

DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY OF ZAÑA

AFRO-PERUVIAN MUSEUM

(Proposal submitted to the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, and to UNESCO via its Slave Route Project, and to the District Municipality of Zaña, the Lambayeque Regional Office for Culture, and the Lambayeque Regional Government.)

REPORT:

**ZAÑA: SLAVERY AND AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE
SITE OF MEMORY**

Peru, July 2013

**ZAÑA: SLAVERY AND AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE SITE
OF MEMORY**

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Zaña – Chiclayo, Lambayeque, July 2013

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Zaña - Chiclayo, Lambayeque July 23rd 2013

Board of Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum

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INTRODUCTION

This document focuses on the history and collective memory of the town of Zaña, situated in a valley on Peru's northern coast and fed by the river of the same name, which flows into the Pacific Ocean.

The town of Zaña is located in northern Peru, which in its turn forms part of the Andean region, composed of a group of countries which during the Pre-Hispanic period were the territory of indigenous cultural groups. In spite of many difficulties, these first nations have survived to this day, and their presence is felt throughout Peru. This is the regional context in which the enslaved Africans of the South Pacific diaspora found themselves.

Throughout the entire American continent, the African diaspora passed through similar stages: the buying and selling of individuals; the long and hazardous voyage across the Atlantic Ocean; the slave-owning regime; actions initiated to achieve freedom (*cimarronaje*, *palenques*, legal struggles for emancipation), efforts to conserve traditions and rich artistic and musical creativity.

The slave-owning system gave rise to a number of African slave communities in the Americas and the Caribbean, initiating a variety of distinct existential dynamics and different intercultural processes.

The African presence exhibited particular characteristics on the Pacific coast, with its own patterns and distinct aspects, compared to the Atlantic and Caribbean diaspora.

In present-day Peru, Afro-descendant communities are located on the Pacific coast, in a series of valleys formed by rivers that rise in the Andes and flow into the ocean. The main centers of Afro-descendant populations are: Lima, the capital of Peru, on the central coast; Cañete, Chincha (Guayabo, El Carmen) and Acarí, on the southern coast; and Zaña, Capote, Yapatera and Morropón, on the northern coast.

The focus of this study is a specific location, namely the Zaña Valley, in northern Peru. During the colonial period this was a geographically and economically strategic location aligned with maritime and overland routes. According to our analysis, Zaña meets the criteria demanded by UNESCO for recognition, denomination and inclusion as part of the Slave Route as "A Slavery and African Cultural Heritage Site of Memory", for the following reasons:

1. It has been duly documented that during the colonial period it was an important town for the Spanish in northern Peru, surrounded by haciendas, country estates, sugar mills, tanneries and a port, all of which used slave labor. The big houses of the region employed servants of African descent. A number of colonial-era documents, maps, plans and statistics associated with Zaña have survived. Chérrepe acquired importance as an international port and formed part of the slave trading route.

2. The Afro-descendant population in Zaña has managed to survive in spite of considerable adversity, including natural disasters, earthquakes, epidemics, plagues and pirate attack. Also, its territory has been reduced significantly and on a number of occasions. From the 18th century onwards it also suffered demographic decline, as we will see later. Paradoxically, the territorial dismemberment of Zaña continued after the emancipation of the slaves. In spite of all these factors, a solid core of Zaña families has maintained the memory and legacy of their forebears. Successive generations of this population who have remained within the territory of Zaña have conserved the landscape and vestiges of colonial-era architecture, as well as their oral traditions and the memory of slavery and the achieving of their freedom. This document stands as a testament to the resilience and struggle for survival of the African people of Zaña, throughout what has been one of the most difficult histories of any community on the Pacific coast.

3. In recent decades, the people of Zaña have been engaged in the process of asserting their identity and safeguarding their natural and cultural tangible and intangible heritage, a process which is now supported by an Afro-Peruvian Museum, built on the community's own land and dedicated to honoring the local community and the entire African diaspora. African cultural legacy is expressed across a number of traditions and artistic media.

Theoretical-conceptual support: studies and identification of sites of memory

We would like to emphasize the importance of the theoretical-conceptual support received from UNESCO through its resolutions regarding the safeguarding of natural and cultural heritage, particularly in terms of the interconnectedness of different types of heritage in given territories. For this study, we have had recourse to a number of conceptual advances associated with the interpretation of the relationships between individuals and nature and expressions within the population of artistic creativity. For the past two decades, the support of the Slave Route Project and related research has been of considerable importance. In recent years, UNESCO has been engaged in compiling an inventory of slavery sites of memory, developing important regional initiatives as well as promoting international academic events in which related issues have been discussed. In this document, we have compiled such contributions, together with the positive experiences and examples of other African diaspora areas.

The points addressed in this report include: a) the concept of a slave trading route; b) the timeline; c) mapping of the places where Africans and their descendants settled; d) demographic changes; and e) tradition and memory. This approach enables us to better understand the movement of slaves from their points of departure until their arrival in Zaña. We will also provide details of Pacific shipping routes, access ports and the arrival of

slaves at Chérrepe port, which acquired growing importance as part of the province of Zaña. The port developed to become a major urban center during the colonial period. In addition, after the establishment of plantations or haciendas, new overland itineraries or routes were opened up. In this report we also discuss the places of origin of enslaved people, while also providing details regarding their diverse ethnic origins.

The importance of this initiative, with its focus on the community of Zaña, lies in the fact that very little attention has been paid to the subject of African diaspora slavery sites of memory along much of the Pacific coast and in the Andean region. In this document, we explain the complex nature of the history of Afro-descendants, in a context in which first nation indigenous peoples formed the majority, under a powerful Hispanic political and religious hierarchy. Our approach reevaluates and acknowledges the importance of intercultural relations and the different forms of miscegenation that were recorded in Zaña. In this report, we stress unique aspects of the history and memory of the people of Zaña. At the outset, readers should be aware that Zaña has been the object of successive waves of domestic and overseas migration. This is evidenced today by the presence of descendants of indigenous or first nation peoples, Spaniards, Africans and Asians (Chinese and Japanese). In Zaña, cultural influences from four continents have converged at one time or another. During this process of growing cultural diversity, those families with a long history in Zaña adopted strategies to safeguard their own traditions and cultural legacies. The uniqueness of Zaña in terms of diversity lies precisely in this development of a collective memory among the local population. The new element that has made its appearance as part of the local identity in recent times is the tendency of the population as a whole (in spite of their diverse ethnic origins) to acknowledge and value the fact that Zaña suffered under a slave-owning regime, and that this history represents a vital and fundamental component of the history of the entire community. Also significant is the fact that children and adolescents born in the locality understand, share in and feel its cultural legacy of African origin.

Redress: so there can be no forgetting

The aim of the proposal we present here is to make the first steps towards redress through a reappraisal of the history and memory of the Afro-descendants of Zaña. This reevaluation of Zaña rests upon its role as a settlement established by the African diaspora. This approach expresses our belief that the difficulties and progress experienced by any single community of Afro-descendants form part of the story of all members of the African diaspora.

Our report is based on documents, censuses and stories of the experiences of several generations, and seeks to look beyond essentialist or ethnocentric concepts. We are

conscious of the fact that in our region intercultural processes took place upon the arrival of Afro-descendants which resulted in a range of mixed race heritage manifestations. We will look at the importance of the dynamics of such cultural interactions. The focus of our approach is not that of a reevaluation by and for Afro-descendants. Instead, it is intended as a model through which all the different ethnic and cultural groups in the countries of our region can adopt as their own this history and memory of the slave-owning period in Zaña, in spite of its unique aspects. What happened to those who were enslaved in Zaña should be taken as part of the cultural legacy of the entire African diaspora and of the countries of this region, so that it might be more easily understood by people of every cultural background, thus filling in the gaps in education regarding our collective history. Saying “no” to forgetting and to silence means raising the history and memory we speak of in this report to the level of a proposal that can and must be understood by all the many ethnic groups of our region.

Many centuries have passed since the arrival in northern Peru of the first Africans. A number of historical periods have come and gone. Afro-descendants have lived through significant cultural changes. The protagonists of this history deserve to be acknowledged for their freedom struggle and their contributions to culture. The only way this can happen is through support from regional organizations, national bodies such as the Ministry of Culture, and international institutions such as UNESCO (specifically the Slave Route Project), through the recognition, declaration and inclusion of Zaña as a slavery and African cultural heritage site of memory. Zaña is an important area that witnessed the slave trade at first hand, and a space where efforts are being made in our own time to safeguard what is a unique cultural legacy.

Our proposal aims to open a new cycle in the history and memory of the Afro-descendants of Zaña and the entire South Pacific coast. What we propose is the beginning of a new phase, in which the actual inhabitants of the region play a central role in dialogue between different cultures. Our aim is also to further research, given the fact that many valuable documents held in regional colonial archives have yet to be fully processed. Furthermore, new educational material regarding the slave route and the struggle for freedom of Afro-descendants is urgently required, in order to contribute to bringing together those populations of which the African diaspora is composed. Two paths present themselves as ways to achieving this goal of bringing together the diaspora. On the one hand we have the north-south relationship, while on the other we have the bonds that exist between the Atlantic (and Caribbean) African diaspora and the Pacific diaspora.

Sources

1. A number of specialist researchers have produced studies of Zaña. They include Lorenzo Huertas (covering the Spanish foundation of Zaña and the colonial period) and Susan Ramírez, with her work “Provincial Patriarchs: Land Tenure and the Economics of Power in Colonial Peru”. Research by Domingo Angulo, Teodoro Hampe and Harth Terré has also provided valuable contributions to the field.

2. Colonial period documents:

-) The founding of the Spanish town of Santiago de Miraflores in the Zaña Valley on November 29th 1563.
-) The signing of the disaster act in the city of Zaña on March 18th 1729, at Cerro La Horca.
-) Report on Zaña produced by Joseph Lequanda in 1793 and published in the *Mercurio Peruano*.

3. Maps, sketches and statistics on the population of Zaña divided by ethnic groups, in the 17th century work "*Trujillo del Perú*", produced by Baltazar Martínez de Compañón. A valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Afro-descendant population of the colonial haciendas in the Zaña area was produced by Father Justo Rubiños y Andrade in 1782. In addition to the 1840 national census referred to frequently in this report, another valuable source is the 1876 census.

4. Oral history and collective memory: In this field we have two publications produced by Luis Rocca: "*La otra historia. Memoria colectiva y canto del pueblo de Zaña*" (1985); and "*Herencia de esclavos en el norte del Perú*" (2010). Also of great value are the five books of poems written in the traditional *décima* literary form composed over the past three decades by the poet Hildebrando Briones Vela, which speak to the intangible cultural heritage of Zaña. The poetry of Briones expresses the discourse, traditions and collective memory of the community.

5. Other important sources include the colonial archives maintained to this day in Peru and overseas, which have been studied by the historians Juan Castañeda and María Espinoza. Aspects of these documentary sources have been cited by Susan Ramírez, Guillermo Figueroa, Ninfa Idrogo, Lorenzo Huertas, Bernard Lavalle and Teodoro Hampe. Also worthy of mention are the studies made concerning the "*trata negrera*", or slave trade, by the researchers Fernando Romero, Germán Peralta and Olinda Celestino, dealing with the arrival of Africans in Peru.

6. In the appendixes of this report, we include copies of important historical documents. In Appendix I, we include a photographic record of the town of Zaña, the river, colonial-era churches, haciendas, the port of Chérrepe, slave purchase contracts and Cerro La Horca. In the other appendixes we provide reproductions of documents and statistics from the colonial period that illustrate all too clearly the scale of the slave-owning culture in Zaña. In the main body of the report, we include maps and illustrations that provide additional details regarding our subject.



PART ONE

1. FOUNDING OF THE SPANISH TOWN OF SANTIAGO DE MIRAFLORES DE ZAÑA.

1.1. Background to the founding of the town.

Indigenous populations occupied the northern coast of Peru for thousands of years. Historians have identified a number of cultural periods and distinct ethnic groups. In northern Peru, indigenous peoples spoke several languages. Some 25 years ago, in the Huaca Rajada district of Zaña, the archaeologist Walter Alva made an important archaeological discovery. He unearthed the tomb and skeletal remains of the so-called “Lord of Sipán”, a Moche culture nobleman. This society was highly advanced in several technological areas, and dominated its natural surroundings through complex irrigation systems. They built small reed boats and rafts, and were expert metalworkers.

Walter Alva¹ has this to say regarding the achievements of Moche culture: “They emerged and developed between the 1st and 7th centuries AD in a long and narrow strip of coastal desert in northern Peru, where today we find the remains of colossal pyramidal temples, palaces, fortifications, irrigation projects and cemeteries which provide evidence of their highly developed art, technology, and complex organization”.

While archaeologists have undertaken important work on Peru’s northern coast, the Pre-Hispanic remains which have survived in the Zaña Valley itself have still not been fully investigated.

During the period of Inca imperial expansion, part of the central Zaña Valley formed a section of the great highway system known as the Qhapac Ñan. Adjacent to Cerro Corbacho, the Incas built one of the largest royal *tambos*, or way stations, in the entire Lambayeque region.

The indigenous settlements on Peru’s northern coast were established in a series of fertile valleys with good soils, nourished by complex irrigation systems and managed through accumulated ancestral knowledge. Thousands of indigenous people occupied the so-called *yungas* zone, concentrated in river valleys and at coastal locations. They enjoyed favorable conditions, with ample pastureland and abundant native flora. They found excellent sources of protein in the ocean and local rivers, raised livestock, and planted crops. These same factors would eventually lead to the Spaniards’ decision to settle the area and establish their own urban center.

1.2 The first documents related to the founding of Zaña by the Spanish.

¹ Alva, Walter: “*Sipán. 25 años del descubrimiento*”. Edición Universidad Alas Peruanas. 2013. p.33.

The Spanish town of Santiago de Miraflores was founded in the Zaña Valley on November 29th 1563². The Founding Charter and the first map or urban layout of the new town include the main church, the town hall and the lots reserved for housing. These early documents feature the names of the Spanish landowners. Important research on this initial phase of Spanish settlement has been made by Domingo Angulo³ and Lorenzo Huertas. The latter published a document entitled "*Fundación de la Villa de Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña: Un modelo hispano de planificación urbana*"⁴, the text of which discusses the principal documents associated with the founding of the town, in the following terms:

"Regarding the founding of the town of Santiago de Miraflores and thanks to the meticulous work of Father Domingo Angulo (1920), we possess five foundational documents of enormous significance, and these are:

1. "Provision dated November 4th 1563, signed by the Count of Nieva, commanding Baltasar Rodríguez, a resident of the city of Trujillo, to establish the new town."
2. "Founding charter, dated November 29th of the same year, and signed by Baltasar Rodríguez." (See Appendix II)
3. "Ratification of the foundation, signed by Miguel Rodríguez de Villafuerte, also a resident of Trujillo, dated January 24th 1564."
4. "Provision granted by the President of the Royal Audience in Lima, Lope García de Castro, including a series of regulations governing the measurements of the lots and the relations of the residents, dated December 6th 1564."
5. "The founding plan, of considerable interest and possibly the earliest surviving document of its kind relating to the urban centers of colonial-era Peru." (See Figure 3)

These documents confirm the Spanish foundation through a charter, feature the forty-one names of the Spaniards to whom the first lots were allocated, and include the original layout of the settlement. This evidence offers details of the earliest years of Zaña and the creation of the conditions that would lead to Europeans requiring an indigenous labor force and subsequently the acquisition of enslaved Africans, who would be charged with the manual work carried out in the fields and within the new town.

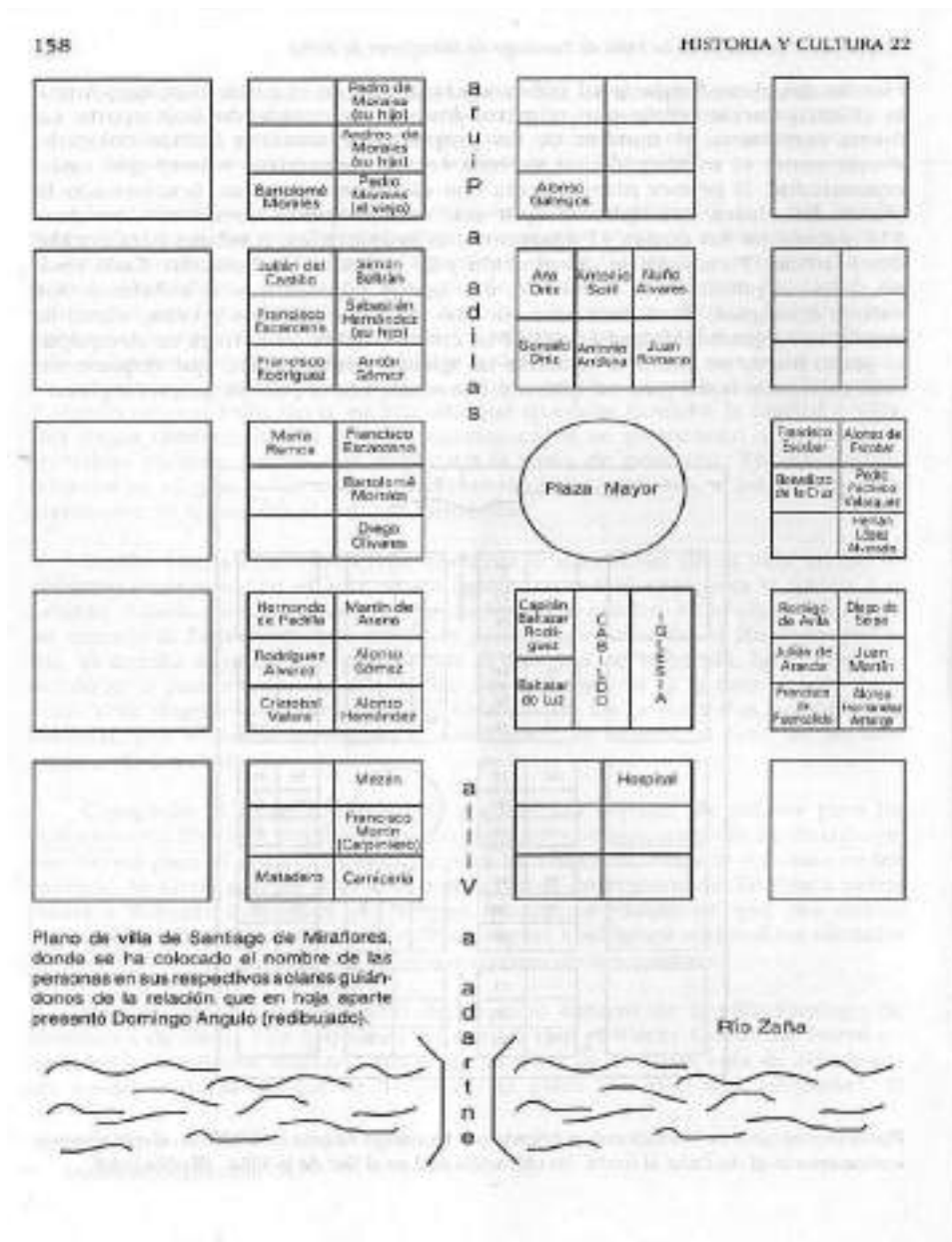
² The historian Juan Castañeda has indicated (May 21st 2013) that "there is a copy in Seville" of the Act of Foundation, and that "the catalogue number is AGI, Lima 37".

³ Angulo, Domingo: "*Fundación y población de la villa de Zaña*", in the journal of the Peruvian National Archive (Number 2), Lima.

⁴ Huertas, Lorenzo: "*Fundación de la Villa de Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña: Un modelo hispano de planificación urbana*", in "*Historia y Cultura*" Lima, 1993 pp.145-205.

The site chosen was a strategic one for the Spaniards. The cities of San Miguel de Piura and Trujillo had already been founded on Peru's northern coast. This new urban center lay equidistant from both cities and enabled the colonizers to exercise greater control over the territory and its indigenous inhabitants. One of the main objectives was to establish fresh sources of wealth and power in the new territory

(Original Map of Zaña)



Map produced by the historian Lorenzo Huertas, based on earlier work by Domingo Angulo.

1.3. The significance of Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña and the presence of slaves.

The earliest workforce in the Spanish town of Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña was composed of indigenous people. From around the final decade of the 16th century there was an increasing reliance on slave labor, as practices were altered in rural areas. Farming properties grew larger, extensive ranching properties were established, and tracts of land were given over to sugar production.

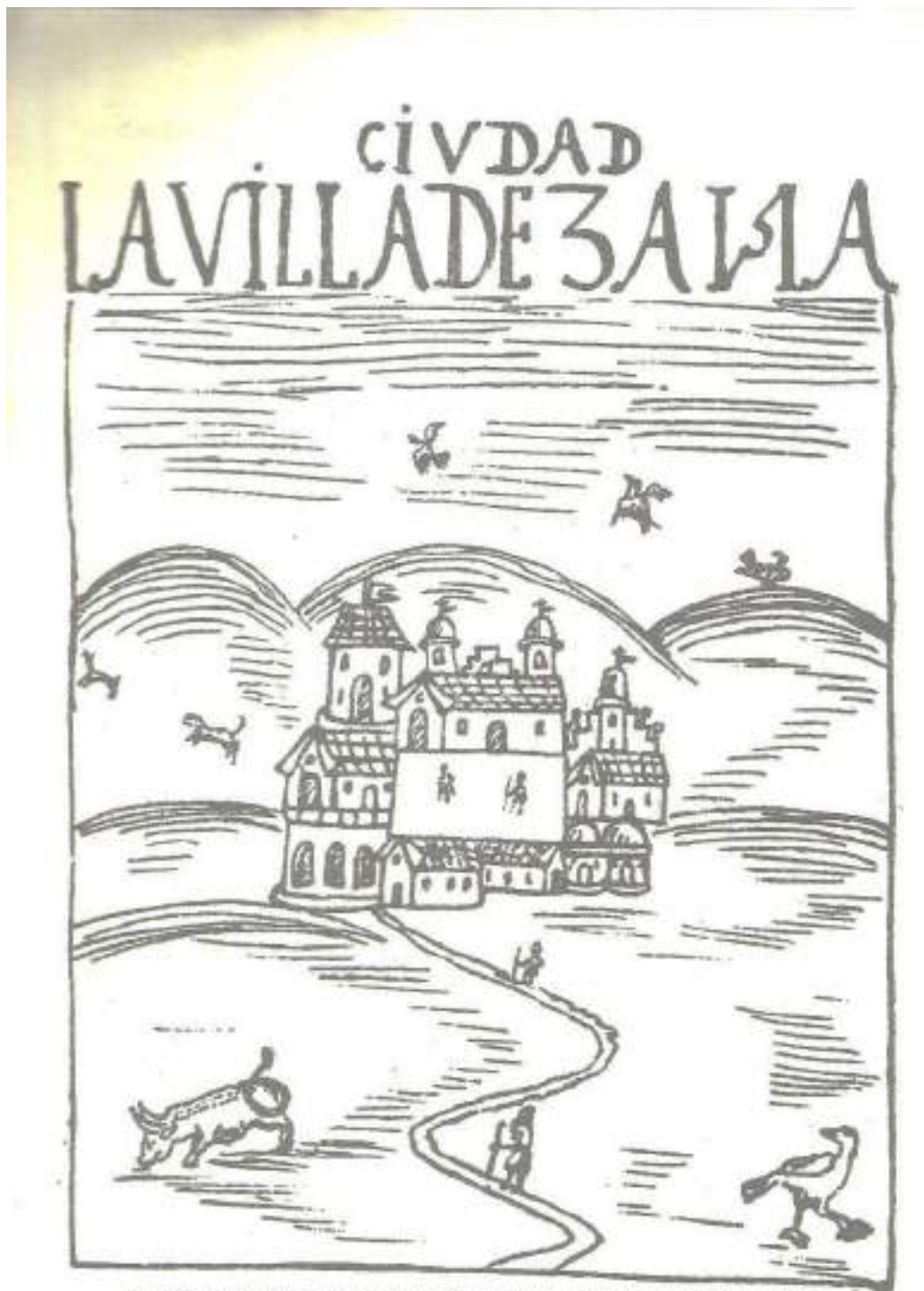
Construction of the original settlement was completed using a workforce composed of 240 "*mitayos*"; indigenous people from eleven of the region's native settlements.

The original urban plan of Zaña was composed of an integrated complex that included an urban center surrounded by large haciendas and tanneries, with a port located at Chérrepe. These components are considered in this report as part of a general assessment of the significance of Zaña. Initially, the lifeblood of the settlement was the river⁵, the waters of which nourished the entire valley. Gradually the Spanish colonizers who resided in the urban nucleus of Zaña extended their power and control into the other valleys of the region.

Such was the significance of Zaña that the chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala produced a drawing of the flourishing town.

⁵ Oscar Chambi's photograph of the Zaña River can be seen in Appendix I of this report.

The town of Zaña according to the artist and chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala.



1.4. The buying and selling of slaves: The African slave trade arrives in Zaña.

It is important to understand how African slaves first arrived in Zaña. There has been very little research on this subject, and here we will attempt to provide accurate data regarding the route, from its source in Africa to this town on Peru's northern coast.

First, we must look at the part of Africa where the slave trade embarkation ports were located. To this end, we will borrow heavily from two historians who have based their own work on primary sources. These are Rolando Mellafe and Germán Peralta⁶, who in their research, focused on the period from 1595 to 1640, identify the following territories: Cape Verde, Guinea, Angola and São Tomé.

With regard to the origin of African slaves, in his work "Slavery in Latin America"⁷ Rolando Mellafe refers to a series of six territories "from which the African slaves brought to Spanish American colonies originated". He considers that the first of these was the North African country of Mauritania, which is bordered to the southwest by Senegal. The second zone was Guinea or Cape Verde, between present-day Senegal and the Geba River. The third zone was the Gold Coast and the river valleys of Sierra Leone. From the end of the 16th century, the fourth zone was the island of São Tomé, which dominated Cameroun and part of the Congo. It was from there that members of the Bantu and Dahomey cultures were embarked. The fifth region lay south of the Congo River and was composed of the entire territory of Angola. Mellafe believes that the sixth region included both African and Asian slaves, taken from Oceania. He mentions people from the Kaffir and Mozambique ethnic groups⁸.

The importance of Cartagena (Colombia) and Panama in the African slave trade of the Pacific coast.

Two researchers who have focused their work on the slave trade in the Andean region have provided us with valuable information indicating the importance of the port of Cartagena (Colombia) and the route that crossed Panama to the Pacific coast. We refer to Rolando Mellafe and Frederick Bowser.

According to Rolando Mellafe⁹: "A third American Atlantic zone, perhaps the most important in terms of the number of slaves received and dispatched, had Cartagena as its port; a small proportion of the shipments arriving at Cartagena continued on to the Pacific via Panama, some remained in Central America, and some were distributed along the coast of Venezuela [...]". He goes on to say that: "For more than two centuries, the

⁶ Peralta, Germán: "*El comercio negrero (1595-1640)*", Universidad Federico Villareal, Lima, Peru (2005) pp.423-466.

⁷ Mellafe, Rolando: "*La esclavitud en Hispanoamérica*", Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 1964 pp.53-56.

⁸ Mellafe, Ibid. pp.55-56.

⁹ Mellafe, Ibid p.62.

Andean portions of Pacific Spanish America had just a single legal point of access for black slaves, Panama, which in its turn received shipments unloaded at Cartagena and particularly Portobelo. Panama, aside from being, as was said at the time, Peru's throat, was one of the main centers of the so-called Pacific circuit".

The arrival by sea of slaves in Zaña

The publication by Frederick Bowser entitled "The African Slave in Colonial Peru"¹⁰ sheds light on the context of the black slave trade in the country and the region. He points out that these Africans came from the port of Cartagena (Colombia), which was the first port of call after the long voyage from Africa¹¹.

He says that: "The majority of the slave ships destined for Callao tended to break the voyage, particularly at the ports of Paita, or at Guanchaco, Santa and Saña, in the Trujillo region [...]. During these stops they would load their vessels with fresh supplies of meat and other products, and sell slaves for use on the nearby plantations"¹².

The above passage mentions Zaña as a place where slave ships stopped and sold enslaved Africans to local plantations. It should be remembered that during the colonial period, Chérrepe, located just seven leagues from Zaña, was a busy port, playing a key role in the trafficking of slaves.

The historian Lorenzo Huertas has written of the buying and selling of slaves in the main square of Zaña: "The main square, in addition to being the venue for residents' meetings, was also used for fiestas, processions, the sale of slaves and the sale of 'local produce and other goods from far-flung places'"¹³.

Writing about the second half of the 17th century, Susan Ramírez provides concrete data regarding the slave trade to Zaña during what was a period of growth for the sugar industry: "The absence of government legislation to restrict the slave trade led to an increase in the number of blacks arriving in Zaña, which led to a fall in the price of an untrained young male to around 500 pesos. These imports proved insufficient to cover the needs of the region, given the rapid expansion of the sugar industry, which during the mid-17th century required intensive labor. This led to the hacienda owners instructing their clerks in Lima to buy slaves; or to finance trips to the Province of Mainland to acquire them in lots of up to 58 at a time. As a result, slave numbers in Calupe doubled, and almost tripled in Cayaltí...."¹⁴

¹⁰ Bowser, Frederick: *"El esclavo africano en el Perú colonial"*, Editorial Siglo XXI, América Nuestra (First Spanish Edition, Mexico 1977).

¹¹ Bowser, *Ibid.* p.77.

¹² Bowser, *Ibid.* p.96.

¹³ Huertas, Lorenzo, *Ibid.* (1993) p.163.

¹⁴ Ramírez, Susan p.179.

When considering the route along which enslaved peoples were taken on their way to Zaña, it is important to consider the words of Susan Ramírez, who points out that slaves were purchased from the so-called 'Province of Mainland' (composed of the present-day territories of Colombia, Venezuela and Panama), as well as from Lima¹⁵, the capital of Peru.

Regarding documents recording the buying and selling of slaves, in the Lambayeque Regional Archive we have found a bundle of papers that once belonged to the notary Bartolomé Dapelo, who recorded the sale of slaves from 1794 to 1795. They show that transactions were also made involving slaves located in different parts of the South Pacific coast, including Valparaíso, Guayaquil and other locations. Some photographs of documents containing details of slave purchases are included in Appendix I. During the period when the notary Dapelo was working, towards the end of the 18th century, political power in the region rested with the elite of the city of Lambayeque, as a consequence of the disasters which had befallen Zaña.

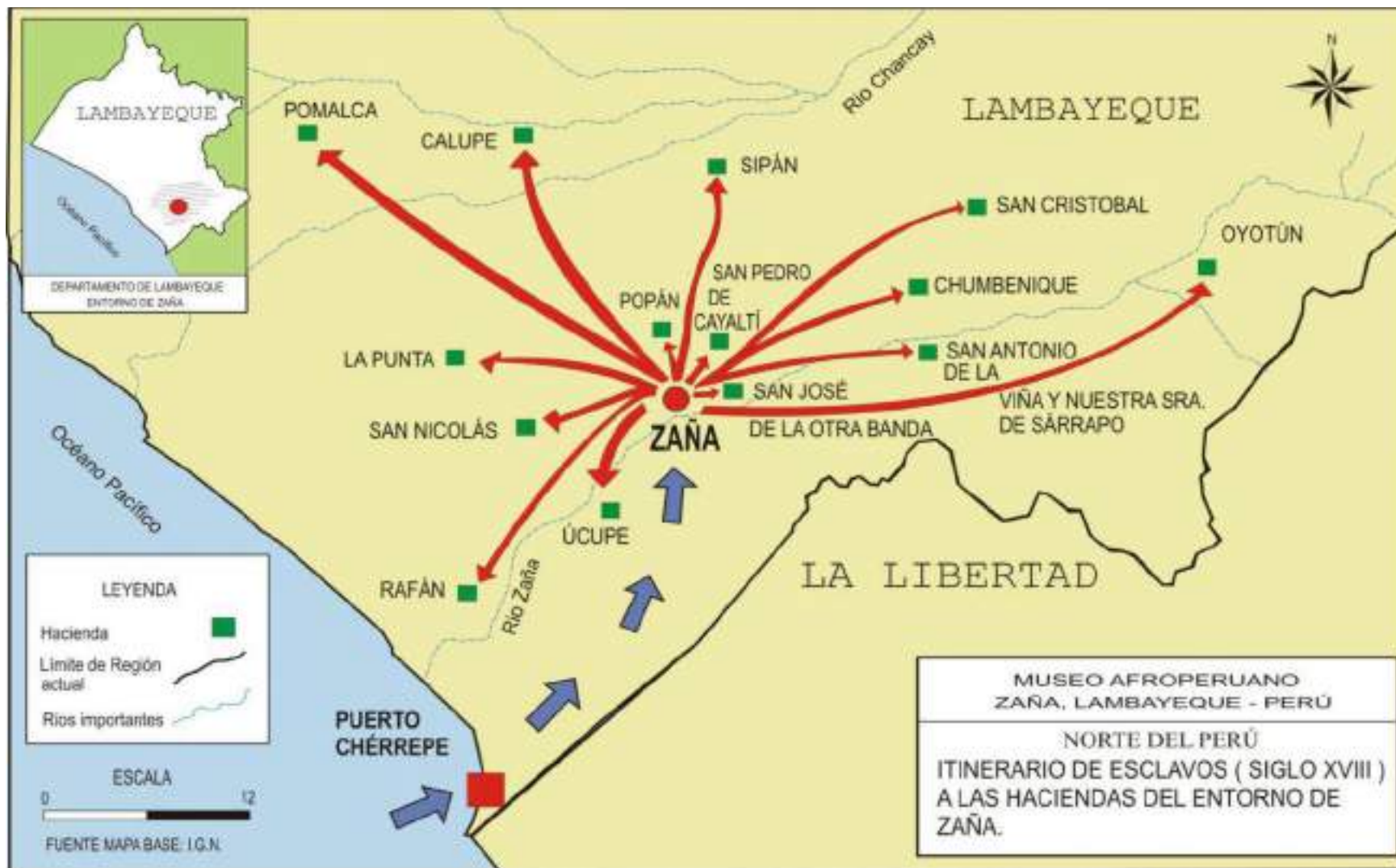
The information outlined in the preceding paragraphs provides us with an understanding of how during the colonial period there existed two main routes for the movement of slaves to Zaña. One route ran from the Cartagena area (a particularly important slave port), while the other involved the transporting of slaves acquired in Lima, who were embarked at the port of Callao, bound for the port of Chérrepe¹⁶ in Zaña (see Figure 5). As soon as they arrived at the town of Zaña, the slaves were distributed overland to the haciendas in the valley of the same name, or throughout the region composed of four river valleys. As we will see later in greater detail, there were thirty-one haciendas in the region described as the 'Province of Zaña' by Bishop Martínez de Compañón. The construction of primitive roads facilitated the transporting of the slaves to the haciendas (see Figure 6), using horse-drawn carts and wagons.

African slaves and local indigenous people made a decisive contribution to the productive and economic development of the region and the flourishing of the town of Zaña.

¹⁵ Olinda Celestino and several other researchers have indicated that one of the slave routes to Lima involved the buying and selling of slaves sent across the Atlantic to Buenos Aires, who were then transported to Chile. From there, they were sent to Lima. This is why in documents held in the Lambayeque Regional Archive there are records of the purchasing of slaves in the port of Valparaíso (Chile).

¹⁶ A distance of six leagues (around 30 kilometers) separated the port of Chérrepe from the town of Zaña.





Places of origin of enslaved peoples (ethnic origin).

Researchers based in northern Peru have provided us with information regarding the ethnic origins of slaves. According to the documentation discovered so far, these slaves came from twelve locations, cultures or ethnic groups in Africa, and had passed through several staging posts on their journey (ports and slave markets), before reaching the town of Zaña.

The historian Lorenzo Huertas¹⁷ has provided the following contribution regarding the slave workers at the La Punta hacienda, which during the colonial period was one of Zaña's largest haciendas: "The black slaves came from the different nations of Africa (Arara, Lucumi, Angola, Congo, Biafra, Popoe, Anchico, Mina, etc.)". Referring to his sources, he points out that: "Regarding the nationalities of the Africans, interesting inventories have survived from the haciendas of Zaña which list the names and nationalities of slaves. These inventories are contained in the notary's protocols of the Lambayeque Regional Archive". Huertas identifies the ethnic origins of the slaves at the San Juan de la Punta Hacienda in the outskirts of Zaña during the year 1721 and includes a table listing 34 names, accompanied by their ages and places of origin (in Africa), including "Chalas"¹⁸ and "Caravelis".

Below, we present additional information concerning the ethnic origins of slaves. In March 2005, the researcher César Maguiña delivered a document to the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum containing the marriage records of slaves, which revealed the origin of one of them, described as "Antonio, a black of the Mozambique caste". The date of the marriage was October 30th 1803, and the couple lived at the Calupe sugar mill. For his part, the historian Guillermo Figueroa informed us via a communication dated May 30th 2013 of his study of the Lambayeque Region Colonial Archives, during which he uncovered information confirming the presence of slaves of Lucumi¹⁹, Congo, Angola and Biafra origin. In this regard, the architect Alberto Risco has informed us that during his research into colonial architecture (focused primarily on tanneries), he has found records of slaves from Guinea²⁰ (report received on June 1st 2013). In his book "*Amor y opresión en los andes coloniales*", Bernard Lavalle mentions two slaves from 1737: "Tiburcio, Mina and Pablo, Congo..."²¹, whose places of origin are given as Mina and Congo.

It should be noted that, while we have mentioned the embarkation points of the slaves transported from Africa, these places of departure do not necessarily reflect their ethnic origin. However, recent historical research has identified other names which are

¹⁷ Huertas, Lorenzo. "*Fundación de la Villa Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña: Un modelo hispano de planificación urbana*", in "*Historia y Cultura*", journal of Peru's National Museum of Archaeology, Anthropology and History, INC Lima (1993) p.166.

¹⁸ The surname Chala is common among Afro-descendants in northern Ecuador, but we have been unable to locate its ethnic or territorial origin in Africa.

¹⁹ Regarding the term "Lucumi", we have established that it is used as a surname to this day in the district of Picsi. This was corroborated by Roberto Jaramillo, a resident of Capote and leader of the Capote AFRODEC association (communication dated July 7th 2013).

²⁰ A report by Alberto Risco cites the following source: "*Escribano Josef Domingo Casanova VI, 1808 Cuaderno 7 MARIA GUINEA COSTA "Camino a Saña"*."

²¹ Lavalle, Bernard: "*Amor y opresión en los Andes coloniales*", Lima. IFEA (1999) p.167.

associated with certain African cultures or ethnic groups. It is also important to remember that another method for identifying African ethnic origins rests upon the study of their cultural traditions. Comparative study of artistic and/or religious expressions can reveal similarities and continuities among African communities and specific African diaspora population centers in the countries of our region, and there have been advances in this type of research in Brazil and the Caribbean.

In Lima, Frederick Bowser²² (employing primary written sources from 1524 to 1660) identified 26 cultural or ethnic denominations of slaves from the colonial period, corresponding to 12 territories in Africa.

To date, we have identified the records of Afro-descendants who resided in Zaña or Lambayeque whose origins can be matched to approximately twelve cultures, places or ethnic groups in Africa²³, and these are: Congo, Arara, Po-Po, Lucumí, Anchico, Biojos, Minas, Caraveli, Biafra, Guinea, Mozambique and Angola.

Origins of those enslaved in Zaña/ Lambayeque (17th and 18th centuries)

Denomination of Africans who lived in the Province of Zaña	Geographic territory or place of origin*	Cultural references in different diaspora countries
Angola	Angola	“The inhabitants of Angola, or Angolas, are Bantus. The Angolas influenced, together with the Congos, some parts of Brazil, although their influence was minor compared to that of the Yoruba.” (Jorge Vivó, p.360)
Anchico	Congo-Brazzaville	“Angico. Bantu tribe from Portuguese East Africa” (In Jorge Vivó ²⁴ , p.360)
Arara	Kingdom of Dahomey (now Republic of Benin)	“Arará, Arada, Arandá. Dahomey tribe”. (In Jorge Vivó, p.361)
Biafra	Guinea Bissau	Biafada, (F. Bowser, p.418)
Biojos or Biohos	Guinea Bissau	Bissago (F. Bowser, p.418)
Caraveli	Eastern Nigeria (and reference to Cameroun)	“Native of Calabar. The Carabalís were part Sudanese and part Bantu. The Carabalí influence is third in significance among the African influences in Cuba.” (Jorge Vivó, p.366)
Congo	Congo	“The Congo forms part of the Congo river basin. The inhabitants of the Congo are Bantus”. (Jorge Vivó, p.367)
Guinea	Guinea	“Coast of Guinea. Section of the African coast composed of the Gold Coast, as far as Calabar in Nigeria; that is, the so-called

²² Bowser, *Ibid.* p.418.

²³ It should be remembered that in the context of this issue of ethnic origin further study is required, given that names may refer to places of birth or residence, as well as embarkation points in Africa.

²⁴ Jorge Vivó wrote about ethnic groups and their cultural characteristics in the glossary of the work by Arthur Ramos: “*Las culturas negras en el Nuevo Mundo*”, *Fondo de cultura económica* (Mexico), first Spanish language edition, 1943.

		Gold Coast, Slave Coast and Calabar". (Jorge Vivó, p.367)
Lucumí	Territory of the Kingdom of Dahomey (Republic of Benin)	"Lucumí: Name by which the Yoruba were known in Cuba." (Jorge Vivó, p.375).
Minas	Mina coast (Sudanese culture), located in the Republic of Ghana	An embarkation point also known by the name Elmina.
Mozambique	Mozambique (southeast Africa)	Mozambique: Country located in southeast Africa, inhabited by Bantus (Jorge Vivó, p.377)
Popo ²⁵	"Between Volta and Cameroun", identified on an 18 th century map of Africa	Popo, city in Dahomey, also known as Paw. (Jorge Vivó, p. 381) "The Popo Kingdom formed part of the group of Yoruba states located between Volta and Cameroun". From "Africa in Colombia", at: http://www.colombiaaprende.edu.co/html/etnias/1604/articles-88185_archivo.pdf

*For the location of the territories in the second column, see Bowser Ibid. p. 418.

The third column is based on the glossary created by Jorge Vivó for a book by Arthur Ramos. Colonial period maps constitute a useful source for such classification.

It should be remembered that according to Lorenzo Huertas, (1993: p.199) the majority of Africans at the La Punta hacienda (Zaña) called themselves "Araras" and "Congos". The former originated from Dahomey (now Benin), while the latter came from the Congo region of Africa (now the Democratic Republic of Congo).

In order to provide a fuller picture of the diverse origins of the slaves who were brought to the northern coast of Peru, below we mention additional ethnic groups identified within that macro region. For Piura (north of Zaña), a number of written records exist which refer to the presence of slaves from Madagascar, who are described as "*malgaches*" or "*mangachería*". Regarding the ethnic groups located to the south of Zaña, in the province of Trujillo (the present-day region of La Libertad), we have the valuable contribution of Bernard Lavallé²⁶, who identifies the presence during the colonial period of "Mina and Malamba; Mandinga and Bañol; Jolupe, Bran and Xoxa; Guinea, Cape Verde, Mosanga, Biafra, Arará and Enxica". This information sheds light on the variety of ethnic groups and places of origin in Africa of the slaves who were brought to the macro region of northern Peru. This data should form the basis of future research on the subject. Such information shows that the presence of Africans during the colonial period in northern Peru was not based on nations or cultural groups, and that slaves were distributed on an individual basis among haciendas, after a process of sale (in Cartagena and Portobelo) and resale (in the port of Callao). This

²⁵ "The Kingdom of Popo belonged to the group of Yoruba states located between the Volta and Cameroun". Text "Africa in Colombia", at:
http://www.colombiaaprende.edu.co/html/etnias/1604/articles-88185_archivo.pdf

²⁶ Lavalle, Bernard: Ibid. p.147.

made it difficult for Africans in Zaña to form brotherhoods or assemblies, given the heterogeneity of their origins.

1.5. Churches, mansions and the presence of slaves.

The Spanish town of Zaña was initially composed of 19 blocks, according to the original street plan. It was upon this grid system that construction began of the first mansions and churches. The town had a main square, town hall, inn, jail, slaughterhouse and hospital. Built over an extended period, the town's churches were: Iglesia Matriz ("Mother Church"), San Francisco, San Juan de Dios, San Agustín, La Merced, and Santa Lucía (for Indians), the chapel where Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo died. The presence in Zaña of the highest-ranking religious figure in Peru demonstrates the importance of the area during the colonial period. The remarkably impressive La Punta chapel²⁷ was also built during the colonial era, by local hacienda owners.

Several authors, including Lorenzo Huertas, maintain that the mansions located around the main square in Zaña possessed arcaded façades and some had two floors.

Slaves were involved in the construction of the churches. Bowser tells us that "in 1618 an individual undertook to provide two hundred blacks for the proposed construction of a convent in Saña". He goes on to say that: "As we have seen, those individuals associated with the founding of an institution often took pains to ensure that it was furnished with slaves"²⁸. The source cited by Bowser is a document submitted for royal approval for the construction of the Saña convent (Lima Audience).

The number of slaves offered as labor for the construction of a church in Zaña offers us a clear indication of the size of the town that was being developed.

Several authors provide detailed information regarding the slaves held in the urban center of Zaña.

The historian Susan Ramírez tells us that during the last decade of the 16th century black slaves, seen as visible symbols of wealth, replaced Indians as domestic servants²⁹.

Ramírez also offers a description of the home of one of the Spanish residents of the town named Vásquez de Saavedra, some time around 1640: "In Saña he lived in a large mansion with a private chapel, furnished like a palace with upholstered sofas, lacquered chests inlaid with ivory, tapestries and paintings. Twenty-one slaves assigned to domestic service served him using gold and silver tableware. In spite of the subtropical heat, he dressed in imported silk and linen."³⁰ The presence of twenty-one slaves in a mansion stands as evidence of the wealth and power achieved by local hacienda owners.

²⁷ Today the vestiges of this church are located in the Saltur district. Of particular interest is the main altarpiece, featuring the most well-preserved paintings of the colonial-era religious architecture of Zaña.

²⁸ Bowser, *Ibid.* p.179.

²⁹ Ramírez, Susan: "*Patriarcas Provinciales. La tenencia de la tierra y la economía del poder en el Perú Colonial*", Madrid, Alianza Editorial (1991) p.120.

³⁰ Ramírez, Susan p.146.

Ramírez goes on to describe another Zaña mansion which during the first half of the 17th century belonged to the hacienda owner Francisco de Palma y Vera. She describes how in addition to lands and their properties, the hacienda owners maintained town houses, well-furnished with carpets, paintings and comfortable divans. Palma y Vera, for example, divided his time between the La Merced monastery and the main square, in a mansion that was carpeted throughout, with upholstered furniture and gold-framed mirrors. He was proud of his full silver dinner service, with matching candelabra, and of his private chapel with its valuable collection of statues and oil paintings, and of his library. He dressed in the finest fabrics, imported from England, Naples and France. Although he possessed country estates and vats that produced hundreds of pounds of soap each year, he preferred to wash with imported soaps and dry his hands on English towels. When traveling, he would either ride a mule, using a saddle and harness decorated with silver, or use a carriage with scarlet curtains.³¹

The historian Huertas also describes the luxurious lifestyle of a Spaniard and the possessions he had in his home, which included slaves. This information dates from 1702, the golden age of this Spanish town. Huertas transcribed the following description from a protocol by Thomas de Rivera: “Firstly this house on the embankment and lower rooms with two shops forming the corner of the river street with doors and windows locks and keys, valued at one thousand two hundred pesos. There were fifty-seven marks and eight ounces of worked silver; a black named Luis Portugues aged sixty years, a forty-year-old black woman named Maria of the Congo caste. A black of the Popo caste named Cayetano aged twenty years. A black boy named Cayetano, a Creole aged seventeen years. A sideboard, a small cedar commode, two wardrobes, sixteen chairs with gold buttons, two desks upholstered with red hide and another upholstered with black hide, both fitted with locks and keys. Two leather-covered chests from Chachapoyas, stationery from Quito. Thirty large and small canvases of saints, seven with frames, eighteen with stretchers and five with no setting, rolled. Two flask-holders with glass flasks. A shotgun and a pair of pistols with their pouches. Two old parasols, two cooking pots, three iron shackles, antique sword and dagger with scabbards / a black Chinese satin dress with buttons made from gold thread, well-worn pantaloons and doublet. A jacket and doublet from Spain, and many other things from China. Four hats, two of white beaver, one reasonable and the other very old and two of black vicuña and well-worn, hose and stockings. A gold insignia of the Holy Office, two tobacco boxes, one small one made from embossed silver and the other made from tortoiseshell with decoration”³².

Regarding the control exercised by masters over their slaves, Lorenzo Huertas³³ refers to a case that occurred in 1702, in which a lady donated a slave to the Iglesia Matriz,

³¹ Ramírez, Susan: Ibid. p.196.

³² Huertas: Ibid. p.196-197.

³³ Huertas, Lorenzo: Ibid. p.169.

under the following terms: “A black named Felicino, aged around fourteen, for a period of forty years, in order to serve the brotherhood in all things they offer there, as well as in their festivities and in honoring his divine Majesty, and guarding and defending and filling glasses and other things and ministering to the brotherhood in whatever may be required in their homes as a butler therein. This black shall be fed and clothed and cured of his maladies and upon completion of the aforementioned period of forty years he shall be given his freedom.”

The authorities also kept slaves. Evidence of this can be found in the book “*La otra historia*”³⁴, in reference to an event in 1705 in which a young slave participated, who testifies to having witnessed a miracle attributed to Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo. What follows is a transcription of the version recorded by Carlos García Irigoyen: “The night of Saturday on the eleventh day of the month, a year and a day since the Holy Relic of that glorious saint Don Turibius of Mogrovejo had entered this city, just after prayers, in the street that leads from the square to the Church of Our Lady of Mercy, at the corner where the standard bearer Don Diego Vásquez and Father Alonso de Ortega were standing, speaking with a black Creole slave of the Governor Don Santos Gil de la Torre, who was carrying a bale of alfalfa, he saw a great light in the air, which dazzled and horrified him, and which he described as being like lightning, and seeing from whence it came he observed that the cause of this great brightness was the light that came from the shrine and that said light had spread through the air towards the Main Square of that city, providing such clarity of light that one might have read a letter, and that this continued for around a quarter of an hour...”

Such evidence tells us that in the daily life of the town of Zaña enslaved men and women lived and worked in a number of private and public spaces.

1.6. Marriage and slave dowries.

The historian Teodoro Hampe has presented a report from 1715 which confirms that as part of marriage arrangements slaves were included as part of the dowry. According to this researcher “[...] in a dowry letter from 1715, concerning a high status marriage between the Zaña-born Creole Doña Juana Josefa de Arce y Portugal, the daughter of Captain Don Bernabé José de Arce y Vega, and a member of the titled Quito nobility, the governor Don Miguel Jerónimo Sánchez de Orellana, the son of the first marquises of Solanda. The parents of the bride were in a position to contribute a dowry of slaves, silver, jewels and other treasures valued at 4,134 pesos” (Hampe Martínez 1997: 32-33).

³⁴ Rocca, Luis: “*La Otra Historia. Memoria colectiva y canto del pueblo de Zaña*”. IAA Lima 1985. p.89. This report is based on the biographical work of Carlos García Irigoyen, charting the life of Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo.

2. RURAL PRODUCTION AND SLAVE LABOR: LARGE AGRICULTURAL ESTATES IN THE VICINITY OF ZAÑA.

Susan Ramírez has explained the process through which the number of slaves in Zaña increased from around 1590. She maintains that the government published a decree declaring that sugar production was too dangerous for Indians and banning the hiring of indigenous workers for sugar mills. Although this prohibition was ignored initially, it eventually forced hacienda owners to import entire work gangs of black slaves.³⁵

Susan Ramírez goes on to explain how the area experienced a boom in sugar production, as prices rose on both domestic and international markets. In this context, she writes of how in the 16th century black slaves had been imported, but not in large numbers. During the 17th century, the volume of slaves arriving in Peru was almost sufficient to cover the needs of the viceroyalty. The number of slaves arriving in Lima increased to such a degree that the market in the capital was flooded and prices were suppressed for several years. But this was not the case in Lambayeque, where prices remained relatively high, reflecting the strong demand in the area for agricultural labor. Prices fluctuated between 470 and 700 pesos, averaging 550 pesos between 1597 and 1648. On occasion, hacienda owners might pay up to 1000 pesos or more for a trained soap maker, confectioner or experienced farm worker. The solution to the problem of a labor shortage, through the increased availability of black workers at accessible prices, freed agriculture from a serious limitation and was one of the main reasons for the growth of the sector, particularly the expansion in the growing of sugar cane.³⁶

According to Ramírez, the sugar boom led to increased prosperity among hacienda owners from 1650 to 1719, which led to a significant increase in the number of slaves.

Slave labor contributed to the enrichment of the Spanish authorities and the prosperity of hacienda owners.

Slaves living on the major haciendas in Zaña

The historian Huertas has identified a number of sources in the Lambayeque Regional Archive containing information regarding the haciendas in the region, which have yet to be fully studied. At the same time, other researchers have made significant progress in research, providing us with concrete data that contributes to our understanding of the scale of slavery in the rural districts of Zaña.

Hacienda Cayaltí: According to Ramírez (1991), in 1622 this plantation had 20 slaves, and by 1705 this number had grown to 54³⁷. For his part Lorenzo Huertas³⁸ (1993) reports that by 1734 the same hacienda owned 120 slaves.

Hacienda Cojal: In 1642 it owned 70 slaves, according to Susan Ramírez.³⁹

³⁵ Ramírez: *Ibid.* p.102.

³⁶ Ramírez: *Ibid.* p.132.

³⁷ Ramírez: *Ibid.* p.187.

³⁸ Huertas, Lorenzo: *"Lambayeque 1850-1920. Semifeudalidad y Capitalismo"*, Lima, Mimeo, p.20

Hacienda Chumbenique: According to Susan Ramírez⁴⁰, in 1642 it owned 70 slaves.

Hacienda Calupe: Susan Ramírez explains that after turning the property over to sugar production in the 17th century this hacienda acquired more slaves. She tells us that the owner, Manuel Carvallo, made the decision to convert to the new crop, and that his successors bought more slaves, increasing their number from 13 in the 1650s to 46 and then to 50 in the 1660s, and more than doubling their number by the end of the century.⁴¹

Hacienda San Juan: According to records cited by Lorenzo Huertas⁴², there were 34 slaves in 1721. Subsequently, Father Justo Rubiños reported an increase in the population of Afro-descendants by 1782, estimating their number to be close to 400 by this time, as we will see later.

Hacienda San José de La Otra Banda: According to Granda⁴³, this hacienda owned 106 slaves in 1739.

A 1782 manuscript by Father Justo Modesto Rubiños y Andrade provides figures for the number of Afro-descendants in the haciendas of the Zaña region⁴⁴. He calculated that there were 2389 individuals on 14 haciendas.

Afro-descendant population on haciendas in the Zaña area, 1782.

HACIENDA	AFRO-DESCENDANTS
La Punta	471
San Antonio de la Viña y Nuestra Señora de Sárrapo	380
San Pedro de Cayaltí	230
Pomalca	153
San Nicolás	97
Popán	75
Sipán	91
Calupe	117
San José de la Otra Banda	330
San Cristóbal	85
Rafán	47
Chumbenique	111
Oyotún	21
Ucupe	181
Total	2389

³⁹ Ramírez: Ibid. p.139.

⁴⁰ Ramírez: Ibid. p.139.

⁴¹ Ramírez: Ibid. p.188.

⁴² Huertas: Ibid. pp.198-199.

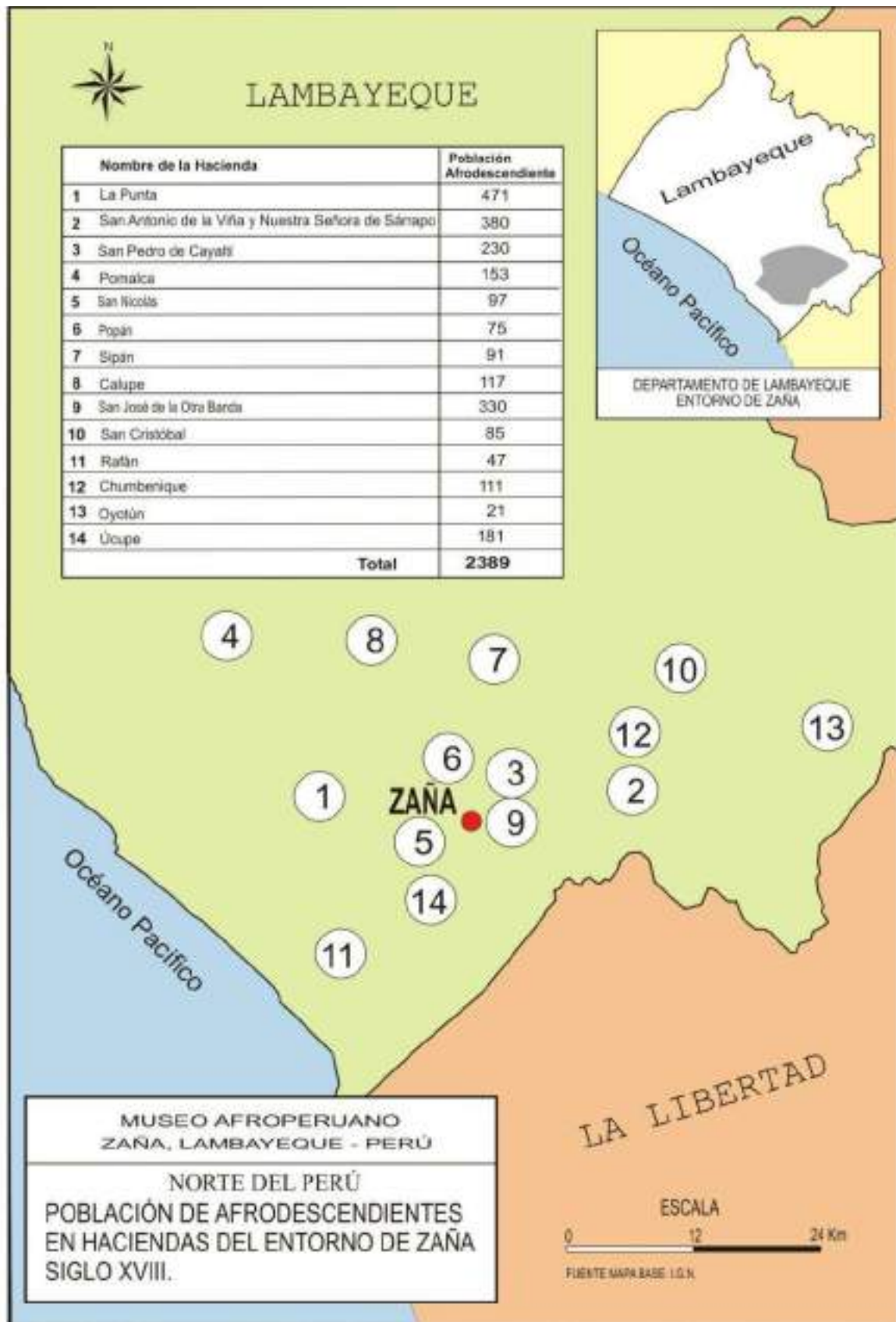
⁴³ Granda, Juan: "Agricultura de la Caña y Región: Cayaltí 1874-1890", Lima 1984, pp.63-64

⁴⁴ Rubiños y Andrade, Justo: Transcription of the manuscript "Un manuscrito interesante", in *Revista Histórica del Perú*, Tomo X. Entregas III-Lima Perú (1936) pp.290-363.

The geographical locations of the haciendas mentioned in the work by Rubiños and included in the table above were marked on a map published by Martínez de Compañón under the title "*Provincia de Saña*"⁴⁵. The location of each of these haciendas and the number of Afro-descendants they possessed can be seen in Figure 7.

Rubiños y Andrade maintains that the La Punta hacienda owned a total of "four hundred and seventy-one blacks, including women and men, young and old, who worked extensive lands and pastures". It seems likely that a similar demographic spread would have been common to the other haciendas.

⁴⁵ Another map has been cited by the historian Susan Ramírez.



The concentration of land tenure among Spanish residents of the town of Zaña.

The Spaniards who lived in the town of Zaña consolidated the ownership of several properties. This is significant, because there is a tendency to consider colonial

haciendas as being separated from urban centers. In this regard, Susan Ramírez has provided us with valuable information. For example, she informs us that Don Francisco de Palma y Vera was simultaneously the owner of San Cristóbal (which included Leviche, Collazos and Miraflores), Chumbenique, Oyotún, Illimo and Calupe. For his part, upon his death, Martín Núñez de Arce owned Pomalca, Cayaltí, Collús, Samán and Calupe. Pedro Gamarra y Urquiza was the owner of San Cristóbal, Cojal and Ucupe. Men like Ripalda, Escurra, Seña and Saavedra Cavero each owned two haciendas. This tendency towards ownership of multiple properties reduced the number of hacienda owners to twenty during the thirty years from 1690 to 1719.⁴⁶

The two hacienda owners Palma and Núñez de Arce owned large mansions in the town of Zaña. Over time, the tendency among plantation owners was to centralize and concentrate the tenure of the region's haciendas.

As we have already mentioned, Susan Ramírez points out that in addition to their lands and properties, hacienda owners maintained town houses that were elegantly furnished, with carpets, paintings and comfortable divans.⁴⁷

3. THE PORT OF CHÉRREPE.

The growth of Zaña and the haciendas surrounding the town led to an increase in production and trade. In this context, the port of Chérrepe, located six leagues from the urban center of Zaña, became a vital link.

Chérrepe was transformed into a transit hub for agricultural products and livestock. These goods were destined for other ports on the Peruvian coast and international routes as far afield as Chile, Guayaquil and the Province of Mainland.

The original population of the port of Chérrepe was indigenous. With the growth in the importance of this commercial center, the slave workforce of the community increased. Indigenous residents were transferred to Pueblo Nuevo, where their descendants continue to live.

The historian Susan Ramírez has addressed the presence of slaves in the aforementioned port. She tells us that the riches possessed by Juan Vásquez de Saavedra, a Spaniard who died in 1642, included, in addition to his rural properties, warehouses in the port of Chérrepe, a half share in two vessels, and a quarter share in a third, all three of which were crewed entirely by slaves.⁴⁸

In the manuscript he produced in 1782, Father Rubiños y Andrade tells us that “[...] the fruits and harvests of the farming haciendas, and sugar mills, were regularly transported to the main port of Chérrepe for shipment to Panama City, Guayaquil, the

⁴⁶ Ramírez, Susan: *Ibid.* p.209.

⁴⁷ Ramírez, Susan: *Ibid.* p.196.

⁴⁸ Ramírez, Susan: *“Patriarcas provinciales: La tenencia de la tierra y la economía del poder en el Perú colonial”*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid (1991) p.146.

port of Callao and Chile; or transported overland to the provinces of Piura, Cajamarca and Trujillo [...]”.⁴⁹

4. PUNISHMENT AND TORTURE IN ZAÑA’S SLAVE-OWNING SOCIETY.

Several researchers have referred in their works to the punishments suffered by African slaves. These studies include the work of Guillermo Figueroa, Ninfa Hidrogo and Lorenzo Huertas, as well as the information contained in the work of Susan Ramírez.

In his article “*Descripción del Partido de Saña o Lambayeque*” published in the *Mercurio Peruano*⁵⁰ in 1793, Joseph Lequanda offered the following information regarding the region that concerns us here: “Very few of the blacks are free. Almost all are slaves on the haciendas that produce soap, sugar and basic crops, and they are also used as domestic servants in homes”.

La Horca

Spanish masters employed a number of methods with which to punish slaves. One of the places used by the authorities of the colonial period to exact such punishments was “Cerro La Horca” [“Gallows Hill”], in the town of Zaña.

In this section we will look in detail at the function of La Horca and its significance in the history of Zaña.

The first reference to La Horca is found in one of the foundational documents of Zaña, published by Father Domingo Angulo on November 4th 1563, which states: “The power and authority is granted to the founder of said town in order to establish a gallows as part of its urban layout and to name a jailer, town crier and executioner, as well as any other executors of justice that may be deemed necessary”⁵¹ (our underlining).

Another document from the same period refers to the gallows. In his Provision dated January 25th 1564, Lope García de Castro writes that: “[...] power and authority is granted to mayors to establish a gallows and pillory at whichever location they deem most appropriate.”⁵² The document is signed by Miguel Rodríguez de Villafuerte.

The existence of Cerro La Horca in Zaña is mentioned again in a document from 1720⁵³. This document is signed by the notary Antonio de Ribera⁵⁴ (see Appendix III).

⁴⁹ Rubiños y Andrade: *Ibid.* p.345.

⁵⁰ Lequanda, Joseph: “*Descripción del Partido de Saña o de Lambayeque*”, in *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima (1793), Edición Facsimilar, Biblioteca Nacional, Lima (1966) Folio 62.

⁵¹ Angulo, Domingo: “*Fundación y Población de la Villa de Zaña*”, in the journal of the Peruvian National Archive, Number 2, Lima (1920), p.289.

⁵² Angulo, Domingo: *Ibid.* p.297.

⁵³ This mention of Cerro La Horca appears in a document signed by the Zaña notary which addresses the consequences of the 1720 disaster, after which residents sought refuge on the hill to escape the flooding of the town (testimony of the notary Antonio de Ribera, dated March 18th 1720).

⁵⁴ The transcription of this document was made by Father Justo Rubiños y Andrade (see Appendix III).

Remarkably, this document was actually signed at the top of Cerro La Horca, in the aftermath of the natural disaster that had struck the town. This reference serves to confirm the name given to the location.

Regarding the punishments visited upon slaves, the findings of the historian Frederick Bowser, in his study of slavery in Peru during the colonial period, offers many details. He maintains that most crimes committed by black slaves were punished with the gallows, the lash (between 100 and 300 lashes), exile to Chile, or a sentence to serve in the galleys.⁵⁵

Bowser's reference to the gallows as one of the main methods of punishment during the colonial period confirms the oral tradition in Zaña regarding the hill that bears this name.

Manuel Atanasio Fuentes⁵⁶, a 19th century Peruvian writer, gives us an idea of how La Horca was seen by black slaves: "The Bozal blacks accustomed to the hard work of the fields, practically indifferent to good or bad food, were hardened to punishment and intrepid unless threatened with the blade or the gallows [...]".

Writing on the punishments employed during the colonial period, another renowned Peruvian historian, Roberto MacLean y Estenós⁵⁷, has this to say: "Any black who escaped from his master for three days would receive one hundred lashes, administered in public. Ten days' absence was punished with the amputation of a foot, selected by his master. An absence of twenty days was punishable by hanging".

In his work "*No queremos amos*" ["We Do Not Want Masters"], the historian Guillermo Figueroa⁵⁸, referring to the Lambayeque region, writes of a case in which a slave was sentenced to hang: "On December 26th 1784, the *ad hoc* prosecutor appointed by the Chief Magistrate of the District of Saña called for the death penalty for the prisoner José Patrocinio Faya Geraldo, adding that he should be 'dragged, hanged and quartered' as a lesson to all 'mulattos, blacks and half breeds' [...]"⁵⁹

Such references serve to confirm that the gallows figured among the types of punishment inflicted upon slaves.

⁵⁵ Bowser: *Ibid.* p.226.

⁵⁶ Atanasio Fuentes, Manuel: "*LIMA: Apuntes históricos, descriptivos, estadísticos y de costumbres*", Editorial Ausonia, Lima (1985), Fondo del Libro – Banco Industrial del Perú. Facsimile of a work published in Paris in 1867, p.84.

⁵⁷ MacLean y Estenós, Roberto: "*Negros en el Perú*", DM Azángaro, Lima, Perú (1947) p.8.

⁵⁸ Figueroa, Guillermo: "*No Queremos Amos. Los Afrodescendientes de Lambayeque en la lucha social y anticolonial 1779-1850*", in "*Historia del Pueblo Afroperuano y sus Aportes a la Cultura del Perú*". Ministerio de Educación, Lima (2013).

⁵⁹ Figueroa: *Ibid.* p.39.

Representatives of the Holy Inquisition.

Representatives of the Holy Inquisition resided in Zaña. It is known that a certain Captain Martín Núñez de Arce was a lay member of the Holy Inquisition. Around the middle of the 20th century, a local farmer unearthed a colonial-era pitcher from a smallholding located near the old Mother Church which bore the following inscription: “I am Martín Núñez de Arce, Lay Member of the Holy Inquisition”⁶⁰. This pitcher is now housed in the Zaña parish hall.

Susan Ramírez has written of how the hacienda owners vied for the prestigious position of lay member of the Inquisition⁶¹.

Stocks and shackles.

Stocks and shackles⁶² (also known as fetters) were used in jails, haciendas and tanneries. Some masters kept instruments of punishment in their own homes. In major haciendas and large plantations, such ‘justice’ was meted out by the big landowners themselves.

Lorenzo Huertas offers evidence of how the interior of a Spanish-born resident’s home was furnished with shackles used to punish slaves. Specifically, this report states that the master in question possessed “three sets of iron shackles”.⁶³

Stocks were fashioned from two sturdy pieces of hinged wood, into which a hole had been made through which the head of an individual could be held at the neck. In addition, other holes served to secure the wrists and ankles. In this way the prisoner was completely immobilized.

Shackles were made of iron rather than wood and served a number of functions, principally the immobilizing of a prisoner’s ankles or wrists.

Places of sentencing and punishment.

Surviving documents dating from the foundation of Zaña describe places of sentencing and punishment. It was common for such procedures to be included in the foundational documents of colonial-era towns and settlements. The punishments given to those sentenced for crimes in the urban centers of the colonial period included the use of stocks and pillories, and in the case of Zaña, in addition to these punishments, a jail was also built, the location of which was marked on the original street plan.

In his Provision dated November 4th 1563, the Count of Nieva tells us how large this prison was: “[...] And it should also be mentioned that adjacent to the main square of the town in question, there is one lot for the church, and two lots for the jail [...]”⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Rocca, Luis: Ibid p.48.

⁶¹ Ramírez, Susan: Ibid. p.149.

⁶² Photographs of stocks and shackles can be viewed in Appendix I of this report.

⁶³ Huertas, Lorenzo: In “*Fundación de la Villa Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña: un modelo hispánico de planificación urbana*”. Ibid. p.196.

The historian Huertas has written of the so-called “punishment rooms” that were incorporated into the designs of the major haciendas. The author tells us that: “The punishment room was usually located just a few meters from the main house. It was equipped with two or three shackles and fetters used to immobilize the hands, feet and heads of servants or slaves punished in this way for having committed both minor and serious offenses, or simply on the whim of the master. Very often, thrashings or whippings were carried out in the corral, where the victim would be tied to a carob tree [...]”⁶⁵

Regarding the punishments applied at tanneries or soap-making factories, the architect Alberto Risco Vega has described the structures of these colonial-era facilities in Chiclayo, which he says were equipped with “a dungeon containing stocks, where black slaves were held”.⁶⁶

Figuroa-Idrogo⁶⁷ confirms that at the La Viña Hacienda in 1782 there were “stocks and shackles”.

The branding iron was also used in Zaña. During the early 17th century, Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo called for an end to the branding of slaves, but it would seem that the practice continued.

Until the first years of the 20th century, there existed at the Cayaltí and Tumán haciendas a form of punishment known as “*la barra*” [“the bar”], which consisted of iron rings fitted into a wall and used to secure the arms and ankles of individuals.

Father Rubiños has left us an account of an 18th century case at the Úcupe hacienda, in which the hacienda owner José Sulueta threatened to have a priest placed in the stocks: “The priest from the hacienda arrived, saying that he had so annoyed the gentleman owner of the estate that his Christian protestations had proved insufficient in the warding off of his threats, and that he went as far as to say: ‘*you are much like any other friar, and ought to beg my forgiveness for not having celebrated mass before one-thirty in the afternoon [...]. Now go, before I have my blacks seize you and put you in the stocks*’”.⁶⁸

At the time, hacienda owners were within their rights to place whoever they wished in the stocks. Also of interest is the use of the phrase “my blacks”, demonstrating the sense of ownership over other individuals prevalent at the time.

Reactions of the slaves.

Regarding the reactions of the slaves, through “*cimarronaje*” and other protests, Ninfa Idrogo, Guillermo Figuroa, Juan Granda, Bernard Lavalle and others have contributed

⁶⁴ Angulo, Domingo: Ibid. p.291.

⁶⁵ Huertas: Ibid (1993) p.195.

⁶⁶ Risco Vega, Alberto: “*Tipología arquitectónica de Chiclayo en la época colonial*”, Universidad Nacional Pedro Ruiz Gallo, Chiclayo (2002). p.50.

⁶⁷ Figuroa, Guillermo; Idrogo, Ninfa: “*El Palenque de Ferreñafe y otros movimientos libertarios tempranos en Lambayeque 1750-1850*”, Chiclayo (Taller de Investigación en Ciencias Sociales, 2007) p.22.

⁶⁸ Rubiños y Andrade: Ibid. p.357.

valuable studies based on research in the colonial archives of northern Peru. And in the 19th century, there was an uprising of female slaves at the La Punta hacienda⁶⁹.

Zaña was by no means immune to the movements that emerged in all parts of the African diaspora, throughout the Americas, as Afro-descendants sought ways to achieve their freedom. Below, we present information related to those Zaña slaves who attempted to escape from bondage.

The historian Bernard Lavallo⁷⁰ has published information concerning a group of fugitive slaves who had escaped from Zaña and fled south: “A very interesting case in terms of black solidarity was that of the Facalá hacienda, in 1691, in the Chicama Valley. A group of *cimarrones* who had fled from Saña, where they had killed their master Juan de Gamarra, roamed the valley at that time, assaulting and breaking into haciendas.”

Lavallo also mentions another case: “In 1737 four *cimarrones* from Saña, two of whom were Bozales, Tiburcio, Mina and Pablo, Congo, roamed the Chicama Valley, thieving”.

For his part, Guillermo Figueroa⁷¹ names persons of African descent who were fugitives from the Zaña Valley and neighboring haciendas. He refers to the following cases:

-) “Antonio “*El Zañero*”, free *zambo* and highwayman”. (1800)
-) “Francisco Sales, fugitive slave from Cayaltí, who took the life of the overseer Francisco Prieto, “*El Panameño*”. (Participated in the assault on the Tumán hacienda in 1800). The Prosecutor called for death by hanging, but he was eventually sentenced to ten years in prison.
-) “Bruno, a slave belonging to Captain Andrés de Rivas, was one of the main ringleaders of the disturbance at this hacienda (La Otra Banda, in Zaña).

5. THE ADVERSITIES FACED BY THE PEOPLE OF ZAÑA.

The many historians who have studied Zaña highlight the series of disasters and calamities that the town has suffered over the centuries. Some of these were caused by climatic events, while others were the result of human intervention. The history of earthquakes, floods, epidemics and plagues affecting the town is extraordinary.

The pirate Edward Davis invades Zaña. The situation of slaves: 1686.

The golden age of wealth and power enjoyed by the hacienda owners and merchants of Zaña attracted the attention of pirates. They became aware of the growth in international trade from the port of Chérrepe and the riches held by the powerful elite of the town of Zaña and neighboring haciendas.

⁶⁹ This information is contained in the book “*La Otra Historia*” by Luis Rocca, as well as a study by Judith Prieto.

⁷⁰ Lavallo, Bernard: “*Amor y opresión en los Andes coloniales*”, *Ibid.* pp.161-169.

⁷¹ Figueroa, Guillermo: *Ibid.* pp.46-49.

The arrival in Zaña of the pirate Edward Davis is well-documented by colonial sources. Information recorded by Father Rubiños de Andrade (1782) and Joseph de Lequanda (1793) has survived. Contemporary historians have also addressed these events. These writers include Guillermo Lohmann Villena, Carlos Bachman, Luis Rocca (in *“La otra historia”*⁷²), Lorenzo Huertas and Susan Ramírez. The most recent information concerning the arrival in Zaña of the pirate Davis has been provided by the historian Hampe.

This is a complex subject, and for reasons of space in this report we will limit our focus to the role played by slaves during the career of Davis and his Zaña incursion. The story of the actions of this pirate and his freebooters on the northern part of Peru’s Pacific coast sheds light on the economic activity of the region and the slave trade, and is of interest in terms of the reactions of Africans to the appearance on that shore of such men.

In the 17th century a number of Spanish settlements were established on the Pacific coast of northern Peru. The main ports included Paita and Chérrepe. The account provided by the historian Lohman regarding the exploits of Davis is particularly interesting. He writes of how the pirate captured two ships and three hundred slaves in Paita (Piura): “In March 1684 it was reported that Edward Davis had crossed the strait and was in the Pacific, aboard a 36-gun frigate, which was accompanied by another 16-gun vessel. On the island of Juan Fernández, where he anchored in April of that year, he was joined by other ill-famed individuals who included Swann, Harris and Eaton, all freebooters of the same nationality, as well as the Frenchmen Grognet and Ravenaeau de Lussau, who had already been reported as being in our waters, aboard four smaller vessels.

“For his part, Davis waged a campaign that proved to be one of the most fruitful pirate ventures of the period. Aboard his 36-gun vessel, with a crew of 120 men, and assisted by the smaller Aránzacu, he devastated one town after another throughout Peru’s northern coast. By February 1686 he had ravaged every settlement in his path, including Paita, Saña, Santa, Casma, Huacho and Huaura. In Paita he attacked two merchant ships, loaded with clothing for Spain as well as three hundred black slaves, and carrying passengers from whom he extracted a considerable ransom. They then went ashore at Chérrepe, and five days later, after razing the port to the ground, they advanced on Saña, which met the same fate.”⁷³

The historian Teodoro Hampe offers greater detail in his account of the attack on Zaña: “Davis and his followers anchored on March 3rd 1686 in three vessels, far offshore, after which 200 men disembarked in seven canoes, a league to windward of Chérrepe. Fleeing Indians carried the news to Zaña, where there reigned *‘great confusion and lamenting among the women and children, which served to increase the confusion, as crowds fled along trails into the mountains, in an effort to save their lives’* [from

⁷² Rocca, Luis: Ibid. pp. 54-58.

⁷³ Lohman, Guillermo: *“Historia Marítima del Perú. Siglos CVII y XVIII”* (Tomo IV. Perú), Editorial Ausonia, Talleres Gráficos SA, (1973) p.435.

Hampe's citing of Manuscript 13064, held in the British Library]. During the attack on the town two Englishmen lost their lives; one of them was killed by a black and the other was taken prisoner. But generally speaking resistance was weak. The pirates took the town, sacked the churches and houses and amassed booty valued at 300,000 pesos in silver, jewels and clothing"⁷⁴.

These references offered by Lohman and Hampe confirm for us the pervasive presence of slavery in the history of Peru's northern coast, particularly in Zaña. In the first account we are told that the pirate's men captured two ships and three hundred slaves at a port situated in Piura, north of Zaña. From the second account we learn that an Afro-descendant participated in the resistance waged against the freebooters.

To provide readers with a better understanding of the old port of Chérrepe, in Appendix I we offer a series of present-day photographs of the town. Also, in Figure 5 the map of the Province of Zaña (copied from the work by Martínez de Compañón) features the precise location of Chérrepe.

6. THE 1720 DISASTER: TORRENTIAL RAINS, THE RIVER BURSTS ITS BANKS AND ZAÑA IS FLOODED.

In order to fully understand the history of Zaña it is necessary to consider the climatic events and natural disasters to which the area has been subjected, particularly the severe El Niño event of 1720. The town was destroyed when intense rains caused the river to burst its banks. Many houses were wrecked and some of the town's churches were seriously damaged, while local residents sought shelter on the hill known as "La Horca".

On March 18th 1720, a state of emergency was officially declared when local authorities signed an "act of disaster". The original copy of this document is held in the Lambayeque Regional Archive (see Appendix III)⁷⁵. This text provides a detailed report on the seriousness of the damage suffered by the town. According to the document, two female slaves died: "[...] due to the intervention of Divine Mercy in this great calamity only two black slaves perished, a blind woman and another who was a fool, when more than one thousand persons who lived in that town were in imminent peril [...]"⁷⁶ The document was signed on March 18th by Antonio de Rivera, the public notary, leading citizens, and witnesses.

This disaster altered the history of Zaña. An exodus began among the town's Spanish residents and the economic power of the hacienda owners and the town's merchants went into decline. Even the local religious institutions were deeply affected. Most of the churches had been partially destroyed, with the church of San Agustín the least damaged of all.

⁷⁴ Hampe, Teodoro: "Un capítulo de historia regional peruana. La ciudad de Zaña y su entorno ante la inundación (1720)", in "Revista Andina Nro. 34" (Cuzco, Peru, January 2002) p.68.

⁷⁵ This document was first transcribed by Father Justo Rubiños y Andrade in 1782.

⁷⁶ Rubiños y Andrade: Ibid. pp.348-351.

At this stage in our narrative we should pause to take stock of the chronology of disasters and general adversity suffered by Zaña, in order to better understand the situation of the ruling elite, the slaves and the indigenous inhabitants of the region.

It should be remembered that severe weather events occurred throughout the Pre-Hispanic period, causing serious damage and affecting entire populations.

In this geographical context, Afro-descendants were not only negatively impacted by the work regime to which they were subjected, but also by the disasters that struck the region in the form of floods, droughts, earthquakes and epidemics. This is a key issue, for such events figure prominently in the collective memory of the community.

In his book *“Injurias del tiempo”*⁷⁷, Lorenzo Huertas provides a list of natural disasters that have occurred in Peru. For the town of Zaña, the greatest impact has been that of the El Niño phenomenon, which in northern Peru leads to heavy rainfall and intense flooding as rivers burst their banks. Susan Ramírez has provided additional data. Based on these sources, we have produced the following table:

Disasters, epidemics and plagues in Zaña. (16th - 18th centuries) *

Year	Calamity or disaster
1578	El Niño, torrential rains and flooding.
1619	Earthquake and rains.
1701	Plagues of rodents.
1720	El Niño, torrential rains and flooding. The Zaña River bursts its banks.
1728	El Niño, torrential rains and flooding.
1756	Epidemic at the Calupe hacienda kills 60 slaves.
1791	Flooding caused by El Niño phenomenon.

*Sources: The works of Lorenzo Huertas and Susan Ramírez.

Lorenzo Huertas (2009) has written on the epidemic that followed an earthquake in the Zaña Valley⁷⁸ (probably in 1619). He has transcribed the account published by the historian León Barandiarán: “[...] a very powerful earthquake that laid waste the land, destroyed houses and soon afterwards occasioned an epidemic that killed 300 persons of both sexes and all classes in the space of 48 hours. The source of the disease was the Cayaltí hacienda, where all the slaves died”.

The historian Susan Ramírez discovered evidence of a plague of rodents that affected production in 1701⁷⁹. She also records how in 1756 an epidemic led to the deaths in Calupe of sixty slaves in a single month, as we have already mentioned.⁸⁰

The tragic events listed above brought with them a range of consequences for Zaña. Sectors of the Spanish population were displaced to other areas, there was an economic crisis among the haciendas, the destruction of local churches led to a decline

⁷⁷ Huertas, Lorenzo: *“Injurias del tiempo: Desastres naturales en la historia del Perú”*, Editorial Universitaria, Universidad Ricardo Palma, Lima (2009).

⁷⁸ Huertas, (2009): Ibid. p.148 (probably a reference to the 1619 earthquake in northern Peru). The author cites a text entitled *“Origen de Chiclayo”* in *“Páginas de oro de Lambayeque”*.

⁷⁹ Ramírez, Susan: p.233.

⁸⁰ Ramírez, Susan: p.247.

in the religious community, and there were political changes. Indigenous people migrated to the urban center. The Spanish presence was reduced. Eventually, few Spaniards, mixed race, “*pardos*” (brown-skinned people) and “blacks” remained, as we will see later.

At the same time, it should also be acknowledged that the Afro-descendant population demonstrated remarkable resilience by continuing to endure in the devastated town of Zaña, in spite of such adversities and the destruction of homes. It is the author’s contention that the town of Zaña continues to exist as an urban center thanks to the sacrifices and capacity for survival of its Afro-descendant population. This community settled around the devastated colonial-era churches and transformed itself into the repository of the cultural traditions of the region. The experience of the enslaved population of Zaña should be viewed as yet another calamity suffered by the region. This community suffered the ravages of time, as Lorenzo Huertas has said, but they were also subjected to abuse by their fellow man. Nevertheless, they managed to survive and to conserve their collective memory of so many tragic experiences.

7. THE TERRITORIAL DEMARCATION OF ZAÑA.

In order to provide the reader with some background, what follows is a breakdown of the geographical and political characteristics of Zaña.

-) The Zaña River forms the valley of the same name and flows into the Pacific Ocean. It emerges from the highlands of the Cajamarca region. The valley can be divided into three distinct sectors: upper, middle and lower.
-) The town of Zaña (the urban center) is situated in the middle sector of the Zaña Valley.
-) The Province of Zaña, an ecclesiastical categorization, including four rivers and their valleys.

The Zaña River, originally known as the “Sañap”, in the local indigenous language, was named the “Saña” (with an “s”) by the Spaniards. The spelling was changed to “Zaña” in the 19th century. This river irrigates the entire valley (see photograph, Appendix I).

The territorial demarcation of Zaña has undergone modifications over time. The first settlement was the Spanish town, established in the 16th century. Subsequently, the area was declared a province (in ecclesiastical terms). Its period of growth and expansion began with its foundation and ended with the 1720 disaster, after which it fell into decline and experienced loss of territory.

In 1563, the new Spanish town known as Santiago de Miraflores de Saña was conceived on a grid system covering 19 blocks, arranged around the main square, or Plaza Mayor. The first lots were distributed among 41 Spaniards, each of whom was also allotted gardens and farmland. The document detailing these arrangements, the Count of Nieva’s Provision, states: “To each of these I grant a lot two hundred feet long and one hundred and fifty feet wide, to build their house within the street plan of said town, as well as a garden composed of four lots, each of which must be of these dimensions, for the growing of barley and vegetables, and other crops for their homes

as close as possible to said town, and in addition I grant to each one of the abovementioned forty *fanegadas* of land for the growing of corn [...]"⁸¹

It should be noted that the jurisdiction of the new town founded by the Spanish covered an extensive area. In addition to the urban center, from the first days of the settlement the new landowners were granted extensive agricultural lands and given control of sections of the valleys. In the Provision produced by Lope García de Castro on January 25th 1564, the following provisions are included: "[...] And they shall be granted control over the following districts and jurisdictions: said town shall be given in the direction of Piura the districts of Piura as far as Xayanca, and in the direction of Truxillo the valley of Saña where the city in question is located, along with the port of Chérrepe which shall become the port of said town, while it shall be understood that they shall exercise no jurisdiction over the Indians of Chérrepe, nor the valley of Pacasmayo, for this shall remain under the control of the city of Truxillo, and in the sand dunes that lie between the valley of Saña and that of Pacasmayo the district shall be divided in accordance with the way the Indians divided the land in the past, so that said town shall control the land in the direction of Piura for a distance of twelve or thirteen leagues, and in the direction of Truxillo two or three leagues, without jurisdiction over the highland Indians, who because they are from a distinct climate, should not be brought down to serve in the plains, where they fall sick."⁸²

These provisions establishing jurisdiction are important because they show that the territory earmarked for the Spanish town of Santiago de Miraflores de Saña during the first years of the colonial period initially included the three valleys of the region formed by the Saña, Lambayeque and La Leche rivers. It should also be remembered that the boundary to the north was formed by the right bank of the La Leche River, at Jayanca, while to the west the district's direct access to the sea was occupied by a number of settlements. To the southwest, access to the sea was provided by the port of Chérrepe. And the fact that to the east the boundary of the district was formed by the headwaters of major rivers was also important, because this gave control over the distribution of water for the irrigation that would make farming possible. The mention of the boundary of Saña three leagues to the south (in the direction of Trujillo) is particularly significant, because it was in this additional territory that major haciendas like La Viña, Oyotún, La Otra Banda, Potrero, Saltrapón and Úcupe were established. The Indian settlements located near Chérrepe, to which indigenous people had been relocated, remained outside the jurisdiction of Saña. But it is clearly stated that the port itself was controlled by the Spanish-born elite of the town of Santiago de Miraflores de Saña.

Knowledge of these territorial boundaries helps us to understand the process by which haciendas, estates, sugar mills and tanneries were established throughout this extensive area. The territorial demarcation described above enabled the Spaniards to build large production centers, using indigenous labor initially before switching to imported slave labor in the 1590s, thereby increasing their profit margins.

⁸¹ Angulo, Domingo: Ibid. p.286.

⁸² Angulo, Domingo: Ibid. pp.292-293.

Clearly, just two months after the founding of the Spanish town of Santiago de Miraflores de Saña, the territorial delimitation officially established in January 1564 created the conditions required to forge the productive capacity of the new settlement. Zaña had an important urban center in the form of the town, and it controlled extensive lands (crossed by three rivers), suitable for crops and livestock. It also had the port of Chérrepe. These conditions, established almost immediately, enabled the transformation of Zaña into a power center that would quickly become one of the most important towns on Peru's northern coast.

According to the report produced by Father Domingo Angulo, another significant factor was the incorporation of Chiclayo into the jurisdiction of Zaña, giving it the rank of Corregimiento.

Production levels grew rapidly in this extensive territory, and it was this accelerated dynamic that influenced the ecclesiastical authorities in their eventual decision to grant Zaña the status of province and to extend its territorial boundaries during the 18th century, as illustrated by the maps produced by the team commissioned by the bishop Martínez de Compañón. This extensive territory attracted the attention of major religious orders, and they built their own churches. These included the Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian and Saint John of God orders.

In a street plan produced during the final third of the 18th century and published in the first volume of the work by Martínez de Compañón, a total of 40 blocks are shown⁸³. The document is entitled "Plan of the City of Santiago de Miraflores de Saña, Diocese of Trujillo [...]" (See Figure 8). Those blocks on the periphery of the town are smaller. On the plan itself, these are described as the "blocks of which the city was composed before the ruining", in a reference to the 1720 disaster.

It is also important to note that in the plan the locations of the main churches are also marked. These are: Iglesia Matriz ["Mother Church"], San Agustín, San Francisco, La Merced, Santa Lucía (for Indians), San Juan de Dios, and the chapel where Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo died. The Plaza Mayor [the main square] is also marked. No other locality in northern Peru contained so many churches of different denominations within such a small area (a total of just 40 blocks). This serves to illustrate the economic, political and religious power of the town.

The 18th century street map was produced some six decades after the great disaster that devastated the town. This was the El Niño event of 1720, which destroyed all the houses and affected the churches to differing degrees. That is why there are no buildings marked on some of the blocks, which reverted to grassland and brush. This pattern of old churches surrounded by vegetation has survived to this day in Zaña. The residents resettled to the northeast, not far from the area shown in this image.

The ecclesiastical demarcation or jurisdiction of Zaña elevated it to the status of province. Two maps were made of the Province of Zaña and they are found in the work produced by Baltazar Martínez de Compañón. They were drawn in the 1780s.

⁸³ Martínez de Compañón, Baltazar: *"Trujillo del Perú. Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica"*, AECI, Madrid Volume, p.297 (The map would have drawn between 1782 and 1786). This work is composed of nine volumes and appendixes.

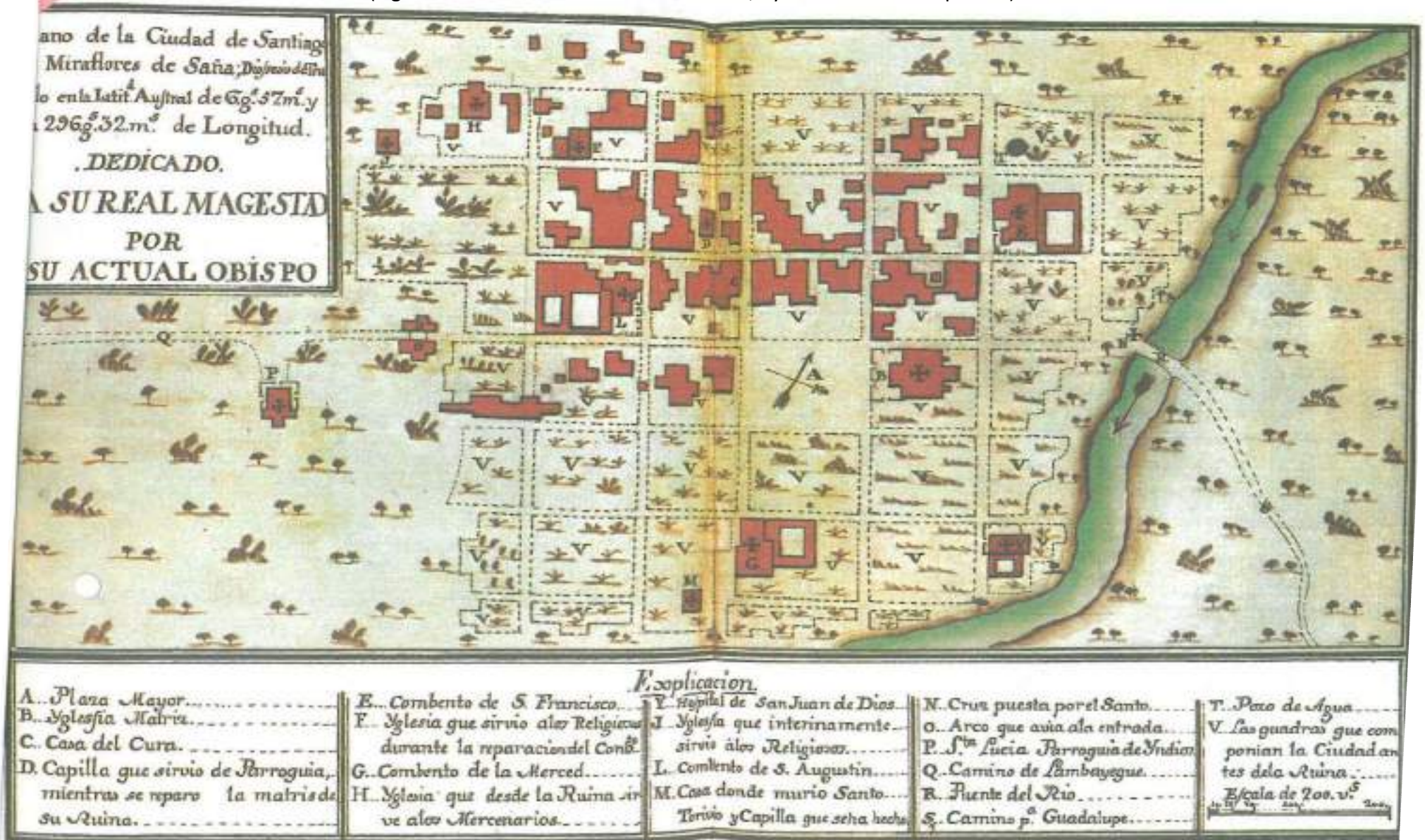
The first map is entitled “*Mapa Topográfico del Obispado de Truxillo del Perú*” and contains the following provinces: Truxillo, Saña, Piura, Jaen, Lamas, Moyobamba, Chachapoyas, Luya, Huambos, Caxamarca, Guamachuco and Patas. The second map is entitled “*Carta topográfica de la Provincia de Saña situada en los Valles del Obispado de Truxillo del Perú*”⁸⁴. In this map the town of Zaña can be seen, along with the port of Chérrepe, the Zaña River and the major haciendas in the vicinity of Zaña (see Figure 9).

The latter map also shows the geographic locations of the haciendas in the vicinity of Zaña as described by Father Rubiños y Andrade in 1782. Below, we include a description of the main features shown in the map of the Province of Zaña:

-) It includes four rivers and their valleys, which when seen from south to north are the Jequetepeque, Saña, Lambayeque, and La Leche rivers.
-) The only major settlement marked is Zaña.
-) 31 haciendas, with their respective names.
-) 20 parishes and dependencies.
-) The port of Chérrepe.

⁸⁴ Martínez de Compañón: Ibid. Folio 296.

(Figure 8: Street Plan of the Town of Zaña, by Martínez de Compañón.)



When considering the territorial boundaries of Zaña, it is important to remember that as a consequence of the natural disaster of 1720 and other calamities there occurred an exodus of Spaniards and a fall in agricultural and livestock production. From 1720 onwards, the political power of Zaña declined markedly. This power vacuum was filled by those Spaniards based in the town of Lambayeque. A segment of the Spanish residents left Zaña and relocated to Lambayeque. In this context, when in 1793 Joseph Lequanda published his work "*Descripción del Partido de Saña o Lambayeque*"⁸⁵, he described the process of political and economic transition in the region. Zaña was gradually displaced by Lambayeque.

Maps of the haciendas and indigenous communities.

In 1991, the historian Susan Ramírez produced a map of the region that included the town of Zaña, the haciendas, and the indigenous or Indian communities of the colonial period. This map is very important because it offers us an overview of the different ethnic groups that inhabited the Lambayeque region at the time. The map charts the African presence (on the haciendas) in a territory in which there existed approximately 23 indigenous communities. In this valuable contribution, Ramírez calls this area the Lambayeque Region, which is the name it bears today.

While the lives of Afro-descendants in these territories also populated by indigenous populations during the colonial period share a number of characteristics with other African diaspora settlements along the Pacific coast, in northern Peru certain differences are apparent in comparison with the population centers of the African diaspora on the Atlantic coast and in the Caribbean.

Relocation of the town of Zaña.

In 1965, Emilio Harth Terré⁸⁶ produced a map of the relocated town of Zaña, after the 1720 disaster. The new main square is exactly three hundred meters northwest of the old Plaza Mayor of Zaña, which was devastated when heavy rains caused the river to burst its banks. The population relocated to a nearby, higher piece of land. This map shows around 22 new blocks of varying sizes, the irregular nature of which points to the urgency with which the families of Zaña erected their new homes. In total, these new homes numbered less than half those which had existed before the disaster. At its height (before the disaster), the town of Zaña had been composed of 40 blocks and a number of mansions and churches. After the tragedy of 1720, the relocated town was established in a much smaller area, over half the number of blocks contained in the original settlement. Only four of the blocks approached the dimensions of those which had been built 160 years earlier. The population had been reduced considerably and now numbered just 582 residents, as we shall see later.

⁸⁵ Lequanda, Joseph: "*Descripción del Partido de Saña o Lambayeque*", in "*El Mercurio Peruano Tomo IX*", Lima (1793), pp.54-82 (Republished by the Peruvian National Library (Lima, 1966).

⁸⁶ Harth Terré, Emilio: "*Los monumentos religiosos de la desaparecida Villa de Saña*", Buenos Aires (1965), E. Taladriz, *Separata de Anales 17, Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas*.

During the second half of the 18th century, a number of priests tried in vain to preserve the hegemony of western religion in Zaña, in the context of an exodus on the part of the Spanish elite, which relocated to the town of Lambayeque, thereby pressuring regional religious leaders to follow suit and move out of Zaña. Over time, all the religious orders relocated to the new center of regional power. Until the 19th century, the town of Zaña was home to just one or two priests at any given time. During its height, Zaña had been home to the greatest number of religious orders of any urban center in northern Peru and contained seven major colonial-era churches. But after the natural disaster of 1720, most of the priests left. In contrast, the core of the Afro-descendant population hung on, in spite of the many difficulties it faced.

8. 18TH CENTURY STATISTICS: POPULATION OF AFRICAN DESCENT AND DEMOGRAPHIC DECLINE.

In this report we have paid particular attention to the censuses, in our search for precise information regarding the population of African descent in the territory of Zaña and the great demographic shifts which have occurred. It is the author's contention that without an understanding of the trajectory of the African population and its life experiences, it is not possible to produce an in-depth study of their collective memory. The two key focuses of this report are: a) the population, and b) the territory. This approach allows us to focus on the significant demographic changes that occurred and to understand how the local slave-owning society developed and what its impact and consequences were.

In this context, it is important to differentiate between the population of the Spanish town of Zaña and the inhabitants of the entire province of that name. This section of our report is based on the statistical tables found in the work of Martínez de Compañón⁸⁷, written in the 1780s under the title "*Estado que demuestra el número de abitantes del Obispado de Truxillo del Perú con distinción de castas formado por su actual Obispo*" (see Appendix IV). What follows is a table based on the findings of that 18th century report.

⁸⁷ Martínez de Compañón: Ibid. Volume I. Some experts suggest that the bishop's nephew, Joseph Lequanda, contributed to the statistical tables.

Population of the Province of Saña (18th century) *

Classification according to castes and religion	Nr.
Ecclesiastics	60
Seminarians	
Priests and monks	29
Nuns	
Spaniards	2.593
Indians	19.751
Mixed race	4.873
Brown-skinned (" <i>pardos</i> ")	3.152
Black	1.760
Total	32,218

Document based on the statistical tables found in the work of Martínez de Compañón, from around 1788.

The table above gives a total of 1760 individuals classified as “blacks” and 3152 classified as “*pardos*” (“brown-skinned”). “*Pardos*” were classified as being the result of intermarriage between a “black” and a person of another ethnic group. If we add together the two groups, we are left with a total of 4912 individuals of African descent in the Province of Zaña. It should be remembered that by far the largest section of the province’s population was indigenous, totaling 19,751 persons. In contrast, the total number of Spaniards was just 2593. Below, we present a new table, based on the aforementioned census and providing additional details divided by parish.

“Black” and “brown” populations of the parishes of the Province of Zaña.
(Around the year 1788.)

Parish	Brown-skinned (" <i>pardos</i> ")	Blacks
Saña	370	90
Chérrepe		
Santa Lucía	286	338
San Pedro	461	83
Santa Catalina	379	305
San Roque	538	160
Jequetepeque	76	
Chiclayo	635	
Mocupe		
Mochumí		
Ferreñafe	166	60
Morrope		13
Jaianca		84
Yllico		
Reque	7	
Monsefú		
San Pedro de Lloc	72	

Ingenios	14	319
Chepén	148	308
Pueblo Nuevo		
Total	3152	1760

The above table shows the geographic distribution of a considerable number of “*pardos*” (“brown-skinned”) and “blacks” throughout the Province of Zaña, with an overall total of 4912 individuals. The table also reveals a heterogeneous and uneven presence of Africans and their descendants in the region.

If we evaluate in isolation the presence of “blacks”, we find that the highest number is found in the Province of Zaña, compared to the other 12 provinces of the Bishopric of Trujillo.

The table also illustrates the displacement after the 1720 disaster of “blacks” and “*pardos*” from the town or parish of Zaña to other settlements in Lambayeque, Chiclayo, and to the south of Zaña (Chepén and Ingenios). In terms of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the parishes of Santa Catalina, San Pedro and San Roque belonged to the town of Lambayeque. There is some debate as to the precise location of Santa Lucía, given that there are three places which bear that name (in Ferreñafe, Lambayeque and in the Zaña Valley). Also, this statistical table demonstrates how Afro-descendants disappeared from the port of Chérrepe after the 1720 disaster and the subsequent economic crisis in the Province of Zaña.

It should be remembered that during the exodus by the residents of Zaña to other localities, a section of the Spanish population would have taken their slaves with them when leaving to settle in other areas.

There existed in 18th century Lambayeque places where there was no Afro-descendant presence, due to the marked presence of indigenous forced concentrations, known as *reducciones*, with very strong cultural traditions, such as Mocupe, Mochumí and Monsefú. And in the case of Pueblo Nuevo, it must be remembered that its inhabitants originally resided in Chérrepe, until they were relocated in order to facilitate construction of the port and its warehouses, a development which opened up the area to maritime commerce and the slave trade.

When discussing the urban center or old town of Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña, it must be remembered that this settlement suffered the brunt of the great disaster of 1720 which resulted in an exodus on the part of Spanish and indigenous inhabitants alike. In the declaration of a state of emergency, drafted on March 18th 1720, the existence was recorded of close to 1000 residents of Zaña at the time of the disaster. However, almost six decades later, when a new census was taken, the population of this settlement had fallen to 582 inhabitants, who had relocated to higher ground in order to escape any further flooding.

Below we present the Zaña town or parish census, as recorded by Martínez de Compañón⁸⁸.

Population of the town of Zaña.
(Around 1788.)

Category or type	Number
Ecclesiastics	2
Seminarians	-
Priests and monks	8
Spaniards	73
Indians	-
Mixed race	39
Brown-skinned ("pardos")	370
Blacks	90
Total	582

If we add together "blacks" (90) and "pardos" (370), we find that Afro-descendants constituted a high percentage of the residents who continued to live in the urban center of Zaña. Their number was much higher than that of other ethnic groups.

It is worth noting that during this period there was not one single so-called "Indian" in the colonial town. They had abandoned the area to escape its recurrent natural disasters.

In stark contrast to the 17th century, when the religious community was numerous and the town had supported seven churches, by this time only ten clergymen remained in the parish of Zaña.

Clearly, even in the face of the setbacks caused by the great disaster, the leading hacienda owners strove to retain their slave labor force, in spite of the growing "cimarrón" dynamic and the escape attempts made by slaves.

Demographic decline of the Afro-descendant population at a regional level: Lambayeque.

Below, we present data illustrating the rapid demographic decline following on from the 1720 disaster in the Lambayeque region or Province of Zaña.

During the final third of the 18th century, Martínez de Compañón calculated that there were approximately 4012 so-called "blacks" and "pardos" in the entire province of Zaña, which would come to be known as the Lambayeque region.

The historian Pablo Macera calculated that in 1820 there were a total of 1831 slaves in the Lambayeque region.⁸⁹ This figure probably did not include freed slaves or those who had managed to gain emancipation.

⁸⁸ Martínez de Compañón: Ibid. Volume I.

The 1876 census⁹⁰ gave the total number of Afro-descendants in Lambayeque as 2683. The 1940 census records 1280 persons of African descent.

Below, we present a table demonstrating the continuous fall in the number of Afro-descendants in the Lambayeque region, based on 18th and 20th century censuses.

Demographic decline among Afro-descendants in the Lambayeque region.
(18th to 20th centuries.)

Census Year	Afro-descendant population
1788*	4012
1876	2683
1940	1280

*From the 1788 census by Bishop Martínez de Compañón. The figures include “blacks” and “*pardos*”. The 1876 and 1940 censuses were conducted nationwide by the state, in all departments, provinces and districts.

It should be remembered that all figures are approximate and require further evaluation. The 1876 and 1940 censuses are based on racial statistics based on variations in skin color. Also, the classification of individuals was based on the personal criteria of the census taker, or interviewer.

What the above table does confirm is the fact that there was a demographic decline among Afro-descendants in the Lambayeque region. This cycle occurred over a long period which can be divided into two phases. From the 18th century to the mid-19th century, the demographic decline among the group in question throughout the Lambayeque region (previously known as the Province of Zaña) was due in large part to the slave trade itself and the terrible living conditions resulting from the master-slave dynamic, in territories that commonly experienced severe climatic variations. Those most affected by crises such as flooding and drought were the slaves, who had no material resources to fall back on.

If we examine the nationwide context, we find that demographic decline among the Afro-descendant population was a general trend. The table below reflects this tendency towards declining populations from the 18th to the 20th centuries at a national level.

Demographic decline among Afro-descendants at a national level.
(Comparison of the 1791, 1876 and 1940 censuses⁹¹.)

Census year	Afro-descendant population
1791*	81,000
1876	52,588

⁸⁹ The information provided by Pablo Macera was published in “*La Otra Historia*”, p.141.

⁹⁰ The 1876 census recorded 1171 Afro-descendants in the Province of Chiclayo and 1512 in the Province of Lambayeque.

⁹¹ 1940 National Census, General Results, Ministry of Housing, Lima, May 1941, p.62.

1940	29,504
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*The 1791 Gil de Taboada census included approximately 41,000 mulattoes and 40,000 slaves.

At a national level, the demographic decline among the Afro-descendant population from 1791 to 1940 is significant.

Fall in the population of the urban center or town of Zaña.

It is important to understand what happened in the old Spanish settlement of Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña, the town where the power of the Spanish-born elite was concentrated during the colonial period.

We have already seen that in the record of the destruction of Zaña in 1720, the notary Antonio de Rivera confirms the presence in the town of around 1000 residents. However, by the 1780s, when Martínez de Compañón compiled his statistical record, there were just 582 inhabitants, of whom 90 were “blacks” and 370 “*pardos*”. There were no indigenous people and the Spanish population had declined after the disaster.

The 1876 census⁹² is revealing. The population of the historic urban center of Zaña had fallen considerably. Only 283 persons remained, of whom 128 were men and 155 women. The population had fallen by almost a quarter after the tragedy of 1720. The first to leave were the indigenous people, after which the Spaniards gradually left also.

During the second half of the 19th century Zaña experienced changes. After visiting the town in 1894, the writer José Clodomiro Soto had this to say: “The modern city of Zaña has been reduced to the condition of a poor town, with a gloomy aspect and inhabited by people of mixed and black race, who live solely from farming, either as simple day laborers or working for themselves, on land owned by the municipality”.⁹³

These comments by Clodomiro illustrate the changes since the 18th century, when the inhabitants were classified according to various castes. As the author notes, by the end of the 19th century, there was no Spanish or indigenous presence in the urban center. The majority of the inhabitants were of mixed race (Spanish and Indian) and Afro-descendants. The severity of the disaster which had befallen Zaña led to an exodus of Spanish and indigenous residents. Only the poorest inhabitants of the town remained, for they had no way of accessing any other kind of livelihood. Their only option was to live from their labor, exploiting the resources provided by the river and local flora and fauna. The ancestral knowledge of those of African descent and their bond with nature enabled them to survive.

9. POST-SLAVERY PERIOD: RESISTANCE AND SURVIVAL OF AFRO-DESCENDANTS IN THE TOWN OF ZAÑA AND THE SURROUNDING AREA.

⁹² Ministry of Government: “Overview of the general census of the inhabitants of Peru” (1876), published by the state press in Lima in 1878.

⁹³ Soto, José Clodomiro: In “*La Integridad*”, Lima, June 2 1894.

Those Afro-descendants who remained in the urban center of Zana after the disaster would define the future development of the community. They established the permanent presence of their ethnic group in the region. New generations assumed this way of life as their own. Once the Spanish had all finally left, they retained as their collective memory the events and experiences that had occurred in the area they occupied. The “*cimarronaje*” movement, the escapes and the many strategies that formed part of the legal struggle, eventually combined to achieve the final objective of freedom from slavery. By the mid-19th century, Afro-descendants had taken control of the once devastated city, transforming the surrounding countryside into smallholdings averaging around one to three hectares in size.

With the dominance of the city of Lambayeque, in the late 18th century the name of the region was changed. Subsequently, leadership within the region was assumed by the city of Chiclayo. The town of Zaña retained its name, but it was reclassified as a district.

The continued presence of the Afro-descendant population over successive generations in the district of Zaña can be charted through analysis of the 1876 and 1940 censuses.

Afro-descendant population in the district of Zaña.
(According to the 1876 and 1940 censuses.)

Year	Men	Women	Total
1876	118	99	217
1940	95	74	169

The figures shown above serve to demonstrate the continuity of the Afro-descendant community in the district of Zaña. In order to fully understand the decline in population (according to the 1940 census), it is necessary to bear in mind that during the same period Zaña experienced a reduction in its territory or district jurisdiction. Zaña was dismantled and the areas of Lagunas and Oyotún were transformed into separate districts. This explains the fall in the number of Afro-descendants from 1876 to 1940.

10. GRADUAL DEPOPULATION AMONG AFRO-DESCENDANTS ON HACIENDAS OR PLANTATIONS.

Over time, the tendency among the Afro-descendant population in the Lambayeque region, and particularly in the district of Zaña, was towards the abandonment of work on most of the haciendas where generations had spent their lives during the slavery era, suffering under terrible living conditions. As the majority of ex-slave laborers left the major haciendas, most took up new trades, while just a few of their number adopted the lifestyle of day laborers on the old haciendas. Many Afro-descendant families developed their skills in the culinary arts and became engaged in the production of confectionery, building on a tradition that can be traced back to the colonial period and selling their products throughout northern Peru at the many local annual festivities. In this way they became itinerant trading families, traveling from one fair to the next to sell their wares, but always returning to Zaña, where they

maintained their permanent homes. Others became independent artisans, while those who became farmers worked the fields around Zaña that had been abandoned by their Spanish owners in the wake of natural disasters. These rural lands were transformed into smallholdings. In the 19th century and the early 20th century, these newly freed rural families came to see themselves as the new community of Zaña, and their lands were held by individual families or by the local municipality.

According to the 1876 census, in the rural areas of the district of Zaña –that is, on the sugar plantations– there lived and worked a large number of persons (2176) of diverse ethnic origins. At the time, there were nine major haciendas in the district of Zaña, which was the new jurisdictional category assigned to the area. Working conditions had changed markedly. The period of slavery had come to an end, and from 1854 hacienda owners began to seek and hire a new labor force. During this period, hundreds of immigrant Chinese and highland workers from Cajamarca were brought in to the production centers on the coast and the land around the town of Zaña.

To explain depopulation among Afro-descendants on the major haciendas, we offer the following information. The figures provided by Father Rubiños y Andrade⁹⁴ show that in the 18th century there were 21 persons of African origin in Oyotún. However, in the 20th century the 1940 census⁹⁵ shows that there were no persons of African descent living at that location. At the ex-hacienda of Úcupe, according to Father Rubiños, in the 18th century there were 181 persons of African descent, while the 1940 census records just 36 people of African descent in the district of Lagunas (where the Úcupe hacienda was located).

In the research conducted for this report (in June 2013) in the area around the present-day community of Zaña, we found that in other rural communities mentioned by Rubiños (where Afro-descendants lived), none were to be found any longer. These zones included Popán, San Cristóbal, San Nicolás, Cojal, Chumbenique, Sipán, San Antonio de la Viña and La Punta, among others. The case of La Punta is particularly revealing, given that in the 18th century the La Punta hacienda had possessed the highest number of Afro-descendants in all of northern Peru (around 470 individuals). Today there are none.

Agricultural crises, natural disasters including the El Niño phenomenon and severe droughts, epidemics and migratory processes, combined to displace rural Afro-descendant populations, who moved to the urban zones of the Peruvian coast. However, one group remained in the town of Zaña.

11. INTERCULTURAL PROCESSES IN ZAÑA: AFRO-DESCENDANTS AND THEIR INTERACTION WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS.

When Africans first arrived in Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña and the neighboring haciendas, they encountered two distinct ethnic groups. These were the so-called Yungas indigenous people of the coast, with their own advanced agricultural and

⁹⁴ Rubiños y Andrade: *Ibid.* p.354.

⁹⁵ 1940 National Census.

cultural practices, and the Spaniards. Each of these ethnic groups possessed their own customs and traditions. During this period, the indigenous community tended to work in domestic service, handcrafts and as farm laborers.

It must be remembered that the town of Zaña suffered the consequences of a series of disasters during the 18th century, and that these events led to the migration of the indigenous community. As we have mentioned, not a single indigenous person features in the statistics produced for Zaña by Martínez de Compañón.

These 18th century statistics also confirm that an intensive process of miscegenation occurred in the Province of Zaña. The components of this process were: a) the descendants of Spaniards and indigenous people, known as “*mixtos*” (mixed race); and b) those of partly African descent, known as “*pardos*” (“brown-skinned”).

The baptismal records of the first half of the 19th century for the Parish of Zaña provide evidence of how children were categorized according to a type of caste system. The writer Joseph Lequanda referred to the presence in Zaña of “*mulatos*” and “*sambos*”. According to this author: “The *Mulatos* and *Sambos* are, as in all places, unruly: most of those in this district live in captivity: the free ones are used for different trades, and also in agriculture [...]”⁹⁶. As the reader will have noted, so-called “*mulatos*” and “*sambos*” are described, as if they were animals, as being kept “in captivity”.

Slavery was abolished in Peru during the mid-19th century, and in rural areas freed slaves left the major haciendas. The freeing of the slaves meant that plantation owners found themselves urgently seeking new labor sources. Large numbers of Chinese were brought in to work on the haciendas. The 1876 census⁹⁷ records the presence in the district of Zaña of 811 Chinese, the majority of whom were men who had come to work on the haciendas⁹⁸.

By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, significant numbers of Chinese migrants had managed to transform themselves into tradesmen. At least one of these set up a small restaurant business on Zaña’s main street in the 19th century. During the first decades of the 20th century the number of Chinese tradesmen in the town of Zaña grew. According to contemporary accounts, most of the Chinese migrants were men, and they intermarried with the region’s indigenous and Afro-descendant women. From 1899, Japanese immigrants began to arrive, seeking work on the land.

In spite of this immigration, by the end of the 19th century Asian labor could not meet demand from the haciendas. The response to this situation was the introduction of a process of recruitment under which indigenous people from the highlands of Cajamarca were transferred to the middle and lower reaches of the Zaña Valley. This process continued into the first decades of the 20th century and led to an increase in

⁹⁶ Lequanda: Ibid. p.62.

⁹⁷ 1876 National Census.

⁹⁸ According to the 1876 National Census, there were 810 Asian men and 1 Asian woman in the district of Zaña. According to the oral traditions of Zaña, there were many cases of conjugal relations between Asian men and local Lambayeque women.

intercultural sexual relations between indigenous migrants from Cajamarca and Afro-descendants.

In Zaña several cultural strains converged, as we have already seen. We have produced the table below as a method of bringing together this information:

Cultural Diversity in the Zaña Valley.

Ethnic group	Period
“Yunga” indigenous.	Pre-Hispanic period (composed of a number of cultures).
Spaniards.	1563 until the first decades of the 19 th century
Africans.	The first Africans arrived in Zaña during the second half of the 16 th century. From 1590, larger numbers were brought in to work on sugar plantations.
Chinese.	Chinese immigrants began to arrive in the mid-19 th century to work on the haciendas in the Zaña Valley.
Japanese.	The first Japanese arrived at the Cayaltí Hacienda in 1899.
Indigenous people from Cajamarca (to the east of Zaña) recruited by the haciendas.	The first migrant laborers from Cajamarca arrived at the haciendas in the Zaña Valley towards the end of the 19 th century. Waves of migrants continue to arrive in the 21 st century.

The population of African descent in the town of Zaña has managed to endure for around four and a half centuries, right up to the present day, in spite of great adversity. During this long process, it developed intercultural relations with other ethnic groups, as the above table makes clear.

The last national census to contain a racial component was conducted in 1940⁹⁹. The figures that census provides concerning Afro-descendants in the district of Zaña read as follows: 95 men and 79 women, classified as “black”. The same census also records the presence of other ethnic groups, indicating that in Zaña there were 933 “Indians” and 50 “yellows”, or Asians (Chinese and Japanese).

This census contains a number of errors in terms of classification. For example, it classifies “whites and mixed race [“*mestizos*”]” as a single typology, producing a high figure: 5766 men and 4226 women. We include this data merely to demonstrate the ethnic and cultural diversity that existed in Zaña during the mid-20th century. The 1940 census also records the presence of 933 indigenous persons, the majority of whom were migrants from the highlands of Cajamarca. This was a new wave of migration from the Andes, of a people with very different cultural traits to those of the indigenous people of the coast, known as “*yungas*”.

After many years of hard work and sacrifice on the haciendas in the vicinity of the town, Chinese migrants began to move into the urban center of Zaña, where they established themselves as tradespeople. They mostly settled on Calle Real, where they erected the “Chinese Welfare” building, adorned with Chinese religious and cultural symbols. Families of Chinese descent continue to live in Zaña to this day, and

⁹⁹ 1940 National Census, Volume III, Lambayeque, Libertad and Ancash regions, published by the Ministry of Housing and Trade (National Office of Statistics).

intermarriage has occurred between the Chinese and Afro-descendant populations. The fact that a total of 50 persons of Asian origin (classified at the time as “yellows”) are recorded in the 1940 census, serves as an indicator of the evolution of ethnic diversity in Zaña.

As we have seen, during the 19th and 20th centuries Afro-descendants maintained intercultural relations with newly arrived ethnic groups: Asians and migrants from the highlands of Cajamarca; as well as ethnic groups from the colonial period (indigenous Yungas people and Spaniards). Sexual relations between different ethnic groups inevitably gave rise to a process of miscegenation.

This issue of intercultural relations (a very old issue in the everyday life of Zaña) is important because certain approaches have attempted to isolate Afro-descendants and categorize them as an “object” of “pure” study, isolated from other ethnic groups or cultures. In light of the data we have already mentioned, it becomes clear that the African presence in Zaña has passed through a number of stages and different types of miscegenation. Intercultural relations have been fluid, adapting during different periods. This cultural process which occurred on the Pacific coast of Peru calls upon us to reflect on the history of these people and to affirm the uniqueness of their collective memory.

Investigation into the cultural routes of the different regional and overseas migrants who found their way to the Zaña Valley represents a fascinating field of study. For example, by merely focusing on religion, we find that four separate religions (from four continents) converged at this single location, at different points in its history. More research is clearly required into the intercultural relations that developed in Zaña over a period measured in centuries.

12. THE CURRENT OUTLOOK FOR AFRO-DESCENDANTS IN ZAÑA AND THE LAMBAYEQUE REGION.

12.1. The Afro-descendant population endures in the town of Zaña.

During our travels in recent years throughout the Lambayeque region, we have seen how two significant Afro-descendant population centers have survived: the urban center of Zaña and the old Capote (Picsi) hacienda. At other locations ethnic African communities have been dispersed. This disintegration of communities has occurred throughout the Lambayeque region. At most of the locations where there were once major haciendas, no Afro-descendants remain. One factor which may partly explain this phenomenon is the fact that in the second half of the 20th century a political process of agricultural reform radically altered the pattern of land ownership.

However, some 450 years after the founding of the town of Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña, descendants of the slave workers brought there from Africa continue to live in the historic urban center. Censuses carried out in the 21st century have shown that the population of the district of Zaña and its urban centers (currently numbering three) has

increased. The 2007 census¹⁰⁰ shows that the population of the urban center (town) of Zaña was composed that year of 3,899 residents. The total population for the entire district (including urban and rural areas) was 12,013 persons, representing a variety of ethnic groups. The population of the entire district of Zaña is characterized by its cultural diversity, while at its heart there has survived a core of Afro-descendant residents, as we will see later.

The focus of this study is the Afro-descendant population located in the town of Zaña. As part of our study we have identified the surnames of local families, in order to shed more light on the composition of the core community which has managed to perpetuate the African presence in the urban center of Zaña. Of course, the majority of local surnames are of Spanish origin. This is due to various factors, principally: a) the fact that when they were baptized, the children of slaves were identified and registered in parish records with the surname of their Spanish masters; and b) sexual relations between Spaniards and Afro-descendants produced children who bore the surname of their Spanish father.

In the present-day community of Zaña, we have identified around thirty Afro-descendant family trees. Their surnames are as follows: Andonaire, Cueva, Reaño, Oliva, Briones, Urbina, Colchado, Leyva, Zambrano, Reyes, Montes de Oca, Licera, Ripalda, Jaramillo, Campaña, Cosío o (Cossio), Mayorga, Gamarra, García, Balcázar, Bracamonte, Espinoza, Caján, Zevallos, Parraguez, Callirgos, Valdivia, Vásquez and Hernández, among others. From each family tree a number of branches have emerged. Some generations of family members migrated to the cities of Chiclayo, Trujillo, Chimbote and Lima. In Peru's capital, these migrants have tended to settle in the neighborhoods of the districts of San Martín de Porres (Condevilla) and Ventanilla.

The family trees of some of these families can be traced back via specific references to the colonial period. For example, in the early 19th century there was a revolt by female slaves at the La Punta hacienda. Several of those women bore the surname Ripalda, which remains common to this day in Zaña. As we have said, in centuries past Afro-descendants were given the surnames of their Spanish masters, while there were also cases in which intercultural marriages resulted in the adoption of a Hispanic surname by Afro-descendant offspring. As a result, surnames like Briones¹⁰¹, Cueva¹⁰² and Ripalda¹⁰³ have survived to this day.

In the baptismal records of the Parish of Zaña for the first half of the 19th century, we found a slave identified by the surname Rivas. Once again, what we have here is a case of a slave who lost the name his parents had been born with in Africa, and was baptized with the family name of his slave-owning master.

¹⁰⁰ Medina, César: "*Conociendo mi distrito*", Zaña, May 2009, leaflet, p.6.

¹⁰¹ Ramírez, Susan: Ibid. p.243. The historian reports that Joseph de Briones was the owner of the La Otra Banda hacienda in 1730.

¹⁰² Ramírez: Ibid. p.211. In 1698, Juan de la Cueva was a tithe collector in Zaña.

¹⁰³ Ramírez: Ibid. p.253. Francisco de Ripalda owned the La Punta hacienda in 1727.

The individuals who belonged to these genealogical trees came from very large families. Until the 1980s, most Afro-descendant couples tended to have an average of 8 to 10 children. We have identified several generations of individuals bearing the surnames mentioned above. The majority of these live in the urban center of Zaña. The streets where most of these Afro-descendants tend to live are located in the historic urban center. They include: Calle Malambo, San Francisco, Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, Real, Independencia, San Agustín, Patria, 7 de Junio, Alfonso Ugarte and 8 de Octubre. This central zone is composed of the first blocks built immediately after the 1720 disaster, during a state of emergency. Today, not all the residents are Afro-descendants. Migrants from the highlands of Cajamarca also live in the area, as well as the descendants of Asian immigrants, and new generations of mixed race residents.

The residents of Zaña engage in a number of economic activities: a) Some continue to work on the land, mostly farming smallholdings of between one and three hectares in size; b) Others are engaged in the making of confectionery and the delicate willow wood boxes in which these products are packed (a traditional technique which has been conserved in Zaña, the only place in Peru where it is still practiced daily); c) Small-scale traders; d) Service personnel; e) Handcraft workers; and f) A significant number of professionals in recent times, working in education and health.

It is important to understand the importance of this core of Afro-descendants, with their thirty genealogical trees, as the repositories of the collective memory of the slave-trading era. From the colonial period to the present day, this community has managed to survive and thrive, remaining in the same geographical location over so many generations.

11.2. Sources of livelihood for the population of Zaña: nature and agricultural production.

In Zaña the survival of the population has always been dependent upon its connection with nature. After the abolition of slavery and the disasters that hit the region, the people of Zaña devoted their efforts to economic activities closely associated with the natural world, including: a) The farming of smallholdings; b) The raising of livestock; and c) Gastronomy.

According to César Medina, today in the district of Zaña “16,000 hectares are devoted to agriculture”¹⁰⁴. While properties of every size can be found, ranging from large estates to medium-sized farms and smallholdings, the majority of the inhabitants of Zaña make their living from smallholdings.

The lands upon which great mansions once stood in the old colonial town are now used by local people for growing crops. The departure of Spanish residents after the natural disasters that affected the region, such as those conditions related to the El Niño phenomenon, meant that abandoned land could be taken over and worked by local people. These extended families continued to practice their customs and pass on

¹⁰⁴ Medina, César: Ibid. p.2.

their knowledge from one generation to the next, and there exists an essential bond between the people of the urban center and those in outlying smallholdings.

From the end of the 19th century to the 1960s, a segment of the population of Zaña continued to work as day laborers on the Cayaltí hacienda, when the property was still owned by the Aspillaga family. After agricultural reform, these workers stayed on as partners in the company, which entered into a period of crisis during the final years of the 20th century. At that time, many of these Zaña day laborers opted to retire from the Cayaltí concern, after having spent their working lives on this farm located some three kilometers from their homes in the urban center of Zaña.

11.3. The reduction of Zaña's geographic area.

Today, the total surface area of Zaña is 47,000 hectares, far smaller than the territory it occupied in previous centuries. The historic center of the town has been conserved, and smaller urban centers have developed. In addition, a further twenty smaller rural communities occupy the surrounding countryside.

It is important to understand how control of the territory where Africans and their descendants lived has shifted. Initially, these lands were the property of Spanish colonizers, who owned both the land and those Africans who lived on it and worked for them. Three centuries later, those same lands were no longer owned by a dominant European-descended elite; however much of the land remained in the hands of a new kind of hacienda owner until 1969. After agricultural reform, new production methods were introduced, and traditional Zaña families were able to own smallholdings. The fact that with the exodus of Spanish landowners and the settling of Afro-descendants in Zaña a process was begun which has seen a reduction in the district's original land area, might easily be viewed as symbolic.

The attitude of the people of Zaña towards the territory they occupied underwent a change. They found themselves in a setting with the following characteristics: The vestiges of devastated churches, abandoned by the Spanish clergy; an exodus by Spanish landowners (as we have already mentioned, many migrated to Lambayeque, others to Trujillo). And so it was that after the abolition of slavery a significant majority of Afro-descendants left the barrack-like shacks of the haciendas, where they had lived packed together, and moved to the urban center of Zaña, where they built themselves larger homes.

The Zaña River and the green countryside it created formed an essential part of the daily lives of the people of Zaña. The old colonial churches, surrounded by vegetation, fed the imagination of local people and figured in tales involving apparitions and the spirits of the dead. Cerro La Horca ["Gallows Hill"] was nearby, just three or four hundred meters east of the main square. After the 1720 disaster, local people built new homes in a rustic style at the base of this hill.

Less than a mile to the east of the town of Zaña stands the imposing Corbacho Hill, where an old Inca *tambo* (way station) and quicklime mine once operated.

The Zaña River continued to provide the water used on a daily basis by the town for bathing and doing laundry. The river also provided locals with fish and shrimps, while the surrounding countryside produced a wide variety of fruits. Skilled farmers and ranchers, the people of Zaña began to work their own modest smallholdings. The surrounding landscape was defined by local flora and fauna and contained a remarkable range of plant and animal life. In homage to this natural setting, in the late 19th century an old Zaña poet, Ruperto Jaramillo, composed the traditional poem [or “*décima*”] entitled “*Los cuarenta pájaros*” [“The Forty Birds”]. Local birdlife is scarcer today.

The reduction and dismemberment of Zaña began during the second half of the 18th century, after the disastrous events we have already described. Below we offer a brief overview of the territorial changes imposed upon Zaña.

18th century ecclesiastical documents confirm the existence of 31 haciendas when Zaña was classified as a province. Subsequently, the 1876 census provides us with important data regarding the changes that had been made to the territorial boundaries of Zaña. This 19th century census records Zaña as a district, rather than a province, and describes it as consisting of an urban center and nine haciendas: Cayaltí, Chumbenique, Oyotún, Sipán, Pucalá, Culpón, La Otra Banda, Palomino and Viña. Clearly, Zaña had lost much of its territory. The total number of haciendas had been reduced from 31 to 9 since the 18th century. This can be partly explained by the fact that the big hacienda owners had left the historic urban center of Zaña after the disasters of the 18th century. These hacienda owners relocated their homes away from the town of Zaña, while retaining their businesses. They preferred to reside in large homes built on their sugarcane plantations, where they lived in considerable luxury.

According to César Medina¹⁰⁵, “in the year 1901 the following haciendas existed in the district of Zaña: Chumbenique, Oyotún, Culpón, Palomino, La Viña, Cayaltí, Saltur, La Punta, La Otra Banda, Sipán, Pucalá and Taberna”. He goes on to say that: “[...] its territory was reduced by the creation of the district of Lagunas [...], the district of Oyotún (November 23rd 1925) and Nueva Arica (January 25th 1944)”.

Medina’s account confirms that the territory of Zaña was severely reduced towards the end of the 20th century¹⁰⁶, “[...] with the creation of the districts of Cayaltí, Pomalca, Tumán and Pucalá, under the provisions of Law 26921, passed on January 30th 1998, which reduced its area to that of the current district”. In other words, extensive former haciendas, which had once formed part of the territory of Zaña, became independent and gained the status of new districts. This process involved attempts by some landowners to strip Zaña families of the land they had gained after the abolition of slavery. This long legal battle continued during the first years of this century, and was waged principally between the owners of the old Cayaltí hacienda and the residents of Zaña¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁵ Medina, César: *Ibid.* p.3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p.3.

¹⁰⁷ Luis Rocca has written a book on this subject, under the title “*De la multitud a la soledad: La vida y obra de José Mercedes Cachay*”, published by Ces Solidaridad, Chiclayo (1994).

Today, the district of Zaña occupies a small area of the central part of the valley of the same name, but it has managed to preserve important symbols of its African heritage, as well as vestiges of the colonial period. It is also home to significant Pre-Hispanic archaeological sites, including Sipán¹⁰⁸. The former haciendas can be seen now as emblematic of the slave trade.

The port of Chérrepe was also affected by the dismemberment of the jurisdiction of Zaña. On June 2nd 2013, a delegation from the Afro-Peruvian Museum and the District Municipality of Zaña visited Chérrepe, and we found that it no longer operates as a port, as it once did, but instead serves two primary functions. To one side live families who make their living from fishing, while on the other (left hand side) of the old port wealthier families from beyond the locality have built themselves a summer resort. The fishermen¹⁰⁹ told us that they remembered what Chérrepe had been like when it was still a busy port, and they recounted stories of how pirates had once disembarked there on their way to attack Zaña. They were also aware that Chérrepe had once formed part of Zaña. The fishermen of Chérrepe spoke to the delegation of their concerns, saying they feared moves by multinationals bent on acquiring land for mining and oil exploitation.

11.4. Continued indigenous migration in recent decades from Cajamarca to Zaña.

In the final years of the 19th century, the people of the highlands of Cajamarca began to migrate to the haciendas of Lambayeque, and particularly the Zaña Valley. Throughout the 20th century, more and more indigenous highlanders settled in the town of Zaña, most notably in the northern sector of the town, where marked social and cultural changes have been experienced.

The urban center of Zaña -that is, the old town- has grown during the last century to accommodate the migration of people from the mountains of Cajamarca. Two new neighborhoods have appeared, “Santiago de Miraflores” and “San Andrés”, composed of 48 blocks occupied by the highland indigenous people who have flocked to this northern cone of Zaña, as shown in the plan provided by César Medina¹¹⁰.

New generations of Zaña-born Afro-descendants have intermarried with Andean migrants from Cajamarca, producing a new process of Afro-Andean miscegenation.

¹⁰⁸ It should be noted that according to the Peruvian state the district of Zaña is home to 14 archaeological sites (known as *huacas*, or Pre-Hispanic cemeteries) considered part of Peru’s national heritage. These sites are important as evidence of the indigenous presence in this part of Peru.

¹⁰⁹ The fishermen interviewed on June 2nd 2013 were Hermógenes Balarezo Bances, Ángel Isla Huertas and Amador Moncada Sosa. They spoke of the situation in Chérrepe, explaining that they used *titora* reed rafts for fishing, as the ancient Moche culture once did. They also stated that they sense considerable pressure from multinational firms which are seeking to gain a greater foothold in the territory of Chérrepe.

¹¹⁰ Street plan produced by César Medina in January 2009.

In order to fully understand the significance of the change brought about by the presence of migrants from Cajamarca, it should be remembered that in the census conducted in the 1780s not a single indigenous Yunga person was recorded as living in the urban center of Zaña. This segment of the population left the town after the 1720 disaster. Close to 80% of the population were classified as “blacks” and “*pardos*” [brown-skinned]. In other words, they were descended from Africans. This ethnic panorama has changed.

The 1876 census recorded a total of 724 “Indians” in the district of Zaña. The 1940 census recorded a total of 931 “Indians” (594 men and 339 women). It seems likely that many of these were migrants who had come from the highland provinces of Cajamarca, who were in search of work on local haciendas and subsequently decided to settle permanently.

According to testimonies collected on June 2nd 2013 at the former La Punta hacienda, most of the contemporary residents arrived from the province of Chota (Cajamarca) and are ethnically Andean, while there are no residents of African origin.

The author estimates that between 30% and 40% of the current population of the urban center of Zaña are Afro-descendants. More than 50% of the population is the result of successive waves of migration from the Andes which continue to this day, principally from the region of Cajamarca.

11.5. How architectural forms reflect the different stages of Zaña’s history.

The families who live in Zaña are surrounded by buildings that exhibit a range of characteristics. These diverse architectural forms express the influence over time of the distinct cultures that have passed through the valley. Over the centuries, the cultural landscape has been transformed several times. Today, it is possible to see buildings created by the different ethnic groups that have left their own cultural mark, such as indigenous Yungas homes, colonial churches, colonial-era hacienda mansions, later republican mansions, and the community center built by and for Chinese migrants.

Most of the traditional families that live in Zaña, whether they are Afro-descendants or people of Andean origin, have based their architectural expressions on the following materials: mud bricks, carob wood roof beams, reed thatch roofs, and corrals made from a local form of wattle and daub. These locals use mud in their buildings as mortar to fix adobe bricks into place, as well as to plaster walls and roofs. Homes are coated with lime extracted from nearby mines.

Those people of African origin who settled in Zaña used what nature provided in the construction of their homes. They also adopted indigenous techniques of house building. This flexibility, expressed in their adaptation to a new geographic setting through the incorporation of construction techniques borrowed from other cultures, enabled them to survive in spite of the many adversities they found themselves forced to confront. In contrast, Europeans found it harder to adapt to new conditions, and they began to leave the area during the late-18th and early 19th centuries.

It is interesting to see how in the small town of Zaña its considerable cultural diversity is reflected in its varied architecture. A short walk around Zaña reveals many of the architectural forms that mark different periods in the history of the community. Today's residents are faced with a number of cultural elements expressed in different physical forms, and it is important that we consider and describe those architectural elements that form the backdrop to the daily lives of the people of Zaña.

Of particular interest is the part of the district of Zaña where Huaca Rajada is located, and where the tomb of the Lord of Sipán was discovered. Vestiges of Pre-Hispanic culture can be seen throughout this area. Walter Alva, one of Peru's leading archaeologists and the discoverer of the aforementioned tomb, has informed us that a number of important archaeological sites exist in the Zaña Valley, attributed to a range of Pre-Hispanic cultures. At the ancient site of Tambo Inca, located very close to the present-day town, vestiges have survived of adobe walls. Aspects of this site have been studied in depth by Bachman, Kosok and Lorenzo Huertas.

Two important aspects of the buildings in Zaña should be taken into consideration. It must be remembered that through the center of the old town, to the right of the Mother Church, the Inca highway known as the Qhapaq Ñan once passed. Today, a route known as El Camino del Inca [“the Inca Way”] passes very close to Zaña, and a nearby village also bears that same name. Also, the old suspension bridge across the Zaña River has been conserved to this day, although it is now made from modern materials. This route would have once formed part of the great Inca highway system that linked all of Peru.

A National Institute of Culture (INC) resolution issued in 2004 acknowledged the importance of the Pre-Hispanic sites located in Zaña, when it declared that fourteen such sites formed part of the nation's Cultural Heritage¹¹¹. Such acknowledgement has been important for local people, who are familiar with these sites and identify with them.

In the context of Zaña's colonial past, its churches are of particular interest¹¹², and they have been classified as historic buildings. It has been reported that entrances exist to the old crypts located below the main altar of the church of San Agustín. However, excavation work launched in an attempt to locate these crypts was suspended some two decades ago.

A recent reevaluation has taken place of the colonial-era church or chapel that once belonged to the La Punta hacienda¹¹³. This site is not very well-known. It is located in the village of Saltur, in the northern part of the district of Zaña. It is remarkable for the beauty of its altar, high relief figures, and colorful decoration. During the late 18th century, this hacienda kept a large number of Afro-descendant slaves (471 individuals).

¹¹¹ National Directorial Resolution Number 615 of the National Institute of Culture, signed by the then-director, Luis Lumbreras Salcedo, on August 11th 2004. The document states that in the entire Lambayeque region there are 298 Pre-Hispanic sites classified as “National Cultural Heritage”. A copy of the document was furnished by César Medina.

¹¹² The colonial-era churches of Zaña have been declared historic buildings, under the provisions of Supreme Resolution 644, dated May 27th 1964, December 28th 1972 and June 30th 1986.

¹¹³ This structure has also been granted the status of an historic building.

The church is now on the point of collapse. Also, part of the old La Punta hacienda's main house has been replaced by modern office buildings, and its original character has been largely lost.

Today, the parish of Zaña is home to a number of important holy objects dating from the colonial era, including a monstrance and a silver reliquary which contains a fragment of bone from the tibia of Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo. Recent studies have also been made of the church's wood carvings, which depict noted religious leaders from the colonial period.

In the outskirts of the present-day town of Zaña four areas have been identified which were once occupied by the haciendas of Cayaltí, La Otra Banda, Ucupe and La Punta. More research is required at these sites, although some progress has been made. Cayaltí is located four kilometers from Zaña, and has been the subject of research by Lorenzo Huertas and Susan Ramírez. At La Otra Banda, a valuable study has been made by Juan Granda. At La Punta, Lorenzo Huertas and César Maguiña have contributed work, while Susan Ramírez has worked on Ucupe. In Appendix I we present photographs illustrating the current condition of these former haciendas. In the case of Cayaltí, we also present an image showing where the old sugar mill once stood. It is known to locals as "the factory".

The main house at La Otra Banda would appear to be a particularly old structure. Following the 18th century disaster, the owners relocated to a higher embankment, in order to avoid the risk of further flooding in the future. The house is abandoned and bats nest in its interior.

Given the fact that slaves were required to work in these houses in previous centuries, it is important that the state conserve these structures through appropriate initiatives. The places where slaves once lived and worked should be preserved for future generations.

The town is also home to the Chinese Welfare [*Beneficencia China*] building, erected during the first decades of the 20th century on Calle Real. The structure is adorned with Chinese cultural and religious symbols. Such imagery has long been closely associated with eastern spirituality. Here, the local Chinese community once used Chinese ovens in their traditional culinary practices. The building is now in a very poor state of repair.

All of the architectural features we have mentioned here, once occupied or occupied still by the people of Zaña, have survived as important symbols of the cultural diversity of this community, which was expressed in the architectural designs associated with people's homes, local institutions or funerary practices.

Most of the buildings of contemporary Zaña are still characterized by their traditional rustic design. In recent decades, only in those parts of the town inhabited by business people and professionals have buildings been erected using more modern materials (cement, brick and steel). More recently, some locals have added to the number of homes built using modern materials, thanks to loans granted by the state.

The cultural changes that have taken place in Zaña are symbolized by the fact that there are no clergymen in the colonial-era churches, and the fact that its great

mansions are no longer occupied by hacienda owners. They are empty. A family lives in the old Chinese Welfare building, but cultural, religious and social activities no longer take place there, as they did a century ago. Times have changed. Most Afro-descendants, indigenous Andean people, and people of mixed race, continue to live in traditionally constructed housing. These homes are large, with facades up to seven meters wide, and lots up to 40 or 50 meters deep. In some cases, families have even conserved their old cane and reed corrals, where they continue to keep animals. The homes of today's Zaña residents are much larger than the barrack-like sheds in which slaves were crammed together during the colonial period. And this is a measure of their freedom, gained in spite of the many difficulties which have combined to leave many Afro-descendants living in poverty to this day.

PART TWO

ASPECTS OF COLLECTIVE AFRO-DESCENDANT MEMORY IN ZAÑA TODAY.

We have already shown how the history of Afro-descendants in the Andean region, and particularly on the South Pacific coast, has its own unique characteristics. And in the case of Zaña we have attempted to disentangle a whole range of complex elements in the preceding sections of this document. In Part Two of this work, we present testimonies from residents of Zaña, who recount episodes from the lives of their forebears. These components of collective memory contain experiences and events that have affected the people of Zaña. Such stories also help us to better understand the connections that exist between intangible cultural heritage (song, oral tradition, music and dance), tangible cultural heritage (historic buildings) and natural heritage (the environment, ecosystems).

An interesting field for exploration is the relationship between the characteristic elements of the cultural landscape of Zaña and its natural surroundings. The study of cultural landscape offers a new way of seeing and interpreting the components of this region's heritage.

It is through memory that the past is brought to life in the present. Memories enable us to relive past events and understand the lives of those who are long gone.

1. Oral traditions of slavery.

A song written in the 18th century tells of the journey endured by slaves from Africa to the northern coast of Peru. Its title is "*La Tonada del Congo*" ["The Song of the Congo"]¹¹⁴ and it was published as a score in the work of Bishop Baltazar Martínez de Compañón. The lyrics include the following fragment:

¹¹⁴ "*Tonada El Congo: to be sung and danced*", from the work of Martínez de Compañón, Ibid. Folio 184.

“To sea they take me
For no reason
Leaving my mother
Who remains in my heart
The Congo calls out to me
My heart belongs to the Congo [...]

Other references to slavery in Zaña can be found in the book *“La otra historia”*¹¹⁵ (1975), based on the testimonies of local people:

“Don Marcial Sánchez Colchado, aged 95 and a lifelong resident of Zaña, recounted to us orally the stories about slaves passed on from one generation to the next. Don Marcial had this to say:

“The old black men used to talk about how the Spaniards brought them from Africa. They brought them as slaves and they sold them [...] they traded them. The old men used to say that the Spaniards treated them as slaves are treated and that they did as they pleased with them, and they forced them to make these things (he points at the remains of a church) [...]. Long ago, when I was a boy, some blue men remained. I have known black men who were Africans [...] who had been slaves once. They came from Africa [...]. The Spaniards left and the blacks remained behind. But now everyone is of mixed race. There are no blue men left.”

Doña Rosa Campaña gave the following testimony on November 26th 1982:

“They would beat the black people. They used to work in the haciendas and the owners treated them badly. They would beat them, and they worked them hard, the men and the women. They would take the men into the hills and keep the women in their houses. And they beat them hard [...]”

Memories of the suffering endured by slaves are expressed by the people of Zaña in stories, songs, dance and traditional poetry forms [*“décimas”*].

Hildebrando Briones Vela, a poet and writer who was born in Zaña, has written five books of poetry (in the literary form known as the *“décima”*, which is composed of four introductory verses followed by four verses of ten lines each). Using this literary form, Briones sings the history of the community, telling stories and recounting major events in the history of Zaña. Below, we present extracts from his first book¹¹⁶ which speak of slavery.

In *Canto Negro*¹¹⁷ [“Black Song”], he says:

“Black man, sing to me of your sorrow
Because I like to hear it.
For even though I’d like to ignore it

¹¹⁵ Rocca, Luis: Ibid. p.112.

¹¹⁶ Briones Vela, Hildebrando: *“Al lundero le da... ¡Zaña!”*, published by Casa de la Cultura de Cayaltí, Chiclayo (1995), p.19.

¹¹⁷ Briones: Ibid. p.18.

I listen because it speaks to me,
It smacks of condemnation
And thankless lament.
Mandinga, Bunka or Zulu,
All is a single color
With that ancestral flavor.
Black man, sing to Peru”.

“If your grandfather was sold
Into forced labor,
Then that should stay in the past.
Do not feel sinned against,
You were born here in Peru,
Among blacks and highlanders.
And we call ourselves countrymen,
Along with Chinese and Japanese.
And we put aside foolish things
In our shared Peruvian spirit”

Fragments from the poem “*Negra es mi raza*”¹¹⁸ [“My Race is Black”]

“If I am from Angola
Or maybe the Congo
I have nothing against my roots.
And just look at the way I am formed!
I am not of Spanish blood
Which I neither admire nor rebuff.
If the black man bent his arms,
Exerting his strength to breaking point,
If his sacrifice was so great
That he gave his life out of love,
Then I am part of his color
And there can be no prejudice in me”

And below we present a complete “*décima*” form poem by Hildebrando Briones, the title of which is “*Esclavitud*” [“Slavery”]:

It was five hundred years ago
That the restless savannah
Saw the people of Africa
Hunted like animals.
And those fugitive black men
Who found themselves enslaved,
Have deposited their seed
Throughout the world’s continents,

¹¹⁸ Briones: Ibid. p.16.

Where today's Afro-descendants
Bear the legacy of black slaves

In America he lived
Three centuries of exploitation,
Suffering such humiliation
Because of the color of his skin.
With more heart than love
He defended the whole nation,
Even though that land was not his.
He fought for its independence
And never asked for mercy
Or redemption from any quarter.

I do not know if I possess an eighth
Or even less than a thirtieth
Of the black-colored blood
From that African slave.
I have this skin and I laud
All who came before me,
Depositing in me the essence
Of their blood and of their culture,
Along with their divine blackness.
Amen to their wisdom.

I am no more a slave,
My path is one of distinction.
All that discrimination
Has been left in the past.
And to all who cannot forget such things
Then let that be your burden!
I will continue on my way
With my head held good and high,
Because it is by my color that I am known,
For all my divine blackness.

Such verses illustrate all too clearly just how alive the issue of slavery remains in the collective memory of the people of Zaña.

Hildebrando Briones has published his work in Peru and overseas. In 2012 he was recognized by the Ministry of Culture for his efforts in the service of culture. He is acknowledged today as one of the finest Afro-Peruvian poets.

2. Memories of Cerro La Horca [“Gallows Hill”]: Symbol of slavery.

We have already mentioned the existence of Cerro La Horca [“Gallows Hill”]. As we have seen, the order was given when Zaña was founded in the 16th century for a place to be set aside for executions. And when disaster struck Zaña in 1720 and the town

was destroyed, the document declaring a state of emergency was signed on that same hill: “And let the record state that this document was signed on the hill or high plain known as La Horca, on the outskirts of this same town of Zaña, on the eighteenth day of the month of March, in the year 1720 [...]”¹¹⁹

This historical reference is significant because it supports the oral tradition which to this day tells of a place known as “Gallows Hill”.

In the 19th century we also find a reference to the place known as Gallows Hill. In an article published in 1894, the journalist José Clodomiro Soto writes of how “the cemetery was established recently, at the foot of the hill they call La Horca”.¹²⁰

What follows is a transcription of a selection of oral testimonies and written sources alluding to Cerro La Horca, which were first published in the book “*La otra historia*”:¹²¹

“The black slaves suffered many ills. Not only were they branded with a hot iron, confined in stocks and jailed; they were also put to death on Gallows Hill.”

“Marcial Sánchez is overcome with emotion and expresses bitterness when speaking of Gallows Hill. His face hardened when he glanced at the hill, and he said: ‘There, on Gallows Hill, they used to kill slaves [...] Slaves who had stood up against the Spaniards were exterminated there.’”

Written sources also contain references to Cerro La Horca:

“Nicanor A. de la Fuente said: “Today, Zaña lies practically at the foot of Gallows Hill, the most imposing of the hills that protect the antique elegance of the town. It is known as Gallows Hill because it was the place where they put to death those who committed offenses and were condemned to die. A cross stands there today, where local people light candles for the spirits of the dead, to guide their steps and provide them with relief from their suffering.”¹²²

Another reference to the Hill, recorded in “*Documental del Perú*”, describes Zaña as: “The bread basket of the parched, desert coast, nestled in fertile countryside, watched over by Gallows Hill, where it is said that black slaves were put to death by their masters, along with thieves, fugitives and those accused of witchcraft”.¹²³

From around the middle of the 20th century Cerro La Horca was gradually built upon and populated. The hill offered new generations a place to construct their homes. Old families moved to the hill to build, and Andean migrants settled there alongside them. Today, the hill is almost entirely covered with housing. This neighborhood is occupied by Afro-descendants, Andean migrants from Cajamarca and people of mixed race. All the residents are conscious of the history and significance of Cerro La Horca, the place

¹¹⁹ The original document is kept in the Lambayeque Regional Archive. The text was transcribed by Father Rubiños y Andrade in 1782, and first published in 1920.

¹²⁰ Rocca, Luis: “*La otra historia*”, p.177.

¹²¹ Rocca, Luis: “*La otra historia*”, pp.114-115.

¹²² De la Fuente, Nicanor: “*Pasado y presente de Zaña*”, in “*Cultura Peruana*” (1953) No. 62.

¹²³ Cortázar, Pedro Felipe: “*Documental del Perú. Lambayeque*”, published by “*Información. Opinión Pública, Publicidad y Encuesta*”, p.26

that is now their home. On May 13th and 14th 2013, Amelia Cabanillas Muro, accompanied by a team composed of local residents, carried out a census among the people living on Cerro La Horca. She recorded a total of 91 families and 372 residents.¹²⁴

The residents of Cerro La Horca retain as part of their collective memory the events that took place there, including many executions. As a means of channeling this awareness of the tragic events that took place on the hill, it was decided that an altar should be raised in honor of Saint Martin de Porres, the American continent's first Catholic saint of African descent. The saint has been venerated at this site for decades, in memory of the suffering of so many generations.

In April 2013, during celebrations for the feast day of Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo, an Afro-Peruvian dance competition was held at the local Martín Reyes Arena. The Chiclayo-based group Lundú won the competition with their dance "Cerro La Horca", in remembrance of the slave trade.

On June 1st 2013, a Community Assembly¹²⁵ was held by the families living on Cerro La Horca, with the aim of providing a space for dialogue regarding the proposal to raise a memorial or commemorative sculpture at the top of the hill, to honor those slaves who were brought to Zaña and who struggled for their freedom.

Hildebrando Briones has written a poem about Cerro La Horca¹²⁶:

El Cerro La Horca ["Gallows Hill"]

On Gallows Hill
They would hang black folk
Because they would not pray,
Or just because they were black.

How many cries and lamentations
Are held within that small hill.
So many black men were hanged there,
Or suffered cruel torment.
While their cries were carried by the wind,
Your prayers remained in your throat.
Now I feel it falls to me
To claim back their joy,
By reciting an "Ave Maria",
There on Gallows Hill.

¹²⁴ These families have been subjected to a census recording their details. A process is underway to establish greater cohesion among residents, through meetings aimed at encouraging dialogue regarding the future of the neighborhood and the conservation of its historical legacy.

¹²⁵ The meeting was held in the Parish Hall and was attended by residents and representatives of Zaña's local institutions.

¹²⁶ Manuscript from the Hildebrando Briones Archive, in Zaña.

Their cries can be heard still
And their tears repose within the hill.
The black man in his exile
Suffered the harshest punishments,
On that hill that stands as a witness
To so many lives struck blind,
To so many black men who died,
Because of their color,
With nobody to feel pain or compassion
At the hanging of those black folk.

Who were the judge and executioner?
Who accused or defended him?
Such incomprehensible abuses,
And the black man took it all.
Faced with what was strange to them,
Those who rebelled
Were punished in the stocks.
And those who continued to rebel
Had the Bible read over them!
Perhaps because they had refused to pray.

Their language was taken from them,
Their religion, their beliefs.
And untroubled by its conscience,
Justifying such an outrage,
Zaña blended unto itself
The black man from Africa.
And in this town can be felt still
The dream-like calm step
Of those hanged for being soulless,
Or for simply being black.

3. The Zaña River: Integral part of the cultural landscape.

The great disaster that destroyed by flooding much of the town of Zaña in 1720 is often spoken of by local people.

The river is seen as both a source of life and as a mortal threat. On the one hand, it makes possible the irrigating of land. And on the other, during times of flooding it has posed a grave risk to the very existence of the community, as occurred in 1720.

The poet Juan Leiva Zambrano has written of how in March 1972 the river once again burst its banks and swept away his house, along with another sixty-five homes. Recalling the event, Leiva produced these lines¹²⁷:

God made the Zaña River
Executioner and gravedigger
On Sunday the tenth of March
In nineteen seventy-two.

That same Zaña-born poet has also written of the tradition involving the ringing of the Maria Angola bell, to warn the town of the danger of flooding: Leiva writes¹²⁸:

When the river rumbles
The bell rings
And the people of Zaña
Await anxiously.

In the songs of Zaña allusions can be found to chains and shackles¹²⁹. For example, Rosita Alarco has recorded the following quatrain:

I would like to cross the river
Without the sand touching me,
Place shackles on the sea
And put injustice in chains.

A version by Víctor Gamarra goes as follows:

Let me cross the river
Without the sand touching me.
It is time to chain the devil,
And put death in chains.

It is also said that slaves used to perform their dances on the banks of the Zaña River. More recently, Afro-descendants have performed many concerts in this cultural landscape.

4. Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo: his relationship with Afro-descendants.

The life of Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo forms part of local tradition and ritual. This Catholic saint died in Zaña in 1606, having enjoyed a positive relationship with the people of the town, where he is remembered fondly.

¹²⁷ Rocca, Luis: *“La otra historia”*, Ibid. p.216.

¹²⁸ Rocca, Luis: Ibid. P.60

¹²⁹ Rocca: Ibid. p.217.

During the months of March and April 2013, religious activities were held at the chapel built on the site where Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo died, as well as at the symbolic tomb erected in his honor in the community's main church (the Iglesia Matriz, the first to be built in Zaña, in the 16th century). It is important to understand that for the people of Zaña veneration of Saint Turibius remains extremely important.

During the first years of the 16th century, in his role as archbishop of Lima, Saint Turibius lobbied for a ban on the use of the "*carimbo*", the branding iron used to mark slaves. He also called for a ban on the enforced separation of married African couples. Also of importance to local collective memory is the story of how it was a woman of African descent who prepared the saint's meals during his time in Zaña. These accounts have been published in biographies of Saint Turibius and are widely known. The year 2006 saw the 400th anniversary of the death of Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo, and in the old colonial-era center of the town of Zaña religious celebrations were held. A symbolic urn was made for the town's oldest church, to represent the tomb in which Saint Turibius was interred in 1606, before his remains were transferred to Lima, leaving just a reliquary containing a fragment of his shinbone in Zaña.

5. Legends of Zaña: The hacienda owner and the demon of Cerro Corbacho.

Corbacho Hill, the site of the Pre-Hispanic archaeological remains of Tambo Inca, the largest structure of its type in the region, is a source of local legends. One tale influenced by Spanish culture led to the belief that a demon inhabited this important site of indigenous origin. Reported apparitions of this creature form part of the folklore of Zaña. One version of these tales features an "Enchanted Cart". What follows is a fragment of a poem by Hildebrando Briones, entitled "*El Corbacho y tu tesoro*" ["The Treasure of Corbacho Hill"].

Only on Good Friday,
As was the custom in Zaña,
Did they climb the face
Of the brown-white hill.
They spoke of the will
Of that devious devil,
Saying that only the bravest
Crossed there on the darkest night,
To what was certain death
On the slopes of Corbacho.

Such was the legend
Of Corbacho and its treasure.
They spoke of a golden cart
That rolled towards the hacienda,
Leading behind it
A funeral cortege.
They said it was a cursed place,
That there were gold ingots there

And that the treasure lay
Just a little bit higher.

Stories told by the residents of Zaña speak of how the hacienda owners entered into a pact with the devil. According to legend, one of those landowners was tricked by the devil into believing there was gold in a cave on the hill, only to find he had been led into a trap and was destined to remain inside the mountain for all eternity.

6. Human movement today in the old churches of Zaña.

Travelers to Zaña are struck immediately by the vestiges of the old churches they find there, seemingly abandoned long ago by the local population. In fact, since the abolition of slavery, the attitude of local people to these historic buildings has undergone a gradual shift, and in recent years important artistic and cultural activities have been held at the churches as part of the local festive calendar, and during certain cultural events organized from beyond the community.

These colonial-era churches were built under the supervision of master builders of European extraction, who initially used indigenous laborers, before switching their focus to slave labor imported from Africa. And in fact it was an artisan of African origin who repaired two of the churches that had been damaged in 1619.

Through a series of resolutions passed by Peru's central government, the old churches of Zaña have been acknowledged as historic buildings. These churches include the Iglesia Matriz, San Agustín, La Merced, San Francisco and the chapel at the former La Punta hacienda (located in Saltur). The remains of these churches stand as evidence of the status enjoyed by the colonial town of Zaña. The old mansions are long gone, swept away by intense rains and flooding. Nevertheless, the fact that in this old town Spaniards and their African slaves once lived remains fresh in the collective memory of the local population.

As we have mentioned, in recent years cultural activities have taken place in these churches. When Nicomedes Santa Cruz, one of South America's leading poets, visited Zaña for the first time in 1960, he recited his poetry to young local students in the cloisters of San Agustín church. Santa Cruz was born in Lima, and enjoyed a long career as a poet, writer, researcher and artistic director.

In November 1994 two great poets of the traditional "*décima*" form faced each other. They were Juan Urcariegui (from Lima) and Hildebrando Briones (from Zaña), and they were competing for first place in the national "*décima*" competition. The event was staged in the cloisters of the monastery of San Agustín at midnight, and local people remained captivated until two in the morning by the verses being recited and the messages they conveyed. The competition was declared a draw.

Another important event was held in Zaña from June 29th to 30th 2011. A total of 220 young people from 52 countries arrived as part of the "*Ruta Quetzal*" delegation. In Zaña the Afro-Peruvian Museum organized singing, music and dance workshops for

these young people. In addition, an artistic gathering was held in the cloisters of San Agustín church. The author considers this to have been one of the most important cultural events held to date at that historic monument, given the international character of the participants.

Another important event was the revival of the Afro-northern devil dance, which was also performed in the cloisters of San Agustín church. The event took place on August 25th 2011, and involved dance and music groups reviving traditional forms, using instruments that had disappeared long ago, and which were recovered through painstaking research. For the first time in two hundred years, the devil dance was performed, its choreography depicting the struggle between demons and the Archangel Michael. For the event, a total of ten traditional instruments that had been used by slaves were reinserted into the performance, using a score and choreography which the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum recreated through old drawings, oral history, local ancestral knowledge and written sources dating from the colonial period.

A segment of the population of Zaña continues to identify with the vestiges of these old church buildings.

7. Afro-descendant memory vis-à-vis diverse cultural groups.

We have already looked at the relationships between the different ethnic groups that continue to live in Zaña. The collective memory of local residents addresses such links. While there exists a cultural legacy of elements and objects of African origin, components from other cultures that have influenced daily life in the community over several generations also figure as part of the collective memory. These include both indigenous and Spanish cultural elements that have had an impact and influence on the way of life of Afro-descendants. Also relevant is the two-way relationship that has existed for centuries between families of African origin and those of other ethnic groups in Zaña and the rest of the Lambayeque region. This influence has not been studied sufficiently.

Memory and identity are factors that facilitate cohesion within a population. It is interesting to note how during the post-slavery period (from 1854 to the present day) the population has developed new cultural elements which have absorbed that period's oral traditions, songs and dance forms. The new generations born in this territory come from a range of ethnic backgrounds and are the fruits of different interethnic relations, and yet they participate in artistic and cultural expressions of African origin. "Afro-Peruvian rhythms" are practiced and enjoyed by people of diverse ethnic origins in Zaña and other communities in the Lambayeque region. The composition of the literary form known as the "*décima*", which is a cultural element of Hispanic origin, was assimilated by the people of Zaña, who used it in order to transmit their own messages, narratives, viewpoints and sentiments. Today, people of diverse ethnic backgrounds use this poetry form to narrate their own histories.

8. Fluidity, change and innovation in local collective memory.

Memory is fluid, ever changing, as over time new vital experiences that are important to a community are accumulated. Changes from one period to another, from one situation to another, are added to the collective memory of a people. A play of opposites is apparent in the collective memory of Zaña: from slavery to freedom; from a vast territory to a much reduced area, as the population recalls the process of dismemberment experienced by the town. Local people have witnessed how the number of Afro-descendants has fallen from a large population to a relatively small community. Time is a factor that must be considered when discussing memory in Zaña; the changes produced over a lifetime and in the history of a people can be radical and complex.

9. Outside perceptions and neglect.

In our research, we have noted certain points of view and perceptions associated with the old elite from centuries past which have endured to this day. Not all components of a community's ways of seeing emerge from within that community; often, these components come from above in the form of historical constructions or inventions imposed by those in power. This can create a contradiction between outside perceptions and the way a community sees itself.

In the Lambayeque region, thanks to contributions from the likes of Ninfa Idrogo, Guillermo Figueroa, Lorenzo Huertas, Susan Ramírez, Gómez Cumpa, Alberto Risco, Cabrejos and Ada Lluén, as well as the publications of the Afro-Peruvian Museum, some schools have begun to introduce issues associated with African identity into the curriculum. This marks the beginning of what is certain to be a long process in the raising of awareness regarding Africa, the slave trade, the African diaspora and the African presence in northern Peru. An important contribution to this process is the raising of awareness regarding the history of the people of Zaña.

PART THREE

THE ZAÑA AFRO-PERUVIAN MUSEUM, MEMORY AND AFRO-DESCENDANT CULTURAL HERITAGE.

The creation of the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum emerged from the following context: a) The African presence in the local area; b) The history of Zaña as a Spanish town surrounded by slave-owning haciendas; c) The capacity for resistance demonstrated by the population in the face of disaster; and d) Its rich oral tradition.

Our research has also included an evaluation of those rural communities inhabited by people who have worked exclusively on the land, over many generations, and who have therefore been better able to conserve their collective memory. In larger population centers communities have become dispersed or have broken up. In order to keep alive the collective memory of the arrival of slaves in Zaña, and of their

traditions, the Afro-Peruvian Museum tapped into the stories of the oldest residents of Zaña, which were collected and recorded in the 1970s¹³⁰. Using these stories, we began the task of putting together accounts associated with the daily life and history of Zaña, as the basis for a physical and visual collection expressing the narrative of this community. The museum emerged from the voices of those elderly residents of Zaña.

The objects displayed in the museum symbolize the relationships between people and the links between Afro-descendants and nature.

The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum was established in 2003 and opened its doors for the first time in March 2005. From the very beginning, its focus was on the community and the African diaspora. The patron of the museum was the South African ambassador, who presented the institution with a portrait of Nelson Mandela. The museum's patroness was Katia Ubidia, from Esmeraldas in Ecuador, who donated an example of the percussion instrument known as a *marimba*. These symbolic links express the spirit of the museum and its mission to bring together those disparate communities of which the African diaspora is composed.

1. The mission of the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum.

The institution's mission is expressed as follows: "The Afro-Peruvian Museum exists to recover, preserve, document, transmit and educate regarding the history, culture and legacy of Afro-descendants in Peru, from the perspective of the communities which form the African diaspora, and for the benefit of present and future generations".

2. Collective approach: The voice of Afro-descendants in the Andean context.

The focus of the museum is the Afro-descendant core community resident in Zaña, which has been providing its testimonies since 1975 (those early recordings are contained in 20 cassettes), and whose story was first documented with the publication of the book "*La otra historia, memoria colectiva y canto del pueblo de Zaña*" ["The Other History: Collective Memory and Songs of the People of Zaña"]¹³¹. Based on ten years of research focused on both oral and written sources, the book was finally published in 1985. The subtitle, "Collective Memory", emerged from the fact that the history was largely based on the accounts of elderly residents of Zaña, told and recorded over a period of several years. That oral tradition had been transmitted from one generation to the next over centuries, and it forms one of the principal components of the text. Employing a similar methodology, in 2010 we published the book "*Herencia de esclavos*"¹³² ["Legacy of Slaves"]. Covering the broader history of northern Peru, this publication focused on several areas and regions of this part of the country, creating a picture of the particularities of each community.

¹³⁰ The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum houses a collection of recorded interviews with elderly local residents, as well as recordings of local songs and dances, all made between 1975 and 1984.

¹³¹ Rocca, Luis: *Ibid.* The author began work on his book in 1975, and it was finally published in 1985. It was distributed among local Zaña families.

¹³² Rocca, Luis. "*Herencia de esclavos en el norte del Perú*", published by CEDET, Lima (2010).

Through our work, we found that the collective memory of the people of Zaña possesses its own uniquely rich aspects, and this led us to create the museum and strive to transform the community into an acknowledged cultural space.

By definition, such a community-based approach calls for the active participation of the entire population of Zaña and its different institutions, in a collective effort to safeguard their cultural heritage in all its many forms. The Afro-Peruvian Museum acknowledges as key contributors to this project the following individuals and institutions:

- a) The general population and local families.
- b) Artists and cultural youth groups.
- c) Academics, universities and independent researchers.

A room of the Afro-Peruvian Museum is devoted to the old colonial town and local Afro-descendant residents.

3. The diasporic approach.

Our initial evaluation concluded that the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum should broaden its approach and associations. While acknowledging that the original focus of our work was local (that is, the African population and their descendants in the specific territory that is Zaña), we decided that our approach should not be limited by regional or national frontiers. With this in mind, we began by traveling to and studying the Afro-descendant communities of Peru and several other Latin American and Caribbean countries. The main aim of this journey was to learn more about the communities of other countries touched by the African diaspora, thereby facilitating greater consistency and verisimilitude in the creation of the narrative discourse of the museum in Zaña. To this end, museum exhibits representative of the history of slavery were gathered, and an archive was created of oral traditions and written sources.

Research focused on the Slave Route (UNESCO) and the African diaspora offers new ways of understanding concentrations of African descendants in the Americas and the Caribbean. Interconnections exist that must be considered. A large number of slaves arrived in northern Peru via Cartagena (Colombia) and Portobelo (Panama). Others were bought in the city of Lima, having arrived via a number of different routes.

Several estimates have been made of the number of slaves who arrived from Africa. It is difficult to place an exact figure on the number of Africans who were trafficked, because many lost their lives being “hunted” in Africa, others died as prisoners before sailing, and many others perished in slave ships during the voyage.

Over a considerable period, no official records were kept by European colonizers of the numbers of slaves being trafficked. A document published by the UNESCO Slave Route project offers the following information: “Between 1400 and 1900, more than 17

million Africans were transported across the Sahara, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean.”¹³³ The Mexican historian Luz Martínez Montiel calculates that some 40 million slaves were taken from Africa and shipped across the Atlantic to the Americas and the Caribbean.

Modern research confirms that today around 170 million Afro-descendants live in the Americas. Such figures were a cause for reflection for those of us associated with the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum who understood that it would be necessary to address this presence throughout the American continent. In this context, Zaña is one settlement with its own particularities, among hundreds of communities populated by the African diaspora. Following the so-called slave route, Africans and their descendants were transported to Zaña, on the northern coast of Peru, as part of an international market with a well-established itinerary. Along this route, slaves were sold and resold. It is impossible, therefore, to focus on the community of Afro-descendants in Zaña as a purely local phenomenon.

The focus of the museum’s exhibition includes three major stages in the lives of Africans and their descendants:

- a. The slave trade and slave-owning society, which continued for several centuries in the Americas and the Caribbean.
- b. Resistance, “*cimarronaje*” [“Maroons”] and the “*palenques*” [the settlements established by escaped slaves].
- c. The process of self-emancipation of slaves and the struggle for freedom.

In different ways, through a variety of strategies, Africans and their descendants in this hemisphere achieved their freedom. In most countries, with few exceptions, that process can be divided into the three abovementioned stages. But history also records a number of individual processes and experiences that took place in different Afro-descendant communities throughout the Americas and the Caribbean. For example, the unique history of the town of Esmeraldas, in Ecuador, requires its own analysis. And other countries in the Americas, such as Haiti, have their own history of struggle and emancipation.

The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum contains wood carvings from Haiti, Cuba and several African countries. It is home to handcrafts and artworks from different African diaspora communities. It also displays religious images from several countries touched by the African diaspora, including Orishas from the Caribbean, Saint Ephigenia, Saint Benedict the Moor, Saint Martin de Porres and the Lord of Miracles (Lima).

4. The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum: Slavery and the freedom movement.

The museum possesses maps of the international slave route and the voyages of slave ships. It also displays reproductions of slave purchasing contracts. The room which makes the greatest impact on visitors features a display showing how slaves were

¹³³ UNESCO: Slave Route project, educational booklet accompanying the DVD “Slave Routes, A Global Vision”, Paris (2010) p.18.

punished and tortured. Two exact replicas of stocks and shackles are exhibited in this room (see photographs, Appendix I).

The stocks are a replica of those found in Yapatera (Piura). They were used to immobilize the neck, ankles and wrists of slaves condemned to punishment. Assistance in the making of this replica was provided by Yapatera-born Antío Alzamora, Carlos Zapata and Octavio “Taba” Céspedes. The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum also displays a photograph of the last of the aforementioned individuals, who was one of the leaders of the Afro-Peruvian community of northern Peru. The ties between Yapatera and Zaña remain strong to this day. All three of these individuals made frequent trips to Zaña, and delegations from Zaña and the Afro-Peruvian Museum have visited Yapatera many times over the past three decades.

The shackles were designed with the help of the German anthropologist Tamara Hale, based on original shackles used for punishment at the San José de Chincha hacienda, in southern Peru. Shackles of this sort were used to immobilize individuals laid out on the ground, by securing their ankles.

The museum also exhibits a so-called “*barra*” [“bar”], consisting of iron rings fixed to a wall and the floor, and used to secure the arms and legs of slaves.

In addition, the museum owns three “*calimpos*”, or branding irons, which were used in Zaña on animals and bear the names of their original owners. These branding irons are for reference only, as the irons used on humans were actually much smaller. A sheet is also displayed containing the initials used by slave owners when branding their slaves during the colonial period. Such brands facilitated the identification of runaway slaves.

There has been a great deal of research on “*cimarrones*” [so-called “Maroons”, or escaped slaves] and “*palenques*” [literally “stockades”, the settlements established by escaped slaves]. However, very few images exist of the resistance and liberation process of Africans and their descendants. In overcoming such difficulties, the Afro-Peruvian Museum has enjoyed the support of Isabel Talledo, an academic in the field of Ibero-American and Latin American Studies, who completed her doctoral thesis on Zaña in Paris in 2011. She provided the museum with copies of paintings alluding to the liberation and independence struggle in Haiti. These impressive images from Haiti include depictions of the main leaders of the movement and the key events in that history.

Also on the subject of leaders of the Afro-descendant freedom movement, the museum displays images of emblematic figures such as Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela.

One of the museum’s ongoing projects is the design of a map of Latin America showing the main *palenques* throughout the continent during the period of resistance to slavery by the so-called Maroons. There were a number of *palenques* in Lima and also in Lambayeque. Also planned is a map and timeline covering the major slave revolts in the Americas and the Caribbean; the largest slave uprising in Peru took place in the

north of the country, in the city of Trujillo and the surrounding sugar plantations, in the mid-19th century.

5. Zaña's colonial-era records.

The Afro-Peruvian Museum displays a copy of the original street plan of the Spanish town of Zaña, founded on November 29th 1563, as well as several plans and maps recording the growth of the town and its transformation into the ecclesiastical Province of Zaña.

The first room of the museum contains copies of maps produced by the team who worked for Bishop Martínez de Compañón in the 1780s.

Photographs show the current condition of the town's colonial-era churches¹³⁴, displayed together with their respective architectural plans. These include images of the Iglesia Matriz, San Agustín, La Merced, San Francisco, La Punta (in Saltur, north of Zaña) and the chapel where Saint Turibius of Mogrovejo died. The scale plans produced in the mid-20th century by the architect Harth Terré, as part of his project to restore local churches, are also displayed.

6. Museum exhibits illustrating daily life and work in Zaña.

In one of the museum's rooms, paintings depict the work of women whose principal economic activity is the making of confectionery. Also displayed are the enormous metal saucepans with their wooden handles traditionally used by local women to produce large batches of confectionery and other foods; such utensils were once employed in the town's mansions and haciendas.

Other objects from daily life in Zaña can also be viewed. These include farming tools, harnesses, traditional conical clay and pottery vessels, hide-covered beds and rustic pots. The museum owns a collection of five old wooden carts, once used by workers to transport sugar cane on the haciendas. These carts would originally have been yoked to a pair of oxen.

The museum also exhibits reproductions of the photographs produced by the great French photographer Eugene Courret in the 19th century, depicting scenes of daily life in Lima. In one of the exhibition rooms, depictions of wet nurses feeding their master's children can be seen, as well as images of young women who worked as domestic servants and water carriers, together with other scenes from late 19th century life.

Also of interest are exhibits featuring handcrafted objects representing the customs and traditions of individual communities. The Afro-Peruvian Museum contains handcrafts from Zaña, Esmeraldas (in Ecuador), Honduras and Cuba.

7. Expressions of emotion: Music, song and dance.

¹³⁴ These images can be seen in Appendix I.

The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum research team has worked hard to safeguard the cultural legacy of Afro-descendants. In this regard, the team has placed particular emphasis on preserving and popularizing traditional music, dance and song forms. The museum believes that these cultural expressions form part of the community's intangible cultural heritage, and that they represent key elements in the construction of its identity and the transmission of its collective memory.

8. Emblematic musical instruments of Afro-descendants in Peru and the African diaspora in general.

African musical inheritance forms an important part of the artistic output and emotional outpouring of the diaspora and is a key cultural component actively promoted by the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum.

The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum believes that intangible cultural heritage cannot be separated from material cultural heritage and the contributions of research on the Slave Route. During the slavery period and afterwards, Afro-descendants continued to develop their artistic creativity and to make valuable contributions to culture. This process occurred in Zaña and other population centers associated with the African diaspora. That is why its varied musical legacy cannot be ignored when we refer to Zaña as a slavery and African cultural heritage site of memory.

We began our research into Zaña's musical traditions by looking at the history and development of Afro-Peruvian instruments from the 17th to the 20th centuries. We were particularly interested in learning more about those instruments which had disappeared, as well as those played to this day. One of the priorities of our research was the recovery of percussion instruments from the slavery period.

The results of our research would prove to be remarkable. In total, we managed to identify 21 traditional Afro-Peruvian musical instruments. Many of those instruments had been made by Africans in Peru, continuing the traditions they brought with them from Africa. Others were adapted or invented in Peru by successive generations of Afro-descendants. From our study, we concluded that from the final third of the 19th century to the present day, some 16 musical instruments had been lost, or 75% of all those once played by Afro-Peruvians.

Slaves and their musical instruments.

After its vast territory was occupied by the Spanish, Peru became one of the most important European viceroyalties in Latin America. The internal slave routes within the continent brought slaves to Peru from several locations, including Colombia, Panama, River Plate and northern Chile. In the prosperous town of Zaña, the majority of black slaves came from Cartagena, after being resold in Lima and Callao. Lima was one of the colonial-era cities with the largest slave populations in Latin America. Once these

slaves had been resold in the capital, they were sent to the town of Zaña and the prosperous haciendas in the countryside surrounding the town.

While the number of musical instruments used during the slavery period in Peru was very high, this was also the country where the greatest number of these cultural artifacts was lost, as we will see later. Comparative studies show that the only other countries which possessed more musical instruments of African origin or inspiration were Brazil and Cuba. In these two countries, the association between the use of such musical instruments and religious rituals rooted in African traditions continues to this day. In the case of Brazil, during the first half of the 20th century around fifty musical instruments were recorded as being used by Afro-Brazilians.

The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum has published a book on this subject: *“Instrumentos musicales de la diáspora africana y museología”*¹³⁵, which contains the first record or inventory of emblematic and symbolic instruments used by the African diaspora to make music.

Africans fashioned their instruments from local flora and fauna, employing the ancestral knowledge developed in their countries of origin. In order to better appreciate this creativity, it is necessary to consider the relationship between slaves and nature during the colonial period. African slaves created new instruments on Peru’s northern coast and in other parts of the continent. They used these new instruments together with their more traditional instruments in the composition of original pieces of music.

Below we mention some of the musical instruments used in Peru by slaves during the colonial period:

The long log drum [*“tronco largo”*]; small drum [*“tamboril de comparsa”*]; clay vessel drum [*“tambor de botija de barro”*]; the *“tamboreco”*, made from half a gourd fitted with a fretted board for scratching across¹³⁶; *mbira* [known in English as a “thumb piano”]; rectangular *marimba* [18th century model]; donkey’s jawbone [*“quijada de burro”*]; the ratchet [*“carraca”*], *“checo”* and *“angara”* [both made from huge gourds]; musical bow [*“arco musical”*, made from cat gut]; nose flute [*“flauta nasal”*]; castanets [*“tejoletas”* or *“palitos”*]; a rod beaten against the ground; friction drum [*“zambomba”*]; and banjo. The majority of these instruments fell into disuse over time.

¹³⁵ Written by Luis Rocca, Evelyn Figueroa and Sonia Arteaga, and published by the Afro-Peruvian Museum in Lima in August 2011. It is the first inventory of the instruments used by the African diaspora to make music.

¹³⁶ In 2011, Carlos Blanco Fadol produced the first reconstruction of a *“tamboreco”*, based on an illustration in the 18th century work by Martínez de Compañón. The Afro-Peruvian Museum now has five *“tamborecos”* of two different types in its collection.

Later, during the second half of the 19th century, the Afro-Peruvian “*cajón*”, or box drum, was created, followed in the mid-20th century by the “*chapitas*” [a type of rattle]. The exact date when the “*arpa cuca*” [a harp made from an elongated gourd, strung with four or five strings] first emerged is not known.

Over time, certain musical instruments developed and used by slaves disappeared. A total of thirteen instruments used by slaves vanished. In Peru, a number of factors combined to cause many instruments to fall into disuse. These factors included the marked demographic decline in Peru of the Afro-descendant population from the 18th to the 20th centuries. Also, in Peru the hegemony of Christian religious thought led to radical censorship of the spiritual expressions and practices of the Afro-descendant population. There was a breakdown in the traditional religious practices brought over from Africa, and as a consequence associated musical forms also tended to disappear.

In response to this situation, since 2009 the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum has recreated or recovered the following musical instruments:

Different types of membranophone rustic drums; the clay vessel drum [“*tambor de botija*”]; rectangular *marimba*, rectangular little box drum [“*cajita*”]; “*tamboreco*”, made from half a gourd fitted with a fretted board for scratching across; “*checo*” and “*angara*” [both made from huge gourds]; “*carrasca de caña*” [made from cane], the “*tamborete*” or “*tormento*” [a small drum from Santiago de Chile], and the banjo¹³⁷, which is used to this day in the Lambayeque region. Other musical instruments are also in the process of being recovered.

This work to revive the musical legacy of Afro-Peruvian slaves has been painstaking. The recovery and transmitting of such musical forms has proved challenging in a context of rapid modernization and musical technologies, and social contexts very different from that in which Afro-descendants first practiced their arts.

The campaign overseen by the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum, with the active participation of the local community, artists and intellectuals, culminated in December 2011 with the “*checo*” [a round drum made from a large gourd, with a rectangular hole at the back] being officially declared part of the Peruvian nation’s cultural heritage. This achievement was made possible by a grassroots cultural movement and the popularization of the Afro-Peruvian musical form on Peru’s northern coast.

¹³⁷ According to the Lima-based blogger Gino Curioso Solís, at the Pampa de Amancaes Festival in Lima in 1930 the “typical Chiclayo lyre”, from the Lambayeque region, was played, together with a number of string instruments, including a banjo. Interestingly, Gino has also managed to locate an old recording featuring songs accompanied by a banjo, as well as other instruments. An extract of these recordings can be heard via the following link: <http://www.divshare.com/download/24250103-c99> . And at this link another banjo piece can be heard: <http://www.divshare.com/download/launch/24250111-1ec>. The banjo was also present in Brazil from the first half of the 20th century, probably due to the influence of black musicians from the United States (see the 1938 work by the Brazilian Oneyda Alvarenga, p.252).

Gradually, we have begun to collect musical instruments from throughout the African diaspora; that is, instruments used by Afro-descendant cultures in other parts of the Americas and the Caribbean. Although this has been –and continues to be– a long process, it forms an essential component of the diasporic approach of the museum. This research has uncovered an extraordinary range of drums of different sizes, shapes and uses, throughout the continent.

The work by the museum to recover and reevaluate the musical heritage of northern Peru’s Afro-descendants has served to demonstrate how black slaves developed their enormous creativity through music, song and dance, in all parts of the African diaspora.

Since its foundation, the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum has encouraged and contributed to the recovery and safeguarding of the traditional instruments used by Afro-descendants.

9. Rescue and recreation of the dances of Zaña and northern Peru.

The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum has contributed to the recovery of dances which disappeared long ago, such as the “*baile tierra*” [“earth dance”] and the “*danza de diablitos afronorteños*” [“Afro-northern devil dance”], employing the musical instruments originally associated with such melodies.

The “*baile tierra*” dance form has been traced to around 1814. Its existence in the 19th century has been documented in four countries: Peru, Chile, Bolivia and Argentina. The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum has managed to recover the music, lyrics and choreography associated with this style. The community of Zaña, artists and intellectuals participated in this process. In Chile, where dances in which handkerchiefs are flourished form part of the national identity, Margot Loyola has contributed a valuable study. In Argentina and Bolivia, research on this dance form has been published by Carlos Vega.

Recent musical discoveries have included recordings of songs from Zaña, dating from the first two decades of the 20th century. These recordings were made of Manuel Quintana, known as the “*Canario Negro*” [“Black Canary”]¹³⁸ (during the first decade of the 20th century), and also Almenerio-Saez, in a recording featuring music and voices dating from 1917 and discovered by the researcher Darío Mejía¹³⁹. While these song forms were known as “*baile tierra*” in Zaña, in the city of Lima they were called “*sañas*”, in reference to their place of origin. Such discoveries are significant.

¹³⁸ The version recorded by the “Black Canary” Manuel Quintana was provided by Rafael Santa Cruz on June 3rd 2013.

¹³⁹ The recording by Almenerio-Saez was provided by Darío Mejía in May 2013. The record itself was made in August 1917, and it can be heard via the following link: <https://soundcloud.com/dario-mejia/amor-ajeno-tondero-almenerio-y>

The only reference that could be discovered to the Afro-northern devil dance was a painting included in the 1790 work by Bishop Martínez de Compañón. After considerable preparation in the town of Zaña, this dance was finally performed again by a group of devil dancers, on August 25th 2012, with the participation of some ten musical groups. The lyrics, music and choreography were created for the event, in which experienced musicians (strings and percussion), dancers, theater performers and mask makers participated. Roberto Arguedas composed the music, while Hildebrando Briones wrote the words.

The recreation of these dances involved the participation of artists from the city of Lima and northern Peru, as well as the active support of local families.

10. The experience of cultural policies: Local, regional, national and international relations.

The main focus of our cultural policy is the involvement of the community and the promotion of inter-institutional relations. The work we undertake is supported by rigorous research and concerted efforts to transmit our results to the general public.

Local cultural policy:

- 1) During the development of the museum's texts, we initiated a dialogue with the people of Zaña in order to learn more about their traditions. In the creation of the museum's display, we involved Evelyn Figueroa, an expert curator from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.
- 2) We organized Community Assemblies in order to facilitate a process of joint decision making with local people regarding the safeguarding of their cultural heritage. For the museum, its links with the traditional families of Zaña are crucial.
- 3) Education: Historical, creative and experimental workshops, enjoying the participation of young people from Zaña and other parts of northern Peru, with the aim of reconstructing memory and history. We also presented a workshop on cultural tourism for young people in the community. To support this initiative, we published locally the leaflet "History and Art of Zaña", in September 2010.
- 4) A cultural alliance has been formally established between the Afro-Peruvian Museum and the District Municipality of Zaña.
- 5) Links have been established with local schools.

Regional cultural policy:

- 1) Involvement of artistic and cultural groups from the Lambayeque region and Lima in activities organized by the Afro-Peruvian Museum. Within the region, the groups "Llampaltec", "Lundú", "Herencias" "Lundero", "Despertar",

“Afrodec” from Capote and “La Peña Lambayecana”, among others, have contributed to such events.

- 2) Coordination with the Regional Government, the Lambayeque Regional Archive, the Lambayeque Regional Board of Culture, the Lambayeque Office of Foreign Trade and Tourism and a number of cultural institutions.
- 3) Regular contact with other regional museums.
- 4) Relations with schools throughout the region. Groups of young people visit the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum to study and play music. Adolescents and children from Zaña teach their music to visitors.

National cultural policy.

Participation in national cultural events organized by the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education:

- 1) Coordination with the Ministry of Culture in the first exhibition of traditional Afro-Peruvian musical instruments, in 2011.
- 2) Participation by representatives of the Afro-Peruvian Museum in community education events, among different ethnic groups within Peru, organized by the Ministry of Education (2011-2013).
- 3) Involvement of art teachers from Lima and northern Peru in the training of young people in music, dance and theater (2009-2013). Workshops have been held in the streets of Zaña, outside the Afro-Peruvian Museum, attracting the attendance of around eighty young people and children. Workshops have also been held regularly in the city of Chiclayo. The following teachers have participated in the workshops: Evelyn Bellido, Eduardo Fiestas, Rafael Santa Cruz, Juan Medrano Cotito, Roberto Arguedas, Alfredo Valiente, Catalina Robles, Peta Robles, Laura Robles, Marlon Díaz, Sadith Espino, Virginia Espinoza, Carlos Mendoza and Iván Santa María, among others.

Research and publications available in Peru.

- 1) Publications available throughout Peru: The Afro-Peruvian Museum places particular emphasis on research and the publishing of results. Leaflets and books have been distributed with the aim of making public the research work carried out by staff from the Afro-Peruvian Museum. The books published to date include: *“Etnoeducación y diáspora africana”* (Sonia Arteaga); *“Africanos y pueblos originarios”* (edited by Sonia Arteaga and Luis Rocca); *“Herencia de esclavos”*, by Luis Rocca (published by CEDET); *“Manual de siembra del checo”*, edited by Sonia Arteaga; *“Baile tierra”*, by Luis Rocca; *“Instrumentos musicales de la diáspora africana y museología”*, by Luis Rocca, Evelyn Figueroa and Sonia Arteaga.

- 2) Links with researchers and intellectuals working with higher education establishments or independently, including Ninfa Idrogo, Guillermo Figueroa, Alberto Risco, Chalena Vásquez, Lorenzo Huertas, Mónica Rojas¹⁴⁰, Isabel Talledo, Francisco Caro, Tamara Hale, Maribel Arrelucea, Jesús Cosamalón, Humberto Rodríguez Pastor and Juan Castañeda, among others.
- 3) Journalistic coverage of the museum's activities at both regional and national levels.

The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum's international links.

The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum has established relations with other institutions associated with the African diápora and with international centers associated with Afro-descendant populations or organizations engaged in research related to Afro-descendant communities.

In recent years, the principal connections maintained by the museum have included:

- 1) Links with the Afro-American Center in Esmeraldas, Ecuador, with the participation of UNESCO-Quito and the Municipality of Esmeraldas. Under the supervision of Ada Rosa Penton, the UNESCO-Quito cultural office provided support for the first Afro-Andean intercultural workshop, which took place in Chiclayo, Peru, in 2006 and was organized by the Afro-Peruvian Museum. The event was marked with commemorative publication.
- 2) Educational route in Cartagena and San Basilio de Palenque in Colombia, run by ACUA and involving the participation of the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum.
- 3) Intercultural relations with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC; links with Afro-American museums; cultural exchange; visit to Zaña by a specialist in museum curatorship and design from the Smithsonian.
- 4) Links with CRESPIAL and participation by the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum in the "Systematization of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Afro-descendants in Latin America" (including ten countries), in 2011. The project was based on expert studies conducted in each country, and the resulting CD can be obtained via the CRESPIAL website.
- 5) Participation of the museum in the international seminar "Heritage, Identity, Education and Culture: Management of sites and places of memory associated with the slave trade and slavery" (Brazil, August 2012). The event was organized

¹⁴⁰ Mónica Rojas is a Peruvian-born anthropologist and she runs the "*De Cajón Project*" in Seattle, Washington. She has worked extensively in the field with Afro-descendant communities and works internationally as an artist and researcher. She acts as an international consultant with the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum.

by UNESCO and Brazil's Palmares Foundation. Delegates from thirty countries (including Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, North America, Spain and Portugal) attended the seminar.

- 6) The Afro-Peruvian Museum has been visited by intellectuals with an interest in Afro-Peruvian culture and the African diaspora. Those visitors have included Professor Amadou from Senegal; Jaime Arocha, Emperatriz Arango and James Mina and David Soto (from Colombia); María Martínez Montiel (from Mexico); Evelyn Figueroa (from Puerto Rico), a specialist from the Smithsonian Institution; Hugo Quiñónez and Eriberto Marret (Ecuadorean artists); Katia Ubidia, cultural representative with the Municipality of Esmeraldas (Ecuador); Carlos Blanco Fadol, Director of Spain's Museum of Ethnic Music; Umi Vaughan (United States); Carlos Feo (Venezuela); Bogumila Lisocka (Poland); Tamara Hale (Germany); Martin Lienhard (Switzerland); Maurizio Gnerre (Italy); Mónica Borgas (Alta Gracia Jesuit Ranch, Argentina), among many others.
- 7) The arrival in Zaña in 2010 of the Quetzal Route delegation, composed of 220 young people representing 52 countries, was a milestone in the history of Zaña and the Afro-Peruvian Museum. These young visitors participated in Afro-Peruvian music, song and dance workshops organized by the Afro-Peruvian Museum. A young man from Haiti presented the museum with an image of the bishop Martínez de Compañón, the author of an important 18th century publication containing hundreds of paintings, statistical tables and colonial-era maps, including valuable data related to Zaña.
- 8) In the wake of the declaration of the "*checo*" (an Afro-Peruvian percussion instrument) as part of the nation's cultural heritage, we have received messages and visits from artists and intellectuals from Peru and abroad, all of whom are interested in learning more about this instrument. The collection of musical instruments held by the Afro-Peruvian Museum is of national and international significance. It contains recreations of several instruments used by slaves during the colonial period.
- 9) Postings on virtual media (website, blog, Facebook and Twitter). On YouTube we have posted around twenty videos featuring the work undertaken by the Afro-Peruvian Museum to recover old dance forms and musical instruments, and to reinsert these traditions into the community.

One indicator of the international profile of Zaña is the initiative by the University of Barcelona in Spain to include Zaña as part of the "Slave Route". In the map and texts illustrating and describing the Slave Route, Zaña is marked (for the first time on an international map).

(See: <http://www.arqueotur.org/rutas/ruta-del-esclavo-unesco.html>)

Using these cultural links as a basis, we believe that further work is required in order to construct virtual networks involving different communities associated with the African diaspora. It is our contention that the status of "slavery and African cultural heritage

site of memory” will enable Zaña to build bridges at regional, national and international levels, and to continue the work outlined in this section of our report.

PART FOUR

SUPPORT FOR THE DECLARATION OF ZAÑA AS A SLAVERY AND AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE SITE OF MEMORY.

In this section, we provide support for the proposal to declare Zaña a “Slavery and African Cultural Heritage Site of Memory”, based on historical references, oral traditions and cultural practices. In addition, certain international instruments and precedents also add weight to the aforementioned proposal. In this context, we propose that the District Municipality of Zaña, the Lambayeque Regional Board of Culture, the Regional Government of Lambayeque, the Peruvian Ministry of Culture and UNESCO (specifically, the Slave Route Project), acknowledge, name and incorporate Zaña as a “Slavery and African Cultural Heritage Site of Memory”.

1. UNESCO’s international concepts and instruments.

We are including in this document theoretical and conceptual support and international instruments based on UNESCO resolutions, conventions and agreements accepted by the representatives of several countries. These documents are:

-) *Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on November 16th 1972¹⁴¹.
-) *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, Paris, October 15th 2001¹⁴².
-) *Movable Heritage and Museums*¹⁴³
-) Text of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*¹⁴⁴, adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on October 17th 2003, during its 32nd meeting, held in Paris from September 29th to October 17th 2003.
-) *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, 2005*¹⁴⁵.
-) *Cultural landscapes - UNESCO*¹⁴⁶.

The UNESCO documents listed above are illustrative of the importance of understanding the different cultures and ethnic groups that exist within our country.

¹⁴¹ The *Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on November 16th 1972.

¹⁴² <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001246/124687s.pdf>.

¹⁴³ http://portal.unesco.org/culture/es/ev.php-URL_ID=34324&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

¹⁴⁴ <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=es&pg=00006> (Reproduced May 22nd 2013)

¹⁴⁵ http://portal.unesco.org/es/ev.php-URL_ID=31038&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.condesan.org/unesco/Cap%2006%20metchild%20rossler.pdf>. Document signed by MECHTILD RÖSSLER. Titled “Cultural landscapes and the Convention on World Cultural and Natural Heritage: Result of initial thematic meetings”.

They also provide the theoretical tools required for an understanding of the particularities of the Afro-descendant population and its dialogue with other cultures.

2. The Slave Route and sites of memory.

The Slave Route Project is one of the major international initiatives which have made possible the establishment of a scientific basis for the study of the history of slavery and the international slave trade. It has provided visibility and a release from silence and oblivion for millions of people from Africa who were the victims of slavery.

Let us take a look at the birth of the Slavery Route Project: According to UNESCO¹⁴⁷, “in response to the proposal from Haiti and African countries, the initiators of the project, in 1993 the UNESCO general conference approved the launch of the «slave route» project. It was officially launched in Benin in 1994”.

Below, we reproduce the UNESCO report on the inventory of places of memory¹⁴⁸, their significance and importance:

“Vestiges of a past often hidden, sites, buildings and places linked to the slave trade and slavery constitute material traces that allow reporting on that story and chart historical itineraries in the regions and countries affected by that tragedy.

“In addition to their usefulness as a teaching tool to inform new generations about a painful past, these sites and places of memory enable the carrying out of tourism activities at the sites of memory on the Slave Route.

“This initiative, which was launched in Accra (Ghana) in April 1995, aims to encourage member states to inventory, preserve and promote these sites and places of memory and include them in national and regional tourist itineraries.

“The project is a stimulus for countries seeking to nominate major candidate sites for the collective memory and history of humanity, with a view to their inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage List.

“The Slave Route Project has contributed to the inventorying of the following:

- *Sites liés à la traite négrière et à l'esclavage en Sénégal et en Gambie: pour un tourisme de mémoire* [Sites linked to the slave trade in Senegambia, for the promotion of tourism at sites of memory], Mbaye Guèye, UNESCO, 2005;
- Slave Route sites of memory in the Latin Caribbean;
- The Slave Route and cultural tourism in Western and Central Africa;
- Inventory of sites and places of memory in the Indian Ocean.

3. Initiatives in Latin America.

Only two zones exist that are considered sites of memory. One is based on the Latin Caribbean initiative and the other is composed of three countries on the Atlantic coast of South America: Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. We have information regarding

¹⁴⁷ <http://es.abolitions.org/index.php?IdPage=1181551652>.

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.unesco.org/new/es/culture/themes/dialogue/the-slave-route/spotlight/preservation-of-memorial-sites-and-places/>

important studies being made in Brazil, including work on the port of Valongo¹⁴⁹, where slaves were disembarked. Obviously, there are far more places of memory than those which have been designated as such, and that is why UNESCO and institutions in several countries are working to produce a broader inventory of such locations.

The previous point is important because it demonstrates that progress is being made in countries on the Atlantic coast and in the Caribbean, while at the same time there have been difficulties and delays in raising awareness of the memory of slavery among the African diaspora on the Pacific coast. That is why we believe it is important that the town of Zaña be included, as a first step to opening the way to the inclusion of other communities linked to the African diaspora.

Below, we touch on the respective backgrounds of the places mentioned in Latin America and the Caribbean.

4. Sites of memory on the Slave Route in the Caribbean.

In the Caribbean, in 2006 a meeting was held that brought together experts from Haiti, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Aruba. The meeting was organized by the UNESCO Regional Bureau for Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean. The event received support from the Slave Route Project. What follows is a transcription of the UNESCO report on this issue¹⁵⁰:

“Sites of memory of the Slave Route in the Latin Caribbean:

“For the Caribbean, one of the most significant periods in history was the slave trade, the driving force of an economy based for centuries on colonial plantations and the foundation of our cultures and nationalities today.

The following basic objectives are pursued:

- To verify the diversity of material evidence of the Slave Route in the Caribbean, its relationship with the community and the intangible dimension expressed through the various forms of living cultures;
- To diagnose the state of preservation of these properties and their management policies;
- To contribute to the proper assessment of this legacy in accordance with the development strategies of local communities, including tourism and educational projects for children and young people;
- To promote the study and preservation of this legacy and to encourage the state parties to the Convention for the Protection of the world’s Cultural and Natural Heritage to propose the most relevant sites of the region for world heritage status;

¹⁴⁹ Information regarding research at Valongo, Brazil: <http://lamula.pe/2012/08/25/desenterrando-la-historia-de-la-esclavitud-de-brasil/malcolmllison/>

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.unesco.org/new/es/culture/themes/dialogue/the-slave-route/spotlight/preservation-of-memorial-sites-and-places/places-of-memory-of-the-slave-route-in-the-latin-caribbean/>

- To select the most relevant places of memory and the masterpieces of intangible heritage of the region and include them in a publication which will contribute to the fulfillment of said objectives.

The team assembled to identify Sites of Memory on the Slave Route in the Latin Caribbean has made a number of contributions. One of these is the launching of a project and the producing of a DVD¹⁵¹ containing valuable information which is the result of research work in Aruba, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, and includes photographs, videos and texts.

5. Contributions from Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay: events and publications.

We have information regarding two contributions from this region. Firstly, there is the book published in 2012 by UNESCO, under the title “Sites of Memory and the Living Culture of Afro-descendants in Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay”¹⁵². Secondly, a workshop was held in Villa Ocampo, Argentina, on October 28th 2009¹⁵³.

The reports presented at the abovementioned event were particularly significant. They represented the results of historical research and work focused on expressions of intangible cultural heritage. The documents presented the work of eleven specialists from different countries.

One of the contributions came from María Susana Pataro, who had this to say about the case of River Plate: “Between 1983 and 1993, the French historian Pierre Nora coined the concept of ‘places of memory’ and worked to define the distinction between history and memory. Compared to history, which has always been written by those in power, memory is the history of those who have no right to a history: *‘Memory remembers and history forgets’*. Memory, therefore, is indivisible from the concept of identity. There can be no identity without memory; however, memory is not spontaneous. Therefore, it is essential to identify ‘places of memory’”.

In the abovementioned workshop, those specialists from the Latin Caribbean who participated exchanged experiences with their colleagues from the South Atlantic.

As the reader will appreciate, interest has been growing in research and transmission associated with sites of memory in certain parts of the African diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean.

¹⁵¹ The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum possesses a copy of the DVD “Sites of Memory on the Slave Route in the Latin Caribbean, produced by UNESCO.

¹⁵² Sites of Memory and the Living Culture of Afro-descendants in Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, Volume I, UNESCO – Mercosur, printed by IconoPrint Montevideo 2012, and produced by specialists from the abovementioned countries.

¹⁵³ Workshop: Slave Route Sites of Memory in Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, UNESCO August 2010, Mercosur, Montevideo-Uruguay p. 4. (Workshop Report Villa Ocampo Argentina, October 28 2009.

See :

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001906/190690s.pdf>

6. Important progress: International Seminar in Brazil: “Patrimony, Identity, Education and Culture: Management of sites and places of memory associated with the slave trade and slavery”.¹⁵⁴

UNESCO and the Brazilian Palmares Foundation organized an international seminar in Brasilia to discuss the issue of the “Management of Sites and Places of Memory Associated with the Slave Trade and Slavery”, from August 21st to 23rd 2012. The importance of this event lay in the fact that it brought together specialists from three continents, in order to discuss the issue of Slavery Sites of Memory. The seminar was overseen by Ali Moussa Iye, the director of the Slave Route Project, and Eloy Ferreira de Araujo, the president of the Palmares Cultural Foundation. In the first sessions, an analysis was made of experiences in Brazil, with the participation of specialists in that particular field.

The following representatives attended the event:

Africa

- a) Ghana – Stephen Korsah
- b) Cape Verde – Charles Samson Akibode
- c) Nigeria – Gabriel Olatunde Babawale
- d) Mozambique – Cândido Loforte de Sousa Teixeira
- e) Ivory Coast – Vincent Aboya and Jacques Claudsat

South America / Central America

- a) Honduras – Luis Green (government minister)
- b) Panama – Rubén López
- c) Peru – Luis Rocca Torres
- d) Uruguay – Karla Chagas
- e) Mexico – María Elisa Velázquez

¹⁵⁴ Technical meeting of experts in the Management of Sites and Places of Memory Associated with the Slave Trade and Slavery, Brasilia August 21st to 23rd 2012.

North America

- f) Canada – Paul Lovejoy
- g) United States – James Early

Caribbean

- a) Cuba – Nelson Acosta
- b) Haiti – Mireille Fombrum-Mallebranche
- c) Saint Kitts and Nevis – Antonio Maynard
- d) Guadalupe – Mathieu Dussauge
- e) Jamaica - Adrienne Duperly

Europe

- a) France – Philippe Pichot
- b) Portugal – Isabel Castro Rodrigues
- c) Spain – Jordi Tresserras

Indian Ocean

Réunion Island – Sudel Fuma

The importance of the meeting lay in the fact that experiences associated with research and management of slavery sites of memory were shared. The participation by delegates from Africa facilitated a deeper understanding of the origin of the slave trade, the territories where slaves were captured, and how Africans were shipped from their respective nations to the countries that now constitute the African diaspora.

The main areas of discussion were:

- a) Recognition and inventory of sites and places associated with memory of the trafficking of slaves, resistance to slavery and abolition.
- b) Identification and establishment of a site, or inventorying of memory.
- c) Actors, collaborators and public.
- d) Communication and management of sites of memory.
- e) Formation of a network of sites of memory managers.
- f) Educational and scientific promotion of places of memory.
- g) Content of training modules.

The dialogue was fruitful and important issues were raised with regard to the safeguarding of the memory of slavery and the slave trade. During the event, the representative of the Afro-Peruvian Museum gave a presentation expounding on the importance of the slavery site of memory in Zaña and its significance for the entire northern coast of Peru. Through our presentation, we were able to inform a distinguished international audience of the African presence in Zaña (as part of the Andean region).

The reports, concepts, theories and experiences presented at the international seminar in Brasilia enabled us to make improvements in the proposal we are

presenting in this document, and also to develop new initiatives for the safeguarding of the cultural heritage of the town of Zaña, and to reassess the memory of its residents. The seminar also provided us with many of the tools that will be necessary for further research and cultural management in Zaña and other communities on the Peruvian coast.

7. Zaña as part of the slave trading route and slave-owning society.

In the documentation presented, we have shown how Zaña formed an important part of the Slave Route. As we have explained, during the colonial period a geographic and economic network was established which included the Spanish town of Santiago de Miraflores, an entire valley, an international port (Chérrepe) and local haciendas and tanneries. The growth and prosperity of Zaña were based upon the ownership of slaves, with slavery playing an important role in the exporting of a variety of agricultural, livestock and processed goods.

A number of historical studies have shown that these slaves arrived on the northern coast of Peru from several slave ports in Africa. In the context of slavery in Peru, the work of Germán Peralta is of particular significance¹⁵⁵. This author has made a detailed study of the Atlantic slave trade. His research covers the period from 1595 to 1640 and focuses on the following locations: Cape Verde, Guinea, Angola and São Tomé.

The town of Zaña was strategically located in the context of the slave route. Men and women taken from Africa were shipped across the Atlantic Ocean as far as Cartagena (Colombia), from where their journey continued as far as Portobelo (Panama). They were taken across Panama to the Pacific coast, from where they were transported to Peru. During the colonial period, two ports were used for shipments to Zaña. Initially, in the 16th century, the port of Paita was used. Then, in the 17th century, operations were transferred to the port of Chérrepe, which is much closer to Zaña. As production and trade increased in Zaña, more and more slaves were imported via the port of Chérrepe, located just six leagues (30 kilometers) to the west of Zaña. The hacienda owners of Zaña also bought slaves from Lima. These were shipped from the port of Callao to Chérrepe. Such historical facts confirm that the town of Zaña formed part of the international overseas slave route.

The internal overland transporting of slaves has also been clearly established. Initially, Pre-Hispanic highway systems were used (such as the Qhapaq Ñan or Royal Inca highway) in northern Peru. It should be remembered that the Spanish town of Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña was founded on an old Inca highway close to the site of the Inca *tambo*, or way station, at Cerro Corbacho¹⁵⁶. This was a strategic location for travel north, south and east. It was a key site. We mention these facts because during the golden age of agriculture, ranching and sugar production in this part of Peru, the

¹⁵⁵ Peralta, Germán: Ibid. pp.423-466.

¹⁵⁶ Kosok, Bachman and Lorenzo Huertas have written of the strategic nature of the Inca highway system and the *tambo* situated in the Zaña Valley, close to Cerro Corbacho. Francisco Pizarro passed this way on his way to Cajamarca, where he would capture Inca Atahualpa.

number of slaves imported to work on the area's 31 haciendas increased. It was to meet this growing demand that a new overland route for the transporting of slaves to plantations was introduced.

Most of the slaves who were shipped to Zaña were purchased in Cartagena, Portobelo (Panama) and Lima-Callao. Internal trade in northern Peru took place in the port of Chérrepe and in the town of Zaña. As we have already seen, the route to Zaña involved several ports of call in other parts of the continent, where slaves were resold.

We have spoken also of the origins of these slaves. They were taken from Africa by force, specifically from twelve cultures, locations or ethnic groups, namely: Congo, Arara, Po-Po, Lucum, Anchico, Biojos, Minas, Caraveli, Biafra, Guinea, Mozambique and Angola. Clearly, the slaves shipped across the Atlantic came from diverse cultural origins. It is not known whether or not these slaves organized themselves along ethnic lines in Zaña. It would appear that differences exist between Lima and other regions that form part of the African diaspora. In the case of Zaña, Africans were put to work at different locations, where haciendas or tanneries operated. They were of diverse ethnic origins and had been sold on several times during their journey. No evidence has been found in Zaña of the existence of groups of a single ethnic origin installed at a single location. In contrast, in the city of Lima Afro-descendants were able to form themselves into institutions or associations ("brotherhoods"). And in other places in the Americas and the Caribbean, Africans with a shared ethnic or geographic origin joined together in councils and developed a variety of organizational forms through which they were able to conserve the unique traditions of their particular cultural origin. The situation of slaves on the northern coast of Peru was much more complex than that of slaves in other parts of the diaspora. That is why among the people of Zaña there is no collective memory of their origins as part of a specific cultural or geographic group in Africa. Instead, they see the whole of Africa as their place of origin.

8. The territory and Afro-descendant populations of Zaña.

Several researchers have described in detail the characteristics and extension of the territory occupied by the Spaniards and slaves who lived in Zaña. In the town of Santiago de Miraflores, slaves were put to work as servants, artisans and confectionery makers. Contemporary street plans define the area in which these people lived and worked. An original street plan published by Father Domingo Angulo in the 16th century has survived. It was republished in the 1920s in the research work produced by Lorenzo Huertas, who identified the original 41 Spanish residents to whom the first lots were allocated in the foundational plan drawn up in 1563. Zaña was the first Spanish town to be established in the Lambayeque region, on November 29th 1563, on the orders of the viceroy, the Count of Nieva.

A copy of the street plan of the town of Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña, published by the bishop Martínez de Compañón in the 18th century, has also been discovered. This author also produced another map, to mark the declaration of Zaña as an ecclesiastical province. This map tells us that the province contained 31 haciendas or plantations, most of which were engaged in sugar production. The port of Chérrepe is also marked

on the map. The international status of this port points to the importance of the region at the time. Slaves were also owned by the residents of this port.

The description left to us by Father Rubiños y Andrade (1782) speaks of 14 haciendas with Afro-descendants in the immediate vicinity of the Zaña Valley. These were: La Punta, San Antonio de la Viña, Nuestra Señora de Sárrapo, San Pedro de Cayaltí, Pomalca, San Nicolás, Popán, Sipán, Santa Inés de Calupe, San José de la Otra Banda, San Cristóbal, Rafán, Chumbenique, Oyotún and Úcupe. The Rubiños document is significant because it includes the number of Afro-descendant inhabitants at each one of the haciendas mentioned.

9. Disasters, demographic decline and Afro-descendant resistance.

In our report, we have shown that the population of Zaña suffered as a result of a series of adversities and critical situations. The town was struck by an earthquake in 1619. It suffered the effects of several El Niño events, the most serious of which occurred in 1720 and 1728. It went on to be hit by a series of epidemics, including smallpox and malaria. There were even outbreaks of plague. We have also looked in detail at the manmade disasters suffered by the town. For example, Zaña was sacked by the English pirate Edward Davis, leading a force of 200 freebooters, in 1686. And in the 18th century, the area fell victim to a crisis in its farming and ranching activities, beginning in 1720.

The local population endured the devastation of much of the town when their homes were destroyed in 1720 by torrential rains and flooding. In the map of 18th century Santiago de Miraflores de Zaña produced by Martínez de Compañón, the locations of missing houses are clearly marked, as are the vestiges of those churches affected by the devastation, their ruins surrounded by vegetation. The sites of Spanish mansions were turned over to crops.

But in addition to the aforementioned adversities, it was the slave regime itself, the controls it exerted and the punishments that were exacted, which severely debilitated the sense of hope and physical wellbeing of African-descendant slaves.

The fact that Afro-descendants survived and continued to reside in Zaña, in the face of such adversity, stands as a testimony to their great strength and courage. It was through such resilience that they were able eventually to gain their freedom and take for themselves the land which many of them occupy to this day.

10. Memory and identity among the people of Zaña.

Through interviews conducted with elderly residents of Zaña in the 1970s, we were able to record significant expressions of the community's cultural heritage. All of this material, originally recorded on cassette tapes, has been published in the book "*La otra historia*"¹⁵⁷ (1985). This publication brings together memory, oral tradition and

¹⁵⁷ Rocca, Luis: Ibid. 1985.

written sources from archives and other publications related to Zaña. References to, and memories of, slavery are contained in this work.

The significance of Cerro La Horca [“Gallows Hill”] constitutes a particularly prominent aspect of the collective memory of Zaña. It was on this hill that Afro-descendants were put to death.

Zaña has its own oral traditions, musicians and poets. In the literary form known as the “*décima*”, stories are recounted of slavery and the struggle for freedom. The Zaña-born poet Hildebrando Briones is one of the leading exponents of this poetry tradition, and many of his verses speak of slavery.

11. The Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum: Memory and African Cultural Heritage.

In its work to safeguard Afro-descendant heritage, the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum has adopted the provisions of the UNESCO resolutions associated with this role. We believe it is important to understand that in our approach we incorporate the principles of interconnection and coordination between the different forms of heritage that must be safeguarded.

Our assessment of Zaña as a slavery and African cultural heritage site of memory takes into account the fact that the residents of the community recognize as part of their life and history: 1) Natural heritage (landscape, river, valley), the actual territory (to which their forebears arrived); 2) Material cultural heritage: the haciendas where slaves worked, the colonial churches (which after the exodus of Spaniards were left in the hands of Afro-descendants); Cerro La Horca (“Gallows Hill”); and the architecture of the rustic houses of Zaña (made from mud brick, reeds and carob wood beams); and 3) Intangible cultural heritage (oral traditions, music, dance, song, gastronomy). Zaña possesses a whole range of important cultural expressions, and to this day it is home to an active and varied living culture.

The museum seeks to encourage the participation of the community and places primary importance upon the active role played by local residents.

The museum exhibits paintings and maps illustrating the slave route, as well as slave purchase agreements and items once used to torture slaves, such as stocks and shackles.

During the process of safeguarding Afro-descendant cultural heritage, the museum and the residents of Zaña have promoted the revival of old dances such as “*el baile tierra*” [“the earth dance”] and “*los diablitos afronorteños*” [“Afro-northern devil dance”], as well as the recovery of African-inspired musical instruments that disappeared long ago, including different types of drums, the *marimba*, *mbira* and *checo* (made from a large round gourd), *angara* (a large gourd), *tamboreco*, *carrasca* and the other instruments already described in this document. We have received support in this regard from several noted Peruvian researchers. Recently, audio

recordings of old Zaña songs were discovered¹⁵⁸, one of which dates from the first decade of the 20th century, while the other has been dated to 1917.

Today, the Afro-Peruvian Museum houses a collection featuring most of the instruments once played by the African diaspora in Latin America. Replicas are based on 18th and 19th century designs. Most of the instruments on display date from the slavery period and have been recreated using written sources, drawings and oral traditions. From the 18th century, the museum has gained valuable insights from drawings published in the work of Martínez de Compañón, and from written sources such as *Mercurio Peruano* and *Concolocorvo*. The museum's 19th century sources have included the paintings of Pancho Fierro and Angrand, as well as the writings of Atanasio Fuentes. Foreign travelers who came to Peru in the 19th century left their own valuable written records referring to musical instruments used during the slavery period. With all this material, and with the help of musicologists, we have been able to construct, over a period lasting a decade, musical instruments from the 18th and 19th centuries.

12. Grounds for recognition and designation of Zaña as a Slavery and African Cultural Heritage Site of Memory.

In light of the research work cited and the analysis offered by this document, we believe that the present-day town of Zaña and its surrounding territory should be recognized as a Slavery and African Cultural Heritage Site of Memory. The validity and legitimacy of our contention rest on the following arguments:

12.1. Studies focused upon the African presence on the South Pacific coast are complex, given the web of different cultural influences that converged in this region, historical upheavals, and the limited attention paid previously to the stories of Africans and their descendants. During the past two decades, demographic decline among Afro-descendants in Zaña and the Lambayeque region, as well as in other parts of the country, and the reduction in the territories of these localities, has led to a decline in such communities. What makes Zaña unique is the way in which families managed to continue their lives in spite of major natural disasters and other adversities caused by human action. These families have managed to conserve the memory of slavery and African cultural heritage. Our own research and the written sources unearthed establish that the slave route stretched all the way from Africa to Zaña, on Peru's northern coast. And, after so many centuries, we have been able to demonstrate that these people have kept alive the memory of the slavery endured by their forebears.

12.2. We acknowledge the enormous contribution made by UNESCO through its championing of humanity's cultural diversity. In Zaña, Africans and their descendants established a dialogue and interacted with other cultural groups, including coastal

¹⁵⁸ The audio recording of the voice of Manuel Quintana, "The Black Canary", was provided by Rafael Santa Cruz in May 2013. Quintana recorded music from Zaña during the first decade of the 20th century. The second recording of an old Zaña song was interpreted by Almenerio-Saez in 1917 and recorded on disc. It was discovered by the researcher Darío Mejía.

indigenous people, Spaniards, Asians (Chinese and Japanese) and migrants from the Andean highlands. In Zaña, four different ethnic groups converged, representing people from four continents, and the result was a richly multi-ethnic community. Intermarriage took place. This complex dynamic of what in some cases was forced and in other cases voluntary migration created a unique cultural landscape in Zaña. We acknowledge and value the contributions of different ethnic groups and their own collective memories, but at the same time we recognize that there is an element of shared history in every society. The people of Zaña see the territory they occupy as part of their own history, of their history of slavery and the cultural expressions inherited from their forebears. In such a context, this history and collective memory form part of the process of building an identity, for both old families and new generations. The Slave Route project will be enriched by the inclusion of the story of what happened to Africans and their descendants in a territory where the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants were of Andean origin. The story of what happened to the Afro-descendant people of Zaña as they interacted with ethnic groups from four continents is a fascinating one. And that is the story we have been attempting to tell in this document. That is the unique aspect of the collective memory of the Afro-descendants of Zaña, which calls out to be acknowledged and properly appreciated. This collective memory, this discourse, will enrich the focus of the Slave Route project upon the diversity of experiences in dissimilar contexts which themselves have generated a variety of intercultural relations. Zaña endured as a community through the perseverance and determination of Afro-descendants who in modern times have welcomed people into their community, whatever their origin.

12.3. We are aware of the existence of many Afro-descendant communities on the Pacific coast and in the Andean region, who have their own histories and memories. Their cultural contributions have been extremely valuable. In spite of their diversity, members of the African diaspora in the South Pacific also share common traits. But while they share heterogeneous cultural elements, they also have their own stories to tell. Our proposal for the recognition and inclusion of Zaña as a site of memory is intended as a means of unifying such communities and facilitating the exchanging of experiences, through the management of sites of memory and a reassessment of the many faces of the African presence on this Pacific coast.

12.4. Due to many factors, over the past two centuries the territories occupied by Afro-descendants on the Pacific coast have been reduced. In many places, communities with African roots have seen their numbers fall. In our studies, we have identified periods of accelerated migratory processes, which have led to the depopulation of Afro-descendant rural communities. In the case of the Lambayeque region and the town of Zaña, there has been a demographic decline among those residents of African origin. On most of the territory occupied during the colonial period by thirty-one haciendas, the population of African descent has left, as we have discussed in this document. However, in spite of much adversity, two important Afro-descendant population centers have endured within their traditional geographic areas (one of these is Zaña, the other is Capote).

The erstwhile major province of Zaña has been reduced to a small district. However, local memory has been preserved and we continue to organize a whole range of

activities designed to safeguard our natural, cultural, material and intangible heritage. Viewed as a whole, tensions can be detected within the African diaspora. While on the one hand communities are concerned with safeguarding their memory and heritage, adverse dynamics are leading to reductions in their territories, with depopulation a particularly important factor in some rural communities. Recognition of Zaña as a slavery and Afro-descendant site of memory will enable our community to conserve its natural heritage and cultural assets, as well as to preserve its territorial jurisdiction. And at the same time, the Peruvian state will be made more aware of the importance of preserving such social and cultural spaces.

12.5. Our study of the situation in Peru reveals a disintegration of Afro-descendant populations in urban zones and a break up of rural communities. Most Afro-descendant communities on the Peruvian coast (particularly those located in provincial and rural areas) encounter difficulties in terms of accessing historical, demographic and cartographic documentation dating from the slave owning period. In this context, in Zaña, for the past 38 years we have been developing research and curatorial work aimed at safeguarding our cultural patrimony, and during this long process we have managed to access sources that have revealed important information related to the African presence during the slave owning period. A number of leading Peruvian researchers and historians have contributed to this effort. At the same time, we are conscious of the fact that further study of archival sources is required. In this regard, the historian Juan Castañeda has produced a valuable list of regional, national and international sources that will need to be consulted in order to produce a clearer picture of Zaña and the Lambayeque region during the colonial period. There is much to be done. However, a number of outstanding researchers have already made significant progress in the case of Zaña. On the period of Spanish rule, for example, several important studies have already been published by the likes of Susan Ramírez, Lorenzo Huertas, Domingo Angulo, Teodoro Hampe and Harth Terré, and of course we have the 18th work of the bishop Martínez de Compañón and the priest Justo Rubiños.

Our daily interaction with the Afro-descendants of Zaña, our research into their oral traditions and the work we have done with the Afro-Peruvian Museum since 2003, have led to our presentation of this proposal. What we are seeking is a reassessment, a reevaluation, of the town of Zaña, as a component of the Slave Route. As part of that goal, the concepts and methodology employed in the assembling of this proposal also serve to transmit to our fellow communities on the Pacific coast of Peru and elsewhere the need to reach out and exchange experiences.

12.6. Zaña is being transformed into a cultural space for the African diaspora in the Pacific, thanks to the efforts that have been made to safeguard its cultural heritage. Through its research, the Afro-Peruvian Museum has come to believe that Zaña formed part of the Slave Route. And that is why we are calling upon Peruvian state institutions and UNESCO to recognize, name and include Zaña as a Slavery and African Cultural Heritage Site of Memory. We are basing this proposal on a) UNESCO resolutions (regarding natural and tangible and intangible cultural heritage, diversity and intercultural dialogue); b) The advances and achievements made by the UNESCO Slave Route Project and the reevaluation of sites of memory); c) The experiences of the Latin Caribbean and the South Atlantic (Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay), related to

the inventorying of sites of memory; and d) Those events and publications organized by UNESCO which have shone a light on this issue, and which confirm the importance of declaring Zaña a Slavery and African Cultural Heritage Site of Memory.

12.7. And, with regard to the Peruvian state, our proposal represents a symbolic act of reparation, one that can go some way to covering an historic debt and preventing the nation from forgetting about the slavery suffered by the people of Zaña, who in spite of every disadvantage managed to survive with dignity. This year marks the commemoration of 450 years since the town was founded. The community has survived so many disasters thanks to its resilience and the determination of the Afro-descendant people who settled there. And that is why we are submitting this proposal before the District Municipality of Zaña, the Lambayeque Regional Office for Culture, the Lambayeque Regional Government, the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, and UNESCO, via its vitally important Slave Route Project.

Zaña – Peru, July 23rd 2013

BOARD OF THE ZAÑA AFRO-PERUVIAN MUSEUM

GLOSSARY

ALGARROBO [Carob]: One of the principal native species of tree on Peru's northern coast, the resilient wood of which has been used traditionally in the construction of homes.

BARRA [Bar]: This instrument of punishment used on Africans was composed of iron rings fixed to a wall, to which slaves were shackled by their wrists and ankles.

BOZAL: This is the name by which those African slaves who had arrived in the Americas directly from their homeland were known. They spoke their own languages still. Guaman Poma de Ayala described differences in the behavior of "bozales" and so-called mulattoes.

CABALLITOS DE TOTORA: These small rafts made from local totora reed have been used since pre-Inca times by the coastal cultures of Peru to go out to sea and fish. Marine fauna constituted an important part of the diet of ancient indigenous coastal populations. These culinary traditions have been conserved to this day on Peru's northern coast.

CAJAMARCA: This high Andean region lies to the east of Zaña. From the late 19th century, successive waves of migration brought people from Cajamarca to the coast,

where new patterns of intercultural relations were developed with the existing residents of Zaña.

CARIMBO [Branding iron]: These branding irons bore the initials or seal of slave masters or owners. Such instruments were used to mark the skin of slaves, thereby indicating to whom they belonged.

CARTAGENA: This Colombian port received slaves from Africa, who were then transported to other countries, including Peru.

CERRO LA HORCA [“Gallows Hill”]: It was here that people from Zaña were put to death during the colonial period.

HACIENDA: Haciendas were large plantations, most of which produced sugar cane in operations overseen by the landowner, who tended to live in a large house at the heart of the property.

CEPO [Stocks]: This device was used to torture slaves. Two hinged pieces of wood made it possible to secure the neck, arms or legs of Africans subjected to punishment.

CIMARRON [“Maroon”]: An African or Afro-descendant who had fled or escaped from the control of European slave owners.

COMPACTADO: One who, according to certain traditions, has entered into a pact with the devil.

CONFITERO [Confectioner]: Slaves who during the colonial period specialized in the preparation of confectionery, which could be sold in town markets.

CORDOBÁN [Cordovan leather]: Leather made in large quantities at Zaña’s tanneries during the colonial period. This leather was mostly made from goat or kid, livestock that could be pastured locally in the fertile valley and also grazed in carob forests.

CRIOLLOS ESCLAVOS [Creole slaves]: Persons born under the power and control of Europeans in Peru and other parts of the “New World”.

CHECO: This percussion instrument was fashioned from a large gourd and played by Afro-descendants in Zaña. It has been declared part of Peru’s national heritage. Gourds were used in a variety of functions. In Zaña they were particularly valued as musical instruments. Research has shown that similar instruments were fashioned from gourds in parts of Africa, including Cameroun.

CHÉRREPE: Located on Peru’s northern coast, this was an important port from the 17th century until around 1730. Located near the town of Zaña, it formed part of the Slave Route and was also used for shipping the products of the haciendas, tanneries and sugar mills where slaves worked.

EL NIÑO: The El Niño phenomenon is a climatic variation which on the northern coast of Peru can result in torrential rains and flooding. Over the centuries, a number of severe El Niño events have resulted in grave consequences for Zaña. In 1720, major flooding destroyed much of the old colonial town and seriously damaged its churches.

ESTANCIA [Estate, or ranch]: Large colonial-era properties engaged in ranching activities.

GALPÓN: A barracks-like structure in which slaves were housed.

GRILLETE or GRILLO [Shackles]: Iron shackles were used to secure the wrists and ankles of African slaves deemed to have committed offenses.

HUACA RAJADA: This is the Pre-Hispanic funerary complex where a team of archaeologists unearthed the greatest ever discovery associated with pre-Inca Moche culture: the tomb of the Lord of Sipán. Moche culture was highly developed in the fields of production and the arts. The site is located in the district of Zaña and symbolizes the cultural diversity of the area. During the colonial period a hacienda was built in this locality, upon which 90 Afro-descendant slaves worked.

INDIO [“Indian”]: This is the category used in the 1940 National Census to describe individuals of indigenous origin.

LA OTRA BANDA: The name of a former hacienda located on the left bank of the Zaña River, which flows down from the highlands of Cajamarca. The name was derived from the fact that the property was situated on “the other side” of the Zaña River. The village is known by that name to this day.

LADINO: A “*ladino*” was an individual who was familiar with the language, religion and culture of the Spanish, and who moved with some ease within the world of the Spaniards (Bowser p.116).

MARÍA ANGOLA: This is the name of the great bell used in the parish of Zaña to this day to announce Christian religious activities. It was cast in the 18th century.

MITA PLAZA and MITAYOS: This indigenous form of labor tax was used in the construction of the town of Zaña. According to Lorenzo Huertas: “In the case of the *mita plaza* in Zaña, the shift, or *mita*, lasted just twenty days, and each *mitayo* would receive daily nine grains of silver and a pint of corn. Under this system, the town’s first buildings were erected in the renaissance style (Huertas: 1993 p.155).

MULATTO: The name by which the descendants of Afro-Hispanic unions were known.

PALENQUE [Stockade]: A place where groups of Africans [see “*cimarrón*”] who had escaped from their masters would seek refuge.

PARDO [Brown-skinned]: A person of mixed race resulting from a union between an Afro-descendant and someone from another ethnic group.

PEROL [Cooking pot]: A large metal pan for cooking, widely used during the colonial period.

PICOTA [Pillory]: According to the historian Guillermo Figueroa, this was “a post driven into the ground where slaves were whipped”¹⁵⁹. It was also known as a “*rollo*”.

QHAPAC ÑAN [“Royal Highway”, system of Inca roads]: The town of Zaña was built at a strategic point on the Qhapac-Ñan, at a north-south, east-west crossroads. This road network was used by Francisco Pizarro, when he passed through Zaña on his way to conquer Cajamarca and capture Atahualpa.

QUINCHA [wattle and daub]: Walls made from mud and reed. This technique is still used to construct corrals in Zaña.

ROLLO: A colonial tradition in which a stone column was placed at the center of a site selected for the proposed construction of a new settlement or town, as in the case of Zaña. (See: Picota)

SAMBO: The name by which Afro-Indian, or Afro-indigenous, people were known.

SAÑA: The name of the town has been written in a number of ways. Saña was the accepted spelling established during the colonial period. Over time, as the town flourished, its territories were extended and it was declared a Province (an ecclesiastical category). “Saña” is also the name of a musical form that originated in the town. Today the town is officially known as “Zaña”.

TAMBO INCA or TAMBO REAL: The town of Zaña was built on land adjacent to the site of an Inca *tambo*, or way station. Lorenzo Huertas has left us this description: “A royal *tambo* was an urban complex built by the Incas; it was composed of temples, houses for the nobility and for the Inca, *colcas* [storehouses], an *acllahuasi* [“house of the chosen women”], and accommodation for up to ten or twenty thousand people; it also served as the residence of the nobility, led by the Tucricoj, who was waited upon by *mitmas* and *yanas*” (Huertas: 1993 p.188).

TERRAPLÉN [Embankment]: Raised ground level upon which buildings were constructed during the colonial period, in order to prevent flood damage.

TIERRA FIRME: The Province of Tierra Firme [Province of Mainland] was the name given during the Spanish colonial period to the territory occupied by the present-day states of Panama, Venezuela and Colombia.

TINA or TENERÍA: In the colonial period these production centers produced leather, soap and candles. Animals were also reared and slaughtered at these locations. The leather produced by local tanneries was an important export product for Zaña.

¹⁵⁹ Figueroa: Ibid. p.49.

TRAPICHE [Sugar mill]: A production center with all the equipment required for processing sugar cane.

XABÓN [*Jabón*]: Soap was one of the products made in colonial Zaña.

YUNGA: The indigenous population of Peru's northern coast. Several ethnic and linguistic groups inhabited the Yunga region.

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1. Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, approved by the UNESCO General Conference¹⁶⁰ on November 16th 1972.
2. UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity¹⁶¹, Paris, October 15 – November 3 2001.
3. Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage¹⁶² approved by the UNESCO General Conference in its 32nd meeting, held in Paris from September 29th to October 17th 2003.
4. Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions 2005¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ The Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, approved by the UNESCO General Conference on November 16 1972.

¹⁶¹ <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001246/124687s.pdf>

¹⁶² <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=es&pg=00006> (Reproduced May 22 2013)

¹⁶³ http://portal.unesco.org/es/ev.php-URL_ID=31038&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

5. Cultural Landscapes - UNESCO¹⁶⁴ Slave Route Project, launched by UNESCO in 1994, in response to an initiative by Haiti and several African countries.

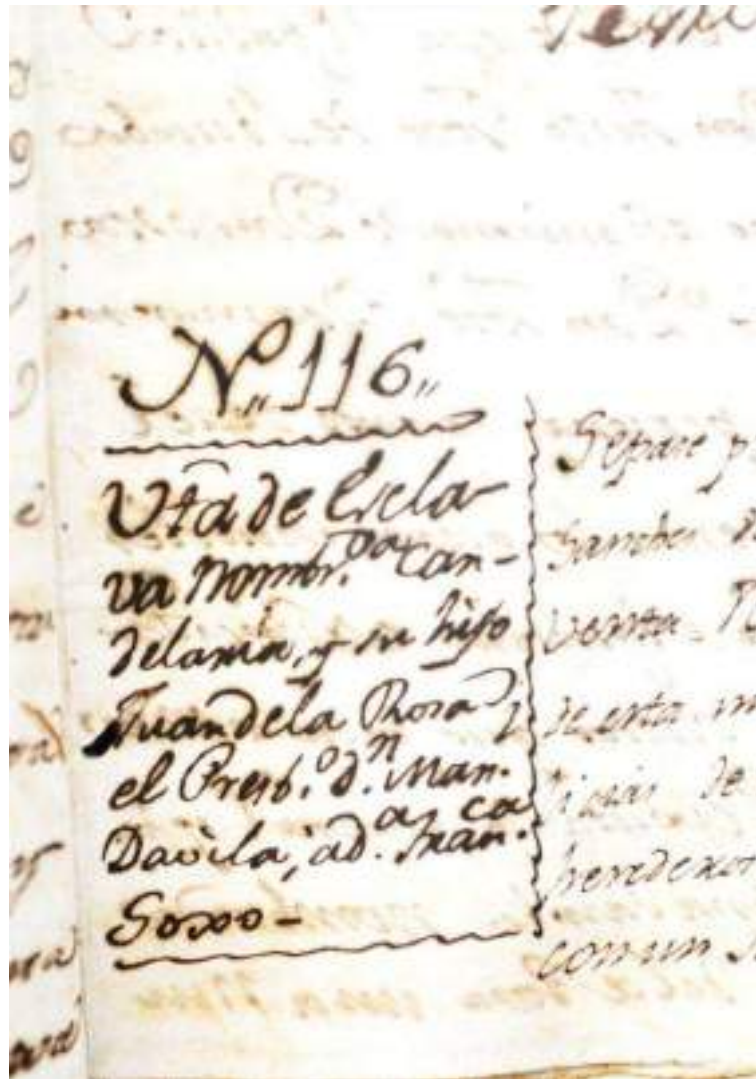
APPENDIX I

PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORDS OF THE TOWN OF ZAÑA, THE RIVER, CHÉRREPE PORT, CHURCHES, HACIENDAS, CERRO LA HORCA [“GALLOWS HILL”], INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE AND THE COMMUNITY ASSEMBLY.

(Photographs by Oscar Chambi Echegaray.)

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.condesan.org/unesco/Cap%2006%20metchild%20rossler.pdf>. Document signed by MECHTILD RÖSSLER., under the title “Cultural Landscapes and the Convention on Cultural and Natural World Heritage, the result of previous thematic meetings”.

IMAGES OF THE TOWN OF ZAÑA, HACIENDAS AND SYMBOLS OF SLAVERY.¹⁶⁵



18th century: Sale of a female slave and her son.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ The photographs by Oscar Chambi Echegaray were taken between June 1st and 5th 2013 in the town of Zaña, neighboring former haciendas, and Chérrepe. Also included are reproductions of colonial documents held in the Lambayeque Regional Archive.

¹⁶⁶ Lambayeque Regional Archive, 1795, notary Bartolomé Dapelo, Record 116.

ZAÑA RIVER.



The Zaña River forms part of the cultural landscape of the community. It was and remains part of the life and memory of the town, and played a key role in its history when flooding destroyed Zaña in 1720.

COLONIAL BUILDINGS IN ZAÑA: VESTIGES OF THE TOWN'S OLD CHURCHES.



Remains of the "Iglesia Matriz" in the center of the old town of Zaña, built in the 16th century.



Façade of La Merced church: surrounded by vegetation.



Atrium of San Agustín church: one of the principal historical buildings in Zaña.



Cloister of San Agustín monastery: its arches were conceived in the Romanesque style.



San Francisco church was destroyed by flooding in 1720.



The La Punta chapel stood on a hacienda in the district of Zaña.

THE PORT OF CHÉRREPE FORMED PART OF THE OLD PROVINCE OF ZAÑA AND LAY ON THE INTERNATIONAL SLAVE ROUTE.



Port of Chérrepe, in Zaña: It operated as an international port during the colonial period.

The haciendas of Zaña exported their products to other countries.



The fishermen of Chérrepe still recount the story of how English pirates attacked the town of Zaña. (Photo: Oscar Chambi, Sunday June 2nd 2013.)

SLAVE-OWNING HACIENDAS IN ZAÑA.



The Cayaltí hacienda was one of Peru's major sugar producers.



The sugar mill at the former Cayaltí hacienda.

“LA OTRA BANDA” SUGAR MILL AND HACIENDA (ZAÑA).



The old La Otra Banda sugar mill.



La Otra Banda hacienda, built on a raised embankment.

ÚCUPE HACIENDA AND SUGAR MILL.



Present-day view of the former Úcupe hacienda, in the lower part of the Zaña Valley.

FORMER LA PUNTA HACIENDA.



Vestiges of the former La Punta hacienda in the present-day district of Zaña:
Around 400 Afro-descendants once lived here.

CARTS USED AT THE SUGAR PRODUCING HACIENDAS OF THE ZAÑA VALLEY.



Wooden carts like these were pulled by pairs of oxen. They were used to transport goods from the haciendas. The Afro-Peruvian Museum possesses five such carts. (Photo: Oscar Chambi, the Zaña Afro-Peruvian Museum, June 4 2013.)

PUNISHMENTS AND TORTURES EXACTED ON SLAVES.



Shackles were used to secure slaves by their ankles. These replica shackles can be seen at the San José Hacienda, in Chincha. Most haciendas on the Peruvian coast would have used such shackles during the colonial period. (Photo: Oscar Chambi, Zaña African-Peruvian Museum, 2013.)



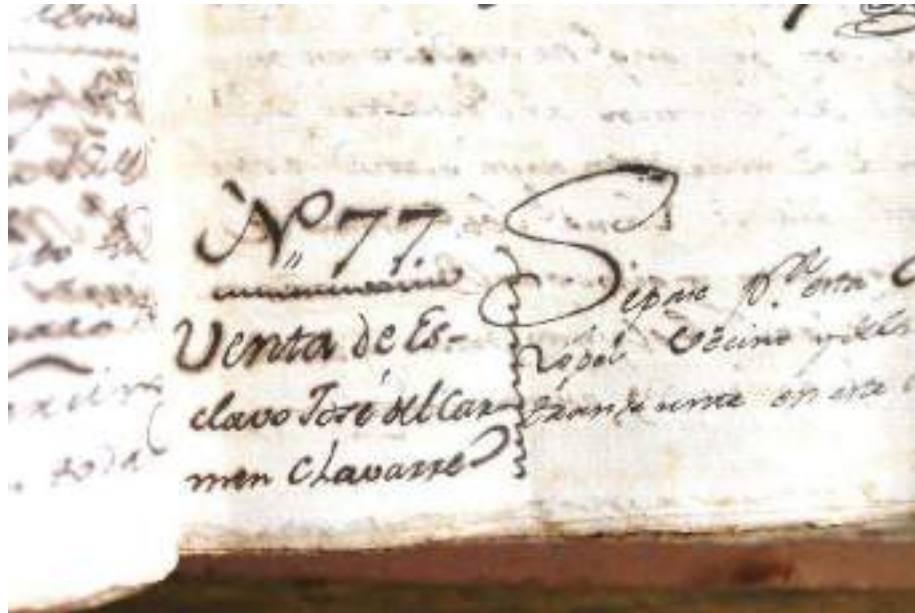
Stocks were used to punish African and Afro-descendant slaves, who were secured in them by their necks, wrists and ankles. This replica is located in Yapatera (Piura). (Photo: Oscar Chambi, Zaña African-Peruvian Museum, June 2013.)

17TH CENTURY SLAVE PURCHASE AGREEMENTS, FROM THE LAMBAYEQUE REGIONAL ARCHIVE, PERU (1794 AND 1795).¹⁶⁷

N.º 23.
 Pod. r. de y. r. de
 Esclavo nombro.
 Jose Ant.º Doral
 y Gal. Aguilera
 D. N.º 5.º L.º
 to sacado copia
 Diademotogam.

Venta de Escla
 va Tuana ma-
 ria: D. N.º 5.º L.º
 y Jimio Aguilera
 ad. Jose Estre
 sacado copia
 Diademotoga
 miemo.

¹⁶⁷ The Lambayeque Regional Archive contains several slave purchase agreements from the colonial period. Here we show transactions recorded by the notary Bartolomé Dapelo in 1794 and 1795. Many important documents have yet to be processed and analyzed.



CERRO LA HORCA [“GALLOWES HILL”], IN ZAÑA.¹⁶⁸



This document recording the flooding of the Zaña River, dated March 18th 1720, was drafted on Cerro La Horca and bears the signatures of the notary Antonio De Ribera, the royal official Juan Antonio De La Cueva, and the priest Melchor Ibáñez, among others.

¹⁶⁸ These photos are of the original document, which is housed in the Lambayeque Regional Archive. The Archive’s director, Ada Lluén, collaborated with the Afro-Peruvian Museum by providing access. (Photo, Oscar Chambi, June 3rd 2013.)



This extract from the document signed on March 18th 1720 includes a reference to Cerro La Horca.

COMMUNITY ASSEMBLY OF CERRO LA HORCA FAMILIES.



In this Community Assembly of Cerro La Horca families, the mayor of Zaña and members of staff from the Afro-Peruvian Museum enter into dialogue with local people regarding the proposal to declare Zaña a Slavery and African Cultural Heritage Site of Memory (June 1st 2013).



This meeting at the top of Cerro La Horca was held between local residents and representatives of the Distric Municipality of Zaña and the Afro-Peruvian Museum, to discuss the plan for the construction of a memorial commemorating freedom from slavery. (Photo: Oscar Chambi, June 1st 2013.)

PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE PRESENT-DAY TOWN OF ZAÑA.



In this image both the past and present of the town of Zaña can be appreciated. The vestiges of two colonial churches can be seen in the background: La Merced and San Agustín (the latter stands to the right). The houses seen in the foreground were built after the flooding of the Zaña River in 1720. The town is surrounded by fertile countryside. (Photo: Oscar Chambi, June 2013.)

APPENDIX II

**COPY OF THE FOUNDING CHARTER OF ZAÑA, DATED NOVEMBER 29th 1563,
PUBLISHED IN A WORK BY DOMINGO ANGULO.**

(Text by Domingo Angulo; "Foundation and Occupation of the Town of Zaña, 1920", in
the journal of the Peruvian National Archive, Edition 2, Lima.)

FUNDACION Y POBLACION DE LA VILLA DE SANTIAGO DE MIRAFLORES QUE ES EN EL VALLE DE SAÑA EN ESTOS REYNOS DEL PIRU, FECHA POR EL CAPITAN BALTAZAR RODRIGUEZ VECINO DE LA CIUDAD DE TRUXILLO, POR MANDADO Y CON PROVISION DEL MUY EXCELENTISIMO SEÑOR CONDE DE NIEVA VISORREY DESTOS REYNOS DEL PIRU, AÑO DE 1563.

En el nombre de Dios Todopoderoso y de la Sacratísima Virgen María Nuestra Señora, en lunes veinte e nueve días del mes de Noviembre deste año de mill e quinientos e sesenta e tres años, el Muy Magnífico Señor, el Capitán Baltazar Rodríguez, vecino de la ciudad de Truxillo, comenzó la población e fundación de la villa de Santiago de Miraflores que es en el valle de Saña en estos reinos del Pirú, por mandado y con provisión del Muy Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Nieva, Visorrey y Capitán General destos Reynos del Pirú, para servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de su Magestad del Rey Don Phelipe nuestro Señor, natural Rey de Castilla, de León, etc., etc.

Y para ello nombró por escribano desta dicha fundación público e de Cabildo desta dicha villa a mi Diego Hernandez Coronado, vecino de la dicha ciudad de Truxillo, por virtud de la provisión de su Excelencia que para ello le dá comisión e facultad, la cual dicha provisión mandó a mí el dicho escribano la ponga al principio deste libro originalmente, y que vaya cosida de manera que esté a buen recaudo, lo cual se hizo así como su merced lo manda; lo cual pasó en el dicho día, siendo testigos Antonio de Prado, y Antonio Gomez, y Pedro Ramos, y Francisco de Escobar, y Juan Gallego del Aguila, y el dicho Señor Capitán Baltazar Rodríguez lo firmó de su nombre.—
BALTAZAR RODRIGUEZ.

El después de lo susodicho en el dicho día mes y año susodicho, el dicho Señor Capitán Baltazar Rodriguez habiendo visto mucha parte de las tierras del dicho valle de Saña y acacias que en él hay y los sitios donde mejor y más comodamente se puede fundar la dicha villa de Santiago de Miraflores, y habiéndolo tratado y consultado con muchas personas que lo entienden, dixo que en nombre de su Magestad y por virtud de la dicha provisión fundada e fundó la dicha villa de Santiago de Miraflores en el tambo real del dicho valle de Saña, que es junto a el río y cerca del camino real, y en señal de posesión puso el rollo y picota en medio del sitio donde mandó que se hiciese la plaza de la dicha villa, y quedó puesto, y el dicho rollo con el dicho sitio donde mandó que de aquí adelante se execute en él la justicia de su Magestad en los que fueren culpados y lo merecieren, y mandó que ninguno sea osado a lo quitar de allí el dicho rollo so pena de perdimiento de bienes, y la vida a merced de su Magestad; y el dicho Señor Capitán Baltazar Rodriguez lo firmó de su nombre, siendo testigos Pedro Ramos, y Antonio de Prado, Francisco de Escobar, Joan Gallego del Aguila, Baltazar de Luz, vecinos de la ciudad de Truxillo.—
BALTAZAR RODRIGUEZ.—DIEGO HERNANDEZ, escribano público y de Cabildo.

Y así mismo el dicho Señor Capitán Baltazar Rodriguez dixo, que la posesión que ha tomado en el dicho valle de Saña donde se comienza a fundar la dicha villa, se entienda que toma posesión en todo el dicho valle, y en señal dello se paseó por la plaza que su merced ha señalado de la dicha villa. Testigos los dichos.—BALTAZAR RODRIGUEZ.—DIEGO HERNANDEZ CORONADO, escribano público y de Cabildo.

Provisión
del Conde
de Nieva.

Don Diego Lopez de Zúñiga y de Velasco, Conde de Nieva, Visorrey Gobernador e Capitán General en estos Reynos y provincias del Pirú por su Magestad, etc. Por quanto una de las cosas mas principales y de mayor importancia para la quietud y noblecimiento destes Reynos es que se funden y hagan en ellos las mas poblaciones de españoles que ser pueda, como su Magestad lo tiene mandado y ordenado, habiendo tratado e platicado sobre ello e informádome de personas de ciencia y experiencia, ha parecido convenir que en el valle de Saña, que es veinte e cuatro leguas

APPENDIX III

RECORD OF THE 1720 ZAÑA DISASTER, INCLUDING A REFERENCE TO CERRO LA HORCA.

Transcription by Justo Rubiños y Andrade: "Chronological account of the priests of Mórrope and Pacora in the Province of Lambayeque, the Bishopric of Trujillo, Peru." "An Interesting Document", published in the Peruvian Historical Journal, Volume 10, Lima – Peru, 1936, pp. 290-363.

Sucesion Chronologica: Ô Serie Historial de

Los Curas de Morrope, y Pacora en la Provincia

De Lambayêque del Obispado de Truxillo

Del Peru, desde la Conquista del Reyno,

Hasta el dia presente de los Sumos Pontifices.

Arzobispos, y Obispos: Reyes Catholicos.

Virreyes, y Governadores, que han tenido

Jurisdiccion en estas Doctrinas; con un

Compendio de las Constituciones, y

Breves, Decretos, Concilios, y Synodal.

Ciudulas, y Leyes, que hacen al Gobierno

Espiritual, y Politico de ambos Pueblos;

Por el Orden Alfabético, que va al fin

De cada uno de estos Articulos.

Hecho por el Liz. D. Justo Modesto de Ru-

inos, y Andrade Cura de dthos Pueblos.

Año de 1782.

cuarenta y ocho días. Las haciendas se incendiaban en alta noche, y en diferentes días, consumiendo los cañaverales, y demás frutos, y aun algunas casas de habitación, sin poder dar más razón, por no entrar en la categoría de las cosas ocultas a los hombres, porque desde ese año y siglo cesaron las intemperies, de tal modo que volvió a florecer la villa, hasta el de 1720, que habiéndolo sentido (cerca de cuarenta días paulatinamente, inclusive quince continuos desde primero de Marzo hasta el quince) otro diluvio, salieron de sus cauces los ríos de Saña y de Lambayeque con tal furor, que montando aquel por la falda de un cerrillo que la defendía, entró de madre sobre la ciudad, llevándose por los cimientos todas sus costosas casas sin reservar una siguiera en pie; y dejando sus sumptuosas yglesias maltratadas, como la de San Francisco, la Merced, San Juan de Dios, Saneta Lucía, San Agustín, y la principal de la Matriz en mucha decadencia; y si en tiempo no se reparan a costa de muchos pesos, se destruirán eternamente, siendo unas obras las más perfectas que llenaban el hueco de la hermosura de la villa en asco, y en adorno a competencia con las demás de los patrones fundadores condecorados, y hazendados, que tenían a su cargo los adelantamientos en cada yglesia. Pero Dios por sus altos juicios la arruinó y desoló enteramente el año de 1720, con la salida del río, sepultando debajo de la tierra muchos thesoros, sin saber ningún viviente donde era su casa, ni distinguir los lugares, y nombres de las calles, y la soberbia siempre reynando en ellos cada día más; comprobando esta verdad con un certificado, que corre archivado en el oficio de Cabildo en uno de los registros del año de 20 autorizado por Don Antonio de Rivera escribano público de Registros, oriundo de dicha villa, que por curiosidad la traslado aquí al pie de la letra, cuyo tenor es como sigue:

↓ *Certificación.*—Yo Don Juan Antonio de Rivera, natural de la ciudad de Saña, y escribano público, minas, registros, y Real Hazienda en ella, y sus jurisdicciones por su Magestad. Certifico, doy fee, y testimonio de verdad en quanto puedo, y lugar haya conforme el derecho a los mortales, que le vieren,

que el Viernes que se contaron quinze del presente mes de Marzo, y año de mil setecientos veinte, como a las quatro a las cinco de la mañana, fué Dios Nuestro Señor servido de manifestar su justicia en los vecinos, moradores, y habitadores que vivíamos, estábamos, y residíamos en dicha ciudad, pues al cabo de haberse experimentado en ella repetidos, y grandes aguaceros desde el día primero de dicho mes subcesivamente, el dicho día quinze creció, y salió de su madre, y caxa el río que pasa inmediato a dicha ciudad con tanta voracidad, y poder a la ora, que llevo expresada, y se entró con tal ímpetu, y abundancia, por todas las bocas calles que miraban, y salían a él, y entraban al centro del lugar, que si no ha permitido Dios Nuestro Señor se sintiese, y viesse semejante castigo, aun sin haber amarcido, parecen los más moradores que se hallaban en dicha ciudad, pero su Divina Magestad no lo queriendo assi, nos aviso de su justificada justicia con el grandíssimo ruido, que el mismo río hizo quando se desaforó, motivo de que todos desampararon sus casas, y habitaciones con aceleración, ligereza, espanto, y dolor que se dexa entender, sin poder sacar, ni librar más caudal ni abrigo, que aquel con que se hallaron encima, y se encaminaron, guarnecieron, y libraron de este peligro en un alto, loma, o cerrillo que está muy inmediato a dicha ciudad, que a no ser assi, y permitir Dios manifestar la luz del día, de suerte que pudieron ver por donde andaban, y se encaminaban, lo cuentan pocos de los que experimentaron tan lamentable trabajo; porque aun con haber perdido ningún tiempo en huír de él, se libraron, y subieron a dicho cerrillo, o alto, algunos con el agua a medio cuerpo, otros a la garganta, y otros a nado, y muchos no lo pudiendo hazer por enfermos, o que emperezaron, se quedaron, y guarnecieron en el centro del lugar en muladares muy altos en árboles, o médanos, de suerte que siendo assi que como llevo dicho empezó a entrar el agua a la ciudad, como a las quatro, o cinco de la mañana, a las seis ya corría con gran abundancia, y velocidad para la plaza pública, y todas las calles atravesando, derribando, y asolando todas quantas casas de vivienda tenía, y de que se componía dicha ciudad,

sin reservar, ni dejar en pie más fábrica que la yglesia parroquial, y las de los conventos de Señor San Francisco, San Agustín, Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes, San Juan de Dios, y Santa Lucía parroquia de naturales, y estas incapaces de que sirvan por la mucha ruina que han padecido, todo lo que estuve viendo, y atendiendo con el dolor, y espanto (que el que esto leyere puede considerar) desde el alto, o cerrillo que llevo referido, en cuyo paraje estaba con mi mujer, e hijos, y familia desde el día jueves siete de dicho mes, porque intimidado de los grandes aguaceros que se repitieron el día cinco, y seis, y habérseme arruinado casi la casa de mi morada, la desamparé, saliéndome del lugar a dormir en dicho cerrillo debajo de dos toldos que hize. Y respecto de haberse continuado la lluvia subcesivamente hasta el dicho catorce, y parte del mencionado quize, me mantuve en dicho sitio. En fin. al cabo de haber corrido el agua por la ciudad cosa de una ora, derribado, y arruinado toda su fábrica hasta los cimientos (excepto dichas yglesias) se retiró a su casa, y madre con la mesma velocidad que crecía, dejándola hecha espectáculo horrible, espantable, y lamentable; queriendo, y permitiendo la Misericordia Divina no hubiessen perecido en semejante conflicto más de dos negras esclavas, la una ciega, y la otra fatua; siendo assi que estuvieren en evidente, y manifiesto peligro más de mil personas que moraban en la dicha ciudad, a la qual bajé hoy lunes que se cuentan diez, y ocho días de dicho mes de Marzo; y juro a Dios y a esta cruz bajo de la solemnidad dispuesta por Derecho, que siendo hijo de la tierra, y vecino con casa, puesto, y parado en su plaza, y discurriendo en todo lo que fué fabricado, no supe distinguir con certesidad qual fué la casa de Pedro, ni la de Juan vecinos, ni a donde estuvieron fundadas las dos tiendas en que guardaban los papeles, y archivos de los oficios públicos de Cabildo, y Registros que estando a mi cargo las cosas de Cabildo, y Ayuntamientos, y la en que vivía Don Tomás Andrade Factor, Juez oficial Real, las quales estaban fabricadas en la traza de dicha plaza, si no me lo dicen, y enseñan algunos sugetos, que hallé en dicha plaza, porque además

Disaparecida
de la plaza

de estar llena de agua con la ruina, se pusieron en tal semejanza que parece increíble lo que se ve en ellas, por haber pasado por encima de sus techos mucha porción de agua; pues según lo que he medido en tres partes donde dexó señal el agua según la altura que trajo y corrió, el tiempo que llevo referido, fué de dos varas, y media en igualdad, siendo assi que no hay tradición que en ciento cincuenta, y tres años, que ha que se fundó dicha ciudad, hubiese entrado, ni se temiese entrasse por ella el río; y en lo natural según lo habrán visto, y atendido muchos, no cabe tal creciente, sino solo por decreto de Dios, que sea bendito, alabado, y glorificado, y ensalzado, como merece, y somos obligados por los siglos de los siglos, Amén. Y para que conste, y sirva de exemplo, doy la presente en el cerrillo, Pampa, que llaman de la Orea, inmediato a dicha ciudad de Saña, en diez, y ocho días del (mes) de Marzo de mil setecientos veinte años siendo testigos de la ruina que llevo expresada, y del otorgamiento de esta escriptura, el Capitán Don Thomas de Andrade, y Peñaranda; el Alférez Real Don Juan Antonio de la Cueva, y Velasco; Don Antonio Rodríguez de Losada Regidor Perpetuo; el Lizenciado Don Melchor Ibáñez cura, y vicario de dicha ciudad, y su provincia; el Lizenciado Don Francisco de Suárez cura rector de su iglesia parroquial; el General gobernador Don Félix de Estrada, y el Sargento mayor Don José de Lomberas, y lo firmaron conmigo.—Don Thomas de Andrade.—Don Juan Antonio de la Cueva, y Velasco.—Dalmacio Rodríguez de Losada.— Don Melchor Ibáñez.— Antonio de Ribera Escribano público de Registros. ↑

En este estado de prosperidad duró dicha villa desde su erección hasta el año de su ruina, en que se consumió todo el caudal, y riquezas de sus moradores pudientes, quedando sólo el convento de San Agustín con algunas piezas, y su iglesia corriente, y reparada (en alguna manera) sus bóvedas con cortas limosnas de la piedad christiana, y la de la Matriz, siendo las vnicas que ha reservado Dios enteras en el catástrofe de aquella Villa: Assi mismo de los dos curatos que habían de yngenios, y trapiches de hazer azúcar, fundados en el distrito

APPENDIX IV

**STATISTICS RELATED TO THE TOWN OF ZAÑA, IN AN 18TH CENTURY WORK BY
MARTÍNEZ DE COMPAÑÓN.**

ESTADO que demuestra el numero de Abitantes del Obpdo. de T

Provincias	Curatos	Eclesiasticos	Seminarij	Religiosos	Religiosas	Espanoles	Yndios	Mixtos	Pardos	Negros	Totales
TRU XI LLO	Cathedral	132	101	60	120	1162		704	2227	1000	5513
	St Sebastian	1					274				275
	Viri	5					1707	125			1925
	Manciche	2					888	49			939
	Simbal	1				5	275	210			491
	St Yago de Cao	1				28	843	210	156	311	1538
	Magdalena	1				47	150	40	54	41	355
	Chicope	2				78	51	194	127	230	682
SA NA	Tayan	1				16	501	8	11		327
	Sana	2		8		75		59	570	50	382
	Cherrepe	1					139				140
	St Lucia	5				487	1256	646	286	358	3016
	St Pedro	8				516	1877	525	461	83	2968
	St Carolina	15				503	1154	581	579	305	2516
	St Roque	9		3		406	1933	475	538	160	3525
	Jequecpeque	2				86	720	259	76		1149
	Chiclaio	2		9		408	4244	393	635		6181
	Mocupe	1					110				111
	Mochumi	1					550				551
	Perreñaje	7				248	5160	727	166	60	4438
	Morrope	1				4	1317	87		13	1402
	Jaicunca	2				39	513	228		84	716
	Yllimo	1					54	10			65
	Reque	1				2	481	4	7		495
Monseñ	1					1516	46			1533	
St Pedro de Lloc	1				54	746	215	72		1086	
Ynoenios	2				17			8	14	319	
Chipen	2		9		100	356	318	148	308	1241	
Pueblo nuevo	1					343		6		350	
PIU RA	Piura	27		18		1330	5984	3888	5060	587	12350
	Sechura	2					1682		19	8	1711
	Catacaos	1					1789				1790
	Salas	3					944	121		3	1071
	Olmos	1				419	257	188	95	22	652
	Morupe	1				417	178	158	65	14	533
	Payta	6				163	3084	722	655	78	4706
	Tumbes	2				74	363	524	819	7	1751
	Guancabamba	12				389	4355	2644	303	48	7431
	Priaz	3					2014	238			2258
	Azabaca	6				539	3998	1795	154	148	6413
Guarmaca	3				293	2469	458	47	19	3289	
JA EN	Jen	1				103	327	111	24		366
	Pimpincos	1				436	991	473	7	5	1911
	Calasai	2				108	421	719	33	1	1284
	Tomependa	1					636	416			1053
	St Phelipe	1				56	280	59	7		403
LAMS	Chirinos	1				460	392	130			983
Lamas	1				36	1649	2593			4279	

RESUMEN GENERAL

Provincias	Eclesiasticos	Seminarij	Religiosos	Religiosas	Espanoles	Yndios	Mixtos	Pardos	Negros	Totales
Truxillo	144	101	60	120	1333	4577	1549	2557	1582	12032
Saña	60		29		2593	19751	4873	3152	1760	32218
Piura	67		18		2874	24797	10654	5203	884	44497
Jen	7				1163	3047	1908	71	4	6200
Lamas	1				36	1649	2593			4279
Motobamba	4				452	1216	2438	348		4518
Chachapoya	24		11		566	6591	3825	93	13	11123
Luis	5				342	5048	2018	45		5458
Guambes	18		7		2173	9183	7116	509	23	18829
Caxamarca	77		34	43	7188	22720	15964	4408	493	50927
Guamaehuco	64				2273	17118	18367	250	79	38151
Peruas	11		3		987	4627	7678	194	8	13508
12	482	101	162	172	21930	118324	79043	16630	4846	241740

