

Gracias

I would like to claim that I always envisioned writing this book, but that was not quite the case. The Peruvian central sierra and San Juan de Ondores became a part of my path as I struggled to find a dissertation topic. After a delightful but “unsuccessful” trip to Ayacucho, while spending some time at the drawing board, I encountered the first traces of the unusual trajectories of the Ondores people, a campesino community located in the Bombón Plateau, next to the Chinchaycocha lake in the highlands of Junín. At Georgetown University, Erick Langer and John Tutino patiently listened to my recounting of the first archival findings and convinced me that I had found what I was looking for. The Department of History and the Center for Latin American Studies at Georgetown University funded multiple trips to Peru and a research year spent in Lima, Huancayo, Junín, and Ondores. I briefly considered visiting San Juan de Ondores before running into a *comunero* from San Pedro de Pari who was seeking the titles of his comunidad at the Archivo General de la Nación. After he was treated disdainfully by the staff, I tried to assist him and point him in the right direction. In return, he provided the phone numbers of the current communal leaders of San Juan de Ondores. Most of the research that informs this book could not have been possible without a great deal of good luck. Contingency also drives history.

Throughout the course of my doctoral program, Georgetown University became home in ways I could not possibly convey. The halls of the Department of History offered shelter in winter, plenty of coffee, leftovers from faculty meetings, and—most important—the mentorship and guidance of Erick Langer and John Tutino. Erick and John nourished my early interests in rural peoples and their struggles with confronting structures of power. I could not have fulfilled any steps of the arduous processes of

finishing a doctorate, finding fellowships, and landing jobs without their enthusiastic support. John McNeill became a source of wisdom of all sorts in the latter part of my doctoral training, making me one of “his people.” His ongoing mentorship has pushed me in different and very intellectually rewarding directions. All of them read the full draft of my dissertation and made seemingly endless corrections and suggestions. This book is the result of years of their generous guidance.

While at Georgetown, I found the friendship and comradeship of a wonderful group of people. Clara Peña supported a great deal of this part of the adventure, helped me launch a life abroad, and endured some of the most challenging parts of this project, including many moves throughout Lima, Bogotá, and Washington, DC. Patrick Dixon and Lawrence McMahon helped me emotionally endure the challenge of pursuing a doctoral degree in a very foreign environment while reading more versions of the seeds of this book than they probably wanted to. I am very proud of having been part of the community of Latin American doctoral students, a generation of wonderful scholars set to achieve great things. Larisa Veloz, Okezi Otovo, Jonathan Graham, Nate Packard, Daniel Cano, April Yoder, and Fernando Pérez-Montesinos care about this book and me much more than I can possibly express. They also brought me to the Tombs for lagers and ales when times became hard. A pre-postdoctoral fellowship took me to the Latin American and Latino Studies Program at Lehigh University, in the core of the postindustrial United States. There, I benefited from the comradeship of Matthew Bush, Bill Bulman, Bárbara Zepeda, John Savage, José Cornelio, and Miguel Pillado, with whom I shared many thoughts, tacos, beers, and curry soups.

The Instituto de Historia at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile allowed me to go back to Latin America after years of training in the United States, and I will forever be grateful. In San Joaquín, I found a community of mentors and friends. Fernando Purcell, Alfredo Riquelme, Olaya Sanfuentes, Claudio Rolle, and Rafael Gaune became endless sources of academic, professional, and personal advice. Brandi Townsend, a colleague and friend since our DC times, helped me build another community of friends and young scholars who became essential for my life and work. Matías Hermosilla, Denisa Jashari, Joshua Savala, Marianne González Le Saux, Joseph Feldman, Alfonso Salgado, Alyssa Bowen, and Samuel Finesurrey—the *Taller* team—read the entire manuscript, made valuable contributions, and helped me rework it along the way. Constanza Dalla Porta shared her own enthusiasm for campesino struggles in Chile, read

too many versions of many passages of this book, tolerated my constant academic rants, and always cheered me up with her unlimited kindness.

Back in Peru, I have always counted on the unconditional support of Jesús Cosamalón, Margarita Suárez, Martín Monsalve, Joseph Dager, and the late Jeffrey Klaiber. Scholars all over the world also made me part of a community, sharing their intellectual depth. Special thanks go to Paulo Drinot, Emily Wakild, Adrián Lerner, Brenda Elsey, Joanne Rappaport, Catalina Garzón, Paul Gootenberg, Christof Mauch, Neil Safier, Hanni Jalil, José Carlos de la Puente, David Colmenares, Jonathan Graham, Cecilia Méndez, Gonzalo Romero, Mark Healey, Mark Carey, Brooke Larson, Claudio Robles, Vanderlei Vazelesk, Florencia Mallon, Charles Walker, Claudio Barrientos, Miguel La Serna, Emilio Kourí, Enrique Mayer, Sarah Hines, Nicole Pacino, Angie Picone, Rachel Nolan, Gilbert Joseph, Mark Rice, Alden Young, Raymond Craib, Aparna Vaidik, Karin Roseblatt, and Alfredo Ávila. Kerry Webb, my editor at the University of Texas Press, believed in this project from the very beginning and pushed me to complete it with patience and kindness. Greg Cushman and another anonymous reviewer saw the potential of this book, and their insightful comments made it a much better work.

In an unexpected turn of events, I returned to the United States to continue my academic career. Smith College opened its doors, brought me into a world completely unknown to me, and has offered me an opportunity to be a better scholar and a more complete human being. In the Happy Valley, I have had the good fortune of sharing my life with a truly wonderful array of colleagues, students, and friends. I want to mention, very specially, the intellectual and personal support of Dana Leibsohn, Elizabeth Klarich, Roisin O’Sullivan, Elizabeth Pryor, Ginetta Candelario, Rob Dorit, Floyd Cheung, Kiran Asher, Manuela Picq, Michelle Joffroy, and María Helena Rueda. They all offered words of comfort and encouragement when I needed them the most. Dana, in particular, has become an exemplary model of collegiality, mentorship, and friendship. Here, I also found an unexpected community of friends and colleagues who have become my own comunidad, including Verónica Dávila Ellis, Rachel Newman, Mariyana Zapryanova, Jorge Vásquez, Colin Hoag, Samuel Ng, Ilona Sotnikova, Sarah Mazza, and Susanna Ferguson. Amelia Mitter-Burke joined my New England life toward the completion of this project and became a beacon of light amid the darkness of COVID-19. Her pace, her love for classrooms, her passion for teaching, and her students are a source of inspiration.

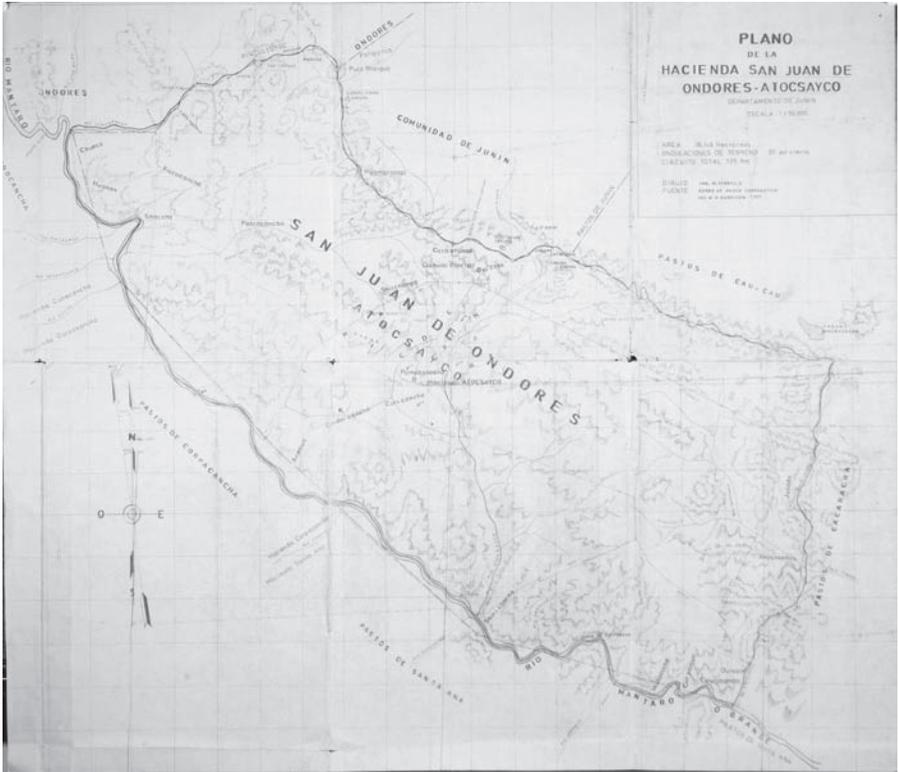
This work could not have been possible without the trust and support of the Comunidad Campesina de San Juan de Ondores. Obed Laureano and Humberto Palomino, past *presidentes comunales*, believed in the importance of history and helped me to present the project before the rest of the comuneros and campesinos. Access to the community of San Juan de Ondores was granted by the popular vote of the *asamblea comunal*, a seminal moment that taught me much about the link between the historical discipline and rural politics. The late Dan Hazen believed the historical records of San Juan de Ondores needed to be preserved and funded a project for digitizing their *actas comunales* through the now extinguished Program of Latin American Libraries and Archives (PLALA) at Harvard University. Yoshy Luengo made the map included in this book and has always helped me with my cartographic quests. Joaquín Gutiérrez elaborated the bibliography and revised many smaller details of the final manuscript. Nino Bariola helped me revise the glossary of Spanish terms, providing his always incisive comments. Lisa Munro and Sarah Hudgens made the original text legible to other readers, and I cannot be thankful enough.

Students at Georgetown University, Lehigh University, the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, and Smith College deserve a special mention. In all of these classrooms, I have had the pleasure and privilege of exchanging and cocreating knowledge as well as testing many of the preliminary ideas that informed this work. They made this work better and also made me a better person.

My parents—Gabriela and Javier—never thought a low-income, first-generation college student should become a history major, headed for a career that seemed reserved for the privileged few. However doubtful and hesitant, they respected, endured, and supported every single one of my decisions. I hope they will see this book, dedicated to them, as a reflection of years of challenges and loving perseverance.



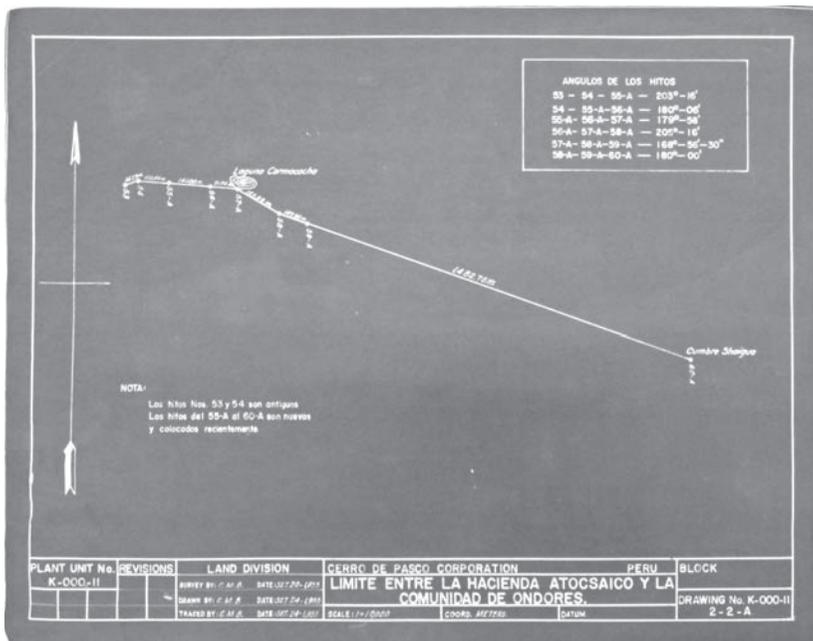
Peru, the central sierra, the Chinchaycocha lake, and San Juan de Ondores. Map by Yoshy Luengo Oyarzún.



San Juan de Ondores and Atocsayco [sic], also known as the “Harrison Map.” Commissioned to William H. Harrison by the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation, 1905. Archivo Comunal de San Juan de Ondores.



The urban sector of San Juan de Ondores. Photograph by the author, 2012.



Boundary between the Atocsaico hacienda and the San Juan de Ondores Community, 1955. Archivo General de la Nación.

ESTATUTO
Y
REGLAMENTO INTERNO DE LA
COMUNIDAD DE INDIGENAS DE
SAN JUAN DE ONDORES

ONDORES

1954

Imp. Acevalh hijo Calle San Carlos 851—Lima

Internal statute of the *comunidad indígena* San Juan de Ondores. Archivo de Comunidades Indígenas y Campesinos, Dirección Regional Agraria de Junín, 1954.

diana propiedad. En lo que respecta a las Haciendas agro-industriales mediante un sistema evolutivo para que los trabajadores vean los propietarios, para este grupo consideramos indispensable la tierra y el ingenio. En lo que respecta a los Organos, el actual atomizado tiene que ser reorganizado, cada Jefe de Zona Agraria debe manejar con plena autonomia.

Sobre limite de insubordinacion se convenia al respecto y al dia cada Capitulo dara una explicacion sobre el.

A continuacion se procedio a leer articulo por articulo la Ley de Reforma Agraria, manteniendose ~~el~~ el Consejo en sesion permanente hasta terminar la discusion de la ley lo que ocurrio a las 5:30 hrs. del dia 24 de junio de 1969.

Acto seguido y mientras se escuchaba la musica propia de la Ley de Reforma Agraria el M. de Educacion expuso varias formas de accion sobre gratuidad de la ensenanza, recomendando la forma por la cual pierden la gratuidad cuando el alumno es desaprobado en dos o mas cursos.

Se acordó que en los o más como aplazados pagan, pero recuperan la gratuidad cuando pasan de otro.

5.45 horas.

Last page of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces' Council of Ministers' minutes declaring the promulgation of the 1969 agrarian reform law. Colecciones Especiales, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1969.

Acta de Posición de Sierras de Estancia Atocsaico

En la Estancia Atocsaico, distrito de Ondores, Provincia y Departamento de Junín, a los 6 días del mes de setiembre de mil novecientos setenta y nueve, reunidos todos los comuneros de la Comunidad Campesina San Juan de Ondores, representados por el Presidente del Consejo de Administración don Miguel Valerio Ordóñez, Secretario don Dionisio Ventocilla Sobalino, Tesorero don Jorge Víctor Echaravía, el Vice Presidente del Consejo de Administración don Primitivo Laureano Ferrallos, Vocales Señora Cecilia Sincero de Tojola, por el Presidente del Consejo de Vigilancia don Bernardo Víctor Gómez y sus miembros don Juan de Chega, y el asesor legal de la Comunidad Dr. Juan Pisco Clemente y el secretario General de la Confederación Campesina del Perú el Sr. Andrés Luna Vargas y sus demás miembros don Manuel Lirioz Arana, Cirilo Guzmán Sánchez y Gregoria Arias Quispe (de la comunidad Huaylahuichán), con el objeto de entrar en Posición de la Estancia Atocsaico, con la presencia de todos los comuneros que suscriben se procedió al acto de la siguiente manera: En vista de tener una resolución favorable por parte del juez de Sierras de Cuenca de Parco mediante el cual se reconoce como legítima propiedad de las Sierras de Atocsaico a la Comunidad Campesina San Juan Ondores y en cumplimiento de los sacrificios de nuestros antepasados y los dirigentes concurrentes tomaron plena y total posesión de dicha estancia en forma organizada por los diferentes sectores de la comunidad como son: Palomazo, Colmishi, San Blas, Paucha y sector población de Ondores y la siguiente participación de los diferentes comités de Damas, tales como: El Comité de Damas del Sector Ondores, Señora Luisa Quispe de Guadalupe como presidenta, El Comité de Damas del Barrio Colmishi representado por Demecia Pomachagua Gómez, el Comité de Damas de Cachacazán representada por Mercedes Echaravía de Baldeón, Comité de Damas de Paucha, Paucencia Señora Ematogua

Communal minutes of San Juan de Ondores declaring the possession of the Atocsaico estate. Archivo Comunal de San Juan de Ondores, 1979.



“Atocsaico es de Ondores,” *La Voz Campesina*, October 1979 (detail).



Abandoned structures of the old Hacienda Atocsaico. Photograph by the author, 2012.

The Rural State

