THE VARAYOC SYSTEM IN VICOS

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INTRODUCTION

The present paper attempts to describe the system of varayoc, varados or varas in Vicos, Peru, and the changes which are taking place in its structure as a consequence of the intervention of the Cornell Peru Project in that community.

The importance of the present description derives from the fact that the system of varayoc of Vicos is the most complex known to date in Peru, both in organization and in number. According to available written records with respect to this matter, the number of members of the varayoc varies between four and seven, while in Vicos there are seventeen members and four or six auxiliary functionaries.

Also, in the other communities varayoc functions are limited, as will be proved in another report.

There are descriptions of the system of varayoc made by Cornell Peru Project anthropologists in the communities of Hualcan (Stein, 1961:182-202), Recuayhuanca (Snyder, 1960:344-364), Marcara (Ghersi, 1961), Pancartambo (Andrews, D. 1963:282).

They were in charge of pressuring the people to comply with their hacienda obligations and also of protecting hacienda property.

The peones invested with authority through the support of the patron, always existed to serve him. The mayor and the mayor campo [first vice-mayor], that is the holders of the two highest offices, were designated with the consent of the patron of the hacienda, who also intervened in the ceremony of the transferencea of office, or the swearing in of the new mayor.

The varayos had to discharge specific obligations in the organization of the hacienda. One of their principal obligations was to execute the orders of the foremen and of the administration of the hacienda. They had the mission of exacting the penalties imposed on the peones by the patrons when the peones did not comply with their hacienda work obligations or when the animals of the serfs damaged the hacienda's crops or when the patron acted as a judge during disputes between serfs. They were in charge of seizing the peones' tools and animals to force compliance from reluctant serfs.

The varayos could do nothing without the consent of the hacienda's administration, since to do so signified "going over the head of the patron." When the patron was not included in some activity of the varayos he recriminated with them saying, "Why do you go over my head? Perhaps you think I'm not worth informing about what happens in this locality." The varayos could make no important decision without consulting the patron or his representative at the hacienda, especially regarding the employment of hand labor either inside or outside Vicos.

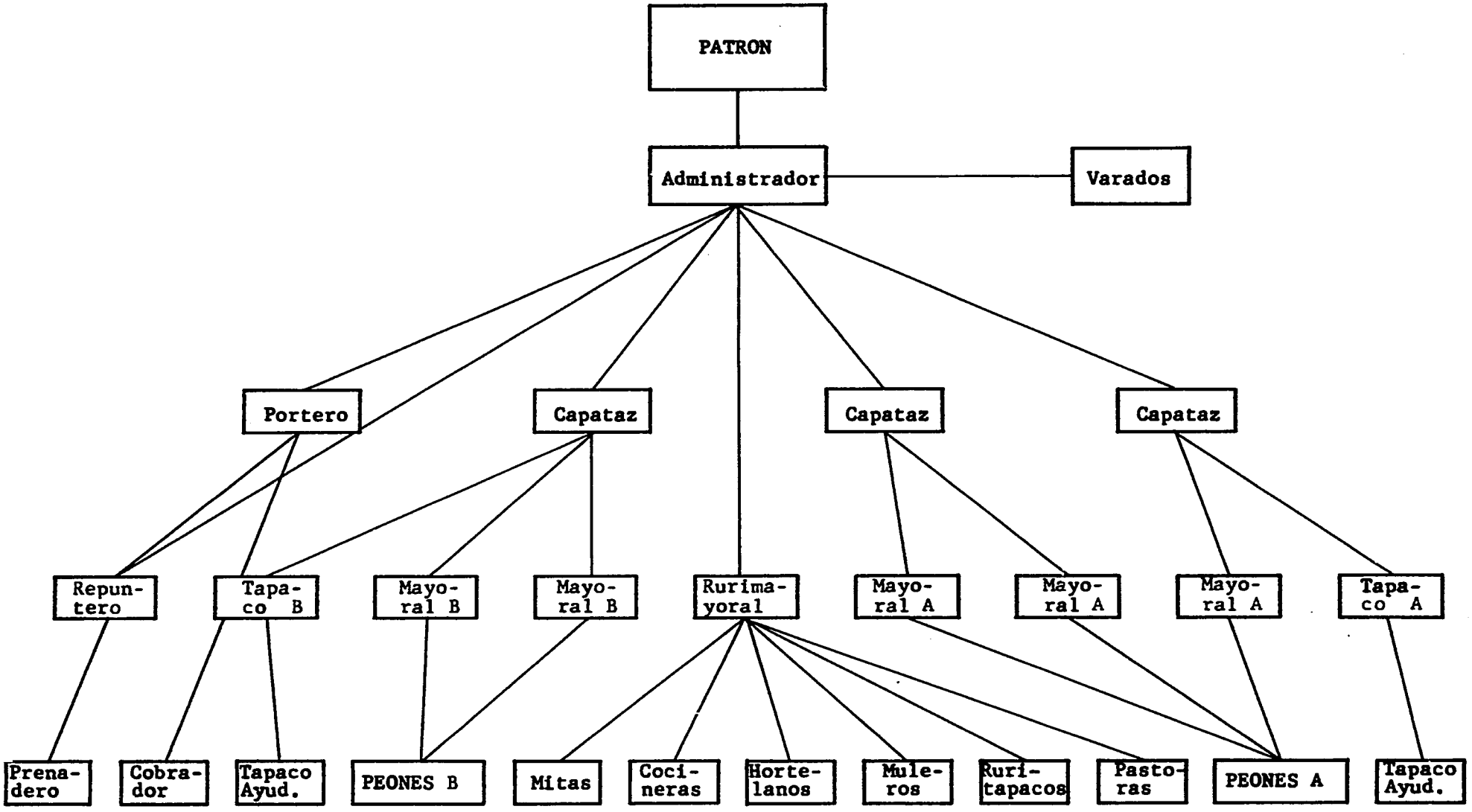
A typical example of the subordination of the varados members to the hacienda management is the labor of the Fiscal who must monthly provide girls to serve as domestics in the manor house. Toward this end the Fiscal in agreement with the steward of the manor house or ruri-mayoral recruit adolescent girls to serve by turns as domestics of the patrons.

Several times between 1952 - 1956 the personnel of the Cornell Peru Project were informed and requested by the varayos to intervene in their affairs, just as did the patrons of earlier years.

The relation between the system of varayoc and the organization of the hacienda can be appreciated from following Chart No.1; and its structure will be analyzed in a later report.

CHART No. 1

TRADITIONAL HACIENDA STRUCTURE



COMPOSITION AND PROMOTION OF THE VARAYOS

The institution of the varayoc in Vicos was and is the most numerous one in the Callejon de Huaylas. It is made up of 17 people who are annually replaced. At the head of which stands the mayor of alcalde pedaneo. The names of these officials and their rank in the hierarchy are as follows:

alcalde, alcaldi, "chontayoc" or mayor
mayor campo or major campo (first vice-mayor)
chaupi campo or middle campo (second vice-mayor)
shulka campo or minor campo (third vice-mayor)
wambra alcaldi or children's mayor
wambra campo or children's campo (children's vice-mayor)
fiscal or controller
tesorero or treasurer

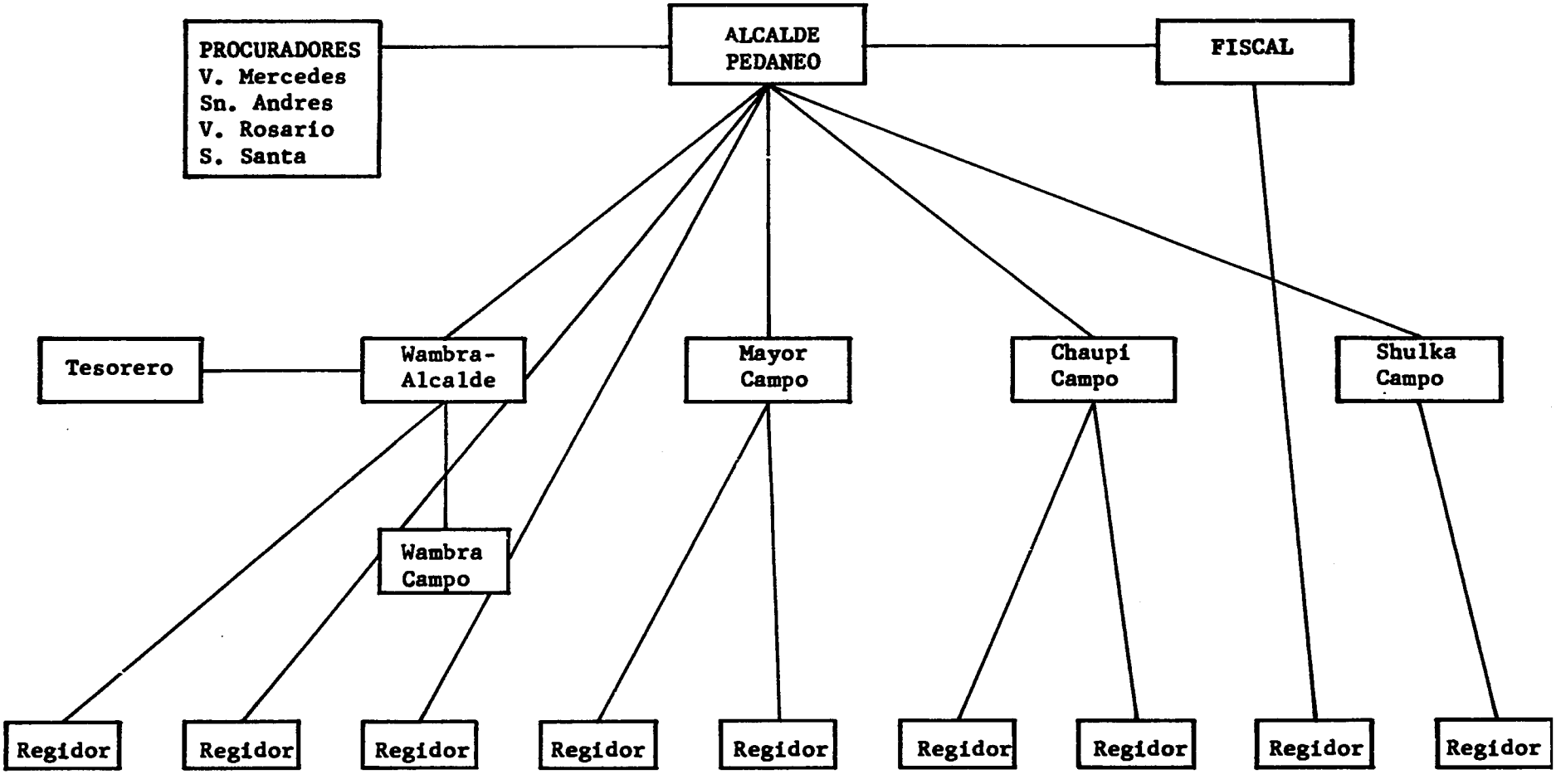
In addition to these eight principal officials there are nine regidores or councilmen who are really assistants to the officials mentioned above distributed among them as follows: The alcalde, mayor campo and chaupi campo have two regidores each. The shulka campo, wambra alcalde and fiscal have one each, making a total of nine. The wambra campo and tesorero are without regidores.

Also, there are four or six auxiliary functionaries: the procuradores or officials responsible for the organization of the local religious fiestas.

The system of varayoc is integrated in the following manner: (see Chart No.2).

CHART No. 2

SYSTEM OF "VARAYOS"



The officials who occupy the highest offices hold them for five to seven years during various periods until concluding as fiscal. Few people have the opportunity to hold office, except for the lowest offices or regidores.

Ideally, the various offices should be gained by way of promotion and by seniority, beginning at one extreme or kuchu, of regidor or brazo, passing successively through minor campo, middle campo, children's mayor, mayor campo, mayor and controller, There are, however, irregularities in the promotions and even more in the number of years between one period and another.

According to the ideal scheme of promotions, each individual who is a member of a team of varayos, would have to act as such each five years. This does not actually occur due to irregularities in the promotions. According to the elderly people these irregularities used not to occur. He who held an office knew with certainty the year in which he would move up to the next office in the hierarchy. At the present time, according to an informant, "no one knows when his turn to be varayo will come."

In alalyzing the last fourteen mayors or alcaldes (1950-1963) it is seen that not one of them followed the ideal scheme of promotions. He who came closest to that pattern had the following record: regidor two times (1922 and 1933), wambra alcalde (1935), chaupi campo (1942), mayor campo (1949) and alcalde in 1956. He died while filling that office. Had he lived he would have been fiscal in 1961, the year in which his mayor campo acted as alcalde and the position of fiscal was occupied by he who was chaupi campo in 1956, as he was the oldest of the group. The irregularities are as frequent in the promotions. Thus, for example, in the last fourteen years two people have been alcaldes without having discharged the office of mayor campo. In 1956 an ex-mayor who was to be alcalde in 1957 was living with a single woman. For this reason a rich man was substituted for him. The ex-mayor campo of 1954 who had become a

widower and according to turn should have been alcalde in 1961 was suggested to be fiscal in 1957. The other case of someone being alcalde without having been ex-mayor campo occurred in 1962. In this case also a rich person was designated in place of the ex-mayor campo of 1954, who assumed the job of fiscal in 1957.

The major irregularities occurred between 1960 and 1962. In 1960 the ex-mayor campo of 1956 solicited and gained acceptance as alcalde in 1961 even though his turn did not come until 1963. To obtain the position early he alleged that the ex-mayor campo of 1954 had lost his turn in 1961 by occupying the office of fiscal in 1957 and since the ex-mayor campo of 1955 had died it was his turn. By means of this stratagem he reduced to five years his climb through successive positions which normally takes seven years. In 1961 the ex-wambra alcalde of 1955 was designated alcalde for 1962 when he protested that his group had been delayed by the alcalde of 1961. With this change the turns became fixed at six years. Yet this same alcalde of 1962 favored and supported the election of a rich man as alcalde of 1963 instead of the ex-campo mayor of 1957 who was a widower and delayed the rest of the varayos of that group just as they did with his group in 1961 which had motivated his protest. As will be seen later the promotion to alcalde depends on the decision of the outgoing alcalde or of the ex-alcaldes who attend the "voting" or "election". In the last fourteen years the office of fiscal has been filled by six ex-alcaldes and by eight elderly persons with some experience in the system. The latter were designated to take the place of the deceased ex-alcaldes who would have been fiscales in 1950, 1951, 1952, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1961 and 1962.

The mayor-campo is designated by the alcalde-elect from among those of his varayos who have filled offices high in the hierarchy. Also the alcalde and the mayor campo choose those who will fill the offices inferior to the mayor-campo. In this

selection preference is given to the people "who are commonly known and understood." The distribution of the offices is made in accordance with the economic capacity and place of residence of the people.

In cases of the death or one of the varayos, succession is as follows: the alcalde is replaced by the mayor-campo, who continues in his office of mayor-campo and therefore does not lose his turn to occupy the post of alcalde. The regidores of the alcalde must continue assisting the mayor campo. If the mayor-campo dies, he is replaced by the chaupo-campo who also assumes the respective turn for alcalde. If the fiscal dies he is replaced by his regidor. If the wambra-alcalde dies his post is occupied by the wambra-campo. For the rest there are no changes.

The varayos are selected according to the following prerequisites:

a. A varayoc must be married or behave as if he were. He must not keep mistresses, as an official with a mistress cannot punish crimes of this kind, because the guilty would say, "Judge yourself first." The Quechua expression tikrapuy has a special significance in this respect, carrying almost the precise connotation of the English "judge not lest ye be judged."

b. A varayoc must have reached his majority. In Vicos a man is considered a full-fledged adult at approximately thirty years of age when he has been married for several years and his behavior is that of a mature and responsible person.

c. A varayoc must be well-off economically. He must own animals and agricultural products to be able to spend them during his term in office.

d. The varayoc must be honest and hold a respected place in the community. The people must respect him for the righteousness of his acts, since his conduct must conform to local customs. He must not have conflicts with his family nor with

others. According to the Vicosinos he is not liero [problem-prone]. He must be a good person or alli nuna.

e. A varayoc must not have committed serious crimes, because to have done so would also incapacitate him to judge those who commit similar crimes, since they will tell him, "I am only like you."

f. A varayoc must not be an ex-soldier. In the last five years, however, four such persons have acted as regidores. In the last fourteen years, with the exception of four fiscales the rest of the varayos were elected in accordance with the preceding requirements. Of the four fiscales who were exceptions, two were widowers with mistresses and two widowers without women.

This description shows that there are discrepancies between ideal norms and behavior, especially when individual interests in obtaining high positions with high prestige and status come in to play. With this aim individuals evade the ideal norms of promotions within the varayoc system and utilize apparently reasonable arguments which encounter no resistence among the people during the election.

In addition we have seen that power is utilized not only for individual aims but also in behalf of other economically powerful persons with whom these officials presumably have connections. The varayoc cannot however overstep their power, because they have been controled by the ex-varayos or "yayas" and the elders, who are true censors of the varayos' activities.

THE VARAYOC AND THEIR CEREMONIES

In the system of varayoc one of the most important aspects is made up of the ceremonies related to the designation of the new alcalde, the transmission of authority, the possession of the office, etc. The ceremonies are as follows:

1. "Voting" - on Thursday or Saturday in the last week of October "voting" takes place to designate the new alcalde, who will take office on the first of January. For the purpose of voting the alcalde and his varayos invite all the male heads of families, especially the ex-varayos, to help reconstruct the Waman-yacu bridge (one of the seven bridges of Vicos), which is situated almost at the center of Vicos and to participate afterwards in the voting for the new alcalde.

Until 1945 the voting took place at the bridge of Huapra-Vicos, which rised to be reconstructed in collaboration with Recuayhuanca and Huapra. This custom was suspended because the patron of the Huapra hacienda rejected the intervention of the Vicosinos. Then the Vicosinos decided to carry out the voting at the Waman-yacu bridge, also one of the bridges which the varayos ordered reconstructed annually.

The reconstruction and voting took place in the morning, sometimes very early at 6 a.m. and other times at 8 a.m. The male heads of families or their sons met at the bridge, the same as at a work of "republica" [labor tax], carrying their tools. The repair work took barely two hours. When the work was finished the alcalde called the men together. The ex-varayos placed themselves near the varayos and the alcalde announced that the annual voting to designate his successor would take place. He invited all those present to participate in the deliberations. After the alcalde's words there is usually silence as the men await the next announcement of the alcalde. After a brief exhortation, the alcalde proposes a name and asks the ex-varayos

and other "mayores" [elders] to express their opinions. If they appear to be in agreement, the alcalde's candidate will be his successor.

If there is objection to the alcalde's proposal the men state their opinions in a disorganized manner until a new candidate wins. Usually a winning dark-horse candidate is one who has been proposed by one of the ex-varayos. In respect to this there was an interesting "election" in 1955. When the alcalde proposed as his candidate a rich and acculturated mayoral (hacienda straw-boss) who was present at the meeting although it was not his turn to serve, a "yaya" (ex-varayoc) who was also a mayoral objected to the candidate because older men than the candidate (who was 45) were available. The objector mentioned two widowers. The candidate intervened and accepted his opponent's point of view. The objector then practically forced the candidacy of one of the two men he had suggested, even though he was a widower with a mistress. In accordance with custom a commission presided over by the mayor-campo went to look for the designated one, who was not found at home. The election ended with the tacit agreement that the successor would be this successful candidate. The following day, however, public opinion had solidified against the "election" because the widower who was designated for alcalde kept a mistress. Without having another election the alcalde, in agreement with his varayos, proposed to the authorities of Marcara [the capital of the administrative district] the person whose turn to hold office it really was because of his seniority among the ex-mayor campos.

If the alcalde's nominee is not rejected and is present, this winning candidate is then called next to the varayos, where the regidores of the alcalde and of the mayor campo give him his respective "right" of alcohol and chicha. The future alcalde puts up a simulated resistance and refuses to accept the office. He begins to complain of the expense the office will be to him

and of the indifference of the people who do not respect the orders of the varayos. The ex-varayos pledge him their backing and urge him to accept the office. At the same time they admonish the people to remedy their indifferent behavior towards the varayos' orders. The people answer that they obey all orders, etc. According to various informants it is customary that the one designated as future mayor show resistance to his election. The man elected announces the name of the person who will be his mayor-campo. If the latter is present he joins the group, also after simulated objection.

After this semblance of an election the people leave and those elected, the ex-varayos and varayos drink the alcohol and chicha belonging to the newly elected mayor by "right."

When the alcalde's successor is not or can not be found to give him his "right" of alcohol and chicha it is given to him on November 2, together with his "jichepey" or "alcoholic drink right."

In summary, the "election" bears some resemblance to voting. The alcalde can put over his candidate if there is no opposition from those present. If there is opposition the ex-alcaldes are those who decide and put over their candidates, while more than 200 men are limited to watching and to listening to the deliberations of the "mayores" (elders). In this respect perhaps we can say that men attend the "election" to learn its technique, but not to vote.

2. "Jichepey" or "alcoholic drink right" - November 2, the day when everyone goes to the cemetery to honor their dead, the winner of the election and his mayor campo are entertained by the varayos, who offer them alcohol and chicha which they drink in the door of the church. Thus, the "jichepey" consists of inebriating the future alcalde, who would have to consume a larger quantity of liquor if he did not receive his "right" the day of the "election."

3. Transfer of the "appointment" - in November the alcalde must obtain from the Municipal Council of Marcara the "appointment" of his successor, that is a document where the "election" of the future alcalde and his mayor campo is recorded. This document is taken to the house of the alcalde-elect on November 30, that is the Feast of Saint Andrew. From that date on the future alcalde has contact with the Mestizo authorities of Marcara.

4. "Toqllay" or "hunting" - the night of December 31 the chaupi campo and the shulka campo with their regidores carry out the "toqllay," the hunt for the alcalde-elect and for his mayor-campo, who are led to the house of the incumbent mayor campo where they stay up all night drinking and dancing. At dawn they move to the house of the incumbant alcalde. After being served the "usosinan" [peppery dishes] the alcalde invites them to "almorzar," that is, partake of the first food of the day and then they drink and dance until sunset, at which time they move to the Vicos plaza for the ceremonial transfer of office accompanied by a musical group.

5. "Transference" - after crossing the plaza the varayos and their two successors enter the church where the alcalde-elect must lift up and kiss the "Holy Infant" who has been "lying in bed since December 24" in a nativity scene heavily decorated with straw, flowers, cotton snow and chunks of glacial ice, etc. They then return to the door of the church or churchyard for the transference ceremony which consists of three acts:

a. The "juramento-mañay" or oath taking. Until 1956 the "oath taking" consisted of the oath which the patron administered to the new alcalde and his mayor campo. The patron urged them to perform their functions efficiently. The alcalde-elect knelt down and swore to fulfill all his obligations; he finished by making the sign of the cross with his right hand.

b. The "varakuy," "vara-millgay," or passing-over of the staves. The outgoing alcalde or the patron turns the <u>varas</u>

[staves of office] over to the new alcalde, who kisses them at the moment of receiving them.

c. "Palabra qokuy" or self-committment or "giving one's word." The mayor-campo elect kneels in front of the new alcalde and commits himself to be loyal and honest with him; he crosses himself and kisses the varas that are held by the alcalde. Then the ex-varados retire, abandoning the new varados who are aided by their relatives waiting nearby. The new varados then also retire to their homes carrying the varas, whose distribution takes place the following days, trying to complete their teams for the ceremony of "reqinakuy" in Marcara, but before that comes the "consultakuy."

6. The "consultakuy," or consultation - from the day after the turning over of the varas until the day of the benediction, the varayos, with the exception of the fiscal get together every day at dawn, at the hour when the roosters crow (4 - 5 a.m.), in the house of the alcalde, who, together with the mayor campo instructs them regarding all their obligations during their period in office. According to the informants, they agree upon all the activities they will carry out during the year. The meetings end at about 6:30 a.m. after those present have been served a meal usually highly seasoned with hot pepper.

7. The "reqinakuy," or get-acquainted meeting - this occurs in Marcara two weeks after the turning over of varas. On Sunday all the varados of the seven towns which comprise the jurisdiction of the District of Marcara gather together. The reunion takes place in the house of the alcalde pedaneo of Marcara and ends with a general drunken spree. At this time all the varayos of the district agree on the date of the "benediction."

8. The "benediction" - the varayos of the seven towns under the jurisdiction of the District of Marcara, including Vicos, receive the benediction of the priest in the parish church of Marcara, usually the last Sunday in January.

On the day of the benediction, the alcalde of Vicos and the other alcaldes with their respective varayos meet at about 9 a.m. at the house of the alcalde Pedaneo of Marcara where he entertains them with liquor and food. They reach an agreement about hiring a band which will accompany them to play during the benediction ceremony. After being served the "almuerzo" or morning meals the varayos, followed by the musical group, go to the Municipal Council Building where the municipal alcalde receives them, advises them to behave as exemplary authorities, etc. Then the municipal alcalde, escorted by the varayos, goes to the church to hear mass. Before beginning the priest blesses all the new varas with holy water. Then the varayos form two lines. The sacristan has all of them kiss a crucifix and the mass begins. After mass the varayos accompany the municipal alcalde of Marcara to his home and then go to the dwelling of the alcalde of Vicos.

The alcalde of Vicos rents a house in Marcara which is called "posada" or dwelling where they stay in order to participate in the ceremonies which take place in Marcara. Thus, the day of the benediction the wives of the Vicos varayos prepare a meal to return the favor of the alcalde Pedaneo of Marcara and they invite the varayos of the other towns. Besides eating, they drink and dance until the wee hours of the night to the sound of the Vicosino musicians hired by the varayos.

The alcaldes of Marcara and Vicos are the only ones who attend the benediction with long varas or "jatun varas" and black capes, while the alcaldes of the other towns attend in ordinary dress.

9. "Inventory" - the inventory is the final ceremony of the transfer of command. It consists in delivering over the property of the church to the new varayos. The date of the inventory is chosen by mutual agreement between the alcalde and his predecessor, taking care that it occurs on a Saturday to avoid the public protest there was in 1957, when the inventory occurred on a Thursday. This change of days gave rise to a series of

malicious rumors against the outgoing varayos. The people thought it was a way of avoiding, for evil purposes the attendance of the ex-varayos.

The inventory takes place in the door of the church, better known as the "churchyard" ["cemeterio," literally, the churchyard burial ground]. All the varayos and ex-varayos who are high in the hierarchy attend, sitting on the built-in bench around the ante-chamber at the entrance, on the side opposite the new varayos. The ex-alcaldes and ex-fiscales are also invited, although there is a tendency to invite few people, possibly through fear of using too much liquor.

The principal protagonist of the inventory is the "scribe," a person who knows how to read and write hired by the fiscal. The inventory begins with the delivery to the fiscal of the inventory notebook which was in the possession of the ex-fiscal, during the past year as were the belongings of the church. Then the fiscal invites those present to pass through the church to inspect the state in which the saints, their clothing and ornaments are found. Upon returning to the door of the church they comment on what they have seen and begin examining saints' vestments and ornaments which are stored in a basket or trunk. As the scribe reads the name of each object the regidor of the ex-fiscal turns over the object which is minutely inspected by the scribe and the fiscal to see if the object is the same as its description in the notebook. A new notation is made and the object is put away by the fiscal or his regidor. Those present participate, if they wish, in the inspection of the objects which lasts almost all day, not due to the quantity of the objects but to the slowness of the participants who amuse themselves by drinking the alcohol and chicha provided by the fiscal. In the same way at mid-day they eat a meal provided by the fiscal, until the ex-fiscal turns over the key of the church to his successor.

In the inventory ceremony the ex-alcalde also turns over to

his successor the church money which he was taking care of. This transfer is also noted in the record. Then the ex-varayos and the varayos agree on the place and date when the inspection of Our Lady of Mercy's cattle will occur and when the responsibility for them will be transferred from the outgoing to the incoming alcalde.

At the inventory the procuradores and the treasurer are also present. The procuradores give to the alcalde the notebooks in which are recorded the names of the people who will serve as functionaries in the four religious festivals celebrated during the year. The treasurer hands over the money of the dotora, that is the money collected for funerals. This transaction is also recorded in the notebook.

Sometimes the alcalde asks the procuradores to continue in their offices. If they accept they sit next to the varados. Similarly, the wambra-alcalde can ask the outgoing treasurer to continue in his office. In the last fourteen years only one treasurer was in office during three years. No other cases, not even of a two year period, are known.

If the inventory ceremony ends harmoniously the ex-fiscal invites the past and present varayos to his house to drink chicha and alcohol, together with the scribe who receives his respective right of food and alcoholic drinks. Afterwards they may finish up in the house of the ex-alcalde who also has chicha made for this occasion, which concludes the public responsibility and the drunken feasts of the outgoing mayor.

When the ex-alcalde tries to avoid the inventory ceremony or refuses to accept a convenient date, the mayor can appeal to the Mestizo authorities and demand that the ex-mayor appear. This happened in 1953 when the alcalde appealed to the Governor of Marcara and obtained a written order compelling the ex-alcalde to turn over to the varayos the church furnishings and the animals under penalty of being forcefully obliged to do it and being punished with a fine and detention.

THE VARAYOS, THEIR STAFFS AND OTHER ACCESSORIES

The symbol of authority of the varayos is a vara or slender wooden staff, one meter in length marked with crosses. The number of crosses on the staff serves to identify to which of the varayos each staff belongs. They carry their staffs whenever they are discharging their duties as varayos.

With the exception of the mayor or alcalde, who has four staffs the rest of the varayos have two each. There are, in other words, two sets of staffs. One set has been conserved from time immemorial and is used only for the ceremony of transfer of command and as a model for making the staffs which are used daily.

The alcalde owns the following staffs:

a. Jatun vara or large staff, 2.5 meters long, one half inch in diameter, made of chonta wood (hardwood from the rain forest), terminating in a cross of white metal, 6 x 3 centimeters. Several metal rings are set into the staff. It is used in the processions for the most important festivals of Vicos and Marcara. This staff was acquired in 1939 by the alcalde of that year.

b. Purisinan vara or daily staff, 1.4 meters long, of wood painted black and tipped with a 3 x 2 centimeter metal cross. Several metal rings are set into the vara which is three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It is used on Sundays and other important days. This staff was acquired in 1935.

c. Ordinary staff or lluta vara, for every-day use, one meter long, made of the slender branch of one of the shrubs of the area and unpainted. It is differentiated from the staffs of the other varayos because it has three crosses and an arrow.

The staffs which are conserved from time immemorial are given to the incoming alcalde and mayor campo in six bundles by the outgoing alcalde and mayor campo on the day of the "transfer" ceremony. The six bundles correspond to the alcalde and his regidores, to the three campos and their respective regidores, to

the wambra-alcalde with his campo and regidor and the last bundle belongs to the fiscal and his regidor.

After the ceremonial staffs have been distributed each new official prepares his daily staff and then stores the model until the day of the "transfer" ceremony. The new vara, in order to be considered as a symbol of authority must be "blessed" by the priest the day of the benediction in Marcara; lacking this it is valueless. Some varayos do not make staffs, but use those which belonged to their fathers. In 1961 the alcalde used the staff of his father who had also been alcalde. Although they are easily recognized by their owners, all the staffs have their respective marks or signs for identification in case of misplacement or some other irregularity. The alcalde's vara is identical to the fiscal's, because the fiscal uses the vara he had as alcalde, that is, it has three bas relief crosses on the back of the vara and an arrow pointing down on the lower end of the staff. The upper end of the vara ends in a bas relief cross.

The staffs of the mayor, chaupi and shulka campos also have three crosses like that of the alcalde, but they do not have the arrow. The staffs of the wambra-alcalde, wambra-campo and of the regidores only have two crosses each.

While the varados are serving their regular yearly period the varas are kept in their homes, usually placed conspicuously on wooden pegs driven into the earthen wall of the house near the main door, under the protection of the porch roof, as a visible reminder of the exercise of the office. When a varayo dies he is buried with one or two of his staffs. The rest of the staffs are saved or burned. It is said that they are burned for fear that the dead man will return to the house in search of his staffs.

Another item typical of the alcalde is the cape. It is made of black cloth, similar to the cape of the Roman Catholic priest; it is long and covers almost the whole body of the wearer. The

alcalde uses it during the Vicos and Marcara patronal festivals, especially accompanying the processions. It was acquired in 1939.

A large staff, a daily staff and a cape were rented in neighboring towns until the present ones were acquired through the initiative of the alcaldes who served between 1935 and 1939, using money collected in fines from people who committed various crimes.

Another object belonging to the varayos and frequently utilized during the colonial period and until the middle of the present century is the "culebron," a whip or lash of rawhide, which the alcalde must have not only to punish people who commit crimes, but also to punish the varayos who behave badly while in office, including the alcalde who was punished in days gone by. These days the culebrones (whips) are almost never used, but are possessed due to tradition. The author was present in 1949, when the alcalde used the culebron to give several lashes to one of the regidores of his mayor-campo, because the regidor did not obey the orders of the mayor-campo.

FUNCTIONS OF THE VARADOS

Traditionally, the functions of the varados in order of importance were: executive, legislative, judicial, religious and municipal. At the present time they are limited to religious, municipal and judicial spheres, as a consequence of the changes that have operated on other aspects of the local culture during the last ten years. One of the principal activities of the varados is related to the religious life of the community. This is even more noticeable during the last few years.

1. Relations with the priest. The varayos maintain close relations with the priest who lives in the neighboring town of Marcara (four miles), who also takes care of his parishioners of Vicos. The varayos almost always complain about the priest, but they have great respect for him and cannot ignore him, since the greater part of their religious activities require his participation. Also, the varayos cannot make independent decisions on matters related to the church and the use of money from the sale of Our Lady of Mercy's animals, which are under their care. The orders of the priest on church matters are obeyed without resistance by the varayos.

The fiscal, the alcalde and the mayor campo and the procuradores have the most contact with the parish priest.

When the priest is present in Vicos the varayos have the obligation to contact him. They manifest their respect by receiving him in the Vicos plaza. Toward this end the varayos meet the priest 100 or 200 yards from the plaza and escort him to the sacristy. In the same way they escort him a certain distance from the plaza when he leaves. The varayos also must attend almost all the masses celebrated in the Vicos chapel. Many times the only ones who attend mass are the varayos and their relatives.

2. In religious practices. The varayos are in charge of practices related to respect worship, prayers, masses, etc. towards the saints, and sacred objects and places.

a. Respect - Vicosinos must remove the hat when crossing or passing in front of the door of the church, a chapel or a cross. Similarly, when they mention the name of God or any saint in conversation they must remove the hat. The varayos are very severe with each other in this respect since they must serve as a public example if they are to have the authority to admonish people who neglect these practices.

The varayos are in charge of seeing that the most important festival days of the year, that is the "jatun guarda" or great holiday, no man or woman works because these are days to "keep" in honor of God. If this is not complied with, God punishes the community through agricultural calamities and epidemics. To enforce this prohibition the varayos cover the different zones of Vicos and when they surprise someone at work they oblige him to stop under penalty of being led as a prisoner to the Vicos plaza, together with his work tools, where he would be severely admonished. The days considered as the great holidays are January 6, Holy Thursday, Good Friday and Easter Sunday. This prohibition is almost ignored by the people. When there are energetic authorities there is a situation of friction and tension, since many people make fun of the authorities who have no other means of sanction than admonishing the offender. The 1953 and 1955 varayos tried to make this prohibition effective and failed miserably because the people stopped working in front of the authorities, but when they went away the people began working again. This was especially true of the women, who are prohibited to spin. Very few believe in divine punishment.

b. "Praise" - until 1957 there existed a cermony called "alabado" (praise), which possibly degenerated from a hymn of praise into a litany because the Vicosino peasants, hatless and on their knees, repeated the litany which an improvised cantor said from memory.

The praise took place in the door of the church and lasted about five to ten minutes. The varayos obliged all the

peones of the hacienda to participate in the praise before the weekly mando began on Wednesdays from 4 to 5 p.m. According to aged informants, formerly the praise took place every day after the end of the labors of the hacienda on the lands adjoining the hacienda house and the local church.

Possibly the alabado began under the auspices of the renters of the hacienda during the colonial epoch, when imperial law made landholders responsible for Christianizing subject Indians, with the ceremony later degenerating into a litany because of the lack of interest of later renters (indoctrination has not been a legal requirement since independence). Between 1951 and 1957 it took place in an irregular or circumstantial form whenever it occurred to the varados, although it was more frequently observed in the first two months of the year, that is when the varados first took office. Later in each year it came to be observed in an irregular or circumstantial form.

The alabado has disappeared as a consequence of the basic changes operating on the structure of the hacienda system. Now that there are no weekly mandos and the Vicosinos neither work in large groups nor have fixed days and hours of work, the "praise" has disappeared without any legal measure being taken. The old varayoc adherents to the traditional customs mourn the passing of the hacienda system.

c. Devotions - the varayos support and watch over the devotions during Lent. They begin on Ash Wednesday and continue until Holy Saturday. The devotions take place in the local church at dawn, except on Sundays. According to the residents from time immemorial the "devotions" have taken place on the following schedule: Monday, Tuesday and Thursday for children, and Wednesday, Friday and Saturday for adults.

The devotions for children are the responsibility of the wambra alcalde, who arranges with the people who are to recite and also notifies the family heads to send their children to the

devotion. The devotions for adults are the responsibility of the fiscal, who also contacts those who are to recite, usually the same people who recite at the children's devotions.

The bells are tolled daily from 4 a.m. to 6 a.m. announcing the beginning of the devotions, but attendance is usually poor. According to tradition the whole population must attend the devotions and those who fail to attend must be whipped at the door of the church with the varayos' culebron and the more rebellious must be tied at the whipping post in the center of the Vicos plaza and whipped. To keep track of attendance there is a wooden peg board called "baro or "paro" which has the names of all the heads of families. Nevertheless attendance is restricted to the relatives of the varayos and to those who live near the plaza. There are many days when there are no devotions due to the lack of attendence; the only people who never fail to attend are the bell-ringer, the reciter, and the fiscal or his regidor. The largest attendance on record was thirty-five children in 1959. It appears that attendance has gone down since 1957 because the potato harvest takes place at the same time. The adults have almost no time to attend the devotions and they are the most conspicuously absent.

d. Masses other than feastdays - the varayos order the celebration of masses especially related to the local agricultural life: the qashru mass and the rogation mass. The first is said when there is an excess of rain and the crops are being spoiled by the soil humidity, a type of rotting of the roots. The mass is said in the local church to which the farmers take a portion of the plants affected by the qashru. At the end of the mass the priest blesses the crops and orders that the plants be placed in the road to be eaten by the mules of transients.

The other mass, the rogation mass is celebrated during dry periods with the object of getting the rains which are necessary for good crop development. This mass is said between

December and March, that is at the time when it should rain and does not.

The celebration of both masses is requested by the varayos who solicit contributions from all the heads of households to pay the costs of the priest, sacristan and cantor.

3. Religious festivals. The principal religious function of the varayos is to direct the celebration of religious feast days, which are of two types: non-patronal festivals and patronal festivals. The first are organized by the varayos and the second by functionaries especially under the control of procuradores.

a. Non-patronal feasts - the three most important are: Carnival, Easter Sunday and All Saints' Day.

The most important festival organized by the varayos is the Carnival. The varados are very active here, especially during the week preceding the Sunday of Carnival. The most important ceremony is the annual mass dedicated to the two <u>santisimos</u> or <u>calvarios</u> (Holiest Crosses) of the cemetery and to all the crosses of Vicos, which are carried to the church by their owners so that they "hear" the mass. The mass is usually said on Saturday, the eve of the Carnival (a movable date in February or March). With this aim in mind the varayos collect "alms" or money to pay the priest and sacristan. The people attend the mass carrying their respective crosses.

The day before the mass the two santisimos or calvarios of the cemetery are carried to the house of the treasurer so that a vigil may be kept over them during the night. The vigil is a type of evening entertainment which the wambra alcalde, his campo and his regidor and relatives and the people invited by the treasurer attend carrying candles which are lit and placed at the feet of the santisimos. Those present participate in the devotions and litanies directed by the reciter - the same one who recites for the children during Lent. They also participate in drinking chicha and alcohol offered by the treasurer. A musical group

hired by the wambra alcalde plays.

On Saturday morning, before the mass, the treasurer gives the wambra alcalde, wambra campo, reciter, musicians and those in charge of the santisimos their respective "dues" of food.

About an hour before the mass - calculating that the meal should be finished - the alcalde and his campos carrying Peruvian flags, followed by musicians and the rest of his regidores go to the treasurer's house. It is said that they go "to visit him," but the real reason is to accompany the transfer of the santisimos to the church. At the treasurer's house the alcalde and his regidores are served chicha and alcohol. The reciter leads a brief ceremony in which all present participate and then the santisimos are transferred to the church followed by approximately 100 people including varayos, musicians, etc.

At the church the santisimos are placed on the main altar, while the peoples' crosses are put in rows leaning on the walls of the church. After the mass the varayos meet at the door of the church where they drink liquor and dance. Then they organize the transfer of the santisimos to their place of origin and for this purpose those present at the mass with their respective crosses form a path in the plaza through which the santisimos are carried and placed in their respective places after a series of religious rituals directed by the reciter. Later, the varayos divide into two groups. The group of the wambra alcalde, wambra campo and treasurer, accompanied by the reciter and the musicians goes to the house of the wambra alcalde, who gives them their respective "dues" of food. Then they dance and drink abundantly and later move to the house of the wambra campo where they are also served food and alcoholic drinks and stay up all night dancing until Sunday morning when they disperse.

The group composed of alcalde and campos, the fiscal's reciter and his musicians go to the fiscal's house where they eat, drink and dance and also recite under the orders of the reciter. Afterwards they go to the alcalde's house where they also eat, drink

and dance until the early morning hours of Sunday, when they move to the mayor campo's house where they also are served abundant food and drink. At mid-day they move to the house of the chaupi campo, who also serves them food and drink and towards evening they reach the shulka-campo's house where the ceremony is repeated. Here they dance and drink all night until they disperse the following morning. All in all there are two days of continuous drunken feasts and dances.

The other non-patronal festival is Easter Sunday, a movable feast. It is characterized by the representation of Judas by a doll and the orgy of Easter Sunday night in the Vicos plaza, where a large number of people, especially single people and adolescents of both sexes, gather.

Judas is represented by a wooden doll which is fastened as if it were riding on a saddled donkey. On the eve of Easter Sunday, Judas, accompanied by the varayos and a musical group, must visit each of the campos and the fiscal, in whose houses they eat, drink and dance. The itinerary which Judas must follow in his visiting is as follows: He begins in the house of the chaupi campo where he is dressed, he moves to the house of the mayor campo, then to that of the shulka and finishes at the house of the fiscal. Visiting the houses of the alcalde and treasurer is optional. This itinerary is, however, almost never finished, since the regidores in charge of leading Judas, in conjunction with the musicians, are those who arrange the itinerary which is most convenient for them usually trying to obtain the most advantages during their visits. They prefer to visit the houses where there is the most liquor.

During Judas's tour the regidores enter the people's gardens to collect produce, saying that it is for Judas's <u>fiambre</u> (a type of lunch). To give more formality to the assault the products are collected in the saddlebags of the mule on which Judas is riding. The saddlebags are emptied in the houses of the campos

and their contents are distributed among the regidores.

Easter Sunday at 4 p.m. approximately, Judas is carried to the Vicos plaza to "inspect" his garden and to "tame" his savage horses. For this the regidores of the campos improvise in a corner of the plaza a type of garden using maize plants and some greens collected from the farms near the plaza. Judas "inspects" his garden lead by a regidor who acts as master of ceremonies and makes it appear that Judas is annoyed by the bad appearance of the garden. Judas is then tied with rope onto a savage horse which the campos have ordered brought from the puna for this purpose. The animal is released in the plaza where he rears, bucks and tries to throw Judas off. The people prevent the horse from leaving the plaza. When the animal is exhausted and can no longer buck they select another horse and repeat the spectacle until it gets dark or the animal escapes carrying away Judas. Meanwhile, the varayos drink and dance in the door of the church. The people, large numbers of whom attended the above described spectacle, disperse in the plaza and begin drinking abundantly, as women sell alcohol in the plaza. Hours later fights, abduction of women and consumation of the sexual act take place in fields neighboring the plaza and on the roads adjacent to the plaza. The following day there is gossip about the new marital unions which begin the watanaki (trial period) and the gossip about the exploits of adolescent boys who took advantage of drunken women.

The third non-patronal feast is that of All Saints on November 2. The varayos inform the residents what day the priest will be in Vicos to bless the water which will be used on All Souls' Day. The ceremony of the blessing of the water or the change of the water to "holy" takes place two or three days before November 2. The priest celebrates the only free mass of the year. He also recites prayers for the dead at the request of those interested in remembering their deceased ancestors. The cost of the prayers for the dead in 1963 was $0.037 (S/1.00) for adults and $0.02 (S/.0.50) for children.

The alcalde and the campos provide lunch for the priest and his sacristan.

b. The patronal festivals - in order of importance they are: Our Lady of Mercy, Saint Andrew, our Lady of the Rosary of Chancos and Holy Week. The function of the varayos is to reinforce the procuradores of each festival so as better to perform their jobs.

The fiscal is in charge of cleaning the chapel and arrangement of the saints and litters for the mass and the processions.

The alcalde and the campos must accompany the mayordomos on their entrance into the plaza. This custom has practically disappeared, possibly because there are more mayordomos participating now than previously, a fact which impedes the varayos in accompanying all the functionaries.

The varayos, led by the alcalde, attend vespers, the mass on the feast day and on the octave (eight days later), and accompany the processions whose order is directed by the mayor campo, who places the functionaries, musicians, biers, etc. On the feasts of Our Lady of Mercy and St. Andrew the varayos have their respective musical groups. Also during these festivals the varados must wait on the alcalde pedaneo of Marcara who visits them starting with vespers.

4. The "ronda" or "round-up" consists in detaining the couples who are in the period of watanaki and those who are secretly having sexual relations with the object of fixing a date for their marriage in the church. The "ronda" is included as one of the religious functions of the varayos because they act in agreement with the priest of Marcara, who urges them to be severe in the practice of the ronda. Sometimes he has even instructed them how to manage the stubborn. Thus for example, in 1960, the varayos were prompted to solicit help from the varados of Recuayhuanca.

The ronda is carried out by the varados. For this they at

night break into the houses where those who are in watanaki or single women or widows live. The varayos try to surprise them sharing their beds with a man, with whom it is presumed sexual relations occur.

The pair is detained and taken to the house of the alcalde who decides what to do on the basis of each individual case. Usually they are freed due to the intervention of the parents who promise to make them marry within the year. It may also happen that those who are to serve as sponsors at the wedding intervene to have the couple set free.

In the event of the discovery of abnormal extra-marital unions, that is incest or adultery, the protagonists are confined one in the church and the other in the mortuary chapel, until the matter is resolved through the intervention of the relatives of both.

The rondas take place between January and March, immediately after the benediction until the vespers of Holy Thursday. The alcalde and mayor campo are those who give the orders for the night patrols. The mayor campo is the one directly responsible for their execution; the varayos plan the night patrols in the house of the mayor campo at the same time that they chew coca and drink alcohol provided by the campos.

The night patrol does not have the effectiveness that it used to have, since frequently the varayos do not want to apply it out of fear of being thrown out of the houses which they break into. This puts the varayos into a position of exposing their lack of authority because they can apply no sanctions against those who oppose them. Besides, many of those who obtain their freedom after agreeing to get married do not do so and there are no penalties to apply against these infractions. These facts affect the frequency of concubinage.

5. Other religious functions. The following are particularly notable.

a. The varayos are responsible for the maintenance and care of the church's goods. As will be seen in the following section the varados are in charge of reconstructing the church and of constructing and reconstructing the minor chapels. In the same way they are responsible for the care of the saints and their vestments. Thus for example, the alcalde, in agreement with the fiscal and with the previous knowledge of the yayas or the elders of the community, orders the vestments of the saints to be made. They make the contract, then choose the quality and pattern. These operations are executed with money from the sale of the saints' cattle.

The varayos are in charge of caring for the cattle of the local patron saints. The alcalde tips the repuntero to take care of them at the puna. The varayos distribute among the people the meat of the cattle that die, seeing to it that each person receives the same sized piece, although it be "no bigger than a fingernail." Other times they order a meal to be prepared as they did in August of 1955, to provide puchero (meat with cabbage) to those who were working on the reconstruction of the church. As it is impossible to achieve a proportional distribution of the meat of one animal among the number of people now populating Vicos, they prefer exchange of the whole dead animal with someone for a calf which replaces the loss to the saint's cattle.

b. Maintenance and care of the cemetery - the varayos are in charge of caring for the cemetery, not only to see that the physical structure is not harmed, but also to see that the people observe established custom in their behavior within the cemetery.

The wambra alcalde is in charge of reconstruction work. The treasurer keeps the key and is responsible for the santisimos [main crosses] which are in the altar of the cemetery chapel. Furthermore, the campos and the wambra alcalde are in charge of seeing that the people behave correctly within the cemetery. On the Day of the Dead, when there is the greatest influx of people into the cemetery, it is forbidden to drink alcohol in the cemetery.

It is also forbidden to chew coca or to drink any liquor whatsoever. Dogs are not permitted to enter for fear that they might eat the candles or urinate on the crosses.

On November 2 the treasurer opens the door of the cemetery and then stays in the churchyard drinking with the rest of the varayos. At about 5 p.m. he padlocks the door of the cemetery and then continues drinking with the alcalde elect.

Public Works Labor - among the municipal functions of the varayos are the recruiting, and direction of labor levies carrying out public works "republica" - the construction and reconstruction of the church, cemetery, roads, bridges, etc.

Theoretically public works labor is the accomplishment of a certain public service project through the unpaid participation of the male heads of households who work under the direction of the varayos.

In practice,"public works labors" are limited to temporary collective labors carried out by a single group of the heads of households, usually by those most closely related to the varayos, be it through consanguine or artificial kinship ties, and also by those who are most respectful of traditional customs. Very few people participate of their own volition in the public works labor. Each time there is work to be done, therefore, the varayos get a written order or authorization from the district mestizo authorities enabling the varayos to fine those who do not attend. This arrangement is frustrated by the sending of replacements, such as minors or a tool. In this respect it is worth mentioning the fact that when needed work is not properly done due to the lack of workers, the people censure the varayos, accusing them of negligence and of being inept leaders; but when the varayos act with severity towards the absentees, the people also censure them, accusing them of being abusive.

The decisions regarding the public works labor are made by the varayos, who then notify the people of their respective groups

about the date and type of work to be done.

The only works done under the system of public works labor are reconstructions of the church, cemetery, chapels, roads, and some bridges and aqueducts. Neither the varayos nor the people will agree to use the system of public works labors to do work other than the types mentioned above, even though it be of greater importance than the previously mentioned work. They prefer to take down a perfectly good church or cemetery wall and then put it back up, rather than begin an entirely new work. In 1952 the varayos were persuaded by the Cornell Peru Project to help construct the local school instead of reconstructing a church wall which was in perfectly good condition. The 1953 varayos bitterly censured their predecessors for having performed a new work instead of the traditional labors. The project had to issue a written document to the ex-alcalde of 1952, indicating that the people had applied the system of public works labors to a project as important to the community as the church. Subsequently, the Vicosinos who helped voluntarily with the construction of the school and health center did so independently of the varayos, who refused to break with tradition.

a. Reconstruction of the church, cemetery and chapels - the highest ranking varayos have set areas for annual work projects under the system of public works labor. The alcalde and his three campos are in charge of the reconstruction of the walls and roof of the church, sacristy and tower. The fiscal whitewashes the interior walls and facade of the church. The wambra alcalde and treasures are in charge of the walls of the cemetery and of the bridge which joins the plaza to the cemetery. The treasurer orders the interior walls of the cemetery chapel whitewashed. Periodically all the people participate in the reconstruction of the Chancos church, the last time was in 1961 after a lapse of ten years. Public works labors "republica" related to the church are carried out on fixed dates. According to Vicos residents,

they take place during the month of June. According to our observation, however, they do not begin until the first days of August. The fiscal watches over the preparation of plaster required for the major part of the reconstruction jobs. The alcalde and his campos must provide him with hunks of gypsum, with firewood and with people to burn and grind the gypsum blocks. The varayos order the men to transport hunks of gypsum from the gypsum pits of a neighboring hacienda. Other men provide logs and burn them, and the single women grind the burnt gypsum. The plaster is stored in the church by the fiscal, who distributes it among varayos who need it for the various reconstruction jobs.

The gypsum blocks are not obtained free of charge; the varayos collect "alms" of chicken eggs, one from each family, which they give to the owner of the Pachin hacienda in exchange for permission to take away the hunks of gypsum. In 1956, one of the members of the Cornell Peru Project suggested to the varayos that they sell the eggs and buy prepared plaster from nearby; this would enable them to obtain better quality plaster without making the people work. They did this and were very grateful for the suggestion. The 1957 varayos refused to follow the example of their predecessors, however, saying they must avoid the censure of the people who commented unfavorably and suspiciously that the varayos had sold the eggs and not ordered the plaster to be prepared. The people did not understand the change, even though they were freed from the extra work of transporting, burning and grinding. It seems they missed the ritual of the process of preparing plaster. In 1958, 1959 and 1960, the varayos bought plaster with the money from the sale of the Virgin's cattle. They only asked the people for burros for its transportation. There were no complaints. In 1961 they did not buy any, because it was not needed. In 1962 and 1963 they had to make it because the place in Chancos where they had bought it stopped producing.

The supervision of the repairs of the temple and of the walls of the cemetery is entrusted to mason "masters," contracted by the

varayos responsible for each job. The masons do not receive salaries, but do receive coca and alcoholic drink during the job. At the conclusion of the job they receive abundant food and drink, under the concept of "dues" at the house of the respective varayo responsible for the execution of the job.

Traditionally, the public works labors were accompanied by native musicians. This custom is now limited to the day on which the job is finished only. That day the varayos go to the job carrying Peruvian flags, followed by the musicians.

Previously, older informants say, the widows and unmarried mothers collaborated with the varayos sending jars of chicha and a mid-day meal for the workers. Similarly the residents of the nearby Copa hacienda who use the Vicos cemetery also contribute chicha. In 1961 a Copa hacienda family contributed a jar of chicha. The widows and single women did not.

b. Reconstruction of roads and bridges - the varayos are in charge of cleaning and reconstructing the main roads and bridges. This does not include the highway nor the bridges which are part of the highway. Until 1957 these were the responsibility of the hacienda and they are now the responsibility of the community, that is to say of the Vicosinos themselves. The varayos disagree, however, and say that the highway and highway bridges are not their concern.

The cleaning and reconstruction of the roads is done in two stages. The first, called the "entrance," takes place immediately after the rainy season in April. The second, called the "hanging over," (entrego) takes place in December. To avoid censure the varayos try to turn over to their successors roads which are in good condition.

The small bridges are the responsibility of the varayos according to the jurisdiction of their residences or to the distribution of zones agreed upon among the varayos. Thus the campo who lives in the zone of Cullwash is responsible for the maintanance of the bridge which is in his jurisdiction.

The two largest bridges, Wapis and Waman-yacu, are reconstructed with the help of all the people. The Wapis bridge is located in the upper part of Vicos. It spans the Marcara River and the help of many people is needed to transport wooden beams from a distance. We have already discussed the second bridge, the Waman-yacu, in the section on "voting" to select a new alcalde. It is only necessary to add here that one of the beams for the Waman-yacu bridge is provided by the alcalde, who retrieves it for firewood after four years. Thus the bridge at all times has four beams of which three belong to ex-alcaldes and one to the alcalde in office.

It was already mentioned that the bridge which joins the plaza to the cemetery is reconstructed annually by the wambra-alcalde, using beams belonging to the church.

According to tradition the varayos who fail to see to the cleaning and reconstruction of the roads and bridges are fined by their successors. During the last fourteen years no fine has been recorded, even though on three occasions the varayos did not perform the "handing over" cleaning of the roads. It should also be added that during certain emergency circumstances such as floods or avalanches public works labors take place, only to clean the affected space.

The regidores clean the plaza each time that there is mass and processions.

Judicial functions - according to tradition and to the reports of the persons who were in office between 1922 and 1932, the varayos previously had wider judicial functions than they have exercised in recent years. They acted as judges and administered justice in civil and penal matters. They judged and were in charge of applying sanctions. The most common punishment was corporal using the culebron. The whip was used on those convicted, including the alcalde himself, when he had committed some crime. He was whipped by one of his campos. The campo "asked permission,"

kissed the alcalde's hands and feet, then whipped him like any other delinquent. At the present time the culebron has been an object of adornment since 1932. The use of the culebron ceased at that time when a godfather who punished his godson with it was imprisoned for six months in the departmental penitenciary in Huaraz. The godson accused his godfather before the Governor in Marcara, who was at that time a young revolutionary member of the APRA political party (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance). The Governor had recourse to the judicial authorities of the national government to punish the sadistic godfather and abolish the use of the culebron. He achieved his goal, since the culebron is now rarely used in Vicos.

The varayos now have very limited judicial functions and their sanctions are limited to fines. The Vicosinos prefer to appear before the Marcara mestizo authorities, be it the Justice of the Peace or the Police, whose sentences are considered more impartial than the sentences of the Vicos varayos. But the majority of the litigants appear before the Lieutenant Governor of Vicos, who administers justice and applies sanctions in accordance with the pattern of the varayos. The people prefer him because if the plantiff does not agree the Lieutenant Governor gives him his "pass" to the Marcara superior authorities, who frequently will not listen to a plaintiffs without the previous report of the Lieutenant Governor.

The alcalde and his mayor campo act as judges and his regidores are in charge of executing the sentences. The campos of low hierarchical position can also administer justice when previously authorized or "licensed" by the alcalde. The lower ranking campos can also administer justice without authorization when one of the litigants is a relative, compadre or enemy of the alcalde or mayor campo.

The judgements are made orally and often publically. The first step is the summons or "comparamento," that is the confrontation of the plaintiff and defendant. After hearing the respective

witnesses the judge passes judgement in accordance with the type of crime, as will be seen below.

With regard to the penalty applied to each crime it should be pointed out that the varayos collect small sums of money for each case judged, in accordance with the concept of "the steps" ("los pasos") or of "fines." "The steps" consist of the payment of one sol or $0.04 (in 1963) by the plaintiff to the varayo who notifies the accused so that the respective summons or other type of judicial procedure can take place. The payment of "the steps" is justified by saying that the varayo must buy coca to use during his journey to the home of the accused and also as compensation for wearing out his llanquis or sandals while walking.

The fines are pecuniary penalties which vary between five sols and 50 sols, according to the criterion of the varayo acting as judge. The money is equally divided among the varayos who participate in the proceedings.

According to the elders, the fines were utilized twenty-five years ago to buy things for the Saints or the use of the varayos. They bought for example, the cape, the large varia, etc.

The crimes judged and the penalties imposed by the varayos are:

1. Crimes against life. During the last fourteen years the following types of cases have been recorded:

a. Homicides - of the three homicides on record only one case was judged by the varayos. In 1955 a little boy died as a consequence of a kick given him by an adult. The varayos were informed of the fact by the child's mother and they required the murderer to pay all the costs of the funeral. The other two homicides were poisonings which the personnel of the Cornell Peru Project informed the police of, as in the case of the boy kicked.

b. Infanticide - this is a frequent occurrence. In the last three years (1960 - 1962) an annual average of three infanticides has been recorded. According to Vicos residents the

technique employed is the asphyxiation of the newly born infant, which is then said to have been born dead. The body is buried privately, usually at dawn by a person whom the mother trusts. The varayos take no measure against the filicide unless there are agricultural calamities. When there are agricultural calamities public pressure forces them to intervene, since such calamities are considered to be divine punishment for crimes committed by the people. When a woman who has committed such an act is identified she is detained, admonished and obliged to pay a fine.

c. Abortion - this is not considered to be a crime. It is only required that the fetus be buried in the cemetery to avoid agricultural catastrophies. When the varayos discover that a fetus has not been buried in the cemetery, they identify the woman involved, then require her to have the fetus buried in the cemetery and to pay a fine. Some varayos say such women are also detained in the church for several hours, but we have not recorded it.

2. Crimes against persons. The most frequent cases of this type are those of physical aggression, slander and supposed cases of witchcraft. The varayos intervene only if requested. They never "interfere" if their intervention is not solicited.

a. Physical aggression - these are the most frequent crimes. The varayo whose intervention is requested listens to the version of the plaintiff and then orders one of his regidores to "notify" the accused for the act of the summons or comparamente in the house of the varayo or in the churchyard. The confrontation between the disputants and their respective witnesses is realized [Vicosinos have borrowed a Spanish term (plaitistas) for litigants whose original meaning is "disputants" but with overtones "persons who enjoy litigation" or "troublemakers"]. Then the varayo proclaims the sentence, usually favorable to the complainant, who usually appears as the victim and who with such end in mind prepares a special version of the facts, which influences the varayo. For this reason when there are quarrels complete with

fighting each litigant tries to be the first to reach the varayo and present his version which usually is the one believed. Some disputants who are not content with the varayo's decision appeal to the Marcara authorities. The varayo's sentence usually requires the defendant to pay for the victim's cure. If the evidence is strongly in the plaintiff's favor the defendant must pay the aggrieved under the concept of "blood loss." The decision ends reconciling the pleitistas and advising them to comply with the sentence, since if they do not they will be fined for failure to fulfill obligations.

b. Slander - another frequent crime is slander. The Vicosino who thinks himself slandered meets his slanderer before the varayo and solicits a confrontation (shimpinakuy) before the person who has been influenced by the slander.

In Vicos slander operates in the following manner: Julano says that Sutano has stolen an animal belonging to Perensejo. Perensejo begins spreading the word that Sutano is a thief. Sutano has not stolen, however, and feeling "dishonored," demands that Julano admit to starting the slander in front of the authority and in front of Perensejo, since only in this way can he recover his honor or his reputation of being an honest person. The varayo can fine Julano for the shameless behavior of having slandered an innocent person. The money from the fine goes to the varayo, who can share it with Sutano if he request it under the concept of "honor."

c. Witchcraft - in Vicos, witchcraft is not practiced; nonetheless, there is a great preoccupation with its malicious effects, because according to tradition many people die due to witchcraft. Therefore, when someone threatens to kill another, the latter accuses his menacer before the varayo, accusing him of wishing him dead. The varayo notes this in case some misfortune befalls the threatened one.

The varayo accedes to the request and issues a summons in which he orders the accused to appear in order to defend himself

against the charges laid against him. Usually the accusation is denied and the summons ends with reconciliation where there has been enmity.

3. Sexual crimes and crimes against the family. The most frequent cases of this type are adultery, breach of promise to marry and lack of respect for parents or godparents.

a. Adultery - cases of adultery are settled by the ritual sponsors of the matrimony and the parents-in-law. The sponsor can request, if he wishes, the intervention of the varayos, usually to punish the female accessory to the adultery - since the recorded adultery cases are those committed by the husband and not by the wife, though such cases also exist. The varayos detain the woman accused of being accessory to the adultery. A hearing is held in the house of the alcalde for the purpose of determining responsibility, that is, whether the man or the woman took the initiative in the crime, since the one responsible must pay a fine to the varayos. The hearing ends with a severe admonition to the adulterors, who must whip each other with the culebron and kiss the alcalde's vara, swearing not to commit the crime again.

b. Rape - during the fourteen years of our presence in Vicos only one case of rape in known. The author of the crime was a step-father who raped his step-daughter. The adolescent's mother denounced the man to the varayos, who fined him and gave the money to the girl's mother, that is to the mistress of the rapist. It was said that this fine was under the concept of the adolescent's loss of virginity, according to the Vicosinos, "payment for her virginity."

c. Breach of promise to marry - in cases of arranged engagements, that is by agreement between the parents, which do not result in marriage after the period of watanaki, the parents of the boy or of the girl can enter action against the one who caused the rupture. The varayo carries out an investigation to determine responsibility and then requires the parents of the one

who caused the rupture to pay the parents of the aggrieved for their expenses during their negotiations to formalize the agreement of watanaki. He also obliges the ex-fiances to return the gifts they received during their period of trial marriage.

d. Lack of respect for the parents or godparents - when a parent or godparent feels himself powerless to punish an offspring or a godson or goddaughter who has been disrespectful, he appeals to the varayo who orders the detention of the "ill-behaved one" and carries out an investigation. The varayo admonishes the one who has been disrespectful and orders him to apologize and to swear under oath not to be disrespectful of his elders again. Besides, he is obliged to pay a fine between five soles ($0.18) and twenty soles ($0.78) which is divided among the varayos. Some varayos whip the disrespectful.

4. Crimes against the patrimony. These were very frequent during the first three years of the Cornell Peru Project, especially theft from necessity and cattle thefts. The most common crime for which the varayos take action is crop damage caused by animals.

a. Thefts from necessity - these are usually thefts of agricultural products of little value. The varayos intervened at the request of the aggrieved. If the criminal was identified together with the evidence and if it were proven that he had stolen from necessity, the exculpation took place, usually through the intervention of the marriage sponsor of the criminal, who knelt and begged pardon of the varayos and of the owners of the product he robbed. He then returned what he had robbed and if he had used it he promised to pay for it in crops or in personal labor.

b. Vicious theft - some people steal as a vice. They are practically professional criminals. Their crimes are difficult to prove. They do not admit to committing the crime; on the contrary they claim to be objects of slander. If the evidence is found in their homes they claim it was brought there by someone else for the purpose of harming them. The varayos impose their

authority, however, and oblige them to pay the value of the stolen object, by means of an "embargo" on an animal belonging to the thief. Besides, they have to pay a fine to the varayos.

c. Cattle theft - a form of cattle theft existed in Vicos when a person took possession of another's young animal which resembled an animal that the thief had previously owned, but which he had sold, hidden, or which had died. If the animal were recognized by the real owner the matter was brought before the varayos, who would order the animal taken to the plaza. There a hearing would be carried out with the intervention of the litigant's witnesses, who had verbal duels, hurling insults at each other. These conflicts would end when both parties accepted any of the following solutions: the one who was unmistakably the thief would renounce his right to the animal, using some pretext to avoid admitting that he had taken it. In another solution, the litigants put the animal in question together with the animal each claims to be the stolen animal's mother and wait to see which of the two adult animals the young animal will recognize. If it insists in following the same animal through several trials, according to the Vicosinos it has "recognized its own casta." The false owner retreats, admitting that he was mistaken and insisting that he had no intention of stealing. If this proof is not possible because the animal is fairly large and does not recognize its mother, or if this proof fails for any other reason, then the following trial is made. In this third solution, the animal is set free in a solitary spot, usually near the juncture of two roads. The varayos follow at a certain distance from the animal to see which of the litigants' houses the animal goes to. If this proof favor the cattle thief the battle continues until, often from exhaustion, both parties agree to the last solution. The final solution is to divide the animal proportionally, either in money or in meat.

d. Crop damage - crops are frequently damaged by animals, a fact which is recognized and compensated for by the owner of the

animal; if he refuses to pay, the owner of the damaged crop appeals to the varayos to make an appraisal of the damage done by the animals and oblige the owner of the animal who did the damage to recognize the amount. The appraisal is carried out with the participation of the animal's owner, who must comply with the decision of the varayos immediately or after the harvest, according to the wish of the one whose crops were damaged. If the owner of the animal resists, the varayos take the animal which caused the damage and also fine its owner.

5. Failure to comply with obligations. The most frequent form of non-compliance is failure to pay debts. The varayos intervene at the request of the creditor. The debtor is notified to pay his debt within a certain period. If the order is not obeyed the varayo seizes one or more of the debtors animals, taking them to the house of the creditor, of the varayo or the ex-hacienda house. The animal is kept until the debt is paid; if this is not done the captive animal or animals are used as payment.

DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE VARAYOS

The general duties and obligations of the varayos as a group are:

1. Loyalty and respect to the hierarchy among the varayos. This is observed very clearly in the etiquette which governs the relations between different members of the body of varayos.

The alcalde always occupies the highest place in the hierarchy. So when walking, being seated, speaking, drinking, eating, etc. the alcalde is always in the first position, followed by the mayor campo, chaupi campo, shulka campo, wambra alcalde and finally the regidores. They walk in Indian file headed by the alcalde. When they sit down the alcalde does so first and then the rest. Only the mayor campo and the fiscal can sit together with the alcalde; the regidores must always sit opposite their "superiors," the varayos higher in the hierarchy. When they are seated and one of the varayos needs to get up, he must take off his hat and ask permission of the alcalde. The alcalde does the same when he gets up, but he addresses himself to all those present. At their meetings only the alcalde and the major varayos talk; the regidores, who never intervene, are simply auditors and executors of the decisions of the "superiors."

2. Respect and care to see that traditional norms are honored. In order for this to be possible it is necessary that the varayos have cordial relations among themselves, or according to their own expression "get on well together." That is to say the varayos must take the lead in following traditional norms and customs; only by setting the example will they be able to demand compliance.

In addition, they have to respect public opinion. The people must be kept informed about the varayos' activities. For this purpose there is a varayo in charge of each zone. Besides informing them of the varayos' activities he also collects the opinions

of his neighbors and transmits them to the rest of the varayos at the weekly meetings. Until 1956, the hacienda's weekly mando was used to let the people know the orders of the varayoc. At present this is done by the elective delegates or communal leaders of each zone.

3. Reciprocity. The varayos of highest status engage in the practice of reciprocity, as may be seen when they drink liquor and at their receptions during the religious feasts of Carnavales, Easter Sunday, etc.

On the many occasions when they drink, the alcalde takes the initiative in inviting the rest of his companions to drink, beginning with the varayo of highest status. The latter, as well as the other varayos with the exception of the regidores, provide the same amount of liquor as the alcalde, commonly using the same container. Each one seeks to "match up" in providing liquor, lest he be censured by the rest of his companions. No one wants to be called "waylayo" (queer), "sponger," "woman," etc. The same principle is applied to the meals served during the local fiestas, with the regidores put in charge of controlling the quantities involved. Toward this end, they place marks on the vessels in which the meals are contained, and these receptacles later serve as measures when the favor is returned.

4. "Knowing how to lead." The varayo system gives an opportunity to those who occupy these positions to put their abilities as organizers and executives into practice. According to the local people, to be a man is to "know how to lead" people in carrying out one's functions. Those who cannot do this either disqualify themselves or are eliminated by their companions during the periodic promotions, and they are replaced by others higher in the hierarchy or by another person outside the group.

The general duties and obligations of each of the varayoc are:

a. The alcalde who has several alternate titles, the chontayoc (with chonta) because one of his varas is made from the

chonta tree, the waranqayoc (with waranga vara) referring to his everyday vara which is made from warango wood, the penario is derived from Pedaneo. The alcalde is the official representative of the varayos and the one responsible for all their activities. The orders and sanctions of the alcalde are without appeal. In some of his duties and obligations he can be replaced by the mayor campo in or out of Vicos.

b. The mayor campo alternates with and replaces the alcalde in his general functions and also in his duties and obligations, especially when he is sick or absent, and can also substitute for him in case of death.

c. The chaupi campo assists and alternates with the mayor campo in all his duties and obligations.

d. The shulka campo assists and alternates with the chaupi campo in all his duties and obligations.

e. The fiscal's functions, duties and obligations are circumscribed exclusively in church matters.

f. The wambra alcalde and his campo is concerned with religious matters relating to children and to the cemetery.

g. The treasurer, named by the wambra alcalde is in charge of the control and conservation of the cemetery in close collaboration with the wambra alcalde and the other varayos.

h. Regidores, also called brazos, familia, or albaceas, are chosen by their respective immediate superiors. Their basic functions are to execute the sanctions and orders of their superiors and to serve as kamachicos or waiters during the fiestas and the social engagements among the varayos.

i. The procuradores are named by the alcalde among the people sympathetic to him. There are four or six procuradores, one for each of the following fiestas: Holy Week, Our Lady of Mercy and her Octave, Our Lady of the Rosary of Chancos, Saint Andrew and his Octave. Some alcaldes appoint one procurador for each octave. The procuradores functions are limited exclusively to obliging the registered persons to carry out their religious

duties in the fiesta. Afterwards the procuradores supervise the registering or "election" of functionaries or "mayor domos" for the following year's festivals.

CHANGES IN THE VARAYOC SYSTEM

In speaking of the changes which occurred through the intervention of the Cornell Peru Project, especially in the institutions dependent on the hacienda's semi-feudal structure, for example the varayoc system, the impact on Vicosinos of the physical presence of numerous personnel of the Cornell Peru Project should be mentioned first.

The presence of North American gringos and Peruvian misthis, at first identified as patrones of the hacienda, confused the Vicosinos, who were accustomed from time immemorial to dealing with one single mestizo or white patron. Even greater was the confusion when the anthropologists, in their role of "participant-intervenors" (Holmberg, 1955) did not act according to the traditional norms of the all-powerful patron, but on the contrary were friendly and interested in the Vicosinos as human beings and not as means of production to obtain profit for the hacienda, as was true of the leaseholders who preceded the Cornell Peru Project. The first change which occurred was in the interpersonal relations of the powerful and absolute patron and the peon-serf accustomed to obey the orders of the first. A new type of relationship was established, based on the Western principles of egalitarian citizenship (Holmberg, Dobyns and Vazquez, 1961:39).

This initial fact and the innovations deliberately introduced by the Cornell Peru Project between 1952-1956 determined important changes in the varayoc system, which as has been seen in the first section of the present report, had intimate relations with the organization of the hacienda. The changes deliberately introduced by the Cornell Peru Project which have affected the traditional system of the varayoc were:

1. Abolition of gratuitous service. There was a progressive abolishing of all gratuitous services to the hacienda by the Vicosino heads of family and their relatives in conditions of servitude.

One of the first services eliminated was that of the mitas or of adolescent girls, who were recruited by the fiscal to serve as domestics in the hacienda house or outside of Vicos in the residences of the leaseholder or of his mestizo employees.

2. Cornell Peru Project personnel did not intervene as judges. According to the traditional hacienda structure the Cornell Peru Project personnel, converted into patron, were in a position to intervene as supreme judge in quarrels between the peasants who frequently solicited their intervention as judges. With the exception of conflicts over land the rest were sent to the state authorities of Marcara and Carhuaz. In this way the Cornell Peru Project stimulated and favored the use of the national institutions and laws.

3. Demolition of the Manor Jail. Toward the end of 1951, the old jail of the hacienda was demolished. It had been used by the varayos to lock up those who had committed offenses, usually those related to sex. According to older informants, long ago this jail was used by the patrons of the hacienda to whip and lock up prisoners who had shackles around their ankles. In 1959, the lieutenant governor ordered a small jail built which he used twice between its completion and 1963. The last prisoner detained there fled by breaking down the door. It is now used as a pig pen.

4. Suppression of the "embargos." The "embrago" consisted in the varayos' taking by force an object or animal belonging to a person who had not complied with his obligations of peon or had done something against the interests of the hacienda. The serf's property was kept until he remedied his fault. This penalty applied by the hacienda and executed by the varayos was suppressed.

5. Suppression of the juramento manay in the "entrance" ceremony. Until 1956 some member of the administrative personnel of the Cornell Peru Project participated in the ceremony of the January 1 "entrance" each year. Since 1957, when the Cornell Peru Project ceased being a renter, the "entrance" ceremony has taken

place without the juramento manay, but only with the varakuy. The varakuy was not held in 1962 when a quarrel broke out between the alcalde-elect and the retiring alcalde, who abandoned the varas in the churchyard and departed, together with his varayos.

As a consequence of the four preceding changes which took place under the auspices of the Cornell Peru Project the varayos were freed from the obligations to the hacienda. At the same time they lost the backing of the hacienda in fulfilling their functions as authorities.

Beginning in 1952 the varayos did not have to do certain jobs which were disagreeable to them. Their predecessors had had to expose themselves to the criticism and even the hate of their fellow citizens each time that they acted in defense of the hacienda's interests or executed the sanctions imposed by the patron against the residents.

6. Suppression of the "public works labors" outside of Vicos. Until 1952 besides the local public works labors, the Vicosinos had to give their services in the District Capital (Marcara) whose jurisdiction Vicos is under. In 1952 the Cornell Peru Project suggested that the Vicosinos help construct the local school instead of working in the district capital, since there was no legal requirement for them to work in the capital. The suggestion was taken by the Vicosinos. In 1958 it was made permanently effective, because some alcaldes ceded to the pressure of the district authorities. In 1958, the Vicosinos almost revolted against the varayos' orders and almost no one showed up for the labors. The authorities did not insist again.

7. Favoring the transculturation of the Vicosinos. Unlike the rest of the region's haciendas, where the patrons oppose the young men's enlisting in the national army, in Vicos compliance with the laws of compulsory military service was encouraged. In this way the number of ex-soldiers increased from eighteen in 1951 to 123 in 1963. Many of them were aided in becoming more

mestizo-like or in adopting mestizo cultural patterns. Previous to the Cornell Peru Project this was impossible, since the discharged soldiers were obliged by group pressure to reintegrate themselves into the local culture.

Also, the establishment of an official school in Vicos encouraged the acculturation of the children and adolescents, many of whom are now youths and have a favorable attitude toward Western cultural patterns and, therefore, are active agents of the changes which are operating in Vicos.

8. Abolition of the mayorales. The ex-propriation of the Vicos estate in favor of the Vicosinos towards the end of 1956 brought about the suppression of the mayorales, powerful people, usually ex-alcaldes, who were members of the oppressor group, since they were in charge of supervising the peones' work.

9. Establishment of the Council of Delegates. In virtue of the Peruvian government's proposition to turn over the Vicos estate to the peasants who occupied it, the community of Vicos was organized along democratic principles. For this purpose starting in October, 1956, Vicos was divided into ten zones. Each zone democratically elected its representative who became a member of the Council of Delegates. The Council of Delegates assumed the administrative control of the estate and took charge of the negotiations necessary to realize the expropriation. The Council now has three additional members and directs the destiny of the community. Upon establishment the Council of Delegates, now called the Communal Directive Council, abolished the traditional servitude of three days per week for the hacienda and instituted collective labors according to the community's needs.

The only requirement for being elected zonal delegate is obtaining a majority of votes.

Before presenting the changes derived from the preceding it should be established that the people in general did not perceive these changes during the first five years. Since 1957, each year

with greater intensity, the varayos recognized and admitted that even if the system of varayoc has not changed in its organization it has been increasingly limited in its functions, especially in its judicial functions. They thus admitted their loss of authority over the people, who do not obey them or pay them any heed, forcing the varayos to obtain written orders from the Marcara authorities to oblige them to comply with their duties regarding the public works labors.

The most noticeable changes in the varayo system were and are:

1. Attitudes and behavior toward the varayo system - this can be appreciated through a comparison between what occurred in 1951-1953 and what happens in the present (1963). Between 1951-1953 the majority of people thought "the existence of the varayos is very necesssary" to take care of hacienda matters. The majority of the varayos wanted to be varayos, because holding office in the system gave them high prestige and social power. For this reason those who refused office were censured as "cowards, miserable people, men without dignity, hateful people who fear taking the job because they don't want to incur a varayo's expenses," etc. This favorable attitude toward the varayo system and scorn towards those who did not want to take the office has slowly changed to a negative attitude and conduct towards the system and toward the desire to occupy a varayo's office.

The office of delegate is usually filled by young men (twenty-five to thirty-five years), many of them with no experience as varayos and some with no possibility of holding office within that system due to their status as ex-soldiers. Starting in 1959, at the time of the third election of the Council of Delegates, these young men began to scorn, slander and even commit hostilities against the varayos. Thus two acculturated delegates of that time suggested abolishing the varayo system, considering it of no utility to the community. The sentiment of hostility

and desire to abolish the varayo system has not prospered because among the varayos of 1960 and 1963, ten ex-delegates have served, occupying the most important posts - alcaldes and campos.

In 1962, upon being asked about the job done by the varayos, seventeen of our interviewers picked at random spoke of the varayos in the following terms: "they arrange the public works labors," "they care for the saints," "they guard the church and the Virgin's animals," etc. In 1962, the alcalde and the campos in a group complained to the author of this report that "the people pay no attention to us," and for this reason they (the varayos) cannot carry out activities useful to Vicos. The alcalde (an ex-delegate) said, "The varayoc must disappear. It only makes expense for those who hold office without yielding any benefit for us or for the community." Continuing, he referred to the time when he was a regidor (1920, 1932 and 1934) and the varayos acted as judges, a function now fulfilled by the Lieutenant Governor (see below), who also administers the church's money by a recent disposition of the priest.

In 1961 and 1963 a great resistence was observed among the men toward holding an office as varayo, especially those posts lower than mayor campo. The majority excused themselves, claiming economic reasons. Undoubtedly no one wanted to incur unproductive expenses. For this reason the alcalde and the mayor campo annually have great difficulty in filling the posts of campos and wambra alcalde. The only post for which there is a demand is that of regidor; young men want this post because it gives them an opportunity to eat and drink abundantly without the need of incurring extraordinary expenses.

2. Loss of power and authority - it is very clear that important changes have occurred in the attitude and conduct of the people of Vicos toward certain traditional "customs." Such changes have been and are perceived by the ex-varayos and some elders, who feel that the people do not respect the customs nor those who are

charged with demanding compliance with them--the varayos and the elders. Thus nearly all the natives comment that the people do not attend morning prayers during Quaresma, nor take part in public works labors. Unfavorable comments are also made that the people ignore the "round-ups" and refuse to be married in the Church, and show themselves ever more recalcitrant, ill-behaved and insolent toward their elders. The varayos are unable to impose their authority, which has obliged many of them to carry out manual labors during their period in office despite their not having any responsibility other than ordering and directing public labors. This is interpreted as a loss of authority, and it is said that now "the people laugh at them."

Taking a regional point of view, of the problems referred to by the ex-varayos and elders, their opinions are correct, we feel. In fact, the people of Vicos no longer behave toward the outsiders who work with the community as serfs, but as fearless free men showing neither the attitudes nor the conduct of submission. Naturally, this change has affected the power of the traditional local groups, especially the varayos. Among the factors that have favored these changes, the former varayos and the elders indicate: the lack of severe punishments such as whipping which are no longer inflicted because they are prohibited by the Mestizo officials of the region. The present pecuniary penalties, the fines, do not constitute punishments, particularly for the wealthy and even for the poor, who take advantage of them. Thus many persons prefer to pay fines rather than lend personal service in public works labors, now that daily wage labor in neighboring towns yield double the cost of a fine. The same people think that the principal responsibility for these changes must be born by the personnel of the Cornell Peru Project, which in the position of patron has not known how to behave as such, that is with seriousness and severity. On the contrary the members of the Project have turned the power over to the people, treating them as equals, seating them at their tables, playing with them and even sharing

a social life with them, without obliging them to serve with humility and submission as in the past. According to the very oldest informants this has caused the people to lose their respect and fear of the patrons and, even worse, of the varayos, since they no longer have the backing of the hacienda.

The informants do not perceive that the changes which displease them have been accelerated by the increase of ex-soldiers and of youths who have been to school.

3. Limitation of their functions - finding themselves without the hacienda's backing and no longer constituting a dominant group, the varayos have progressively lost their power and therefore their functions have been limited mostly to religious ones, in which they now show greater activity than prior to 1951. The religious rites have increased due to the economic prosperity of the Vicosinos (Dobyns, Monge and Vazquez, 1962:113). The only religious rite which has been affected by the recent changes is the alabado, which has not taken place since 1957.

In 1951-1952 the order of importance of the varayos' functions was administrative (for civil authorities and manor leaseholders), judicial, municipal and religious (Vazquez, 1952:51). In 1963, the order is religious, municipal and judicial.

With respect to the changes that have occurred in the functions of the varayos, it appears that originally the Indian Mayors in America and the Petty Mayors in Spain played a role as judges. Progressively they seem to have lost their judicial character, however, and their functions have become limited to the religious aspect "at the same time that the office of mayor was evolving" (Encyclopedia 224). It appears that in Peru this change occurred faster in the communities that were not subject to the manor regime, such as Paucartambo (Andrews 1963) and Marcara (Ghersi 1962) where the existence of other institutions and greater cultural fusion in these towns limited the functions of the varayos principally to the religious sphere. This did not happen in the

Vicos hacienda, where the varayoc system constituted part of the dominant regime of the hacienda with which it was intimately connected. When this tie was cut, the varayoc system gradually lost its power as an institution, and suffered changes of function. We expect that when Vicos has evolved culturally and been integrated into Peruvian national culture, that the varayos of Vicos shall have been converted into auxiliaries to the respresentatives of the national government, and that their principal function will be religious in character.

Even though he acts similarly to the varayos, especially in his manner of applying pecuniary penalties in the form of fines, the local political authority, that is the Teniente Gobernador (Lieutenant Governor), who had almost a purely nominal function in 1951 (Vazquez, 1952:51) has now displaced the varayos. The people prefer him because they feel he has greater capacity to administer justice, possibly because he is literate, and also because his fines are lower than the varayos, who must charge higher sums to be able to distribute them among their members. Also, the Teniente is able to give a "pass" to complainants who are not satisfied with his decision, allowing them to appear before Marcara authorities.

Another fact which has favored the limitation of the varayos' judicial functions has been the establishment of a Police Post in Marcara in 1959, before which the Vicosinos prefer to explain their conflicts, especially those related with physical aggression and cattle theft. The Vicosinos think that the police are more impartial than the Vicos and Marcara authorities, possible because they come from outside the area and do not have ties of kinship and friendship with the complainants.

After examining the changes introduced or encouraged by the Cornell Peru Project in Vicos and the effects of these changes on the system of varayoc, we can arrive at the following conclusions:

1. That the abolition of the feudal remnants of peonage

and servitude tends to diminish social and cultural discrimination and prejudices, especially in the attitude and conduct of the dominated toward the dominant group.

2. That during the process of change designed to better a community's standard of living, traditional institutions like that of the varayoc, do not suffer immediate changes in structure, but in function.

3. In a conservative society where few individuals have the opportunity to gain high prestige and social power, there will be high acceptance of an institution which also permits the gaining of prestige and power with no requirement other than being democratically elected and efficiently filling the office.

GLOSSARY

Alabado	(S)	Laud after daily farm labor for the manor.
Alcalde	(S)	Mayor
Alcalde de Indios	(S)	Mayor of Indians. Spanish Colonial name for the Varayoc system.
Alcalde Pedaneo	(S)	Petty mayor. This word also is used to apply to the mayor of the Varayoc.
Cacique	(O)	Spanish Colonial title for Indian chiefs.
Calvarios	(S)	Holiest Crosses.
Carnavales	(S)	Days of Carnival preceding Lent.
Chicha	(Q)	Peruvian native beer made from corn.
Chonta	(Q)	Staff made of the wood of chonta tree (Bactris sp.)
Chontayoc	(Q)	One of the names of the varayoc mayor, derived from the type of wood from which his vara is made.
Comparamento	(SQ)	Summons
Culebron	(S)	Whip of braided leather.
Dotora	(SQ)	Money collected for funerals.
Gringos	(S)	Foreigners, white people especially North American. It has no disrespective meaning as in Mexico.
Jichepey	(Q)	Alcoholic beverage offered to people who have any official position.
Kamachico	(Q)	Waiter during the fiestas.
Llanqui	(Q)	Sandals
Mando	(S)	Labor shape-up in the hacienda system.
Mayoral	(S)	Indian foreman.
Mayordomo	(S)	Steward of a saint - sponsor of a festival.
Mishtis	(SQ)	Mestizo
Mitas	(Q)	Indian female adolescents who work as servants for the landlords.

Patron (es)	(S)	Patron - manor leaseholder of Vicos.
Peones	(S)	Serfs
Procuradores	(S)	Officials responsible for the organization of the local religious fiestas.
Puchero	(S)	Stew of cabbage with meat.
Puna	(Q)	Grassy land at a high altitude, used mainly for pasture.
Republica	(S)	Collective male labor for public work under varayos supervision.
Repuntero	(S)	Indian in charge of the care of the hacienda animals.
Resasikoj	(SQ)	Person in charge of the praises.
Ronda	(S)	Round-up of people in trial marriage for religious marriage.
Santisimo	(S)	See Calvario
Vara	(S)	Staff used by the varayos.
Varado	(S)	Peruvian Spanish word used for varayoc.
Varayo	(S)	Member of the system of varayoc system.
Varayoc	(SQ)	The organization of local authorities.
Varayos	(SQ)	Plural of varayo.
Warango	(Q)	Native shrub (Acacia macracantha) used to make the vara.
Waranqayoc	(Q)	Another of the names of the mayor, because he uses a vara made from warango.
Watanaki	(Q)	Trial marriage.
Yayas	(Q)	Important people of the community, usually ex-alcaldes.

Q - Quechwa
S - Spanish
SQ - Spanish - Quechwa
O - Other

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