando de eso de la fiesta, la Copla,

§341: eh... no sé si acá se hace como fiesta, pero por ejemplo en Amaicha, en otros lugares se hace

§342: esta, se celebra como fiesta para el turista lo de la Pachamama.

§343: E: sí

§344: F: ¿qué le parece un poco esto? Porque acá también me han dicho que se organiza para el

§345: primero de agosto ahí abajo

§346: E: sí. Esto... para mí la Fiesta de la Copla, para mí punto de vista ¿no? es este... tiene que ser

§347: como un día de semana, digamos así. Programo, o sea, en día de semana es como todo el año

§348: para la Copla. Yo programo, por ejemplo, el lunes, me tengo que hacer aquello, el martes

§349: tengo que hacer aquello, el jueves, miércoles, jueves, me toca el agua, el sábado me voy a ver

§350: un partido de fútbol, el domingo me pongo a hacer limpieza en mi casa. Yo creo que la Copla

§351: tiene que ser así. Un día fijo.

§352: F: ya

§353: E: si vos te vas hoy y decís “bueno, yo sé que para el año ese día va a volver a ser la fiesta” yo

§354: no te tengo que volver a avisar. Y si vos vas y sale ahí alguien, le comentás que tal fecha se

§355: hace esta fiesta allá, que vengo a ver cómo está. Entonces eso sí para mí sería una organización

§356: a partir de ahí. Que va a haber credibilidad. De que vos vas a decir “bueno, yo en tal tiempo,

§357: mirá si empieza el 18, yo quiero ir el día primero a ayudar” por decir un ejemplo ¿no? y yo

§358: como local, yo sé que el 18 va a ser la fiesta, entonces yo me pregunto en todo el año que voy

§359: a colaborar, qué es lo que voy a presentar, qué es lo que voy a hacer... durante el año. No la

§360: última semana preparar para ver, por decir así “bueno, yo voy a tener que, para el día de la

§361: Copla quiero poner un asado de chanco”. Entonces yo al chanco lo tengo que criar. Lo tengo

§362: que carnear ponele el día lunes. El día martes hago todo lo que tengo que hacer los

§363: preparados del chanco, miércoles, el jueves, el viernes ya está listo. Y he aprovechado el 100

§364: por 100 de todo el animalito. No he tirao’ nada. Para eso ya tengo a dónde lo voy a cocinar, si

§365: lo voy a tener cocinado o lo voy a tener crudo, si voy a tener freezer o lo voy a tener en el

§366: humo, eh, ya preparado. Pero así como ahora la Fiesta de la Copla no que- a mi no me cae

§367: porque me agarra hace 15, 20 días que han dicho 10 días que van a hacer la Copla ¿qué tiempo

§368: me da para criar a un animal? Entonces lo tengo que comprar. Entonces ya no es cultura mía.

§369: Ya traigo de allá para hacer la fiesta.

§370: F: dale

§371: E: entonces... y si yo te veo a vos me preguntan “¿che, va a ser la fiesta de ese tiempo?”

§372: porque todos los años se hace así, como el primero de agosto. Yo sé que para el primero de

§373: agosto yo ahora me estoy preparando pa’ mis vinos, estoy preparando mi coca, estoy

§374: preparando con qué voy a corpachar. Estoy preparándolos a mis hijos, les estoy enseñando,

§375: diciéndoles que ese día va a ser, y sino durante el año con la copla todavía están tal vez la

§376: hagan o la hagamos.

Entonces no es una fiesta cultural... a mi criterio. Para mí tiene que ser

§377: para que se respete.

§378: F: en cambio le parece que esto, la celebración a la Pachamama sí se ha mantenido como algo

§379: cultural

§380: E: sí, se ha mantenido porque primero-, o sea, primero de agosto es donde se hace eh, la fiesta

§381: principal, que podríamos decir. Pero se puede venerar todo el mes de agosto. O sea no solo el

§382: primero, o sea, cada uno hace... nosotros habíamos quedado un tiempo que poder- si quieren

§383: que participe el cacique en todas las comunidades con la gente, si no lo podemos llevar a

§384: todas, porque todas no van a ir, porque alguien tiene que quedar en la casa por el tema de los

§385: animales, que hay que darles de comer... bueno, alguien queda en la casa. Entonces hacer un

§386: día que sea en cada base, también fijada como ¿cómo se

dice eso? En el almanaque ¿cómo se

§387: dice? Que quede ya tildado un... no es cronograma...

§388: F: ah, sí, como un tiempo, digamos

§389: E: fijo.

§390: F: fijo

§391: E: entonces bueno, la primera semana aquí, la segunda semana aquí. O tal día de la semana

§392: esta, el lunes aquí, o el domingo aquí, el sábado aquí... y coordinen. Y entonces vos sabes que

§393: no he ido allá pero esta tercera semana le corresponde a ellos, me voy para allá. Yo estoy

§394: sabiendo que ahí tenemos que ir, porque ya está fijo, ya está marcado. Entonces eso sí se hace

§395: cultural. Entonces yo me preparo, qué se yo, ya quiero ir a cantar o quiero ir a bailar, o quiero

§396: ir a incentivar en trabajar, tocar un instrumento para que la gente se divierta. Me preparo para

§397: ensayar. No salgo de sopetón. Entonces ya dice "che, me voy a..." "mirá, che, entonces ese día

§398: queremos ir, prepárate un asado". Entonces ya cuando eso es preparado ya entra una familia,

§399: no es una mesita que van y se juntan, que está esperando que llegue. Sino que ya estoy

§400: sabiendo cuánta gente va a venir, ya estoy preparando yo la envergadura de la fiesta que va a

§401: ser.

§402: Y la otra crítica que tengo de la fiesta, digamos, que dicen en la... cómo decir... el Festival de

§403: la... nosotros le llamamos "Fiestas..." este... "Comunitarias" o este... "Encuentros

§404: Comunitarios"... el sonido. El sonido ese es para escucharlo, no paras ¡BUM! ¡BUM!¡BUM!

§405: ¿para qué? Vos querés hacer que las plantas, los animales escuchen eso, o querés escuchar

§406: vos?

§407: F: ¿Porque ponen parlantes muy grandes?

§408: E: muy grande, muy fuerte, muy grande. Entonces yo lo que diría sería -mi idea, ojalá algún día

§409: pudiera ser- esto que sea el predio, poner distintas cabezales, pequeño micrófonos, parlantes,

§410: con una música funcional, digamos así. Que vos podés conversar así como estamos

§411: conversando, pero tenés la música, pero podés conversar. No que estas con el otro gritando y

§412: no sabe si te escucha o no. Yo creo que eso no es una fiesta popular, una fiesta este... de

§413: familia. Yo la veo así, me gustaría algún día hacerla así. Que entonces tenga todo... tenga el

§414: derecho de, de, por ejemplo, si tengo que coplear, no salir allá arriba, aquí a donde están

§415: sentados todos, todos están así, sentados aquí, bueno, pongo el micrófono aquí y escuchan

§416: todos los que... quiero decir algo y escuchan todos. No tengo que estar pendiente allá de lo

§417: que hacen un centro. Por ejemplo, yo y vos, que vengas con... hagamos una fiesta familiar. Y

§418: dentro de ese, a vos se te ocurre invitarlo al intendente -por decir una autoridad, digamos- y

§419: que yo lo invite al cacique. ¿y vos qué harías? ¿cómo harías la... la mesa ahí? ¿cómo harías,

§420: diagramarías vos?

§421: F: ¿cómo diagramaría la mesa?

§422: E: ahá la mesa de tu familia, mi familia y estos

§423: F: Estos invitados

§424: E: estos dos invitados que son autoridades...

§425: F: eh...

§426: E: que vos los invitas como autoridades... no como personas amigas, no. como autoridad.

§427: F: entonces te dice que tienen que resaltar esas personas...

§428: E: sí, vos me explicás cómo lo harías, yo te estoy dando como es, y vos ubicas las mesas

§429: F: a ver, ponemos esta mesa, eh, como son las autoridades, yo las pondría uno acá y otro por

§430: allá

§431: E: sí

§432: F: y los demás acá. Una familia allí y otra familia aquí.

§433: E: ¿eso sería todo? ¿ya estaría listo?

§434: F: una mesa usted me dijo que diagramara

§435: E: sí, sí, sí. Una mesa. Lo cuando servís vos la comida, cuando le das de comer a uno, a otro...

§436: cómo es la... ¿ahora cómo le servís a todos esos? ¿cómo hacés vos?

§437: F: acá tengo que pelear porque esas personas a pesar de ser autoridades siguen siendo igual

§438: que las otras, pero tenés que reservar para (risas)

§439: E: (Risas) lo que yo tengo en mente es que en una fiesta,

donde sea, la autoridad es su trabajo.

§440: F: ¿ahá?

§441: E: cuando tiene su lugar, su oficina, ahí para mí es autoridad. Aquí es igual que yo. O sea yo no

§442: lo puedo decir "ah, yo tengo mi jarro, con mi jarro y yo le bua' dar un vaso de vidio o una copa

§443: a él". No, yo a todos les bua' dar jarro... o lo que hay... le toca lo que le toque. No tampoco le

§444: voy a dar la mejor silla o la mejor posición o la mejor presa. Entonces yo soy de esos. Puede ser

§445: contigo, puede ser con el vecino, puede ser con cualquiera, todos somos iguales para mí. La

§446: diferencia es que vos has tenido la suerte de estudiar y has tenido más conocimiento sobre lo

§447: que has estudiado

§448: F: por supuesto

§449: E: pero no quiere decir que con eso vas a ser más humano que yo, que muchos lo ponen en

§450: una estatua allá, que eso lo ha hecho el español aquí, de que cuando llega alguien "ah, no, el

§451: señor..." medio que no pisa el suelo. Y eso le estoy tratando... esa es una lucha fuerte conmigo

§452: que no puedo, hasta mi mama lo hace, pero ella está

criao', yo digo que se ha criao'.
"Pero vos

§453: sos muy rebelde" por ahí me dicen, "vos sos muy diferente" y soy diferente y eso es lo que

§454: quiero ser. Yo no quiero ser igual que nadie. Yo sé que hay mejores que yo y peores que yo. Yo

§455: sigo siendo. Y ahí un tiempo mi abuelo me sabía decir que yo era el tipo. No sé por qué me

§456: sabía decir "tipo". Por eso decía "ahí viene el tipo". Yo tendría 14 años. Y a partir de los 12

§457: años, 13, me empezó a decir "tipo". Y yo no sabía por qué. Por ahí no me gustaba. Y después

§458: como a los 22 años me ha dado por buscar qué quiere decir "tipo" en el diccionario, que ha

§459: sido algo único, no hay dos iguales, eso había sido "tipo". Y mi abuelo me decía, mirá, con la

§460: poca escuela que él tenía, él no sabía sumar ni restar, o sea, no sabía multiplicar ni dividir y

§461: sabía sumar y restar. Así que multiplicaba y dividía sumando y restando. La poca escuela que él

§462: ha tenido. Entonces yo digo ¿cómo sabía él decirme "tipo"? ¿cómo aprendió? ¿de dónde lo ha

§463: sacao'? ¿qué escuela ha tenido él? Entonces yo ahí aprendí de que debo ser único. Y no quiero

§464: ser aquel, ni aquel, ni ninguno. Puedo ser mejor, puedo ser peor, no sé. Pero yo soy lo que soy.

§465: F: está bien, me parece. Yo concuerdo mucho con ese... (Risas)

§466: E: y entonces en la fiesta pasa eso. Que por ahí viene el intendente, viene el deleg-... "¡Ah! una

§467: mesa especial para él" o por ahí viene alguien que viene de afuera, que tenga una silla más o

§468: menos, que tenga otra silla. Viene "che, voy a necesitar, sí, prestame" estoy con mi familia.

§469: Como soy muy conocido, soy de aquí, me traen un banquito que parece tarro. Me lo vuelcan,

§470: me lo ponen y le llevan la silla para darle a otra gente que... una autoridad. O ya la autoridad

§471: tiene su sillón especial. Yo no soy así. Entonces eso es lo que a mí me hace chocar mucho con

§472: mucha gente de la mía. Porque digo lo que siento, digo lo que veo. Para mí es natural.

§473: F: claro. Bien, este... bueno

§474: E: no sé si le he cont- eh, comple- contestao' lo de la Copla...

§475: F: ¡sí! No, yo le preguntaba por la Pachamama...

§476: E: ¡ah!

§477: F: usted me hizo la comparación con la Copla, así que me ha contentao'. No, porque por eso le

§478: pedía, porque aquí no sé cómo será, pero en otros lugares sí se ha -me parece- que se ha

§479: convertido, como te decía, para la gente, digamos, que venga de afuera, como una festividad

§480: más sentida para los lugareños ¿no? entonces quizás era... para ver un poco su opinión sobre

§481: esto...

§482: E: por ejemplo, la Pachamama

§483: F: porque para venir... yo vengo de afuera, más o menos he leído algo, sé que Pachamama y

§484: Copla como celebraciones son distintas aunque tengan bastante relación

§485: E: sí

§486: F eh, pero para el que viene de afuera son dos productos, entre los que puede elegir, digamos

§487: ¿no? "voy para la Fiesta de la Copla y voy a escuchar algo, voy para la Pachamama y veo cómo

§488: se realiza el ritual" digamos, ¿no? por eso le decía que...

§489: E: sí, digamos, cómo se la hace, digamos, es una cosa. Y otra cosa cómo pienso yo o cómo lo

§490: veo yo, digamos. O sea cómo lo veo yo, digamos, a las fiestas que se están haciendo en

§491: Amaicha de la Pachamama, ya no es una Pachamama de Amaicha. Ya la Pachamama es de

§492: gente de afuera. Sí respetan, todo lo que quiera, pero ya no, ya lo hace la gente que viene de

§493: afuera. Tienen mas, se ha asentado mucho lo que es la parte política. Cuando hacen la fiesta,

§494: termina lo que es la ceremonia, empieza, digamos, la diversión. Se divierte más el que viene de

§495: afuera que el que vive ahí, que es dueño de la fiesta. Por decir, si vos sabés tocar una guitarra

§496: o sos de aquí y vas a estar esperando mientras el Chaqueño o otro van a entrar al escenario y

§497: vos quedao afuera. Y los copleros, los que son dueños de la copla son los que la gente que

§498: chaya, que está ahí, los viejitos quieren cantar algo, están allá en un ranchito, digamos, que

§499: nosotros decimos rancho, que es una paskana, sentao' tres o cuatro, están las ocho, las nueve,

§500: las diez de la noche. Ellos cantan y cantan, nadie lo escucha. Se levantan, se van a dormir. Ya

§501: son, ya se pone frío, entonces yo veo que ya la fiesta no es nuestra. La fiesta la viene a hacer

§502: otro de afuera y se divierte otro de afuera: te han quitado la fiesta. Entonces yo le decía al Dr.

§503: Nieva de que hagamos la Pachamama una semana especial para el lugareño, adonde no entren

§504: las cámaras, adonde no entre el turista, adonde no entre nada: seamos nosotros... y volvamos

§505: a revivir eso. "¿Lo podremos lograr?" le digo, porque dentro de poco van a decir "hay

§506: discriminación"... ¿y cuando nos destruyan a nosotros dónde está la discriminación que nos

§507: sacan lo que nosotros tenemos? No nos dejan hacer lo nuestro.

§508: F: ¿y qué le dijo el Dr. Nieva?

§509: E: y él dijo "tiene razón, tenemos que hacer eso, de hacer una fiesta, digamos, para nuestra

§510: gente"... o al menos tener en cuenta primero lo nuestro y recién lo de afuera. "Por ejemplo,

§511: cuando llega la Pachamama y está ahí nomás carnaval", le digo, "agarremos un sector ahí,

§512: marquemos, qué se yo, dos manzanas, tres manzanas, cuatro, ¡tanto campo que hay" le digo

§513: "desde las 10 de la mañana hasta las 6 de la tarde, entre ahí, diviértase, juegue, ¡pero juegue!

§514: No pase a la alevosía de voltearlo, quererlo ahogar, llenar de tierra, echarle la harina en los

§515: ojos, en la boca... ¡juegue! ¡aprenda a jugar!, diviértase, no sea agresivo". Si vos has entrado

§516: ahí a ese predio, es porque vos querés jugar, no querés ir a pelear, no querés ir a no mojarte,

§517: no querés... o querés ir a mirar... no, no, no, el que entra ahí es porque quiere divertirse. Y si

§518: está afuera de eso, entonces nadie lo toca. Hagamos ese festejo. Está buena la idea, pero no se

§519: hace.

§520: Por si fuera mucho yo también choco, por ejemplo, con el deporte. Para mí el fútbol, por decir

§521: aquí que se practica más, es un deporte que te saca del ocio de andar chupando, por decirlo

§522: así, o que te lleve a chupar también... ¿pero por qué te lleva a chupar? Hay dos cosas que yo

§523: las veo: entras a la cancha a jugar, hay chicos de 14, 18 años y hay hombre de 30 hasta 40

§524: años. Hay chicos que quieren jugar y hay viejos que ya no les da. Entonces ¿qué hay que

§525: hacer? Para mí criterio, hay que separar por etapas, por edades, ¿hm?. Entonces que jueguen

§526: y se diviertan los chicos y que... ¡pero vayan a jugar! ¿vos querés pelear? ¡Bueno, hagamos un

§527: ring! ¡y peleá ahí! Pero aquí vamos a jugar. Igual el viejo... ¿por qué digo yo choco ahí? Porque

§528: un viejo ya como nosotros, menos todavía, llega a 30 años para arriba, ya es lerdo. Y un chico

§529: de 14, 12 años, 15 años, ¡es una luz! Te pasa una vez y dos veces ¿qué hace el viejo? Ya le hace

§530: un fault, lo tira a quebrar... ¿cuántos no los han quebrao'? aprend- o los han acobardao' y le

§531: han cortao' una carrera, que podía ser uno de los buenos... entonces yo lo que digo es que

§532: para el deporte se tiene que separar eso, toda la violencia del deporte se tiene que sacar ¿de

§533: adonde? Con buenos árbitros y seleccionar, porque si no hay buenos árbitros que mantengan

§534: el estatuto o el reglamento a raya, la cosa no sirve. Pero cuando ya se mete dinero por medio

§535: es la cagada. Por ejemplo, sin ir al mundial, Messi ¿cómo va a jugar Messi de esa manera en

§536: una selección? Entonces si yo pongo a otro que no tiene un sueldo, que no tiene nada, que va

§537: a empezar, va a jugar mucho mejor que el Messi. Messi no ha jugao' como correspondía en la

§538: selección porque habió' una empresa, un, un tipo de guita que le dice "bueno, yo te quiero

§539: bien aquí, no te quiero ver mal" entonces ha jugao' medio mal, porque salió de jugar en la

§540: selección, juega excelente ahora en Europa. ¿Por qué no ha jugao' 10 minutos así aquí en la

§541: selección? ¡Entonces no sirve eso! ¡es negocio!

§542: F: claro

§543: E: si vos vas por el negocio, entonces dejalo para otro el deporte. Entonces todo eso está tan

§544: podrido en tanta la política que tenemos nosotros en la Argentina ¡pero lejos! Es muy duro.

§545: F: claro

§546: E: o sea, yo veo lejos, digamos... no estoy viendo aquisito, estoy viendo lejos.

§547: F: sí, sí, sí

§548: E: o sea, esa es la información que yo tengo, a lo que yo me baso sobre mi base. Es como que

§549: mi base no lo ve al futuro. Ahora te hago una pregunta: vos que venís de allá, nos ves a

§550: nosotros en las condiciones económicas que estamos viviendo, en las condiciones culturales

§551: que tenemos nosotros, la cantidad de gente que estamos viviendo, y las este... posibilidades

§552: educativas que tenemos aquí y tema salud... ¿qué nos recomendaría que podríamos lograr

§553: hacer con lo que tenemos en un proyecto para salir mejor económicamente sin tener que irse

§554: a laburar en otro lado... llamese...

§555: F: muchas preguntas (risas)

§556: E: no, no, por eso, pero para que cierre en una sola... o

sea para darte un panorama... o sea,

§557: todo eso ¿vos de arriba cómo lo ves? Es como que vos estás allá arriba, vos estás viendo todo

§558: estas plantas y vos vas a ver algo que vos vas a poder incorporar dentro de esto ¿qué

§559: mejorarías? Algo así...

§560: F: uno de los problemas es que las cosas se ven desde arriba. Yo lo que estoy haciendo, por eso

§561: le preguntaba de los proyectos ¿no? porque yo he llegado a esto... como le decía yo...

§562: E: claro, pero vos llegao, pero no... vos has preguntado pero vos no me decís qué es lo que

§563: pensás vos sobre eso...

§564: F: claro, por eso estaba diciendo, y me parece que estos proyectos, básicamente, se hicieron

§565: para para solucionar esos problemas que usted decía, con esta intención vinieron, ¿qué es lo

§566: que pasaba? Que lo miraban desde arriba, lo miraban desde arriba, simplemente ¡pum! Ponían

§567: lo que la gente capaz que le decían que era una necesidad y se lo entregaban, pero falt- me

§568: parece que fal- ha faltado y puede seguir faltando esa... ese poner en sociedad esos proyectos.

§569: O sea hacer como que, que estas cosas no sean vistas como algo que viene de arriba, sino

§570: como, o sea, tratad de poner estos proyectos, esta cosa nueva, si quiere, que llegan, como

§571: parte de la cultura, de prepararse, digamos. Y esto es mucho trabajo, por supuesto

§572: E: sí, [...]

§573: F: pero lo que estaba tratado de hacer con eso que estoy haciendo, es justamente ver con esos

§574: proyectos que se han dado más o menos bien lo que ha quedado. Entonces acá, por ejemplo,

§575: eso de la manguera, como usted me decía, parece que ha ido bastante bien, de esto-.... Dentro

§576: de todo ¿no? o sea, por lo menos el agua llega ahí donde tiene que llegar. En otros casos, ha

§577: fracasado totalmente y... y así hay varios ejemplos ¿no? entonces, porque yo soy arqueólogo,

§578: digamos, de formación

§579: E: sí

§580: F: entonces ver cómo cómo las cosas, digamos, esos

materiales, digamos, se van o integrando

§581: con lo que la sociedad o van destruyendo la sociedad... por ejemplo, estuve visitando una

§582: localidad allá en Amaicha donde se dio una parte del proyecto este de la manguera de allá

§583: E: sí, Los Colorados

§584: F eh, no, en La Sala.

§585: E: Sala

§586: F: y allá mucha gente se ha ido. Entonces de la familia que habían, que se habían sumado, que

§587: habían recibido esa manguera, eh, muchos ya no viven allá. Entonces están estas mangueras

§588: que están inutilizadas con estas fincas secas

§589: E: ¿no sigue nadie?

§590: F: hay pocos, pero no tantos como los que había antes

§591: E: no, no, pero digamos, ¿en la finca que se han ido no queda nadie?

§592: F: no queda, está, está abandonado.

§593: E: ¿se abandonó?

§594: F: se abandonó. Y contaban que el proyecto para los que han quedao', funcionaba, pero

§595: evidentemente este proyecto no... si el objetivo de este proyecto era crear las condiciones

§596: para un desarrollo duradero y todo eso que dicen, evidentemente ha fracasado, porque la

§597: gente se ha tenido que marchar.

§598: E: sí

§599: F: entonces han quedao' estos restos, digamos, que ya... que ya te están contando una

§600: historia, digamos ¿no? pero... y esto un poco, por eso no sé responder a esa pregunta que

§601: muchas preguntas las que me hace, pero lo que estoy tratando de hacer es ver un poco

§602: E: sí, sí, no, está bien... yo comprendo, digamos, o sea, yo lo que quería saber era cuál era tu

§603: mentalidad frente a esto... o sea, salió lo que medianamente sí, lo que vos venís a estudiar, a

§604: ver, qué posibilidades tiene el crecimiento o qué posibilidades tiene de que siga en un drenaje

§605: hacia a desaparecer... es solo que lo que vos estas analizando eso.

§606: F: esto mirando esto... estoy mirando eso

§607: E: por eso, para mi, o sea eso es lo que yo saqué, de la cual yo de aquí puedo saber con otros

§608: ojos si yo estoy equivocado o no en la visión que yo estoy viendo, digamos, qué va a pasar a

§609: futuro con estas casas. Si yo me... por ejemplo... si yo me llevo a ir y no lo entreno a mi hijo, mi

§610: hijo se hubiera buscado un sueldo.

§611: F: no, totalmente

§612: E: entonces ahí esto va a quedar abandonado.

§613: F: claro

§614: E: entonces eso es lo que yo lo veo que vos estas analizando, que esto ya pasó en Sala, va a

§615: pasar, y Sala ha sido el mismo y la empresa que lo ha financiado ha sido italiana.

§616: F: le iba a decir... no por intereses comerciales con

§617: E: no, no, no, no

§618: F: simplemente porque conversando

§619: E: salió eso

§620: F: salió eso, y dije ¡mira!

§621: E: no, y como te dije yo... esto ha sido, para mí ha sido un Alfa Romeo, por eso dije Alfa Romeo

§622: yo también. (risas) ¿Por qué? Nos han dejado una cosa que estaba funcionando esto, estaba

§623: funcionando, sino que lo han dejado. O sea si imagínate vos que te entregan un Alfa Romeo y

§624: ¡la guita!... si... no tengo acá una llave pero... una llave, una llave, bueno... una llave que te dan

§625: están 700 dólares. ¡una llave!... que se ha puesto aquí. Y eso lo traen de Israel, eso no lo han

§626: traído de aquí, eso no fabricaban aquí, eran las primeras que han venido aquí. Por eso te digo

§627: que era un Alfa Romeo. Entonces nadie lo comprendió y yo he estado a cargo de ese proyecto

§628: con la gente, me ayudaba a hacer todo lo que es la altimetría, a dónde van a ser los

§629: rompecargas, medir todo lo que, las distancias, hacer dónde van a ser las fincas, diagramado

§630: todo eso yo con los ingenieros. Y el supervisor que venía de Italia eh, ha quedao muy contento

§631: de que se ha logrado hacer y ha quedao funcionando. El tema es que la gente no le ha echado

§632: el agua como corresponde. La ha sacao' al agua, porque si la ponía al agua ahí ¡si tenemos

§633: aguas todos los días, si la ha dejao' funcionando!

¡funcionando con las plantas prendidas! Y

§634: bueno... entonces ahí yo veo que los que hemos logrado hacer algo aquí y tener aquí es porque

§635: hemos salido afuera y hemos sufrido. Hemos visto la realidad que es afuera y la realidad que

§636: vivimos aquí.

§637: F: ¿usted dónde fue?

§638: E: a Buenos Aires. Primero estuve en Mendoza, después fui a Buenos Aires. Y en Buenos Aires

§639: estuve casi 15 años, de la cual ahí me acordaba que mi abuelo me decía que la calle te tiene

§640: que cultivar y no sabía qué mierda era cultivar, y era aprender de todo. Entonces me dediqué

§641: a... yo salí de aquí cuando terminé la primaria, se- era séptimo grado en ese momento, y ya me

§642: servía como título para seguir la secundaria o cualquier oficio. Y he andado por todos lados,

§643: digamos, he empezado como mecánica, electricidad de automóvil, carburación, después

§644: fotografía, y todo esos cursos que yo había hecho que había preparado no había guita para

§645: comprar los materiales, si era fotografía no tenía pa' poner el laboratorio. Si era mecánica, no

§646: tenía la plata para poner to-con las herramientas para poner el taller, hablando de mi

§647: propiedad. Entonces me dediqué a la electricidad industrial y está muy ligado a la

§648: construcción. O sea, todos los que tenían la construcción agarraban lo que es la parte eléctrica,

§649: o sea no... no podía... y me metí en la construcción. Terminé los 5 años, terminé y me vine. Así

§650: que yo puedo hacer lo que yo quiero, a la hora que yo quiera, hago lo que yo quiera porque yo

§651: sé todo. No tengo que preguntarle a nadie. Hago lo que yo quiero. Entonces no estoy bajo un

§652: patroncito. Y hago con la herramienta que tengo a mano, no es que tenga que tener todas las

§653: herramientas para hacer...

§654: F: claro

§655: E: si lo tengo que hacer a mano, lo hago a mano al hormigón. Si tengo que hacer en una

§656: máquina, lo hago en una máquina. Y si lo hago, si lo tengo que hacer en un camión porque hay

§657: plata, lo hago. Entonces todo eso lo sé manejar. Entonces eso es lo que me lleva a mí ver lo

§658: que me decía mi abuelo, que me cultivara. O sea yo aprendí de todo eso, por eso hablo del Alfa Romeo, que es un tema de la mecánica. Capaz que si yo no sabía de mecánica, no sé lo que es un Alfa Romeo. (risas). Así que imagínate vos que esas son las cosas que a mí me lleva, y bueno, después que he llegado aquí me quedé, me casé con la madre de mis hijos y después

§659: bueno, como yo soy así después no, no sirvo yo para estar bajo un patrón. Y ella quería todos

§660: los meses plata a la casa y bueno, dice, me voy a estudiar, y como se ha ido a estudiar, después se encontró otro y se fue a la mierda. ¡Qué va a hacer! ¡Y si te fuiste, listo! ¡Chau, te fuiste! Para qué vas a decir, muchos piensan "ah, pero si dejo la mujer se pone a tomar, se dedica a otra cosa de lo que hago... ¡no! bueno, sigamos la vida nomás, hay que seguir pa' adelante, no pa'tras. Y así fue, crié a mis hijos, a los tengo ahora, ya se va a casar, tiene ya, ya me hizo... yotengo tres hijos, dos mujeres y un varón. Las dos mujeres tienen ya, una tiene cuatro hijos, esta sola, y la otra tiene dos hijos y está con compañero y el mas chico tiene ya su novia y tiene un hijito de meses y bueno, esa es mi familia de la que para quien

nadie, uno trabaja. Para quien uno ve que va a quedar.

§661: F: ¿ahá?

§662: E: porque lo que uno trabaja en la vida -no sé si a vos te pasa esto, creo que sí- vos no trabajás

§663: para vos, vos trabajás para alguien, para tu madre, para tu hermano, para un hijo, para tu

§664: mujer, pero para alguien, pero para vos no trabajás. No sé por qué será. Vos cuando está solo-

§665: solo ¡ah! pasa el día y ni te importa. Vos hacés lo que vos querés, yo lo he hecho. Pero cuando

§666: llego a tener mi familia, las cosas han cambiado un 100 por ciento. Ya no trabajo para mí, ya

§667: me olvidé de lo mío, ya me dedico mucho sobre lo que yo tengo: son mis hijos. Entonces y

§668: aprend- ahí yo comprendí que vos no trabajas para vos, trabajás para alguien que vos querés. Y

§669: eso te ayuda a vivir. Pero si vos no tuvieras nada, pasaría por la [...] por los muchachos que

§670: vivía allá, Llampa, no sé si conoce a Miguel...

§671: F: ¿el...

§672: E: está solito de...

§673: F: ¿está ahí en La Banda?

§674: E: sí, la última casa de arriba. Bueno, ese muchacho, por ejemplo, llega un tiempo, trabaja,

§675: trabaja, tiene todo lindo, y llega un momento que se pone a tomar vino: tres meses tomó la

§676: última vuelta. Tira todo lo que él ha tenido, todo, todo, todo, todo. Cuando no tiene nada,

§677: volvió' a laburar, porque no tiene hijo, no tiene para qué, de qué, nada, no tiene... si cuando

§678: me muera no voy a llevar nada. Entonces ahí yo veo que sí tenés que tener alguien para que

§679: [...]. Que pa' tener, tenés que buscarlo. (Risas)

§680: F: (risas) ¡eso es lo complicado!

§681: E: ...porque sino!

§682: F: no, pero bien, me da mucho pa' pensar eso que me dice, porque yo ahorita estoy en una

§683: etapa donde no tengo mujer, no tengo hijos, tengo mis padres por suerte todavía y tengo mi

§684: hermano, pero la verdad, por eso, me hizo pensar, porque yo siempre pensé que lo que estoy

§685: haciendo no es que lo esté haciendo para mí, pero estoy siguiendo, digamos, lo que yo creo

§686: que es bueno para mí.

§687: E: bueno para vos, pero lo que vos estas dejando quizás no lo vas a dejar para tu hijo, pero

§688: alguien de una comunidad vas a dejar una información valiosa.

§689: F: y esto ya...

§690: E: y sería que si sería lo contrario que vos vas y lo encajonés, queda ahí. Nunca lo saqués. Y

§691: venga otro y lo cague quemando y a la mierda.

§692: F: por eso digo, eso quizás me da para pensar en la forma en que yo estoy trabajando, porque

§693: quizás me falta como más directamente entonces...

§694: E: ¡un incentivo! ¡claro! Un incentivo. Creo que uno aprende en la vida todos los días y quizás

§695: uno no lo ve, por ahí como digo yo: nosotros estamos sentados sobre una, un sillón de oro y no

§696: lo vemos, mucha gente no lo ve.

§697: F: ya

§698: E: si vos co- solo no pagás los impuestos de la tierra, ya es un montón de plata que te estas

§699: evitando de pagarle al gobierno y que el gobierno te reconoce como comunidad.

§700: F: claro

§701: E: entonces eso aprovechemos. No seamos un

chanchito que está en el corral y que nos den de

§702: comer. Hay diferentes formas, digamos... dándote subsidios, dándote esto, dándote aquello,

§703: dándote un plan, dándote... fomentando la vagancia... ¡está bien! Yo la recibo, yo digo, no

§704: tengo problema en recibirlo, pero que para mí sería el postre

§705: F: ¿y cómo se puede aprovechar esta... este control, digamos, sobre el territorio, que se da con

§706: la comunidad?

§707: E: eh, para mi punto de vista es ver cómo trabajar, de conseguir la inversión en agricultura

§708: para sacar agua, producir algo de agricultura, esa agricultura lo que salga de la producción

§709: consumo interno, sobrante se vende, y ahí empezás a... eh... con la agricultura, tener animales,

§710: como por ejemplo, vaca. Primeros tiempos te dedicás al [...], pequeños espacios, bien

§711: alimentados, con toda la producción que vos tenés con el agua de los pozos. Y los pozos los

§712: hacés para mi punto de vista, con energía solar, que se paga solo.

§713: F: claro, pero luego no se repondría, volvería, digamos, a poner el mismo problema que me

§714: decía antes...

§715: E: ¿en qué?

§716: F: que lo, lo que excede, digamos, uno no lo puede vender

§717: E: entonces ahí nosotros buscaríamos ya clientes adonde va a ir la sobra. Entonces ya

§718: empezamos a trabajar con esta producción del vino... por ejemplo, yo tengo una producción

§719: de vino. Está ahí. Cuando yo tenga esta otra producción, ya va a haber más cantidad, entonces

§720: yo por ejemplo, qué se yo, entrego a un amigo que trabaja en Buenos Aires en un

§721: supermercado, que es gerente, por decir un ejemplo. Yo por intermedio de él lo hago que la

§722: empresa le haga llegar eso. Una "X" cantidad al año. No para suministrar todo el año, ponele

§723: que yo le entregue para las fiestas de fin de año un vino de buena calidad, una cierta cantidad

§724: y todos los años va a estar ese, ese, eh, cómo se dice, eh, quedar seguro que eso va a estar

§725: todos los años eso, por eso era lo que hablaba de la coplas ¿te acordás? Entonces vos cuando

§726: llega el vino, llega el mes de noviembre, por decir, vos sabés que va a llegar al 15, al 20, va a

§727: estar el vino ahí, vos te gusta ese vino, vos ese día lo vas a ir a buscar, porque sabés que se va a agotar. Ese sería uno de los puntos que buscaría estratégicos para poder vender los sobrantes. No comprometerse vender todos los meses una cantidad.

§728: F: ¿ahá?

§729: E: ese sería el inicial. El inicial. Ya sea en lo que sea, porque van a ser productos únicos,

§730: porque son lo que yo quiero llegar, al orgánico. Tratar que sea todo orgánico. No tratar de

§731: meter pesticidas. Bueno, de último caso, bueno, no sé qué, qué podremos usar, porque lo que

§732: a mí me llegaría buscar todo lo como estas vos haciendo la recopilación, ver la gente, también

§733: hay gente que está haciendo eso de todo lo que es natural, porque aquí se te mete, por

§734: ejemplo, vamos a ver, con la medicina ancestral, y con la medicina que hoy es química. Pero

§735: sola ha salido de la ancestral, ha salido. Y es lo

mismo y quizás mejor en alguna aplicación de

§736: esto con aquello, sino que esto tiene coso y este no. Entonces yo lo busco a este. Tiene que

§737: estar en algún lado esa información. Entonces yo voy a preparar gente para que se dedique a

§738: eso y quizás que gente que quiera ayudar con su profesión a hacer la idea que yo quiero llegar.

§739: Y eso estamos trabajando, estoy trabajando, pero en silencio, porque no se puede, porque no

§740: hay plata. Todo es contacto, o sea, yo veo que siempre he pensado que la tecnología es buena,

§741: pero para trabajar, no para pa- matar el tiempo. Entonces yo la uso a la tecnología, vos viste el

§742: teléfono que tengo. ¿Cómo tiene este teléfono? Porque lo necesito. Me sirve una herramienta

§743: que... para mí es una herramienta

§744: F: totalmente, claro

§745: E: entonces no lo tomo como que "ah, no, qué se yo", estar mirando pornografía o algo por el

§746: estilo, no, no, no, es una herramienta de trabajo. Le saco la tecnología, los adelantos, entonces

§747: esos adelantos que tiene la tecnología las quiero aplicar en la comunidad para mejorar la

§748: comunidad. Estoy hablando de aquí, puedo estar hablando de Buenos Aires, estoy hablando a

§749: donde yo quiera por la tecnología. Más allá que la tecnología te está controlando qué es lo que

§750: estás haciendo.

§751: F: (Risas) eso es verdad, ya saben todos que estamos hablando por eso ¿no?

§752: E: ¡claro! ¡seguro! Eso a mí no se me escapa. Entonces hay cosas que uno puede hablar, cosas

§753: que no. La tecnología está hecha para todo, para eso están los hacker. Entonces yo tengo eh,

§754: en eso de que todo lo que hagamos con la tecnología siempre y cuando respetando lo que

§755: somos, porque cuando nos olvidamos quiénes somos ahí está. Y aquí únicamente, como digo

§756: yo, la comunidad va a salir adelante con la agricultura y la ganadería. Es lo único. Porque

§757: nosotros minería no tenemos. No tenemos grandes bosques como para decir eh, vamos a

§758: producir algo por los bosques hay humedad, aquí no

hay. Entonces no podemos pensar en eso.

§759: Si pensamos en la, en el altiplano, ver animales ¿pero y la lluvia? También tenemos un límite

§760: de producción. Creo que nosotros estamos en ahí entre lo seco y lo húmedo. Pasamos para

§761: allá, tenemos la humedad, venimos para aquí estamos en la misma, pasamos para allá,

§762: estamos lo seco. Entonces creo que estamos en un lugar privilegiado prácticamente. Porque si

§763: es por la viña, vino que sale aquí en esta zona hasta Santa María es diferente al vino que se

§764: sale en Cafayate. Este es de mayor calidad y nos han atropellado mucho para que nos sacaran

§765: las tierras y no han podido. Entonces sí hemos podido lograr defender las tierras ¿por qué no

§766: vamos a poder lograr cultivarlas, trabajarlas? Pero con un pensamiento ecológico, ecosistema

§767: controlado, porque tampoco sería que tengamos la tierra, tengamos plata y empecemos a

§768: limpiar todo y meter otro. Empecemos a hacer sectores, porque para mí la, el ecosistema,

§769: digamos, tiene que estar presente en los nuevos cultivos. Si yo cultivo esto, entonces aquí

§770: tiene que estar todo terreno natural para que sea esto, ¿cómo se dice, “producción que no

§771: tiene químicos”? al rato le he dicho

§772: F: biológico

§773: E: biológico

§774: F: claro

§775: E: una producción orgánica.

§776: F: orgánica, claro.

§777: E: si es que todo está limpio, no se puede hacer orgánico, porque todo lo orgánico va a nacer

§778: de aquí. Va a entrar animal, va a entrar algún comué, lo que sea va a estar aquí, pero no van a

§779: estar aquí. Si yo limpio todo esto, todo lo que estaba aquí vivo se va a morir. Entonces eso es lo

§780: que no quiero. ¿cómo hago pa’ controlar? Esa es mi pregunta. Porque más de uno, cuando

§781: empiece a ver plata va a empezar a rob- a volteá’ este, mañana lo volteá’ al otro, mañana lo

§782: volteá’ al otro, pa’ tener mas platita. Desgraciadamente eso es ¿por qué? Porque yo he visto

§783: que hay gente -no todos- cuando empieza a tener plata, y mata al que venga, hasta al hermano

§784: lo va a matar para que no le quite lo que le corresponde o aunque no le corresponde, pero lo

§785: quiere tener. Ahí viene el egoísmo personal. Entonces eso quiero meter en la escuela, desde

§786: chiquitos. Ya para mí el que tiene 18 o 20 para arriba, ya no cuenta pa' mi

§787: F: ¿ya fueron?

§788: E: ya fueron. Y ya tienen sus mañas, ya tienen sus picardías. Pero ya les queda poco para

§789: llegar, todavía pal' metro y medio, que nosotros decimos "metro y medio" con la sepultura.

§790: (risas)

§791: F: ¡te entendía! ¡te entendí algo más que habló de la afirmación! (risas)

§792: E: así que me queda eso. O sea, ahí es donde tengo que apechugar. Hacer la producción pero

§793: meterme bien en la escuela, meterme bien en la familia.

§794: F: claro, no, esto podría ser una forma

§795: E: es la única que se puede salvar. Sino ya vamos

§796: F: también porque ahora con el tema de las comunidades, se trabaj-, bueno... se trabaja... se

§797: supone que se está trabajando con eso de la educación intercultural que le llaman.

§798: E: sí, pero ¿cuál es el intercultural que se mete hoy desgraciadamente aquí? El inglés. ¿y qué

§799: de... cuál es la cultura? Si nosotros hablamos castellano, el inglés no es nuestro. Si en la escuela

§800: dirían "bueno, vamos a tener un intercultural adonde estamos recopilando las palabras que

§801: hablan nuestros viejos para empezar a ver que el idioma y que se nos respete" como decir

§802: gato, digamos "mishi", que le decimos nosotros. "¡Ah, no, ese es el gato!" y nos sacan el

§803: "mishi". ¿Entonces cómo vas a sacar el gato, "mishi" es el mismo?!

§804: F: claro, por eso decía que esta, digamos, la forma para poderlo hacer. Hay que poner el

§805: contenido, digamos, ¿no?

§806: E: exactamente, ahí está.

§807: F: así que...

§808: E: pero para ahí yo necesito meterme en los chicos, ¿pero cómo hago para meterme en los

§809: maestros si los maestros vienen todos de la ciudad?

Entonces tengo pe- perdurar ahí, en la

§810: parte que vos decís, la parte bilingüe, meter la cultura despacito... pero hasta los mismos

§811: padres se resisten “¡ah, qué mierda van a joder, cosas viejas!” (risas) son cositas que... que

§812: creo que para mí, o sea, yo lo que estoy tratando posible de, de llevar adelante esto, muy

§813: poquito, digamos, pero a mi hijo, pero ya con su hijo

§814: F: claro

§815: E: porque yo a mi hijo, él medio que todavía tira como que escapa, pero metiéndole al nieto,

§816: metiéndole a mis nietos, metiendo a los chicos chiquitos, por ejemplo, hoy yo tengo la suerte

§817: de ir a la escuela y hacer la Fiesta de la Pachamama, explicarles qué es la Pachamama, cuándo

§818: está, cuándo viene... algunos la toman con- los de mi edad o un poquito, digo, de 20 años para

§819: arriba, ni se quieren arrimar. Pero los chiquitos están ahí metidos. Por suerte hay maestros de

§820: la ciudad que se meten en esto. Por ahí que quieren distorsionarlo, llevarla hacia otro.... Y yo

§821: trato de que esto vaya adelante

§822: F: ¿para qué lado lo quieren mandar ellos?

§823: E: entonces ahí veo que son flexibles. No hace mucho nosotros hemos logrado tener la

§824: bandera Wiphala en las comunidades. Pero nosotros no, todavía no hemos logrado que la

§825: bandera nacional tenga un mástil y la Wiphala tenga otro mástil. Está puesta en el mismo, pero la de arriba es la argentina ¡y eso lo hace el gobierno! Porque el gobierno tiene el deber de poner el otro mástil y no lo está poniendo ya hace un año. ¡Y cómo es la política! ¿no? “Ah, no, nosotros estamos arriba”

§826: F: cómo son los símbolos

§827: E: ¡claro!

§828: F: [...]

§829: E: ¿por qué cuando viene... que se yo... cualquier país, no está en la misma de la argentina?

§830: está en otro. Porque tiene que estar en la misma categoría. A nosotros no nos quieren poner

§831: en la misma categoría. ¿Quién son los indios? Vamos a pelear. Al menos ya la tenemos metida

§832: a la wiphala en la escuela. Entonces ahora vamos a molestar para poner a la par de la otra.... Es

§833: todo lucha, entonces esas cositas, pequeñas cosas, a mi criterio, son grandes logros que

§834: algunos no lo ven, lo ven como un estorbo. Entonces yo en el Pichao estoy tratando de a

§835: poquito en la escuela, pero tengo una delegada que es compañera, que es la Laura Liendro, de

§836: la cual ella tiene muchas cosas de la ciudad quiere meter aquí. Y eso es lo que a mí me frena,

§837: digamos, por ahí... y ya se hace una división de familias para aquí, para allá.... Y las otras que

§838: quedan al medio y “¿para adónde me voy?” y después está el otro grupo: “¡Ah, qué sabe de

§839: eso!” hay. Entonces por eso le decía yo, los dos queremos hacer el gol, pero hay una sola

§840: pelota.

§841: F: (risas) muy bueno. Y bueno, listo, creo que ya puede ser muchas cosas re interesantes que

§842: me ha contado y la verdad, le agradezco mucho. Y, como le decía, habríamos que... como...

§843: salvar las formalidades, esta es una hojita que estoy haciendo firmar, que me la piden de la

§844: universidad, para que luego, cuando tenga que escribir esto

§845: E: ¿y esa qué universidad es?

§846: F: eh, universidad inglesa estoy trabajando yo.

§847: E: ¡ah!

§848: F: una universidad que se llama “The Exeter”. Y... y nada es una hojita que dice que me está...

§849: bueno, que conversamos libremente, que yo no la he forzado, digamos, a decir nada que usted

§850: no quería decirme y bueno, para que quede registro de esto y no me digan que me estoy

§851: inventando las cosas o algo allá con punta de pistola he conseguido la...

§852: E: ¿y esto después se puede sacar alguna copia de lo que usted ha hecho? ¿cómo puedo [...]

§853: F: claro, yo esto lo voy a dejar, voy a dejar acá todas esas conversaciones, grabaciones, las

§854: fotos, todo lo que estoy registrando

§855: E: ¿acá adónde?

§856: F: bueno, en principio, en la comunidad, digamos. El otro día me reuní con los Consejos de

§857: Delegados. Lo que quería hacer era también dejarlo aquí, o sea, en cada base. Eh, vamos a ver

§858: cómo va a ser posible. Justo el otro día... pero se lo tengo que preguntar... porque vi que allí en

§859: el SUM tienen una computadora.

§860: E: sí

§861: F: entonces capaz que ya pueda poner ahí las fotos, las grabaciones y esta cosa...

§862: E: hm

§863: F: y luego voy a preparar un informe, ya cuando esté terminando, y eso también lo voy a

§864: dejar... un poco la- las impresiones ahí brutas, digamos,

§865: E: sí

§866: F: un poco lo que, lo que me ha llamado la atención más

§867: E: sí

§868: F: y esto lo voy a dejar acá, y bueno, espero cuando termine el trabajo, pero ya estamos

§869: hablando como de aquí a un año, ya poderlo hacer en inglés al trabajo, tiene que ser en inglés.

§870: Pero voy a ver si va a ser posible hacer como una traducción para

§871: E: pasarlo al castellano

§872: F: a castellano y para mandarlo acá también, para que quede. O sea, yo no creo que lo que

§873: estoy haciendo sirva tal como está para la comunidad, pero igual puede ser una forma para

§874: seguir pensando ¿no? como a mí me ha hecho pensar, capaz que también a la gente, digamos,

§875: E: que lo llegue a leer

§876: F: que lo llegue a leer y que se pueda cambiar las cosas. No digo mejorar, pero tratar de

§877: hacerla de una forma...

§878: E: no, es una herramienta

§879: F: como la tecnología, igual...

§880: E: igual le va a dar el lugar que... porque por ahí que se yo, va y cae en manos de alguien, que

§881: todo lo usa para cómo destruirla... fácil

§882: F: totalmente, por eso. Yo no es que no quiera asumir responsabilidades, pero es así, o sea, no

§883: puedo tener un control total sobre lo que se...

§884: E: no, no se puede, no se puede...

§885: F: sobre lo que se....

§886: E: solo vos podés callar lo que vos no querés que le digan, porque cuando vos le contás a otro,

§887: ya fuiste (Risas) ¡ya fuiste, es así! Vos [...] ¿qué hacés? Tenés una novia y de repente vos vas y

§888: le contas, ¡uy, ya le has contao', ya has cagao!' y ese fue

el machete que empezó a bruñir el

§889: corazón.

§890: F: pero ya está

§891: E: ya fuiste, fuiste vos.

§892: F: (risas) hay poco que regañar.

§893: E: sí

§894: F: y nada, y esto sería la hojita que le decía: firmita y aclaración. Esto nomás.

§895: E: ¿acá la aclaración?

§896: F: eh, no, aquí arriba.

§897: E: ah

§898: F: esa es la parte de abajo, digamos, sirve en la eventualidad, digamos, en la persona que me

§899: esté contando las cosas no, nos lleguemos a entendernos, entonces ahí uno puede escribir, por

§900: ejemplo, eso puede pasar con persona mayor, entonces para que alguien actúe como garante.

§901: Cuando estuve trabajando allá en Bolivia, estuve trabajando antes de venir acá... y había

§902: bastantes personas mayores que hablaban, hablan solo aymara, eh, no es que hablen solo

§903: aymara, digamos, el aymara es su lengua, entonces era mi límite no poder comunicarme bien

§904: con esa persona y entonces ahí tenía que hacer, que traducir.

§905: E: claro, tenía que haber un traductor.

§906: F: Exactamente. Y ahí es donde, digamos, interviene esa parte de abajo. Y dale... así está. Y

§907: bueno, yo le agradezco mucho, voy a estar aquí un par de días más, luego voy a ver si me

§908: puedo mover para para otras bases, quería ir para Quilmes Centro, eh, a ver un poquito, tengo

§909: que hablar con los delegados, y bueno... a ver un poco cómo está la cosa. Capaz que vuelva

§910: también al Pichao, ahí le voy a hacer saber, eventualmente.

§911: E: muy bien. Sí, eso no hay problema porque yo ahora me, o sea, yo he sido delegado ahí como

§912: seis años, o sea, tres períodos, y ahora la han puesto a Laura Liendro y es como que yo dejo el

§913: lugar para que empiece a trabajar y vea cuál es la realidad de la gente. Y de paso me ayuda.

§914: Pero bueno, este, hasta ahora, bueno, lo que ha producido ha sido como una separación,

§915: digamos, de, de ideas. Y yo creo que todo eso va a madurar en algún tiempo. Va a llegar ella a

§916: comprender de que nadie se va a ir, todos van a seguir viviendo, y todos van a seguir viviendo

§917: trabajando con lo que tienen, por más que traiga buenas o malas ideas, sea amigo de uno o del

§918: otro, van a seguir estando y viéndose la cara todos los días.

§919: F: claro

§920: E: entonces hay que hacer las cosas de la mejor manera posible. Yo la veo así.

§921: F: así es. Y bueno, listo, entonces ya lo dejo cuidar de sus viñas por si se acercan las cabras.

§922: (risas). ¡que este sí es un problema! ¿eh?

§923: E: y si el vecino tampoco tiene, tampoco come. O sea todo de una cosa lleva a la otra, si el

§924: animal entra porque no hay pasto afuera, o porque no hay agua, o porque el mismo vecino no

§925: la corre...

§926: F: sí, no creo que sean malas, digamos, de espíritu las cabras...

§927: E: ¡no! también son de espíritu ya

§928: F: ¡tal vez son malas de espíritu, dicen! (risas)

§929: E: no, si ya, ven mejor comida, y bueno, como toda, ven mejor y ahí va... [...]

§930: [caminan]

§931: F: la verdad que cumplen con su trabajo ¿eh? Yo no me quise acercar, justo iba a ladrar con...

§932: (risas)

§933: E: (risas) no, por eso también, ladra, siente ruido, las cabras están del otro lado

§934: F: el otro día me subí para allá

§935: E: ah sí

§936: F: y me veía. Y me ponía a ladrar como un loco y estaba ahí arriba

§937: E: sí, no, sí... bueno... [...] en el río, porque bajan y [...]

§938: [...]

§939: E: bueno, es un gusto y nos estamos viendo en otro momento

§940: F: nos estamos viendo. Muchísimas gracias

§941: E: bueno, cualquier cosa si tiene alguna duda, una pregunta, si estoy aquí nos vemos otra vez

§942: F: listo.

§943: E: chau, suerte

§944: F: hasta luego

Name: Calcha18-41

Place and Date: Quilmes Bajo, CIQ,
November 2018,

Transcription by Francesco Orlandi

§1: Nosotros hemos aprendido desde abajo. Yo tengo 87 cumplidos, nacimos en el Rincon de Quilmes. Bueno, lo mio es largo porque el intruso para llegar a la comunidad... Ahora tiene nombre el nombre de la comunidad. Como ha visto usted? Como la toma a la tierra? La toma asi usted? Usted lo ve bien? como esta esta comunidad?

§2: Nosotros hemos luchado tanto, el unico viejo soy yo. Ya no hay mas viejos. Para llegar a eso, para poder defender ese... A usted le ha pasado esto? Usted tiene padre y madre? Y bueno ahi esta ve? Y usted siempre defiende las cosas de sus padres y madres, ah que no? Y bueno asi es. Y nosotros estamos haciendo eso. Hemos empezado asi. Porque nosotros somos directamente descendientes. Y si que la cara nuestra ya no es la misma del indio, pero en todas las costumbres, en todo lo que nosotros hemos escuchado a nuestros abuelos, bisabuelos, a nosotros nos ha interesado. Y asi hemos llegado a muy mucho, hemos llegado hasta ahora. Hemos estado preso, ve que yo ando con muleta. Porque a mi eso lo ha hecho el general Bussi. Un militar, porque ese militar tambien habia sido terrateniente, y ese los defendia a los terratenientes de aqui porque a el le interesaba que siga habiendo terratenientes. pero ahi estaba clarito y que lo han entendido. Por eso nosotros luchabamos para llegar a esta... digamos que ahora seguro no estamos, pero cerca estamos. Defendiendo todavia eso.

§3: La lucha ha sido barbara, fiera. Si uno ha entrado tonto, en el camino lo avivano, po. Y a nosotros nos han

disparado, nos han metido presos, nos han torturado... Sabe lo que es la tortura no? Bueno todo eso. Para que nosotros dejemos, no luchemos, no sigamos, ve? Eso era para nos acobardarnos. Los militares hacian lo que querian. A mi me han quitado las cosas, ahi tengo un catre sin cama, a mi me han dejado sin ropa, me han llevado la ropa, me han llevado cosas. Y era todo para que yo bote, para que yo abandone. Y bueno, y varios han mordido el freno, no? Pero no hemos bajado, hemos llegado, ve? Digamos, claro claro no esta, pero esta curioso que no? Esta curioso porque la gente, los de aqui mismo, hasta ahora hay gente que primero estan, pero cuando se dan cuenta que le va mal, ya se disparan. Son cobardes se fueron para alla ya. Pero hay otros que no. A mi me han aporreado, me han puesto picanillas electricas, me han aporreado mucho, me han pateado, me han pegado con las armas en la espalda, yo soy ya ciego, sordo. Eso han hecho ellos, para que nosotros botemos la lucha, dejemos la lucha. Y no la hemos dejado. Y eso es lo curioso. Y ay gente que dice por mucho que han sufrido ahora no se vive mejor. Y estamos mejor porque no se paga, yo veo que hay gente que ya vive mejor.. Y ha sido fiero, fiero para aquel que lucha.

§4: Nosotros hemos visto cosas fieras. Y lo que quedaban en la casa no sabian cuando lo llevaban, que pasaba. Algunos lo han levantado y no han vuelto mas. Ahora ya se estan aclarando eso. Ya le estan pagando, a nosotros nos han llevado a Derechos Humanos a Buenos Aires, yo estoy por derechos humanos, pero todavia no han terminado porque estan en juicio. Pero dicen que si, que corresponde. Porque lo ha que ha pasado con nosotros era ilegal. No estabamos en la lucha esa de la guerrilla. Nosotros estabamos luchando pero con el terrateniente. Con el que tenia las tierras. Y la otra gente sufria, y lo llevaban para que vaya que trabaje, si tenia hacienda le

quitaban la hacienda, los terratenientes, ellos vivían bien bien...

§5: Se reunían acá en mi casa pero eso no era para la guerrilla. Era para recibir a la gente. La gente venía cuando estaba desgraciada sí. La gente ha dejado de venir cuando ha visto que nos han empezado a molestar a nosotros y de ahí nosotros no hemos parado, hemos seguido. Seguimos no más. Y cuando hacíamos reunión mandaban policías para que estén aquí. Al final ha llegado un jefe de la gendarmaría, riojano, él ha venido para acá para hacer una investigación a fondo.

§6: Cuando han venido se han juntado de todas las provincias. Ahí en la Hostería de Amaicha, si me acuerdo algo. Eso ha sido el principio. Claro de Chaco de toda gente ha venido ahí. El hecho es que nos daban la comida, para todos. Y el que quería quedar se le daban cama, todo comida de día de noche, estuvimos hasta como ocho días en la Hostería haciendo eso. Ese ha sido el principio de ahí se ha empezado. [Se hizo en la Hostería porque] iba a ser bien común para todos. Y ese digamos que no entraba en el demanio, del río para allá eso era comunidad y esa comunidad se la ha entregado antes... bueno ha sido todo eso entregado a un cacique, pero no se podía levantar la copia, no se como ha sido. Esa Cédula real ha hecho el indio de aquí a nueve kms había un árbol, un algarrobo cerca del río. Ahí ha jurado él, no ha jurado a dios, lo ha jurado al árbol, al espacio, él lo ha labrado al árbol y lo ha sellado él, el indio, que es lo que se ha hecho, el juramento de a quien entregaba el las tierras. Eso ha sido un Cacique... De ahí que han hecho bien los amaichenos lo han agarrado a dos manos a la comunidad, y aquí no porque aquí ya había un terrateniente. Y ha venido otro, y ha venido otro... Como aquí eran todos cobardes nadie se animó a seguirlo, por ahí estaba lindo seguirlo. Y no aquí han dejado que maneje un

terrateniente, y el terrateniente nos ha jodido mal porque en vez de ayudar a la gente, quien era pobre más pobre lo dejaba él, los hacía trabajar, trabajaban las mujeres, los chicos, los viejos. Ellos le daban la comida, era todo para ellos. Así.

§7: Usted capaz que la ha visto a la casa, esta en El Banado, había sido la casa de los dueños. No ha visto que esta tirada esta ya? Esta abandonada porque la gente ya le ha dejado de dar de comer, y han perdido. Ellos no sabían trabajar, no eran maestros, no eran nada. Y ahí han perdido todo

§8: Cuando ya se ha nombrado la comunidad, se ha empezado a manejarla y después el gobierno ha empezado a meter pata... y como ya el interés está primero, ya la agarró el gobierno.. No se como está eso. Digamos que esta gente que está trabajando ahora siempre nos ayuda con el trabajo nos ayuda a los que viven aquí. los trabajos en la represa. Ayuda.

§9: Yo creo que eso de las ruinas va a seguir así por la gente para traer gente de otro lado, como ha sido lo de antes... La curiosidad es para la gente pa el que viene, no ve? Pa hacer plata! Y la gente que viene de otro lado es curiosa pues! Como usted viene pregunta... Pero para hacer eso, para llegar hasta ahí, han de haber tenido mucho coraje, o ganas de no dejarse joder, y no no quedo mal.

§10: Cuando estábamos luchando entraba también lo de la ruina, po. pero no estaba reconstruida como está ahora. Entonces estaba botada digamos. Ruina ruina no ve, todo ruina. Yo la he conocido a las ruinas cuando estaban arruinadas, nosotros llevábamos cabras ahí. Pero había apenas pircas, ollas tiradas, a nosotros no importaba tanto estaba todo tirado. después ha venido la curiosidad de que la gente misma la de aquí porque ya han empezado a seguir la curiosidad; venía gente de

otro lado a comprar las cosas esa del indio y la gente podía cuidar, defender... no empezó a destrozarlo, lo cavaba lo vendía hacia plata. Y no lo cuidaba.

§11: Antes estaba todo como cualquier tierra. Porque el patrón decía que era de ellos, y no le importaba. Y cuando le empezó a importar cuando nosotros hemos empezado a luchar. Nosotros hemos empezado a ir por defenderla a la ruina. y de ahí ya ha agarrado el terreno. [A nosotros importaba] que eso siga

por eso nosotros no estamos tan mal.

§12: Eso [los canastos] es cultura de antes. No es que han empezado nos han enseñado ahora. No. Eso es muy de antes. Como Simon. Ha visto que Simon hace las ollas eso igual es una cultura vieja. Se ha seguido, bueno no se ha dejado. Lo que se hace aquí, no se lo hace en ningún lado. Es una cosa de arte. Nosotros tenemos muchas cosas de arte. de eso. y no lo vendimos porque sentimos que se lo lleve otro, no ve?

§13: Ahi en Aimachas hay dos molinos como hacien lo del indio... con agua. Has visto que el agua viene asi, debajo hay unas paletas y con eso se activa el molino. Pero rapido no? Y ahi se molia, y despues ya lo han hecho electrico y asi. Han quedado para la historia. Han quedado para que vean que es cierto que hacian eso. Esos molinos que estan alla en Amaicha son curiosos.

§14: Lo que cuentan es cierto porque habia si que habia. Pero ese tesoro que dicen, la riqueza de las ruinasnadie lo va encontrar porque esta maldecido. Lo ha maldecido el indio. El indio era hechizero, tenia mucho alcance con la tierra con el espacio.

§15: Lo que pasa es que hay que acompañarla más, tenerle mas cariño [a la lucha] y seguir. Estar con ella, hacer que uno vea que era verdad que era del indio. Querían que el indio ya no exista, le han quitado. Y la curiosidad aquí esta que nos hemos entendido que la riqueza esta ahí en el Fuerte, pero no aparece. Que le parece? Nadie la ve. Pero los periodistas que han estudiado, han venido mucho a estudiarla como son los ingenieros estos que han venido a estudiarla y se han dado con que y no se... dicen ellos que alguna día puede volver como antes. pero dicen que esto esta maldecido. Lo maldicio un indio, un cacique. Cuando han venido lo han tomado prisioneros, unos se disparaban. Y se ha disparado Martin Iquin, lo han alcanzado ahi y l han matado porque el era uno de los primeros que defendia. Lo han matado donde hay la escuela. Ahora han hecho la escuela, y ahora se llama Martin Iquin. Ahi lo han alcanzado, se iba disparando y lo han matado. Y lo han pillado porque se querian aduenar de las riquezas, que el le entregue todo todo entonces bueno " si entregas todas la riquezas todo eso, nosotros te dejemos en paz y va a vivir aqui". Y no era pa aduenarse de todo lo que habia, pa mentirle. Y el otro dice bueno, yo lo voy a entregar pero dejenme hablar tres palabras: y cuando ha hablado el tesoro ya no habia nada. Pero ahora dicen que... escucha la gente, mi mama ha escuchado que ... en la cima del cerro hay un agua, la Candelaria se llama el agua. Una aguita, esa sale ahi corre ahi no mas. Y dicen que ahi sentian campanas de la iglesia. Y dicen " viene gente a estudiar" y no habia nada. Destrozo no mas. Pero ahi hau in tunnel... ese baja para abajo y de ahi han venido mucha gente a estudiarlo, y no han dado con nada. Y dicen no se porque lo han hecho el tunnel...

Name: Calcha18-42

Place and Date: Quilmes Bajo, CIQ, November 2018

Transcription by Francesco Orlandi

REF	Timespan	Content
1		<p>Proyecto de diez km para el agua de riego que venía del Banco Mundial. Viene el ingeniero se lo avala y se presenta el proyecto. Se hace la propuesta a través de los ingenieros que vinieron de otras partes, a través de afiches nos hacen conocer el sistema de riego y cual era lo mejorar el agua, captar el agua y tener agua aquí en el bajo. Como era por ejemplo la contra de los canales cuanto agua se pierde en el canal, y cuanto se ahorra con los tubos.</p> <p>Los turnos son como una herencia que vienen de la comunidad. Pero que pasa, no tenemos una regularización del agua. Que todo tengamos una x cantidad de agua según la dimensión de las parcelas. Se hizo este proyecto ni así podemos cambiarle la forma que tienen de regar.</p> <p>El problema viene porque ha crecido la población. Todas las familias que tienen turno de agua están sobre la Ruta 40, las familias de arriba no tienen turno de agua. Ellos le piden que le den turnos de agua, una media hora una horita, digamos ya cuando se vacía la represa, y con eso regamos las plantas.</p> <p>No hemos logrado que eso sea factible y los tubos están ahí</p>
2		Que las cosas se vean, que los trabajos se hagan.

3	0:24.4 - 1:25.2	<p>Si no hay agua, tampoco hay vida. Si hay agua, hay vida se pueden poner ahí plantas. se puede vivir de lo que uno produce. Porque si usted va a un lugar y no hay agua, tampoco se puede poner nada. Nuestros antepasados tenían su forma de regar, su forma de cultivar la tierra. Y también su forma de agradecimiento para todos los productos que les daba la tierra durante el año. Por ejemplo lo del sitio arqueológico el agua la levantaban desde el rincón de Quilmes... y la llevaban bordeando los cerros hasta el sitio, ahí donde está la represa.</p>
4	1:36.3 - 4:58.5	<p>Un día llegué cuando la comunidad hacía sus reuniones en la casa de Jesús Costilla, las catorce bases se juntaban se debatían los distintos temas de acuerdo a la problemática de cada base. Se hacían las conclusiones, lo que se necesitaba mejorar de las instituciones como comunidad, y también de cada base. Eso más o menos veinte años atrás. Lo que me motivó de la comunidad es que una, antes nos sometían los terratenientes, nuestros abuelos sufrían mucho porque eran muy sometidos por ello. porque era como una ley para ello, cobrarle pastizaje de los animales, si uno llevaba el animal al cerro, ellos decían que esta parte era de ellos entonces como forma de pago usted tiene que haber ido a trabajar en su finca [...] y si usted no quería ir, el terrateniente venía y elegía el mejor animal y se lo llevaba como forma de pago. Eso nos contaban nuestros abuelos. A mí lo que me interesaba era participar en la comunidad en saber de mi historia, que es lo que nos dejaron nuestros antepasados, y saber yo por qué nos lo dejaron. El derecho al territorio, el derecho a hacernos conocer.</p>

5	4:58.4 - 7:00.7	<p>Y como defenderlo? creando proyecto, proyecto de leyes... y tambien darle una mano al cacique.</p> <p>Uno tiene que saber la historia y tiene que saber todas las leyes que nos amparan. Y también ver por al gente del lugar, de la comunidad lo que es el tema natural. Hoy en el día no estamos permitiendo que vengan grandes multinacionales que compren territorio con gente adentro, y no le importa si es comunero o no es, si tiene historia nada. Vienen compran y hacen su producción. Al verdadero comunero lo despojan hacia las orillas. Y eso es lo que no permitimos nosotros, por eso defendemos nuestro territorio.</p>
6	7:09.3 - 8:53.7	<p>Cuando uno consigue proyecto se puede hacer cosas, se puede brindar algo bueno a la gente, y si no hay que esperar a que los proyectos salgan.</p>
7	9:40.3 - 21:18.6	<p>Se lo hecha a Cruz con el acuerdo del gobierno.</p> <p>Se empieza a trabajar con el turismo mas que todo. de ahí lo que se recaudaba, el dinero por ejemplo se utilizaba por ejemplo, en aquel tiempo ya estaba el tema de la Mina La Alumbreira. Se hizo manifestaciones sobre la ruta. Se cubrían los gastos por telefono, por el abogado y por los insumos para la gente, la comida y todo eso.</p> <p>La toma del sitio fue para beneficiarse de lo económico. En ese momento tenía un administrador</p> <p>Yo como delegado solo participaba de las reuniones que se hacían.</p>

8	21:18.6 - 22:44.6	Uno se va apartano de lo que es la organización de la comunidad. Es como un mapa que digamos de a poco una isla se desprende y se va alejando mas digamos.
9	22:40.8 - 1:16:05.6	Todo lo que tenía que poner la comunidad para lo del centro de interpretación eran los figurantes e la película. Hasta yo estaba ahí, como soy artesano.
10	1:16:05.6 - 1:20:33.3	<p>La casa de la comunidad viene con el proyecto de riego, se hizo un pozo en el paso, un pozo en anjuana, se compro un tractor. El pozo del El Paso esta funcionando bien. En Anjuana bombeó un rato y se paró.</p> <p>Estaba basado en la cruz chacana, era una inversión muy grande. Lo que bajó del proyecto no ha alcanzado. Lo que se había presupuestado era para esta parte que esta, lo que hoy está, Si venía otro proyecto más se hacía todo.</p>

Name: Calcha18-46

Place and Date: Rincón de Quilmes, CIQ, November 2018

Transcription by Francesco Orlandi

REF.	Timespan	Content
1		<p>la llave cuando se la cerraba cortaba el agua a uno u otro, no habia continuidad de uso como se presumia con el plan original</p> <p>Resulta que no lo han puesto como tendrian que haberlo puesto. Entos ya sacamos esa llave. Porque si yo cierro aqui sale aire no mas y agua ahia arriba, entonces, no me conviene. Entonces yo he hecho una acequi que le decimos aqui, para el consumo y para regar.</p> <p>Y con esos proyectos pasa asi, pasa en todos lados, que est sistema de proyectos mitad del proyecto lo hacen, y mitad no lo hacen. Y no se cual es la razon, no se porque ... Aqui la gente tendriamos que vivir bien! Aqui hay mucha gente que no tiene luz, pongale por ejemplo. Y esa gente que le dicen cacique, agarran y se van para Italia, a Francia, a donde los llaman... Y dicen no si la gente esta bien. Pero si viene alguien hoy como usted esta aqui y ve que no estan tan bien, porque hay gente que no tiene luz. Gm</p>
2	0:29.9 - 6:41.4	<p>Ese proyecto ha sido muy muy grande, mucho dinero invetido aqui. Yo fui uno de los primeros que hemos empezado a trabajar, le estoy hablando de por lo menos 14 anos atras. Ese proyecto lo bajo por entremedio de la Comunidad, el senior Francisco Solano Challe, el</p>

cacique, a través del Banco Mundial. Y ahí han bajado el tema del dinero, a través de las comunidades indígenas. Entonces mucha gente de otras naciones han tendido una mano para que este proyecto se haga, para que Quilmes este bien, para que Quilmes crezca. [...] El trabajo está bien, lo que no está bien es la utilidad que le dan, porque no está utilizado como tiene que ser. Tiene que ser que tiene que circular todo el agua por el mismo caño. Tendría que tener un muro allí arriba, porque cuando llega a crecer hace esto, ¿ve? Esto es un lodo que ha venido del antiguo pasado, que había una creciente que se lo ha llevado todo, eso era un bosque ahí. Y eso ha destruido todo, ha destruido el caño también. Por eso lo han vuelto a reconstruir ahí, [...] y el otro caño ya no llega porque ahí está cortado. Hay otro que lo han tapado

Ese caño está al aire, o sea cuando crece el río, cuando baja mucha agua de la montaña, eso lo vuelve a cortar. Por eso hubiera tenido que hacerse un muro ahí arriba. El proyecto era de un muro ahí... con fierros gruesos, para que el agua pase por arriba... Era un paredón más o menos de quince veinte metros de profundidad, porque eso cuando trae mucha agua cava, cava, cava, saca piedra de más de diez toneladas. No hay cosa que lo resista. Eso venía todo en el proyecto ... El capitán nos hacía ver los proyectos, la cantidad de dinero que había bajado del Banco Mundial, como iban desembolsando digamos el dinero para hacer acá los trabajos. Bueno eso se lo ha hecho la mitad. No se ha hecho todo el proyecto...

		<p>El rio hace y deshace, entonces ha venido la creciente, lo ha vuelto a parejar y lo ha dejado parejito ya el agua cae y de ahi lo an sacado Por eso viene por canal. Pero ha estado casi dos anos sin utilizarse el cano. Ha sido destruido hace poco ese, ahi para abajo, el cano esta asi, juntado, esta como que le hbran chupado. Esa es la razon por cual, porque habia llaves en cada rompecargas, esa va despacito dando vuelta y va tomando aire al cerrar la llave. Pero ahi han puesto una llaves que son llaves rapidas ... y la gente aqui que lo utilizaba no sabia como se le utiliza. Esa es la razon por la cual se junto los canos.</p> <p>y ya el agua no se mete mas por los canos, ya va por un canal viejo, que tienen desde anos. Un canal que tambien lo hecho mal porque lo han hecho un canal asi, y resulta que el agua iba ahi. Han hecho mucho mas grande por el caudal de agua que venia. Eso canal lo han hecho con el plan trabajar de la Comuna de Colalao.</p>
3	6:49.6 - 8:00.1	<p>Los trabajos todos quedan en medias, digamos viene el dinero, pongale vienen 1millon de pesos, hacen medio millon y el otro medio millon es como que se consume en ... capaz que usted esta encargado del proyecto, y agarra meddio millon para mi. Entonces estos proyectos por estas razones es que no se terminan bien ... ese tenia que tener una buena circulacion de agua... Ahi tenia una manguerita que sabia utilizar en su tiempo, yo cerraba la llave aqui en la manguera esa y me salia agua nada mas, y otra manguera ahi arriba, y salia agua, y aqui sale aire. O sea estaba mal hecho porque tenia que tener bomba de aire ahi, valvulas de aire tenia</p>

		que tener para que se vaya acumulando el agua y pueda salir agua. Pero aqui salia como un ventilador, aqui salia aire, y ahi arriba salia el agua.
4	9:19.7 - 11:55.6	<p>... De que sanidad me esta hablando? Nosotros tenemos un agua que lo toman de corriente, que viene de varios kms ahi arriba, y viene se muere una vaca esta anos deshaciendose la vaca y vos tomas agua aqui de ese. Estamos hablando de salud, de que salud me esta hablando? Porque no tenemos agua potable? Cuando nosotros tenemos el agua permanente por el rio, para que podamos tener agua potable, porque no se hacen los filtros?</p> <p>[En Quilmes Centro] Ellos bomban de abajo de una bomba electrica que tienen y le llega el aguita a ellos. Pero porque tienen que estar pagando luz, si tienen agua gratis aqui? ...</p>
5	11:59.5 - 15:19.0	<p>El proyecto no venia con agua potable, simplemente venia como agua de riego. Aqui se trataba de riego por aspersion y de riego por goteo. Para economizar mas el agua. Es bastante el agua pero se puede economizar en el sentido de que en vez de regar uno al dia, pueden estar regando seis. Ese era el proyecto. El tema era que se riegue seis, o cinco pongale... Entonces yo hoy regaba y manana regaban otros cinco</p> <p>En esos tiempos eran como 100 familias mas o menos, hoy por hoy son 140 familias. Estos tiempos alcanzaba, dividiendo y regaba continuamente. Porque la gente que vive abajo, tenían sus turnos, o sea cada dia tenían una familia, son doce familias nada mas. Y si yo saco el</p>

		<p>agua viene aquel y dice ' porque me roba el agua?' si el agua es mia, yo le digo. No se paga nada, gracias a dios, por ahora no se paga nada. El agua nadie paga nada.</p> <p>En otros tiempo la gente era mas unida. Los turnos eran para las tres bases, la misma agua para las tres comunidades. Los de Bajo tenian mas historia que regar. Y en esos tiempo llegaba el agua, llovía mucho. O sea que los tiempos tambien han cambiado bastante. Porque en esos tiempos empezaba a llover en esos meses [noviembre] y terminaba de llover en marzo. Y llovía todos los días. Pero no hacian tantas tormentas como hace hoy por hoy. Yo cuando era chico me acuerdo, criabamos cabra, ovejas, en el cerro, y llovía meses. Volvías verde de tanta agua. Y los rios llevaban gran cantidad de agua. Muchisima. Entonces la gente no se quejaba porque el agua no le faltaba nunca.</p> <p>Y la gente era unida, por ejemplo si usted necesitaba el agua y yo era el dueño del turno, yo se la dejaba sacar. No era como hoy que vos sacas agua y ya te venien te insultan, o te trancan porque no tienes turnos. Todas esas cositas. Gracias a dios no nos han quitado el agua todavia.... a</p>
6	15:29.7 - 19:43.1	<p>Esas mangueras del proyecto iban a dar otra clase de turno. Ya no iban a ser los turnos que son. Tenian que reorganizar, tenian que poner alguien para que vaya dando turno a la gente y se iban a manejar a traves de las llaves. Pero no ha funcionado.</p>

		<p>Aqui lo que se necesita no es simplemente que vengan y te den un trabajo hoy Aqui la gente lo que necesita es trabajar. En especial el trabajo es fundamental.</p> <p>Esos proyectos son proyectos de pan para hoy y hambre para mañana. Nosotros hemos trabajado tres anos, nos daban un plan de 150 pesos al dia, comprabas muchas cosas. Esos tiempos era buena plata, alcanzaba. Si era un trabajo muy duro, muy pesado. Tenian que romper piedras con combos, con barretas...</p> <p>Y ese proyecto siendo por cano, el agua no se pierde, no se evapora nada. o sea lo que entraba arriba, llegaba abajo. Y la represa bueno la gente de la comunidad de las Ruinas de Quilmes, ha hecho agrandar un poco y bueno, tambien ha estado creo gente de la comuna, alguien del gobierno tambien. Esa represa estaba desde hace varios anos, pero era chiquita, hace un ano mas o menos que la han reconstruida, la han ensanchado un poco para que tenga mas para que pueda almacenar mas agua. Desde siempre ha sido esta represa. Como antes llovía bastante, entonces no la utilizaba la represa, porque ya iba por el rio, porque era mucha agua entonces la sacaban ahi abajo ya, y quien queria regar aqui le sacaban la toma aqui y regaba a la hora que queria. Pero bueno los anos han cambiado... falta gana de hacer, falta ganas de vivir un poco mejor</p>
7	21:02.8 - 24:39.2	<p>La comunidad esta dividida. Hay dos caciques, asi que si uno a veces quiere presentar una nota no sabe a quien dirigirse. Y ejercen los dos, por su parte ejercen los dos. Hay algunos que lo reconocen a Chaile porque</p>

		<p>viene desde hace muchos años y Santiago Santos se hace conocer por otros lados, o sea si él va a Italia, él dice yo soy cacique de Quilmes, y va Chaile y dice yo soy cacique de Quilmes... el que se presenta primero es el cacique.</p> <p>soberanía alimentaria</p>
8	21:02.8 - 25:00.6	
9	25:00.6 - 26:15.1	<p>Si usted va a las Ruinas de Quilmes cualquier lugar que vaya del valle, las artesanías no son del lugar. Dicen recuerdo de las Ruinas de Quilmes, pero si usted va a preguntar los que lo venden no saben cómo se hace.</p> <p>Yo he trabajado en Ruinas de Quilmes, y la gente me decía yo quiero una artesanía que sea autóctona de aquí, esa gente no sabe explotar a la gente que sabe hacer artesanía de aquí. q</p>
10	27:11.6 - 38:34.1	<p>Yo trabajaba en la mesa de entrada, cobrando la entrada al turista. En la administración he trabajado 5 años. Desde que el pueblo se ha iniciado. participe en la toma sí.</p> <p>[el pueblo decidió tomar las ruinas] por razones de que se abra, de que el cacique que estaba que es Pancho Chaile nunca ha hecho nada por la gente. Y se entro con un propósito bueno de hacer cosas para el lugar. De que Quilmes esté bien, de que los vecinos tengan trabajos, de que los caminos estén bien, de que la gente que no tenga vivienda que se les pueda realizar de ahí. Porque las ruinas es una gallina de huevos de oro. Y ahora se invierte en la escuela, en trabajos en las fiestas patronales</p>

Antes tambien se hacia pero a su conveniencia... Mucha gente se ha dicho de los que han encabezado primero la toma de las ruinas, escuchame si la plata se la lleva toda el Pancho Chaile. Y se ha analizado mucha plata justamente como se estaba hablando antes del proyecto del Banco Mundial de otras organizaciones mas que a veces uno desconoce pero no es que se ha realizado mucho. Se reciben muchas donaciones tambien que a veces no se le ha entregado a la gente.

[con toda esta historia de plata que se habia perdido] no se confiaba tambien todos lo que estbana en las ruinas eran de Pancho chaile, la mayoria ha estada trabajando para Chaile. Son muy pocos los que no trabajaban por pancho chaile. Los guias que estan ahora, todos han estado trabajando tambien en la epoca de Pancho Chaile.

Todo los que estan trabajando ahi estan trabajando en negro. Lo que deria ser es que se trbaje en blanco, que haya seguridad social. Creo que hay un solo chango que es empleado del ente turismo de tucuman, pero desde hace tiempo, mucho mas antes de que se haya hecho la toma de las ruinas. Y eso es lo que yo no entiendo porque no se regulariza esa situacion de parte de la gente que esta al frente. Yo recibia 400 pesos al día de las 15000 pesos que entran por dia. Ahora esta pasando lo mismo o sea no hay ayuda para la gente, yo le decias a los changos que no necesitamos ayuda, nosotros necesitamos es que nos den trabajos. A mi me dan trabajo en blanco, que me den un sueldo fijo, un sueldo mensual, asi no tengo necesidad de irme... Y a veces se

llenan la boca diciendo que nuestros jovenes emigren a otros paises a otras provincias de la Argentina desarraigandoles de su tierra. Pero si no hay trabajo el joven tiene que irse. Porque no puede ganarse 400 pesos y trabajar dos veces a la semana.

La gente quiere laburar, no quiere que le den. Porque si yo laburo, tengo mi plata digna, no que venga usted y me da 2000 pesos, a mi no me sirve... Porque que ha pasado de gente que ha trabajado en las ruinas y despues han fallecido y despues las mujeres han quedado bien porque estaban trabajando en blanco, como digo yo. Cuando estaba el empresario Cruz, pero esa gente era manejada por el gobierno no por cruz, entonces tenia como un contrato. Toda la gente dice Cruz ha hecho eso ha hecho aquello y ha hecho sus cosas digamos, pero gracias de Cruz hoy por hoy se pelean por las ruinas de Quilmes, porque Cruz ha hecho todo lo que esta en las ruinas lo ha hecho Cruz. O sea le ha dado de conocer a las ruinas, ha puesto el hotel, ha puesto el agua, la luz,

[Antes que llegase Cruz] No habia nada. Entraban dos tres turistas por dia pero nadie les cobraba nada. Y despues que ha venido Cruz le ha empezado a hacer conocer a traves de Iso medios y todas esas cosas. Y se ha hecho rico tambien, porque el viene a ser una persona que ha nacido de alta montana, viene a ser de familia nuestra por el lado del padre mio. A gente ha dado trabajo de Quilmes tambien, no a todos pero ha dado trabajo. Y le ha dado a conocer las ruinas. Hay mucha gente que dice que el es uno de los ladrones de Quilmes, pero la gente ve mal. Cruz le ha dado de

conocer, si es verdad que se habra enriquecido pero fue gracias de Cruz que despues han empezado las peleas externas y todo eso.

A nadie le importaba nada... No se le daba valor a la pieza arqueologica. Venian excavaban y se llevaban a otros lugares de argentina o del mundo. Hoy si lo haces capaz que te meten preso. Si antes se encontraba una pieza asi sanita, capaz que lo utilizaban para cocinar la mazamorra, el locro y cocinaban dentro de la olla de barro. Sabes lo que sabes la mazamorra dentro de una olla de barro? Es un espectaculo. ... Eso lo hacian pero no le daban importancia. Lo mismo digo las ruinas de Quilmes ha sido un saqueo, mas que proteccion ha sido un saqueo. ... nadie le importaba nada. Por eso digo el tema de importancia es un tema de dinero. No porque no le importara, importar ha importado siempre, pero hoy el tema es dinero. Y con las Ruinas es lo mismo, se pelean por dinero. Se pelean porque hay ingresa dinero, es una mina que no se va a acabar nunca.

Name: Calcha18-47

Place and Date: Sacred City of Quilmes, CIQ, November 2018

Transcription by Francesco Orlandi

REF	Timespan	Content
1	2:04.6 - 2:39.8	Hay un conflicto entre la comunidad y las propias comunidades, así que hablar a veces es complicado porque hay un conflicto en la propia comunidad. El pueblo con las otras bases. Así que a veces uno no habla porque no sabemos, porque ahí ya hemos pedido, muchas preguntas y capaz que nos meten a nosotros en un pozo también. En verdad es como te digo.
2	2:53.9 - 4:54.2	Hace 9 años estoy trabajando acá. Recién cuando la comunidad entra en posesión. Y recién hemos empezado nosotros por una lucha de este sitio. Porque mi papa trabajó 37 años acá. Trabajaba de guía de turismo, trabajaba para el Ente Tucumán Turismo, porque ellos tenían la parte de museo. Antes era un lugar chiquitito nada más. Y eso venían reclamando de años, yo he luchado mucho para venir a trabajar acá. Y bueno después hemos tomado posesión todas las bases. Y hemos venido a luchar por eso para tener participación, porque eso estaba privatizado. Y bueno después ya hemos venido todas las bases a tomar posesión se hizo un desalojo, y bueno ahí hemos tomado posesión y hemos venido ya en busca de trabajo. Porque antes no teníamos participación. Si usted venía con una fruta seca o una artesanía era 2 pesos 3 pesos... y listo. Pero después yo empecé a trabajar acá vendiendo agua. Porque ese

		<p>tiempo nadie vendia nada, no habia venta de comida ni nada. Y yo empece vendiendo agua, venia todos los ias asi caminando. A ofrecer a la gente porque igual tiempo de calor. Yo traje aguas y empanadas y asi he empezado. Despues he dejado el lugar a otros companeros que han venido de otras comunidades y me he dedicado yo a la ceramica. Y ahora sigo con la ceramica, pero es hace bastante que estoy aca.</p>
3	5:37.4 - 8:49.8	<p>Mi papa vino hace mucho anos a decir que se cambie, que se ponga Ciudad Sagrada, y dice si usted le ponen Ciudad Sagrada porque estan haciendo plata ahi? O estar escuchando musica, o estar haciendo negocio ahi? Si le llamamos sagrado, para el dice, si algo sagrado no tenes que pisotear sobre los cementerios sobre los restos, porque si andas caminando hay restos ahi. Entonces por eso le ponemos Ruinas de Quilmes. Porque realmente quedaron arruinadas. Quedo todo destruido para ponerle Ciudad Sagrada. Y muchos quieren que le cambiemos nombres y lo ponemos Ciudad Sagrada. Se ha cambiado, se ha intentado. Pero el visitante lo conoce a nivel nacional como Ruinas de Quilmes. Va a ser muy dificil cambiar, va a pasar mucho tiempo para poder que lo conozcan como Ciudad Sagrada. Pero si se ha intentado. Hay cosas que nosotros hemos puestos Ciudad Sagrada de Quilmes. Pero mucha gente viene y dice... Tambien he preguntado yo como lo ven ellos, que es lo que opinan. Y bueno si es Sagrado no deberiamos estar aca haciendo eso.. me entendes? Porque ya... pongale que vaya usted con el telefono a esuchar musica ahi en el centro, es un lugar sagrado. Si le decimos bien Ciudad Sagrada tenemos que respetar todo eso. Y no se respeta [a pesar de que la comunidad haya intervenido] y bueno por ese</p>

		<p>motivo no se ha cambiado. Se ha vuelto otra vez a poner Ruinas de Quilmes. Usted a a ver el letrerito aca abajo tambien, se ha intentado poner tambien, pero la gente pasaba porque no lo conocia como Ciudad Sagrada, solo lo conocian como Ruinas de Quilmes. Pero si muchos pensaban poner Ciudad Sagrada. Mucha gente de las bases lo tomaba asi. Que si le pone Ciudad Sagrada no se lo deberia explotar tampoco. Se hizo asamblea se pregunto a la gente de cada base. Y mucha opinion de la gente era que si es Ciudad Sagrada no se lo deberia. Principalmente Talapazo. Que gracias al hombre, el señor Caro, nosotros hemos tenido el apoyo mas grande, porque el fue la primera persona que dijo vamos, tomemos el lugar, tomemos posesion, y luchemos por esto. Porque sin el capaz que nosotros no nos animamos a venir a tomar el lugar y tomar la posesion. Porque era muy compromiso con el conflicto con todo lo que habia y [habia gente que estaba trabajando aca] entonces era una pelea asi. Por eso hay gente de otras comunidades que han apoyado han luchado y bueno ya hemos tenido esa posibilidad de que Quilmes quiso tomar Quilmes unicamente apartarse de otras bases, pero bueno y ahora estamos ahi.</p>
4	8:49.7 - 12:50.0	<p>Y mal lo veo mal. Porque usted va a un colegio, y que es lo que dicen los chicos. Capaz que va mi hijo, y el hijo de mi hermana que es de otra base, esta viviendo en otra comunidad y ha habido mucho conflicto en la escuela con eso problema de las comunidades. Y es como que el chico de Quilmes es como que le tiene bronca a los otros chicos de las otras bases por el conflicto que ha habido entre bases. [Los de las otras bases no cobran entrada] pero hace mucho cuando empezaba si que las otras bases eran parte de eso. Porque esto le pertenece a todas las</p>

bases. Porque eso es del pueblo. Pero si a usted le cobran la entrada no le hacen parte del dinero a las otras bases. Y antes el fondo al que ingresaba era para todas las bases. Ahora ya no. Y eso es como un conflicto entre la comunidad el gobierno y el empresario que está así que ya es un cuarto de intereses. Yo lo que veo es que es mucho interés. Interés nuestro de decir tanto soy del pueblo de Quilmes y me pertenece. Porque si hubiese sido así desde el momento que hemos luchado todos de años, y hay gente que no lo querían hacer. Si se pensaba explotarlo, con las otras bases también se explotaba, y también con las otras bases había un mal manejo. Lo que pasa es que el cacique que hemos tenido... realmente ahora está sin Cacique la Comunidad. Y como te digo anteriormente él estuvo durante 8 años y no se puso a hacer las cosas bien, hacer una rendición bien, hacer reconocer los fondos que entran a nombre de la comunidad, entonces ya venía un desacuerdo. Pero si la comunidad de Quilmes está integrada por las 14 bases. Pero eso va a nombre de los pueblos de Quilmes [por eso lo tomaron ellos] Pero si el gobierno también le ayuda a las otras bases, las otras bases también tienen sitios arqueológicos. Pero si no están explotadas nada, por falta de recursos.

La ventanita de Fuerte Quemado está original original, no está restaurada nada. El Pichao también, después tiene las Canas también tiene restos arqueológicos. Hacia el Rincon de Quilmes también tiene. Toda parte tiene pero no tienen los recursos para poder explotar. Y se le preguntó al gobierno, al Ente Tucumán Turismo pero hasta ahora nada. Ellos vienen nada más en tiempo de política y chau...

5	12:49.9 - 14:58.2	<p>Y bueno yo de verlo como esta... el museo esta, pero falta muchas cosas igual. No esta ni el 10% de las cosas.. falta muchisimo, falta mucho. No se cuenta todo todo porque es muy corto lo que hace. Pero si de lo que hizo el Ente Turismo no me gusta mucho lo que hizo, muy artistico, muy plastica las cosas que puso! Eso no lo veo yo, si yo hubiese podido hubiese hecho secar, cortar una rama de un arbol verde y no poner algo plastico ahi adentro. Yo esa parte de ahi no lo veo muy bien. Se realizo una consulta, todas las bases se dio a conocer, pero eso se viene viniendo desde hace seis siete anos. Muchos delegados de base no querian que se lo haga. Pero despues tomaron la decision todos los del pueblo si, las catorce bases, en decision de todos los pueblos si. El proyecto original estaba incluido con el paseo artesanal, y nosotros de esa parte no tenemos nada de que nosotros nos hayan ayudado. En la acta de acuerdo venia parte de los fondos para el museo para eso. Pero hasta ahora nada, nosotros no hemos recibiso nada. Ha sido para esa parte del hotel no mas, del museo digo que le alcanzaba que se le ha ido mucho ya los precios ya de las cosas y han podido hacer eso y para aca ya no quedaban fondos. Pero si se ha dado a conocer para que se haga con todas las bases.</p>
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Name: Calcha18-51

Place and date: Sacred City of Quilmes, CIQ, November 2018

Transcription by Francesco Orlandi

	Timespan	Content
1	3:21.9 - 5:40.1	Estoy trabajando aca en este puesto, vendiendo artesanía hace dos años. Pero entre aca por otras cuestiones de lucha en el 2013. Justo en esa fecha, el 6 de noviembre, entramos aca nosotros, los del pueblo de Quilmes. Nos hicimos cargo de los ingresos aca en la entrada. Yo participe en el reclamo de recuperar eso y que lo maneje Quilmes. Y es un problema medio raro aqui, para que usted entienda... Eso lo maneja la Comunidad India Quilmes, con sus representantes que era el cacique, y el cacique no era de Quilmes, era de alla de El Paso. Y bueno junto con chicos de otras comunidades han tomado ese sitio en el 2007, hicieron la toma aca, y han manejado 7 años algo así. Y bueno como no rendían cuentas, no daban cuentas de trabajos, se ha convertido eso en nuestra batalla, en nuestro reclamo. Se estaban beneficiando un par nomás, la comunidad no existía aca. Entonces reclamamos que nos rendieran cuenta no solo de los ingresos, también rendición de cuentas de proyectos que venían de la nación de todas esas cosas.
2	5:41.2 - 7:15.6	Y la comunidad ha bajado muchos proyectos como ser el proyecto de agua en Quilmes, el proyecto de riego, ese por ejemplo fue un proyecto muy grande de la nación. Y no se lo ha terminado, está tirado todo ahí. Está todo tapado, las mangueras se han ido perdiendo. Yo le cuento porque el mismo cacique que entra aca, el que manejaba aca también maneja todo lo que era ese proyecto que venía para la comunidad. Y nunca hemos conocido como Quilmes, nunca nos han dado a conocer los beneficios ni nada. Y nosotros decidimos tomar por esas cuestiones, porque no rendían cuentas de los beneficios de los proyectos que venían para la comunidad, y no rendían cuentas de los ingresos al sitio. Entonces hemos decidido, hemos reclamado, durante dos años más o menos, que rindan cuentas que rindan cuentas de los trabajos de la gente, y seguían y seguían.
3	12:26.0 - 15:06.9	Yo lo conocí a este como Ruinas de Quilmes, pero después lo de Ciudad Sagrada lo ponen cuando entra la otra parte de la Comunidad. Que ya lo venían cambiando el tema, que no digan Ruinas de Quilmes que le digan la

		<p>Ciudad Sagrada. Pero yo ese sitio lo conocí que era Ciudad Sagrada, pero cuando era más niña tengo entendido que mi abuelo le sabían decir el Fuerte Viejo, le decían. Este lugar se llamaba Fuerte Viejo. Entonces después cuando ya se le explota con el gobierno, se le pone Ruinas de Quilmes. Pero la gente acá de los lugares le decían el Fuerte Viejo, por lo de la batalla de los Quilmes. Por eso le decían el Fuerte. Y ahora lo que es parte de Quilmes son los que manejan en conjunto con el gobierno, tratando de tener un diálogo. Lo llaman Ciudad Sagrada, pero también le dicen Ruinas de Quilmes. Yo le pongo Ciudad Sagrada y hay algunos que me dicen que no. Hay unas cosas que yo no le pongo porque la gente dice que no le ponga, o si no me dicen que le ponga Recuerdo de las Ruinas de Quilmes. O si no Ciudad Sagrada, o pueblo originario también, pero bueno... Mas bien es para vender a los turistas.</p>
4	16:04.0 - 21:49.5	<p>También he trabajado en la película que se hizo acá de Quilmes, como alfarera. En la parte de alfarería estoy yo, en varias tomas estoy. Y fue muy buena experiencia, a parte que me llevo mucho mucho, he trabajado en el casting también con los chicos preparando los chicos, todo eso. Después cuando pasamos a ver cuando la película ya estaba completa no podíamos creer lo que se había hecho que es muy conmovedor si..</p> <p>Como que todo eso está en juicio, lo que es el restaurant el hotel, la parte donde estuvo el empresario Cruz, el del Museo Pachamama. Entonces en el 2007 es cuando toma el lugar ese Chaile, toma el lugar en conjunto con otras comunidades, trajo gente de Cafayate, de Santa María, trajo gente de todo lado. Entonces toma el lugar en el 2007. Y de ahí está intervenida no se si el gobierno arreglara con Cruz o no, seguirá así, le darán un fin... la verdad que no se. Y eso lo cuida personal del Ente de Turismo que trabaja acá. Siempre viene gente del Ente a mantener el lugar, que no se deteriore y todas esas cosas. Y bueno ojalá que se arregle en algún momento que se pueda volver a reflotar lo que es eso. Y bueno con el tema del museo también. Cuando se lo demolió el museo que estaba en juicio, después Cruz puso una medida cautelar, y después bueno otra vez a luchar con el pueblo a ver si nos poníamos de acuerdo y llegar a un acuerdo con el gobierno para ver si se podía reiniciar el museo que estaba todo demolido. Y entonces la gente del pueblo apoyo que se podía terminar el museo, se pudo hacer la película, y hoy está como está por iniciativa del pueblo de Quilmes. Eso cuando entramos nosotros en el 2013 fue una lucha, una batalla muy grande, donde hoy la comunidad no hay cacique, no hay delegados de base, todo ha quedado, como decimos nosotros, ruedas para arriba.</p>

		<p>Asi que hay que solucionar unos problemas, porque la parte del Cacique Chaile no rendio cuentas, y entonces quedo ahi la comunidad parada con falta de rendicion de cuentas. Por los problemas que hubo cuando nosotros tomamos en el 2013, y por supuesto no aflojamos seguimos en la lucha a pesar de que el cacique nos mando preso a la gente, hizo allanamiento, hizo desalojo, hizo toma de los ninos que se han tomado de rehenes para que se entreguen los padres, llevo preso a unos chicos. No habia ingreso a las ruinas porque cerraron la ruta, ese ingreso ese camino que va al pueblo, ese camino lo hizo tres personas que habian quedado aca con el coche y no podian salir y han decidido sacarlo asi como fuese, en el medio de monte, rio, y han ido abriendo camino. Ese camino fue por la lucha que hubo aca. Y bueno con el tiempo se le fue arreglando y arreglando y hoy transitan ya los chicos del centro Quilmes para aca. Y lo hace tambien el turista que nos visita. Entra por aca sale y baja. Algunos entran a conocer digamos. Esta por supuesto muy bueno y tiene buen panorama. Eso fue a base de una lucha de cuando nosotros entramos aca. Y bueno los chicos han seguido luchando, dormian en fortaleza al lado de las pircas, volvian a los cinco dias a los seis dias. Pero hemos seguido firmes, hemos seguido firmes y no hemos aflojado. Hasta hoy seguimos aca.</p>
5	21:48.9 - 24:26.5	<p>Mucha gente de Quilmes estuvo luchando. Al principio cuando se levanto el pueblo cuando hicimos nosotros la toma al entrada reclamando que le pertenece a Quilmes este lugar y no a las otras comunidades que no son de aca, mas alla de que era formada la comunidad indigena, es otra cosa, pero el sitio pertenece en si al pueblo de Quilmes. Entonces si yo quiero ir a hacer toma, a hacerme dueno de un sitio, negativo, no me aceptan. Cada uno cuida su sitio. Entonces este sitio al principio lo tomaron mucha gente de distintos lados, o sea que a los de Quilmes los hicieron a un lado y lo manejaba gente de otras comunidades. Que englobaba a la misma Comunidad India Quilmes que el cacique agrego a todas las otras comunidades, como para tener mas gente mas apoyo. Pero con Quilmes le iba mal porque Quilmes no se iba a poner de acuerdo a algunas cositas que hacia el, entonces a el le convenia traer mas gente de afuera, sumarla para que esta gente apoye, y dar mas beneficios a los otros que a los de Quilmes, porque siempre nosotros no hemos estado de acuerdo, menos en esa toma de lucha que ellos han tomado aca tampoco. Porque desconociamos cual era la intencion y porque lo hacia digamos. De ultima [hubieramos preferido que siguiera Cruz] porque trabajaba gente del pueblo, trabajaba gente ed Fuerte Quemado, trabajaba gente de muchos lados. Pero si trabajaba gente del pueblo. Luego han decidido tomar el lugar y se terminaron acomodando unos cuantos que no eran de Quilmes. Entonces no rendian cuentas, y fue ahi que el pueblo se levanto contra el. . .</p>

6	24:27.4 - 26:03.5	<p>Fue una dura lucha, tristem, fuerte muy dolida, pero seguimos firmes. Y bueno ahora estamos tenemos ya unos arreglos, unos acuerdos con el gobierno con el Ente de Turismo se puede dialogar, gente del gobierno viene mucho, gente de la nacion tambien, estan visitando al sitio. Estamos tratando ahi...</p> <p>Hubiera sido bueno cuando nosotros entramos a reclamar este sitio, hubiera sido bueno que el gobierno anterior hubiera venido y hubiera preguntado que esta pasando en sitio. Porque habia todo eso. No ha habido nada han pasado tantas cosas, ha habido tiroteo, el cacique entro aca armado nos saco a tiros, hasta que a el lo detiene gendarmaria y tiene denuncia federal tiene. Se lo llevan preso por tres meses, le dan dos anos de prison preventiva al cacique, y bueno los politicos lo han sacado de nuevo.</p>
7	26:10.0 - 35:39.8	<p>A mi me encantaria [que la comunidad se volviera a juntar bajo un nuevo cacique] pero la realidad de todo es que no se como podemos llamar a eleccion de cacique cuando no hay rendicion de cuentas, no hay balance no hay nada. Entonces lo tendriamos que volver a elegir, y donde queda todo el mal manejo que hubo durante el tiempo de el.</p> <p>A Santos lo elegimos el pueblo de Quilmes, legalmente. Se eligio bajo escribano publico, estuvo presente el abogado la gente estuvo de acuerdo, era solo el pueblo de Quilmes unicamente porque la Comunidad ya estaba mal ya digamos quedo ahi paralizada por falta de rendicion de cuentas. Entonces hicimos eleccion los de Quilmes y lo elegimos a Santos.. por mayoria, eramos como unas 300 personas. Aca se hizo la eleccion en el sitio. Se hizo la eleccion, y la primera rendicion de cuentas que hicimos al ano cuando estuvo Santos vino Felix Diaz aca, este de Formosa.estuvo presente aca. Era el primer ano de rendicion de cuenta despues de que se hizo el cacique. Lo elegimos Cacique en el 2014, [despues de tomar la Ciudad] porque nosotros estabamos aca y lo elegimos. Y bueno el fue uno de que con el apoyo de la gente hemos tratado de darle pie adelante a toda la lucha, todas las denuncias, todos los reclamos, todas las cosas. Santos ya termino su mandato y no volvimos nosotros a llamar nuevas elecciones. Porque por las denunicas que hay ya no sabemos si formar de nuevo la institucion, llamar a delegados de base.</p> <p>El INAI dice que no vamos a aprobar ningun cacique hasta que la Comunidad de Quilmes no rinda cuentas.</p> <p>Que se rinda cuenta de todo lo que Chaile ha manejado desde 1994 que ha estado de cacique Chaile. Que</p>

		<p>rindan cuenta primero de los grandes proyectos que han bajado a la comunidad de Quilmes, proyectos que no son conocidos. Todo lo que ha bajado no existe. Toda esa ayuda que ha bajado que se diera a conocer. Toda esa maquinaria que se ha comprado, que no existe. Entonces que rindan cuentas primeros y despues podemos hacer eleccion de cacique. porque para seguir haciendo eleccion de cacique, y con la misma gente que se quiere postular y que ya estuvo... creo que nadie se molesta si estamos sin cacique. Yo lo veo asi. Y cuando hay cacique es como que el cacique tiene el poder sobre el pueblo, sobre la tierra, sobre todo lo que tenemos. Y bueno como ese cacique que ha vendido la tierra y todo eso, sin que la comunidad lo sepa que ha vendido la tierra, se ha dejando grandes extensiones. Y creo que no es tanto porque el siendo cacique ha tenido mas en cuenta a su negocio digamos, ha tenido el poder digamos de negociar con tierras, de negociar por grandes cosas, y no hizo nada por el pueblo. Y hoy se quiere seguir postulando a cacique tambien y hoy no vamos a permitir. Yo no creo que el vuelva a ser cacique porque la gente ya no confia. la gente vio lo que sucedio en Quilmes, entonces la gente no quiere</p> <p>Yo creo que asi como estamos nos sentimos mejor. Pero si tiene que haber una organizacion como para defender nuestros derechos, nuestras tierras, para que no vengan y nos exproprien. Yo naci en aca, mi padra, mis abuelos, mis tatarabuels vienen de aca. Pero los caciques lo unico que hicieron es hacer dano. Robarle a la gente mentirle a la gente. Mas la gente que ignoraba muchisimas cosas. Y hoy a la gente joven no se le puede mentir. Y los que se levantaron aca contra el fueron mas los jovenes.</p>
8	35:46.9 - 36:24.9	<p>El dano enorme es el dano que hizo dentro el pueblo. Eso yo no se lo voy a perdonar a Chaile. Se ha llenado la boca diciendo que la tierra es nuestra, que las piedras son nuestras, que tenemos nuestros derechos, que todo lo que tenemos es nuestro y nadie nos puede venir a usurparr, nadie nos puede venir a quitar. Que tenemos derechos a nuestras herencia y ha resultado que nosotros reclamamos el sitio por lo que estaban haciendo mal ellos. No por interes en quedarnos sino por el mal que estaban haciendo. hemos pasado a ser gente delincuente, gente salvaje, gente comandada, gente mandada, gente no del lugar que no eramos de Quilmes, eramos gente extrana, ar</p>
9	45:20.7 - 45:54.3	<p>Lo que ha pasado en Quilmes tiene que quedar de ejemplo para el cacique ue venga, para el delegado que venga, para los otros de las otras comunidades, que no se debe jugar con la gente del pueblo. No venir a usar las comunidades, haciendo negocios a la espalda y despues cuando no demos cuenta estamos vendidos todos</p>

10	47:27.6 - 49:30.4	Esos proyectos nacionales que dicen que Chaile lo ha presentado como que lo ha rendido a la nacion y el proyecto no esta rendido. Es un proyecto que nace desde el pie del cerro hasta la ruta 40. Han traído, han comprado mangueras, han hecho excavaciones y lo han enterrado, y se compro aspersores todas esas cosas y ha quedado todo ahi. Digamos que no ha tenido mucho fin, han venido han tirado las mangueras ahi, ahora hacense cargo , a otro le ha dado a otros no les han dado, el asunto es que no se ha terminado, se ha tirado mangueras por campo , han quedado al sol y se han secado. Otros han venido y se las han llevado, cortado. El Banco Mundial ha bajado dinero, mucho dinero, y ese dinero nunca se lo ha visto
11	53:03.5 - 54:51.2	le digo ladrones porque han robado las cosas que han venido a la comunidad, y a este pueblo. Porque este pueblo de Quilmes hay muchos que visitan, y es conocido y reconocido en el mundo, Quilmes tendria que estar muy bien, no solo por venir a visitar las ruinas, que tengamos una plaza, un parque, algo para ofrecer al turista. Que la gente ho no solo venga y se beneficie de las ruinas que se beneficie tambien del pueblo, con otras fuentes de trabajo. Pero no se hizo porque lo que habian antes se lo han llevado todo al bolsillo de ellos... No hay nada en Quilmes, solo la capilla, la escuela, y tiene CAPS y de ahi la vivienda de la gente que lo hace todo a pulmon, nada mas. Un lugar bellissimo pero nada, ahi esta. Solo tenemos a este sitio que es bello, pero lo hay que explotar. Y eso no se hizo, con todo lo que ha habido no se hizo. f

