Cochabamba, 1550–1900

Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia

Brooke Larson

Expanded edition
With a new foreword by
William Roseberry

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FOR CARTER, JOSH, AND DEVON

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FOREWORD

Brooke Larson's book is the product of an earlier historiographical moment, and it is an enduring contribution to scholarship. Thinking about the relation between these two dimensions of the book helps us appreciate its special importance.

Let us deal, first, with the book as a contribution to scholarship. *Cochabamba, 1550–1900* is an examination of the formation of colonial society in the Cochabamba Valleys—the installation of Spanish colonial institutions, relations, and forms; the reconfiguration of indigenous social relations and identities; the emergence of indigenous communities as colonial forms and productions; the emergence of Cochabamba as a provisioner of grain within the economic orbit of the mines at Potosí and the consequent rise of haciendas; and the formation of a mestizo peasantry within and alongside haciendas. After two chapters that deal with sixteenth-century transformations, based on a magnificent reconstruction of precolonial Andean social and political organization, most of the book deals with eighteenth-century colonial society. While the institutional and structural dimensions of these transformations are examined in detail, a distinctive feature of the book is the care with which it explores the dynamics and unequal social relations within indigenous societies in the context of colonial rule, as well as the activities and social relations of the "rival peasant economy."

The documentary basis for the study is rich, including archives in Seville, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Lima, Sucre, and Cochabamba. The interpretive work Larson does with her archival sources is especially impressive. Let us take two examples. In chapter 4, she examines the internal relations, inequalities, and rivalries of Andean village society. For an interpretation of a mid-eighteenth-century rivalry between two cacique families, she begins with the record of the dispute, or *juicio,* in the Bolivian National Archives in Sucre but sup-

plements that information with material from censuses, wills, and property transactions from the Archivo General de Indias (Seville), the Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires), and the municipal archives of Cochabamba. This detailed and critical reading of a text (the juicio), supplemented with other materials, can be contrasted with a second use of documentary sources—a statistical analysis of *alcabalas,* an ad valorem tax, to measure tithe revenues over a thirty-five-year period as part of an analysis of the incomes and resources of hacienda owners in relation to peasant agriculturalists (chapter 6). In each case, the use of sources is innovative, and appropriate to the particular story, or part of a story, she is telling.

This is, then, the work of a master historian, finding, analyzing, and interpreting archival sources with both discipline and insight. As a contribution to the historical and ethnohistorical analysis of indigenous societies under Spanish colonialism, it fits quite well within traditions of work pioneered by scholars such as Charles Gibson and John Murra. We can also consider Larson's book as part of a smaller tradition that took to the study of indigenous societies under Spanish colonialism a concern for processes of class formation, especially the formation of agrarian institutions and structures—the emergence of large landed properties and of peasantries, landlord-peasant relations and conflicts, and the roles these institutions might have played both in subsequent conflicts and in the creation of fundamental social, economic, and political structures in postcolonial Latin American societies. Here this relatively small group of scholars of colonial societies connects with a rather large group of scholars working in Latin America and elsewhere in the then-called "Third World" from roughly the late 1960s to the mid 1980s.

(Of course, to even mention such dates indicates one of the problems with considering Larson's book a "product of an earlier time": it remains a *recent* publication, first released in 1988, after the publication of much of the political-economic work and during the emergence of a kind of paradigmatic shift in Latin American studies. I link her book with that earlier work because it is based on her dissertation, completed a decade before, and because its central themes are linked to that earlier work. But I would also suggest that the book goes beyond much of the political-economic work and that the text bridges the paradigmatic gulf in important ways. I will consider these below.)

The theoretical perspectives that informed these works were, broadly speaking, political economic. That is, they placed local re-

gions and particular peoples within wider networks and forces of political and economic power and relationship, especially the forces associated with colonial rule and capitalist development; they examined the emergence and development of structured inequality, especially along class lines; and they understood these wider forces and structured inequalities as having a profound shaping power in the lives and livelihoods of ordinary people. Almost all of the historians, anthropologists, or social scientists who did this kind of work saw themselves contributing to "radical" scholarship; some, but by no means all, entered into an engagement with the writings of Marx.

This body of work—by no means uniform in perspective, politics, or quality—is now subject to two kinds of retrospective critique. One is the much publicized neoconservative attack on a whole generation of intellectuals and on the academy in which some of them (always only some) have been able to work—the "tenured radicals" for whom politics reigned supreme and who undermined both established standards of quality and scholarly discipline and the minds of subsequent generations of unsuspecting students. To this, the only appropriate response is one that considers actual texts. The neoconservative critique conflates political position and perspective with commitment to "quality" and "standards": conservative positions are implicitly (often explicitly) connected with a commitment to standards and "radical" work undermines standards. But many neoconservatives have shown themselves to be just as ready to let politics determine scholarly pursuits and conclusions as some radicals were.

The effective response was written in the late 1970s by E. P. Thompson, whose work served as inspiration and guide to several generations of radical historians. In a criticism of Louis Althusser and the current of Marxism that subsumed historical inquiry to the demands and conclusions of grand theory (and, it must be said, politics), Thompson wrote of the historical method itself as a form of inquiry bound by the determinate forms of evidence. Each generation might pose different questions or bring different preoccupations to historical inquiry and, in pursuing those questions, seek out new, previously unexamined, kinds of evidence. But the persuasiveness of the historical account rests upon the skill and insight with which the historian examines, "interrogates," and interprets the evidence. Discussion of evidence used (its type, range, representativeness, and reliability) and the quality of one's reading and interpretation of it represents, for Thompson, a kind of "court" where historians can "find one another out," despite a range of different political or generational

positions, perspectives, and questions. This, and not the level of politics, is the arena where the question of "standards" would apply.[1]

There are, of course, important problems with Thompson's argument. He made it in defense of what he called "real history," a history that does not change with each generation, or each set of new questions or interpretive frameworks. But this grants to both the history and the evidence a fixity that cannot bear close scrutiny. If the questions are really new and good, and the interpretation of evidence penetrating, the "history" itself must change: the relationship between interpretation and interrogation of evidence is dynamic. Nonetheless, Thompson's argument is important in that it insists upon a discipline of inquiry that requires a sustained engagement with and a convincing interpretation of archival evidence. It is on that basis, not on the basis of criticisms prompted by intergenerational politics, that judgments of quality should be made.

In that arena, as I have already suggested, Larson applies and meets the highest standards of historical scholarship; her book, along with others written in the period, serves as effective refutation of the more careless, alarmist, and (it must be said) paranoid claims of the neoconservatives. But there are two other dimensions of Larson's book that refute such claims: her use of language and her attitude toward and understanding of historical process. One problem with much of the work inspired by Marxist perspectives in the 1970s had to do with its use of language, and of concepts. Especially in the application of the language and concept of "modes of production," the concept could stand for a whole range of social relationships and historical processes, making detailed description of them—or interrogation of evidence concerning them—unnecessary. Similarly, much of the analysis of the period was concerned with the development of capitalism and examined particular regions and peoples at particular moments in terms of their participation in or relationship to processes of capitalist development. In both senses, Larson is refreshingly skeptical. In her introduction, she offers a caveat: "This study of agrarian transformations neither seeks nor finds the origins of capitalist transition in eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Cochabamba" (chapter 10). She then proceeds to distance her account from a variety of received wisdoms and teleologies. This is not the only received wisdom to be unsettled by Larson's account. While hers is a study of the formation of power-laden agrarian institutions, it is

1 E. P. Thompson, "The Poverty of Theory: or an Orrery of Errors," in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London: Merlin, 1978).

not a story of "passive peons and tenant farmers bent in permanent subservience before the all-powerful *patrón*" (chapter 10). Instead, she pays close attention to the economic, social, and cultural forms and resources that peasants were able to use as they pursued their livelihoods, forms and resources that constituted, over time and in relation to the structures and relations of Spanish domination, alternative sources of power. Furthermore, the book itself is free of the jargon of much of the literature of the 1970s and 1980s and is therefore much more attentive to the particularities and specificities of the region, peoples, and processes that here draw our attention.

A second line of criticism of work done during this period comes from the standpoint of present-day social theory, for which various political-economic and structural questions concerning capitalist development and class formation have been displaced by concerns with discourse, the construction of social and cultural identities, and the constitution of modes of structured inequality that cannot be conflated with class (gender, race, ethnicity, and so on). To a certain extent this represents a generational shift, as new generations of graduate students and scholars embrace different theoretical orientations and central texts, and selectively read, ignore, and represent the work of an earlier period. But this theoretical shift is also confronted by authors who made important contributions to the political-economic and structural literature of the earlier period and continue to work in the present. This confrontation can be seen in prefaces to re-editions of books and in retrospective review essays and commentaries.[2]

To the extent that this shift is represented as a change of academic fashion—and it must be said that too much of the retrospective commentary takes the form of a presentist "'we' did that then, and now 'we' do this, and it's better"—it is not especially interesting and can give rise to silly celebrations and reactions. It is more important to recognize that all inquiries are bound by the questions and assumptions they bring to a range of evidence, that inquiries illuminate certain relationships and processes but are necessarily silent or inattentive on others. Thus truths are partial, not because of the different subject positions of authors (a dangerous claim) but because specific questions and assumptions focus inquiry and results in certain ways

2 See, in addition to Larson's new preface and chapter to this edition, Frederick Cooper et al., *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993) and Ann Stoler, "[P]Refacing *Capitalism and Confrontation* in 1995," preface to *Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870–1979*, 2d ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

and not in others. Questions and assumptions must change even as we continue to apply a common set of standards and disciplines of inquiry.

Thus all work is marked by the period in which it is written, by a set of questions, assumptions, and arguments, and much very good work is limited by its period. The best work, while marked, is not so limited, however, and transcends the assumptions and arguments of its period. I conclude by suggesting that Larson's is one such book, partly for reasons already advanced in this foreword. I make a partial case for this claim by asking readers to consider the two previously mentioned dimensions of her archival scholarship: her critical reading of the documents surrounding a cacique rivalry in eighteenth-century Cochabamba and her examination of tithe returns and tax records as part of a reconstruction of the hacienda economy. Both of these exercises are part of an argument that disrupts any simple or straightforward account of Spanish colonialism in Cochabamba or the Andes. The second is part of her examination of peasant activity and livelihoods within the hacienda structure, underscoring crucial gaps and weaknesses in the structure of power and emphasizing important sources and resources for peasant life and action. The first is part of an examination of the formation of indigenous communities under colonial rule, one that emphasizes precolonial and colonial diversity, differentiation, and inequality among indigenous subjects, and demonstrates how complex any consideration of the formation of indigenous subjects and identities must be.

In both ways, Larson's book contributes, directly, to the concerns of the present. That Duke University Press's republication of the book guarantees its availability to new generations of scholars is good news indeed.

William Roseberry
The New School for Social Research

PREFACE TO THE DUKE EDITION

When Duke University Press's editor, Valerie Millholland, called me in Vermont one sparkling August morning to offer me a contract for the republication of *Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1550-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), I was deeply immersed in another project and had not thought about late colonial Cochabamba for several years. I had no intention of doing more research on the region, and initially I decided that I would simply make a case in the preface for the book's pertinence to ongoing historiographical discussions about the formation of particular agrarian societies under colonial rule. I had certainly sampled enough prefaces of recently republished books to appreciate the various ways that authors gracefully extolled the relevance of their own studies to a new generation of readers.

But as I began to reread the book, I soon grew skeptical about pitching the preface in such a way. The book's narrative and explanatory structure, and its muted theoretical preoccupations seemed incomplete. The recent epistemological lurch toward things postmodern, cultural, and literary, the collapse of class as an interpretive category, and the wholesale retreat from political-economic and structural analysis in much of the new historiography of the 1990s seemed to belie the ten short years that separated the two editions of this book.

But as I began to focus more deeply on the content of the book's interpretive arguments and evidence, Cochabamba—the case study and its broader significance—once more caught me in its clutches. Among other connected narratives, the book chronicles the formation of a distinctive mestizo, mercantile peasantry in nested fields of power—from local village society, to the regional political economy, and finally to the shifting imperial stage. The book's themes and approaches lend themselves quite naturally to political and cultural issues, and I began to bring new questions and assumptions

to bear on them. In spite of myself, I began rethinking, almost reinterpreting, whole chapters. Where I had written a book about the formation of colonial power and agrarian classes in one Andean region tightly integrated into the Potosí mining economy, I now began to see in this regional case new possibilities for understanding the mutually interactive influences of class and ethnic identity-making and their implications for local peasant politics and consciousness. I was also eager to extend the study's time frame in order to make conceptual linkages between the region's colonial legacies (discussed in chapter 9) and Cochabamba's emergent peasant movement in the second and third decades of the twentieth century—just about the time when the original book ends! (To some degree, this implicit recasting of the book reflects my current research interests in early twentieth-century nation-making in Bolivia.) Clearly, however, I was not going to rewrite the book.

What I have done, instead, is to preserve the integrity of the original study, as a reflection of the state-of-the-field of Andean social/regional history produced in the late 1970s and 1980s. The introduction and chapters 1 through 9 remain unchanged, but there is a new chapter for this edition. Much more than an afterword and yet not really part of the body of the text, chapter 10 is a hybrid chapter—part retrospective, part interpretive—written very much in the present historiographic moment.

On the one hand, chapter 10 reflects upon the history of this book as an unfolding research project that was shaped, and reshaped, by the ideas and experiences of doing research and writing about Bolivia over the 1970s and early 1980s. Like many other young social historians of that time, I found myself straddling the conceptual divide between political economy and social history. I was trying to negotiate the prevailing paradigms of the day and my own intellectual commitment to detailed local knowledge of class relations and structure, understood in dynamic historical terms through specific processes of human agency, conflict, and force. These tensions were not abstract; they were all too tangible in the kinds of conceptual shifts and doubts that went into the multiple drafts of this book. But, in one way or another, they also shaped a historiographic agenda for a whole generation of social historians. As always is the case, living and working in Bolivia brought an urgency and immediacy to the intrinsic tensions between history and theory as no Talmudic Marxian text ever could. I first arrived in Cochabamba in April 1974, only three months after a brutal massacre of peasants had stained the

roads leading into the city. The repressive Banzer dictatorship was a constant throughout most of the 1970s, followed by the brutality of García Meza, and later a tenuous return to civilian rule. In spite of them, Bolivian intellectual life flourished in the late 1970s and early 1980s. So too did insurgent ethnic politics and scholarship—much of it quite critical of Marxist paradigms. All these kinetic pressures left their imprints on this book, or so it seems to me in retrospect. Chapter 10 begins therefore as a critical self-reflection on the theories, politics, and research experiences that went into writing this history.

On the other hand, the new chapter also selectively reengages this regional study of peasantization (that is, the historical formation of particular peasant economies and societies within a long-term historical/regional context) from an explicitly cultural-political perspective. For, as William Roseberry recently noted, historical studies of peasant (or class) formation in the 1980s positioned historians and anthropologists to pose questions about rural politics, political culture, and peasant consciousness in the 1990s.[1] Indeed, there is a new crop of studies redefining regionalism around distinctive peasant political cultures, discourses, and identities in the Andes and elsewhere. Harnessing that new historiographic literature, taking stock of recent research on Cochabamba and the Andes, and rethinking the implications of my own earlier work here, chapter 10 remaps the contours of regional political culture onto the template of agrarian class formation. In pursuit of new conceptual tensions—this time those obtaining between political economy and popular culture—I use the final chapter to integrate perspectives on the formation of peasant political culture, power, community, and identity into this long-term regional study of agrarian colonial-class dialectics.

In addition to those many people who contributed to the production of the original book (acknowledged in the pages that follow), I wish to thank Valerie Millholland for her support and forbearance. Like all superb editors, she is part terror, part shrink, part friend. Maybe mostly friend, now that I have written my last word on Cochabamba. (I hope.) I am also grateful to Laura Gotkowitz and Sinclair Thomson for their critical reading of chapter 10. I also extend my heartfelt thanks to Carter for always being the calm at the center of

1 William Roseberry, "Beyond the Agrarian Question in Latin America," in *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America*, ed. Frederick Cooper et al. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 359.

my interior storms; to Jodie for her abiding support and solidarity; to Josh, who often wishes me "happy writing" even though he hates to see me disappear upstairs into my attic study; and to Devon, who usually gets me to come down again to deal with snacks, pet snakes, and life's other important things.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Authors of first books should be allowed to celebrate the rites of passage—not by passing through the process of tenure review, but in song, dance, and festivity. If this were a venerable academic ritual, my fiesta would take place on the alpine slopes of El Tunari, overlooking the fertile Valle Bajo, where I would toast the scores of friends, colleagues, and archivists who contributed to this project during its various phases.

In lieu of that happier alternative, I am forced to express but a few sober words of gratitude to all the people and institutions that helped me to carry out and complete this study. Perhaps my first intellectual debt is owed to my undergraduate professors in Latin American history, Ralph della Cava and Magnus Mörner, who opened up the field of Latin American history to me, encouraged me to pursue it, and gave me the courage to follow my star in spite of the bleak prospects of academic employment. I also want to warmly acknowledge the intellectual support and continuing encouragement of Herbert Klein and Karen Spalding, with whom I worked in graduate school. In spite of the fact that I did not take his advice to "publish the dissertation quickly," Herbert Klein never entirely lost faith in me—especially after I overcame my instinctual distaste for statistics, mastered SPSS, and processed a thousand punch cards on *alcabalas*! Karen Spalding, on the other hand, wasn't so interested in alcabalas, but she did stretch my horizons in Andean ethnohistory and anthropology, and she has been an unending source of inspiration and support over the years. In addition to my intellectual patrons, I wish to express my gratitude to my graduate-school *compañeros*—particularly Antonio Mitre, Adrian deWind, Carmen Ramos, Steven Volk, Elinor Burkett, and Elizabeth Dore—for their contributions to the early phases of this study and with a certain degree of nostalgia for more exciting political times. Numerous colleagues and friends have

given me the benefit of their thoughts and criticism on various drafts of this book; in particular, Steve Stern, Antonio Mitre, Tristan Platt, Enrique Tandeter, John Murra, and Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz were generous with their time and interest. I also appreciate the support I have received during the past three years from Barbara Weinstein and others of my colleagues at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

During the course of my field research, I incurred many intellectual debts and received wonderful hospitality in Bolivia, Argentina, and Spain. I owe thanks to all the unsung employees of archives who carried dusty files to me day after day. I also am indebted to Gunnar Mendoza for his support and guidance during my work in the Archivo nacional de Bolivia. A host of people from Cochabamba offered me generous assistance, moral support, and warm hospitality. The municipal authorities responsible for opening the Cochabamba archive to me in 1974 (and, later, for the first time, to the public at large) should receive special mention. I will always be grateful to the Mitre family of Cochabamba for their loyal friendship, generosity, and hospitality. I also have had the good fortune of learning about various aspects of contemporary Bolivian society from several colleagues and friends over the years. I am especially grateful to Tito Jiménez, Jorge Dandler, Rosario León, Xavier Albó, Nancy Velarde, and Cassandra Torrico.

Of course, the project could never have been completed without the generous financial support I received from several institutions. An initial Foreign Area Field Program Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council allowed me to spend eighteen months in archival research. A Williams College faculty summer grant, an award for recent recipients of the Ph.D. from the American Council of Learned Societies, and a grant from the Inter-American Foundation allowed me to return to Bolivia for parts of several summers to expand the scope of my dissertation. I am also grateful to the Centro para el estudio de la realidad económica y social (CERES) for support enabling me to participate during the summer of 1981 in a collaborative project on the peasant economy of Cochabamba.

I wish to thank all those people who contributed to the laborious tasks of typing and editing drafts of this book. María Onestini, Carmen Díaz, Julie Franks, and Marie Murray deserve special mention for their work, as does my illustrator, Lisa Tingey Davis. I was most fortunate to have Robert A. Feldmesser as the book's copyeditor. His exacting criticism and valuable suggestions contributed in impor-

tant ways to the final outcome. I am also indebted to the editor in chief of Princeton University Press, Sanford G. Thatcher, for his encouragement and support over the past several years.

Another part of the social infrastructure lies closer to home. As any woman (or man) involved in a high-pressured, two-career family can testify, the magnitude of the tasks of research and writing becomes clear only when parenting suddenly has to be balanced against all the rest. It has been possible for me to find joy in both work and family because Carter Bancroft has shared so fully and happily in the responsibilities of child raising, and because two wonderful grandmothers have always been there when needed. To them, and to Josh and Devon, who put it all in proper perspective, I owe more than I can ever say.

ABBREVIATIONS

AGI	Archivo General de Indias (Seville)
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires)
AHMC	Archivo Histórico Municipal de Cochabamba (Cochabamba)
ANB	Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (Sucre)
BN	Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (Lima)
EC	Expedientes y Correspondencia (pertaining to the manuscript collections catalogued as Tierras e Indios and as La Audiencia de Charcas in the ANB)
EP	Escrituras públicas
f., ff.	*folio, folios* (front side of page of archival document)
ML	Mata Linares manuscript collection of the Real Academia de Historia
RAH	Real Academia de Historia (Madrid)

COCHABAMBA, 1550–1900

Introduction

This book traces the evolution of agrarian society in the region of Cochabamba, Bolivia, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. It explores the long-term impact of colonial rule upon the formation and development of agrarian class relationships that were defined by European principles of property ownership and reinforced by Spanish imperial rule. The central aim of the study is to show how the pressures and contradictions of colonialism and class gradually gave rise to a distinctive Indian and mestizo peasantry that eventually became a powerful protagonist in regional society. The study also explores the consequences of the emergence of this peasant sector for the nature and balance of local class relations, for peasant-state relations, and for the regional economy as a whole in the late colonial and the postcolonial periods.

The region with which the study is concerned is the former colonial province of Cochabamba, which was incorporated into the vast intendancy of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in the late eighteenth century. Located to the east of the *altiplano* (high plains) at about the seventeenth degree of south latitude, this geopolitical space had no physiographic uniformity. It represented a cross-section of the vertical Andean landscape that swept down from the snow-capped peaks of the Cordillera Oriental, bordering the eastern edge of the altiplano, past the ancient lake basins and plains lying at middle-range altitudes of some 8,500 feet above sea level, to the eastern lowland fringes of the tropical frontier. In spite of the region's ecological diversity, it was known for its fertile, temperate valleys that caught the waters tumbling down from glacial lakes in the mountain chains to the north and west. A cluster of three contiguous valleys composed the unifying feature of the region (see figure 1). Their extraordinary fertility attracted Andean cultivators from the western *puna* who sought warm, moist soil to cultivate maize and other crops that

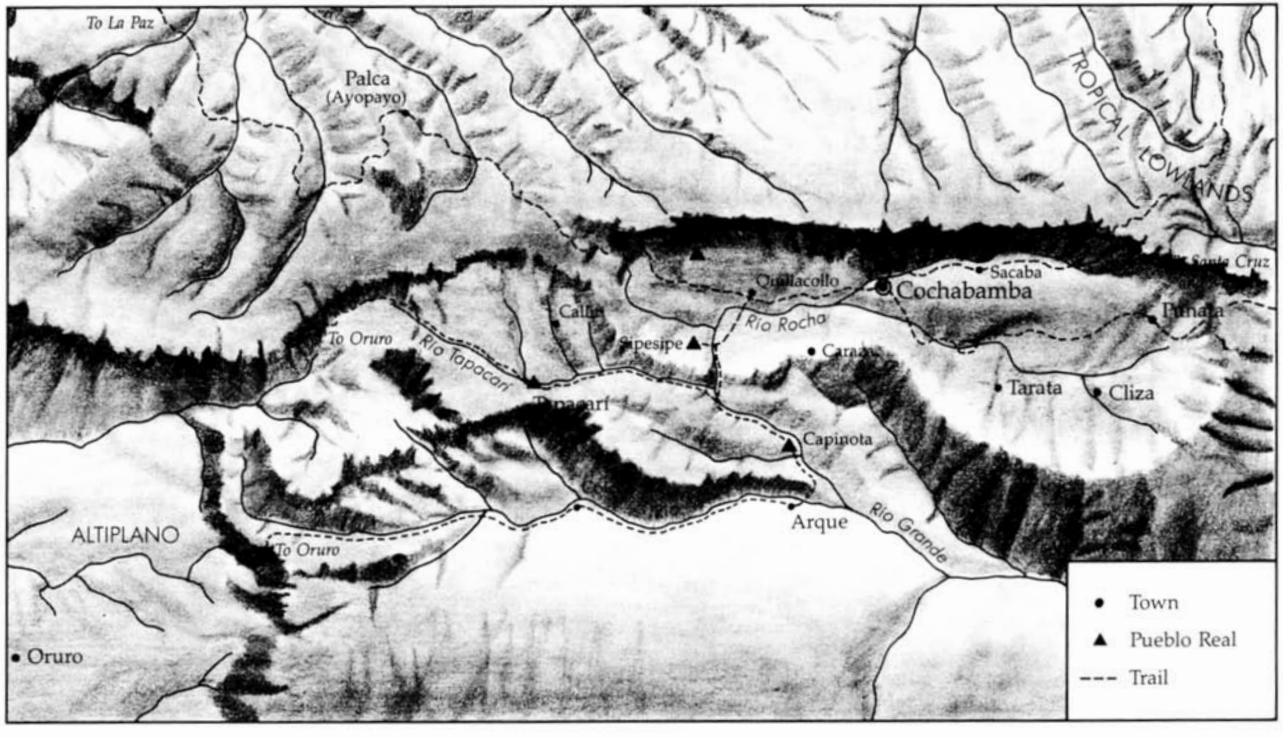

Figure 1 The Region of Cochabamba

did not thrive in the harsher alpine environments. Later, Europeans discovered the broad expanse of irrigated bottomlands and rich pastures in these central valleys. Although the region was always strongly oriented to the western altiplano, before and after the European arrival, it gained a territorial integrity and geohistorical identity of its own over the course of the colonial centuries.

The agrarian history of Cochabamba is no more representative of broader socioeconomic trends than any other Andean region. It is not my intention to project regional patterns onto the larger canvas of colonial Peru or Alto Perú. Rather, this study is focused on three specific aims. The first is to examine the region's strategic importance in the larger context of Tawantinsuyu and later of Alto Perú. The region's unique ecological endowments in the southern Andean landscape made it a vital area of surplus grain production for the Incas and the Spanish colonizers. In the late sixteenth century, Cochabamba was famous for the maize and wheat it shipped to the silver mines of Potosí. In some ways, the region became a classic agrarian hinterland of a dominant export sector.[1] Even as its functional role of granary in Alto Perú diminished over time, the region did not lose its importance as grain supplier to the cities and mines across the altiplano. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Cochabamba's grains still supplemented the tuber diet of highland Andean peasants and provisioned some of the cities of the altiplano, particularly in times of drought and dearth. Moreover, Cochabamba became an important area of Spanish, mestizo, and Andean settlement in its own right. Intensive agriculture on the bottomlands sustained a relatively dense concentration of people who lived and worked in a network of towns, haciendas, and villages that crisscrossed the central valleys and hugged the banks of the western river valleys. But for a variety of reasons, which will emerge in the course of this study, the region gradually came to supply the dominant mining sector with another commodity: the labor power of impoverished peasants seeking wage work in the mineral lodes around the beginning of the twentieth century. One purpose of this history of Cochabamba, then, is to show the changing nature of the region's integra-

1 The seminal work on the formation of the internal colonial market revolving around Potosí is Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial: Mercado interno, regiones, y espacio económico* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982). See also the important article by Luís Miguel Glave, "Trajines: Un capítulo en la formación del mercado interno colonial," *Revista andina* 1 (1983): 9-76.

tion into the larger political economy and its link to the dominant mining economy and, through it, to the world market.

The second aim of this study is to illuminate the processes of structural change over a long period of time in an area of the Andes that was thoroughly integrated into the Spanish colonial empire. Through an examination of the long-term patterns of regional change in the context of mines, markets, and state formation in Alto Perú, it reveals the powerful extraregional forces of change that seemed to suck the region into the vortex of the expanding European economy during the first century of colonial rule. But it also seeks to show how Andean people conditioned the impact of those world-historical forces and sometimes set in motion counterforces that contained or limited the erosive effects of mercantile colonial pressures at the local level; and it identifies an important source of historical change in the internecine conflicts among factions of the colonial elite, as they tried to adjust to increasing competition for Indian labor during a protracted period of economic stagnation and a weak, decentralizing state in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Thus, considerable attention is given to the processes of market and state formation during the Toledan and post-Toledan periods in Alto Perú in order to explore how Andeans and Europeans in the Cochabamba valleys responded to (and to a certain degree impinged upon) the development of mercantile colonialism in this part of the Andes.

Cochabamba is a case study of radical transformation of preconquest patterns of life and work during the first century of Spanish rule. The market economy penetrated deeply, giving rise to new forms of exploitation and compelling Andean peoples to accommodate or to find new strategies of resistance. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, enterprising Spanish landowners (*chacareros*) had extended their reach across much of the valley land and created a servile class of peasants dependent upon them for the means of subsistence.

But the analysis of agrarian change in this region does not end with the transformation of native peoples into inferior "Indian" peasants. The broad temporal scope of this study allows for an exploration of the dynamics of ethnic and class relationships long after the dramatic confrontation between Andeans and Europeans had ended. The formation of European-style agrarian classes during the first century of colonialism did not establish a local hegemonic order that was either static or immutable to social pressures from below. Contrary to popular images of passive peons and tenant farmers bent in

permanent subservience before the all-powerful *patrón*, most peasants who lived on haciendas were neither immobilized by debt nor limited in their livelihood activities to the boundaries of the "great estate." The study will show how a sector of the peasantry developed strategies of subsistence that combined Andean forms of communal labor and reciprocal exchange with small-scale commodity production and marketing, and in particular how the adaptive vitality of this peasantry eroded the economic power, prosperity, and hegemony of the landed elite in Cochabamba during the late colonial and the postcolonial periods.

At the same time, the study examines the dialectical nature of agrarian social relations. For if the emergent peasant economy began to challenge the landowning class (already suffering from the deleterious effects of estate fragmentation and market contraction), the landowners deployed their own schemes and strategies of accumulation and exploitation to shore up their eroding position in rural society. One consequence was a sharpening of class tensions in the region during the Bourbon period of increased state intervention and fiscal pressures. While the Bourbon state tried to smooth the raw edges of agrarian class relations in the region, the cumulative effect of its reforms was to deepen class antagonisms, as the burdens of colonialism grew heavier. The later chapters of the book therefore focus on the intersection of class and colonial relationships in rural Cochabamba in the late colonial period.

This analysis of regional change tries to demonstrate the historically contingent and sometimes precarious nature of agrarian classes in a colonial context. It assumes that the balance of class forces was subject to the internal social tensions, ecological disturbances (such as shifts in land-to-man ratios), and cyclical crises of subsistence that plagued all preindustrial societies. It also takes into account the initiatives of local groups and their responses to the continuing impact of larger historical forces, long after the watershed events of conquest and colonization.

However, one caveat is necessary. This study of agrarian transformations neither seeks nor finds the origins of capitalist transition in eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Cochabamba. The study describes a regional economy that was in the process of diversifying into crafts, but that never saw peasant craft activity transformed into primitive manufacturing for the domestic market of a proletarianizing labor force. The study probes into agrarian estates, but finds little evidence of landlords bent upon rationalizing their enterprises to increase productivity or simply to enlarge their estates. Nor are

there clear signs of enterprising capitalist farmers, an incipient kulak class, who harnessed their small-scale enterprises to expanding markets. The patterns of social realignments in the countryside were far more subtle. Under the intensifying fiscal pressures of the Bourbon state, each group struggled to maintain or improve its bargaining position in local society as the region was gradually drained of its meager capital resources in the late eighteenth century. Processes of social differentiation within the Cochabamba peasantry would have to advance much further before social pressures and uncertainties would turn a sector of the peasantry into a migrant work force in the distant industrial mines, or before a few prospering peasants would begin to acquire titles to pieces of crumbling haciendas around the beginning of the present century. Traditional haciendas continued to coexist uneasily with small-scale commodity production. Thus, while the balance and dynamics of class relations under colonialism and neocolonialism were characterized by historical motion and contradiction, the agrarian class structure in the Cochabamba region proved remarkably resilient throughout the late eighteenth, the nineteenth, and the early twentieth centuries.[2]

2 My interest in the development of agrarian class relations reflects, in an indirect way, some of the controversy among historians of early modern Europe over the relative autonomy of class and class conflict as forces of change. At issue, essentially, is where to locate the "motor force" of change in the gradual, uneven, and nonlinear process of transition toward capitalist relations of production: in the Malthusian dynamics of demographics; in the growth of trade and commercial capitalism; or in the internal class conflicts and contradictions embedded in the organization of production. Among Marxists, the issues of the debate were crystallized succinctly in the 1950s in a series of essays later gathered in Rodney Hilton, ed., *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London: New Left Books, 1976). The debate was rekindled and broadened in the late 1970s with the publication of Robert Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," *Past and Present* 70 (1976): 30-75, and the subsequent commentaries under the same title by M. M. Postan and John Hatcher, *Past and Present* 78 (1978): 24-37, and Rodney Hilton, *Past and Present* 80 (1978): 3-19. Two additional Marxist essays on this "transition debate," which argued for the analytical primacy of class and class relations in the study of Eastern Europe and of Third World areas that were subordinate to, or penetrated by, European commercial capital, redirected the debate toward the world-systems approach to historical change; see Robert Brenner, "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism," *New Left Review*, no. 104 (1977): 25-92, and Aidan Foster-Carter, "The Modes of Production Controversy," ibid., no. 107 (1978): 47-78. A major object of their critique was, of course, Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

The third major aim of this study is to analyze patterns of agrarian change over the long term in comparative regional terms. The extraordinary cultural and social diversity of Andean rural societies, even after several centuries of colonial domination, dictates against insular approaches to regional history. Social historians and ethnohistorians have shown, in recent research, the persistent variation in social and economic organizations in Andean regions which, over five centuries, were subjected to common successive forms of political and economic domination.[3] From another angle, the ethnohistorical emphasis on the variety and adaptability of Andean forms of life and work reminds us that, in spite of the legendary wealth and world importance of Potosí, the market economy had an extremely variegated and uneven impact on southern Andean communities. Many Andean peoples managed to shield themselves against the most divisive effects of mercantile colonialism, sometimes through strategic engagement with the market or colonial state for purposes of preserving some semblance of economic autonomy and subsistence security.[4] The incursion of market forces (and of the colonial

3 David Lehmann, "Introduction: Andean Societies and the Theory of Peasant Economy," in David Lehmann, ed., *Ecology and Exchange in the Andes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1-2. The ethnological literature on Andean diversity is too abundant to inventory here. For a succinct overview of recent research, see Frank Salomon, "Andean Ethnology in the 1970s: A Retrospective," *Latin American Research Review* 17 (1982): 75-128.

4 For contemporary ethnographic studies of Andean societies and of the interpenetration of reciprocal and market relations, see, for example, Billie Jean Isbell, *To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978); Barbara Bradby, " 'Resistance to Capitalism' in the Peruvian Andes," in Lehmann, ed., *Ecology and Exchange*, 97-122; Olivia Harris, "Labor and Produce in an Ethnic Economy: Northern Potosí, Bolivia," in ibid., 70-97; and Tristan Platt, "The Role of the Andean Ayllu in the Reproduction of the Petty Commodity Regime in Northern Potosí (Bolivia)," in ibid., 27-69. Ethnohistorical studies on the patterns and consequences of Andean market participation under colonial rule include John Murra, "Aymara Lords and Their European Agents at Potosí," *Nova Americana*, no. 1 (1978): 231-244; Thierry Saignes, "De la filiation à la résidence: Les ethnies dans les vallées de Larecaja," *Annales E.S.C.* 33 (1978): 1160-1181; Jorge Hidalgo Lehuedé, "Ecological Complementarity and Tribute in Atacama, 1683-1792," in Shozo Masuda, Izumi Shimada, and Craig Morris, eds., *Andean Ecology and Civilization: An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Andean Ecological Complementarity* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1985), 161-184; Karen Spalding, "Kurakas and Commerce: A Chapter in the Evolution of Andean Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53 (1973): 581-599; Steve Stern, "The Struggle for Solidarity: Class, Culture, and Community in Highland Indian America," *Radical History Review*, no. 27 (1983): 21-48; and several of the essays in Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson,

state) was necessary, but certainly not sufficient, for the disintegration or erosion of Andean ethnic economies. The region of Chayanta, contiguous to Cochabamba, was but one area where Indian ethnic groups held on to their traditional lands and reproduced their social organization, with significant modifications, to withstand the pressures of colonialism.[5] The contrast in the colonial experience of the two regions, Cochabamba and Chayanta, stands as a vivid reminder of the differential impact of mercantile colonialism on Andean rural societies even in the economic heartland of Alto Perú. Furthermore, we need only recall that, at the birth of the Bolivian republic, some 70 percent of its Indian population still lived in autonomous communities to put the Cochabamba region into proper perspective, at least in the context of the southern Andes.

More than most regions of Alto Perú, Cochabamba experienced the economic and cultural shocks of European colonization. In contrast to Chayanta and many other highland areas, Andean peoples of the valleys were unable to contain the divisive forces of class within their communities or to slow the advance of Spanish land ownership. The challenge, therefore, is to determine the reasons why Andean peoples in Cochabamba succumbed so early to the European forms of domination, even as the Toledan state mounted its apparatus of indirect rule. Toward this end, it is necessary to explore the patterns and consequences of the unfolding struggles, conflicts, and alliances among and between Andeans and Europeans in the critical years between 1550 and 1600. The ethnic rivalry and disunity that weakened Andean resistance to European encroachment on valley land were similar to those that have been described for several other Andean regions in the same period.[6] But equally important was the peculiar legacy of late Incaic rule in the Valle Bajo of Cochabamba. Once the local Incan agrarian regime was shattered by the Spanish Conquest, Europeans could sift through some of the shards and piece together their own agrarian enterprises geared to the emerging market of Potosí. In this way, the deep imprint of particular precolonial state and social structures in Cochabamba created opportunities for

and Enrique Tandeter, eds., *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos: Estrategias y reproducción social, siglos XVI-XX* (La Paz: CERES, 1987).

5 See Tristan Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino: Tierra y tributo en el Norte de Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982), chaps. 1 and 2.

6 See, for example, Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of the Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982) and Thierry Saignes, *Los Andes orientales: Historia de un olvido* (Cochabamba: CERES, 1985).

European colonizers to engage in more extensive restructuring of patterns of production and exchange than was possible in many other Andean regions.

The study of regional change is approached here from several conceptual angles. Because the origins and evolution of this rural colonial society cannot be understood simply in terms of historical processes at the regional level, Cochabamba must be studied in the context of mercantile colonialism in Alto Perú. The early chapters of this book therefore approach regional history "from the outside." Necessarily, they chart broad patterns of change rather than the fine-grained detail of rural life. Chapters 1 and 2 locate the region in the larger colonial formation during the early period and consider the processes by which Europeans subordinated Andean traditions to their own economic, political, and ideological imperatives (which were not always congruent). Chapter 3 provides an overarching interpretive framework within which to trace secular trends over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and to explore the interaction between these trends and patterns of regional change. They seek to show how rural society in Cochabamba both adapted to and, in some measure, shaped the larger patterns of Andean population decline and dispersion, mineral decline and slow recovery, and political fragmentation in the period before the Bourbon reforms.

The later chapters narrow the temporal scope to the late colonial period in order to take a closer look at regional change. Chapters 4 through 8 explore various aspects of regional society and economy from the perspective of ethnic, class, and colonial relationships. Most of the data pertain to regional society during the second half of the eighteenth century, for which period there exists a wealth of quantitative and qualitative material on Cochabamba. But, as indicated earlier, the decision to focus on the internal dynamics of class and ethnicity in this period was motivated by more than simply pragmatic considerations. The eighteenth century seemed to be a period when regional patterns of landholding, agricultural production, and marketing began to configure and crystallize in forms that would endure well beyond the colonial period. Furthermore, the pressures of political reform in the late eighteenth century magnified the tensions intrinsic to peasant-landlord relations and threw into bold relief the social contours of class in this region.

Chapter 4 focuses on demographic characteristics and social relations in the Andean villages that were subject both to continuing encroachment from outside and to internal pressures and divisions.

In particular, this chapter studies the ways in which class differentiation in the village of Tapacarí created a crisis of authority for the caciques. Chapter 5 broadens the analysis to include the majority of the region's peasant families: those who lived outside the village on parcels of hacienda land, on small plots of their own, and on the outskirts of Spanish towns. It explores the nature and implications of peasant subsistence strategies, partly based upon small-scale commodity production and exchange. The next two chapters, 6 and 7, shift the analysis to the landed elite, who developed defensive strategies against the incursion of peasant smallholders, but who in turn contributed to their own declining position in rural society. These chapters explore the limits of reformist initiatives and the structural constraints that forced landlords to find rentier forms of income. Chapter 8 again enlarges the picture to examine the impact of the administrative reforms introduced by the Bourbons on the deterioration of the regional economy at the end of the colonial period.

Chapter 9 draws together the various strands of analysis to show the principal currents of change in the region over the course of the colonial period. Beyond this synoptic overview, the chapter explores the legacies of colonialism and class in Cochabamba in the nineteenth century and indicates the ways in which the acceleration of social differentiation in the valleys toward the end of the century both strengthened the peasant family economy in the region and simultaneously created the basis for peasant migration and proletarianization. The agrarian crisis and change in Cochabamba around the turn of the twentieth century had roots that lay deep in the subsoil of the colonial past.

Chapter 10 stands apart from the other chapters. Written expressly for the new edition, it selectively reexamines the conceptual premises and substantive findings of the original study, with an eye on the historical formation of local political cultures and discourses of peasantization and mestizaje in Cochabamba's central valleys and towns during the late colonial and postcolonial eras.

CHAPTER ONE

Along the Inca Frontier

The traveler in the sixteenth century who set off southward from the shores of Lake Titicaca on a journey through Alto Perú (today Bolivia) left behind him one of the world's most arresting lacustrine landscapes. Pausing a moment in the hot morning sun to contemplate the landscape, a European traveler must have been struck by the lake's vast expanse and deep blue waters set off by the golden reeds that rose from the shallow waters near the shore. He saw great herds of alpaca and llama grazing on yellow-green pastures, and peasants planting quinoa and potatoes on hillsides sloping gently down to the lake. Across the inland sea to the northeast rose glaciered peaks that formed part of the endless eastern cordillera flanking the lake and the *altiplano*. Those mountains formed a topographic barrier between the dense human settlements around the lake and the vast, tropical frontier stretching eastward across the upper Amazonic basin. In the afternoons, the peaks vanished in white clouds that welled up from the tropical jungle beyond the cordillera, as if beckoning people of the high, arid plains to venture across the mountains into the steamy lowlands. From the altiplano, at 12,000 feet above sea level, the foreigner could feel the effects of the dry, "thin" air that seemed to lend an extraordinary luminosity to the landscape. The sun's warmth was deceptive, for the temperature would plummet to near freezing on most clear nights. The Aymara peoples who inhabited the high plains harnessed the extreme diurnal temperature contrast to make "freeze-dried" potatoes (*chuño*), a major source of their stored energy, and to preserve other staples. But for the European, the altiplano was bleak and inhospitable country.

Continuing southward, the sojourner encountered the bitter wind that scoured the high plains during the winter months, portent of a harsher climate. The southern reaches of the altiplano, near the towns of Oruro, Poopó, and Potosí, were considerably more arid and

cold than the lake region or points north.[1] Farther south, in the desolate territory of the Lipez, it was said that during the winter months the cold split stones and shrank the facial muscles of the dead, leaving ghostly smiles on their frozen, withered faces.[2] It was strange landscape, where shallow lakes were really salt marshes and where it was impossible to judge distance across the high plains to the next *tambo* or town. The luminous air seemed to play dangerous games with European perceptions of space.

The Southern Landscapes

Continental mountain chains border the altiplano on its western and eastern sides, so that in reality it is a series of high intermontane basins that formed a corridor of highland movement and settlement along a north-south axis between Cuzco and southern Alto Perú (see figure 2). To the west, the Cordillera Occidental juts sharply upward from the altiplano, its peaks reaching heights of 15,500 feet. A few rivers originate in this volcanic belt and flow westward toward the sea; the vertiginous western slopes drop off into the Atacama desert region bordering the sea. Mountain passages are few and treacherous, but the descent into the desert is the only outlet to the sea and the world beyond.

Crossing the eastern mountain chain, the Cordillera Oriental, the sixteenth-century traveler encountered a rugged, corrugated landscape that seemed more vertical than horizontal. Three or four days on muleback would bring the traveler through mountain passes near the snow line (at 15,000 feet) and across slopes and high pastures, where llamas grazed on *ichu* grasses, to cultivated fields where peasants planted tubers, barley, and perhaps some European wheat, at altitudes ranging from about 11,400 to 13,800 feet.[3] The puna lands

1 David Browman, "El manejo de la tierra árida del altiplano del Perú y Bolivia," *American indígena* 40 (1980): 145; Wendell C. Bennett, "The Andean Highlands: An Introduction," in J. Steward, ed., *The Handbook of South American Indians*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 2: 17.

2 Tristan Platt, "The Ayllus of Lipez in the Nineteenth Century" (paper presented at the Congress of Americanists, Manchester, England, September 5-10, 1982), citing Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo* (1653) (Madrid: Atlas, 1956).

3 See Platt, "Role of the Andean ayllu," 30-31. For a discussion of agricultural tiers in the region, see Stephen B. Brush, "Man's Use of an Andean Ecosystem," *Human Ecology* 4 (1976): 147-166; and Olivier Dollfus, *El reto del espacio andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Andinos, 1981).

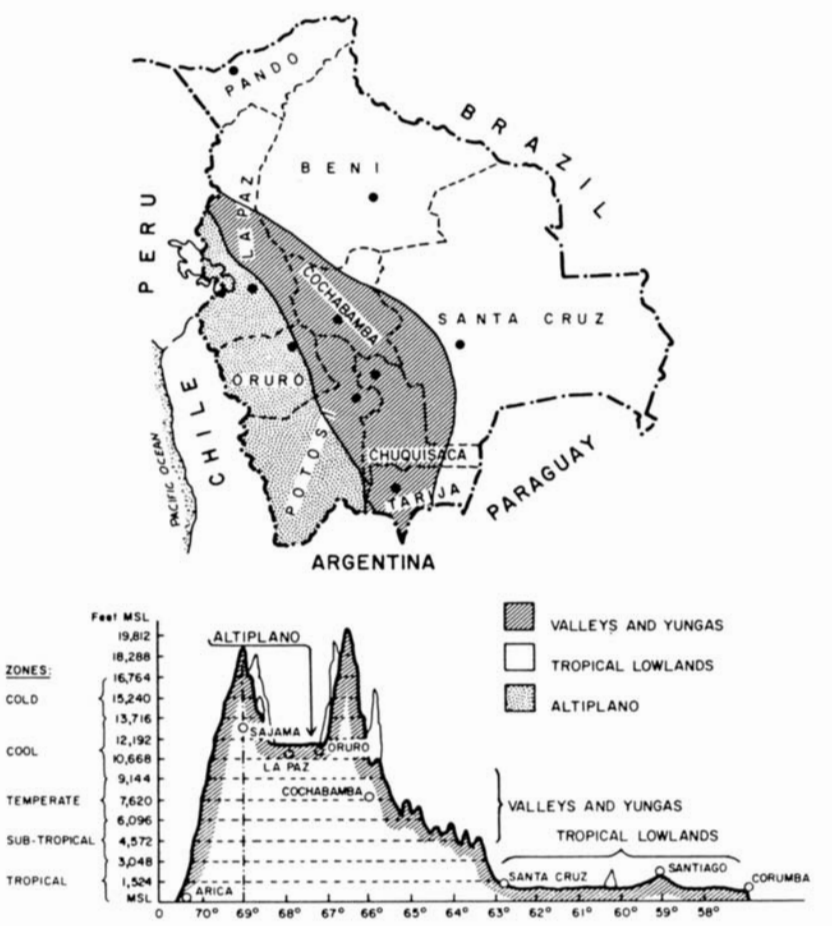

Figure 2 Ecological Zones of Bolivia
Source: E. Boyd Wennergren and Morris D. Whitaker, *The Status of Bolivian Agriculture*, p. 20. © 1975 Praeger Publishers. Reprinted by permission of Praeger Publishers.

were cold, but every so often the sojourner would come across a warm, sheltered valley that had a microclimate allowing peasants to cultivate less hardy crops than the tubers. This mountain range was wider than the western cordillera, and its tortured landscape sometimes seemed impenetrable, but actually these mountains were less hostile. Volcanic lakes fed streams that plunged into the cordillera and carved out rugged gorges and crevices. In the dry winter months, mountain streambeds became passageways into the warmer lowlands. There, the weary traveler at last began to feel at home: the

kichwa region, ranging from 6,500 to 11,000 feet, was a temperate zone where European crops flourished alongside native ones. European colonists compared the valleys favorably to their own homelands in Spain.

In this longitudinal slice of the eastern cordillera, three broad intermontane basins created important agricultural regions in the kichwa ecological tier. Of the three valleys—Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Tarija—the northernmost, Cochabamba, was the largest and probably the most fertile. It consisted in turn of three contiguous, connected valleys, each with its own ecological characteristics (see figure 1).[4] The central valley, called the Valle Bajo or Lower Valley, was blessed with moist, alluvial soil deposited by a mountain river (known today as the Rocha River) that ran the length of the valley and spilled into the next, smaller valley, called Sacaba. In the richest lands, especially in the western reaches of the Valle Bajo, where the basin began to twist southward through the cordillera, peasants planted maize continuously on irrigated lands. There was no need to let the lands lie fallow where the alluvial soil was so deep and water readily available. A passage through a small mountain chain at the eastern end of the Valle Bajo led to the larger, higher, and more arid valley of Cliza. During winter months, its dry, dusty fields had none of the charms of the moister lands in the Valle Bajo or the Sacaba Valley, but its fields provided good pastures for European stock and pockets of moist soil that might be planted with maize and potatoes.

Though they opened on to each other, these central valleys of Cochabamba (as we shall refer to them) were fairly contained geographically. The cordillera rose sharply on all sides of the three valleys, isolating them from the altiplano and from other large settlements or valley regions. To the north and east, the rugged land jutted upward toward the sky, barricading the valleys from the tropical frontier on the other side of the eastern escarpment. South of the Cliza Valley, the landscape erupted in dry, jagged mountains that cut off the valley region from the southern intermontane basins and the large settlements of Chuquisaca and Tarija. The central valleys of Cochabamba were not cul-de-sacs; it was possible to travel eastward across the valleys and then, turning south, to follow winding mountain trails to the southern towns. But like most settlements in the warm kichwa tier along the eastern escarpment, the towns and villages of Cochabamba were off the beaten track—situated far from

4 See chap. 5 for a detailed description of the different zones in the late colonial period.

the altiplano and perched on the eastern edges of the colonial frontier, where the land dropped off precipitously into the untamed tropical expanse. The most heavily traveled routes followed the Arque and Tapacarí rivers in the western territory of the Cochabamba region through the cordillera to the altiplano.

The bleak puna and sharp, broken landscape of the cordillera that vexed and tortured Europeans provided an extraordinary variety of ecological niches which Andean peoples harnessed in precolonial times. The Aymara tribes, which inhabited the southern Andes long before the arrival of even the Incas, adopted pastoral and agricultural strategies that took advantage of the variations in climate and flora in the distinct ecological zones, often widely dispersed in space.[5]

The Aymara people implanted their core settlements in the bleak lands of the altiplano and puna. Highland settlements could take advantage of the tough grasses to graze their cameloid animals, chiefly llamas and alpacas. With careful planning and frequent rotation, tuber crops and quinoa also thrived in higher altitudes, where rainfall provided the only water. And the cold, dry climate proved ideal for preserving for ten or twelve months the vital foods that could supplement the consumption of chuño, which highlanders sometimes stored for years on end.[6] However harsh and forbidding the puna might seem to Europeans, it was the heartland of the domesticated cameloids and tubers that provided the staples of life for most Andean peoples. Furthermore, the puna tier was a strategic location for Andean communities. It usually formed a "middle ground" between the upper alpine pastures, too cold for even the hardiest crops to be sown, and the lower valleys and slopes in the kichwa zone. More important, puna settlements could be fortified more easily than villages nestled in remote valleys at lower altitudes.[7] But the

5 Carl Troll, "The Cordilleras of the Tropical Americas: Aspects of Climatic, Phytogeographical, and Agrarian Ecology," in Carl Troll, ed., *Geo-Ecology of the Mountainous Regions of the Tropical Americas.* (Bonn: University of Bonn Geographical Institute, 1968); John V. Murra, "El 'control vertical' de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas," in Iñigo Ortíz de Zúñiga, ed., *Visita de la provincia de León de Huánuco en 1562* (Huánuco: Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán, 1972) 2: 429-476, as reprinted in John V. Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Andinos, 1975), 59-116 (citations refer to the reprinted edition).

6 John V. Murra, "Rite and Crop in the Inca State," in Stanley Diamond, ed., *Culture in History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 393-407, as translated and reprinted in Murra, *Formaciones económicas*, pp. 46-47.

7 Harry Tschopik, Jr., "The Aymaras," in J. Steward, ed., *Handbook of South*