THE BOLIVIA READER

HISTORY, CULTURE, POLITICS

Sinclair Thomson, Rossana Barragán, Xavier Albó, Seemin Qayum, and Mark Goodale, editors

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The Bolivia Reader

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To the memory of Olivia Harris, Ruth Volgger, and Martha Cajías

To Isaiah, Dara, and Romana

A la vida

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We need to walk in the present with the past before our eyes and the future behind our back.

[Qhip nayr uñtasis sarnaqapxañani.]

[Hay que caminar por el presente mirando el pasado por delante (con los ojos, nayra) y con el futuro atrás (a la espalda, qhipa).]

—Aymara saying popularized by Andean Oral History Workshop (THOA); translated by Sinclair Thomson

The project of the future is made from pieces of the past.

[El proyecto del porvenir está hecho con los pedazos del pasado.]

—René Zavaleta Mercado, "Reflexiones sobre abril," *El Diario*, 11 April 1971, reproduced in René Zavaleta Mercado, *Obra completa I*, edited by Mauricio Souza Crespo; translated by Sinclair Thomson

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Introduction

The land we call "Bolivia" today has long elicited contrasting visions of history, territory, society, and the future. Despite the steady rhythms of everyday life, public affairs frequently reveal oscillating moods and clashing perspectives, notes of fatalism and triumphalism, even apocalyptic and utopian expectations. In the 2010s, the Bolivian government stirred sharp national debate by announcing plans to build a highway in the Amazonian lowlands of Cochabamba and the Beni. The highway would slice through the Isiboro Sécure National Park and Indigenous Territory (TIPNIS) and, in the view of many indigenous communities as well as environmental scientists and conservationists, the project would bring grave harm to local livelihoods and damage rich but fragile ecosystems. Local indigenous leaders warned: "To open this highway presents a threat to the peoples inhabiting the TIPNIS, because of the loss of natural resources and all the biodiversity that supports the culture and life of the Moxeños, Yuracarés, and Chimanes, who have lived in our territory since before the creation of the country."[1] Still, the government's promises of development and modernization appealed to peasant coca growers on the agricultural frontier, lumber and ranching elites in the lowlands, hydrocarbon firms with an eye on subsoil resources, as well as South American development planners seeking easier transport from the Amazon to the Pacific Ocean. President Evo Morales Ayma—Bolivia's first head of state to claim indigenous ancestry—objected to protests against the project, arguing that infrastructural development will lift indigenous communities out of poverty. President Morales exclaimed: "I don't understand how the brothers and sisters can oppose the integration of Bolivia."[2]

Polarized views are most strikingly on display during Bolivia's recurrent periods of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary struggle. In October 2003, a dramatic indigenous and popular insurrection in Bolivia toppled the government of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada. A wealthy mineowner and leader of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR) who was applauded by the U.S. government and international financial institutions for his neoliberal policies, Sánchez de Lozada warned in a bitter op-ed piece published in the *Washington Post* after his downfall: "Bolivia could become the Afghanistan of the Andes, a failed state that exports drugs and disorder." Two years later, Evo Morales drew international attention when he was elected president by

an overwhelming majority of the population. In December 2005, Morales declared, "Beginning tomorrow, beginning next year, the new Bolivian history gets underway."[3] At his inaugural address in January 2006, he expanded on what he meant, looking back to Spanish conquest and subsequent centuries of colonialism: "From 500 years of resistance, to the take-over of power for 500 years . . . , [with] Indians, workers, all sectors bringing an end to injustice, bringing an end to inequality."[4]

In a prior revolutionary moment, when the reactionary president Mamerto Urriolagoitia turned power over to a military junta in 1951 in order to prevent his opponents from governing after they won the national election, he claimed it was to "save Bolivia from the danger of falling under the yoke of Nazi-fascism now in league with communism to break the democratic tradition."[5] When Urriolagoitia's opponents, the MNR, seized power through a popular insurrection the following year, the trade-union leader Juan Lechín saw the moment as a redemption of past indigenous glory: "Today the people have taken command of their own destiny, and have given America a lesson for all time demonstrating that the unconquerable spirit of the heroic race that six centuries ago extended its civilization to the furthest reaches of the eastern lowlands lives on in the ranges of the altiplano."[6]

A generation earlier, writing on the eve of the disastrous Chaco War with Paraguay (1932–35), the Bolivian writer Franz Tamayo expressed his own ambivalent sense of Bolivia as both an abject society and a heroic one. He captured this duality in his reference to "our paradoxical and stupendous state today: an undeniably great territory and great race, and yet also an unending history of misery, impotence, and despair."[7]

More than rhetorical excess, such expressions suggest an underlying "structure of feeling," in the phrase of the British cultural critic Raymond Williams, that is marked by tension and polarity. The clashing views arise out of deep class, ethnic, and geographical divisions, as well as recurrent periods of crisis and transformation in the country. One of the foremost aims of *The Bolivia Reader* is to help understand these tensions of outlook, experience, and expression, as well as their sources.

In international perspective, Bolivia has usually been overshadowed by its South American neighbors Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil. (Its other neighbor, Paraguay, remains no less obscure.) But for those foreigners who have trained an eye on the country, or actually visited it, Bolivia incites strong responses. In the early seventeenth century, Spain's great silver mines at Potosí were the envy of all Europe. Don Quixote put them on a par with the treasures of Venice, though the riches of both, he averred, were insufficient to requite the noble services of Sancho Panza. In the mid-twentieth century, the Peruvian writer José María Arguedas admired the vista of the highland capital of La Paz, a broad basin of earthen tones opening up before the imposing Mt. Illimani (over 21,000 ft., or 6,438 m), as "perhaps the most beautiful

and impressive spectacle that modern American man can offer in the New World."[8] On the other hand, foreigners have dismissed Bolivia as a quintessentially backwards place. According to one account, apocryphal yet widely repeated, when Queen Victoria learned of an insult to her diplomat in La Paz, she pronounced, "Bolivia doesn't exist," using a chalk x to cross out the country on a map.[9] Bolivia is also frequently imagined as a remote badlands or backlands, a place where outlaws and revolutionaries go to meet their deaths. In the popular Hollywood film, the eponymous characters Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid announce, "Wherever the hell Bolivia is, that's where we're off to." Even more iconic is Ernesto "Che" Guevara's martyrdom at the hands of the CIA-assisted Bolivian Army after his visionary yet failed guerrilla campaign of 1967. The photograph of his bullet-riddled body lying on display in Vallegrande, a small colonial-era Bolivian town, became a virtually sacred image of one of Latin America's most influential revolutionaries.

There has long been a perverse fascination with the exotic Bolivia. Guidebooks invite the world's adventure travelers to gaze at Bolivia's poverty, geographical oddities, and cultural otherness. A visit to the cooperative mines at Potosí is described as a descent into Hell. The high plateau in southwestern Bolivia is "unearthly" and "a blinding white expanse of the greatest nothing imaginable." Although "rumor has it that a road more terrifying . . . exists somewhere in Zanskar or Bhutan," the route from La Paz to the Yungas is labeled the most dangerous in the world.[10] The Bolivian Amazon is "the lost world" (an association that began with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's 1912 novel of that name). These superficial depictions may tell us more about the preoccupations of foreign observers than anything else, but they have served both to draw people to Bolivia and to keep them away.

Bolivians themselves have also expressed acute ambivalence about their country. Beginning in the colonial period, authorities and elites cast the Amazonian lowlands as a static and remote periphery, as well as the great hope for future prosperity and development. Where many travelers and writers have found the Andean highlands a melancholy landscape inhabited by sullen natives, others perceived in it a telluric power of nature that infused vitality into the ancestral population. The student of Aymara civilization Antonio Villamil de Rada even surmised that the splendid highland valley of Sorata must have been the actual location of biblical Eden. After the civil war of 1899, the sociologist Alcides Arguedas diagnosed Bolivia as a *pueblo enfermo* (sick society), while liberal intellectuals anticipated an imminent capitalist modernity and Indian leaders conceived of the possibilities of national "regeneration." Where Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada imagined a failed state, Evo Morales announced Bolivia was leading the way toward a "new era" for Latin America's peoples. Other indigenous intellectuals envisioned a momentous *pachakuti*, an upheaval and transformation of Andean time-space, in the first years of the twenty-first century.

The country appears to some Bolivians as a fragmented jumble of ethnic and regional pieces that fail to fit together as a national ensemble. The Bolivian political theorist René Zavaleta Mercado described the society as a set of heterogeneous and ultimately incoherent elements which he termed *lo abigarrado*, meaning a clashing combination of colors or disorderly pile of things. But Andean cultural metaphors can point the way to a more positive reading of Bolivia's internal differences. Ancient Andeans, for example, learned to harness a wide array of resources from the different ecological zones of a challenging geography, so as to sustain large populations and sophisticated civilizations. In indigenous textile aesthetics, differing elements are patterned and woven together into an aesthetically appealing fabric. In the traditional ritual combat known as the *tinku*, both the conflicting and complementary aspects of the indigenous life-world are brought together in a moment of spectacular cultural performance. Just as the point at which two tributaries join to form a river is also called a "tinku," here two halves of a community, or *ayllu*, come together on the field of battle to shed fertilizing blood and express their essential interconnection. Through such ecological, aesthetic, and ritual metaphors, it is possible to reimagine indigenous and nonindigenous forces or highland and lowland spaces as coexisting in complementary and productive tension.

In the context of Latin America, Bolivia stands out for its large indigenous population, its regional fragmentation, its economic underdevelopment, and the weakness of the state. In these respects, Bolivia is either singular or a prime example of phenomena found elsewhere in the region. Each of these issues is subject to misrepresentation or cliché. The foremost stereotypes reduce Bolivia to a land of primitive (or pristine) Indian tradition unchanged since the time of the conquest; a land of inhospitable mountain climes; a land of economic backwardness and malfeasance; a land of political instability. This book seeks to dispel such clouds of stereotype while illuminating these issues more fully.

From before the arrival of Spaniards in the 1530s down to our own time, the southern Andean highlands have been one of the most densely populated indigenous regions anywhere in the Americas. Republican elites saw this as a brake on modernization, and anticipated the decline of the indigenous population with national development and integration. The 1900 census confidently asserted,

> It is necessary to state that for a long time a noteworthy phenomenon has been underway in Bolivia: the slow and gradual disappearance of the indigenous race. . . . In little time, following the progressive laws of statistics, the indigenous race will be if not completely erased from the scene of life, at least reduced to a minimal expression. The reader will appreciate that this may be to the good, considering that if there

> has been a retarding cause in our civilization, it is due to the indigenous race, essentially refractory to any innovation or to any progress, given that it has refused and refused tenaciously to accept any customs that have not been transmitted by tradition from its remote ancestors.[11]

Over the course of the twentieth century, a range of conditions seemed to fulfill the prophecy: the stigma attached to being "Indian," the rise of class-based political movements with their emphasis on a new "peasant" (campesino) identity, state efforts to promote homogeneous citizenship, urbanization, the deepening of market relations. Yet a hundred years after the 1900 census, social scientists were astounded to find that 62 percent of the population identified itself as Aymara, Quechua, Guaraní, or from another indigenous group. This proportion made Bolivia—ahead of Guatemala and Peru—the most indigenous country in the Americas.[12] The racial prophecy had not come to pass.

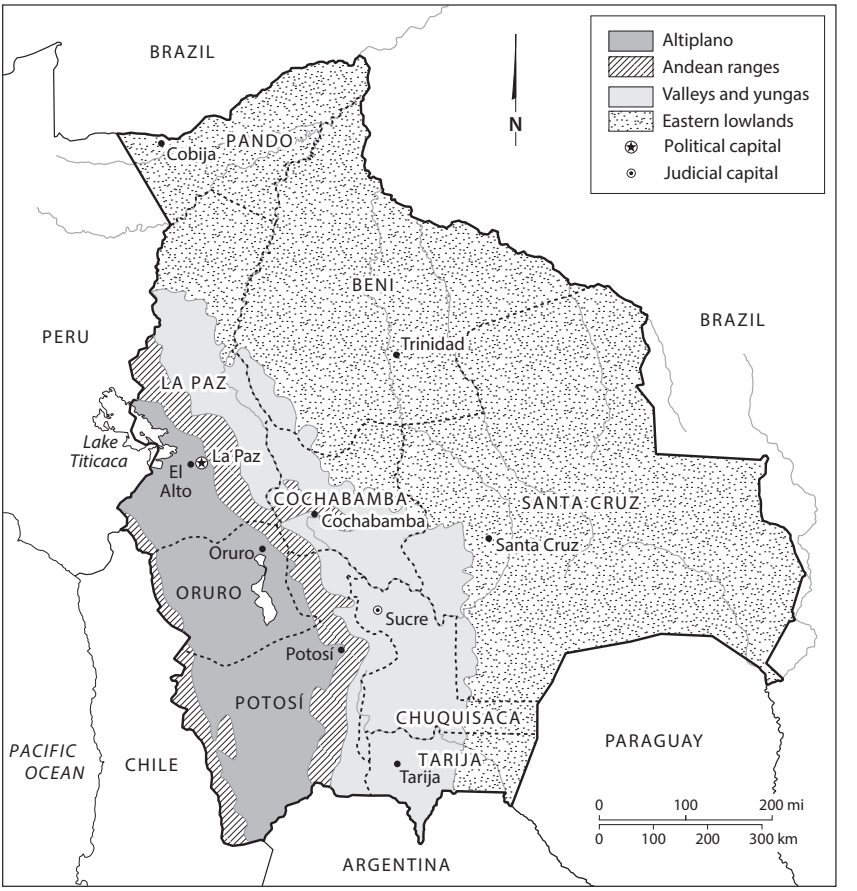
Despite the myth that Indians are resistant to innovation—"invincible misoneists" in the words of the Bolivian ethnologist and eventual president of the republic Bautista Saavedra (1921–25)—indigenous peoples have been adapting to historical change over centuries. In so doing, they have continually transformed themselves, their communities, and the rest of society. Indigenous peoples in the region have seen empires—Tiwanaku, Inka, Spanish—come and go, and learned to negotiate state pacts that guaranteed substantial autonomy for local communities and ethnic federations. They learned to absorb the new religious impositions of their conquerors—the solar cult of Cuzco as well as Christianity—in order to accommodate multiple and powerful sacred forces. Indigenous peoples have seen market systems arise—first in land and other fixed commodities, then in labor—and learned to engage in them so as to sustain themselves.

After independence from Spain in 1825, an elite minority of creoles, people born in Bolivia but of mainly European ancestry, controlled the levers of political, economic, and cultural power, while the indigenous majority remained in its subordinate position. Elites rationalized this order with new scientistic theories that reconstituted colonial racial assumptions about Indian inferiority. In the first part of the twentieth century, some creole and mestizo (mixed-race) artists, writers, and social scientists generated a movement known as *indigenismo*, which adopted a more sympathetic outlook toward Indians—whom they saw as the downtrodden descendants of once great civilizations—and sought to integrate them within the nation. By midcentury, nationalists also voiced the optimistic view that Bolivia's indigenous and European inheritances had joined together to overcome past antagonisms and create a common mestizo cultural identity. As in neighboring Peru and Mexico, these currents of *indigenismo* and mestizo nationalism were generally paternalistic and homogenizing projects to usher the nation into the modern world.

During the heyday of class-based politics in the mid- to late twentieth century, indigenous and peasant communities usually mobilized as rural auxiliaries within the national trade-union movement. In that period, mineworkers stood at the vanguard of the Bolivian Workers Central (COB), one of the most powerful trade-unions in Latin America. In the late twentieth century, indigenous intellectuals and political leaders developed new *indianista* and *katarista* movements—the latter named after the colonial-era indigenous rebel Tupaj Katari—that criticized what they saw as profound structures of internal colonialism in Bolivian society and called for new forms of political representation. At the start of the twenty-first century, ethnic politics assumed a central role in the national arena. Indigenous forces based in the countryside but also in the city took the initiative in powerful popular and nationalist movements such as that which overthrew Sánchez de Lozada of the MNR and brought Morales of the Movement to Socialism (MAS) to power.

Regional fragmentation is a critical feature of other countries as well; however, Bolivia's exceptional topography and regionalist political antagonism do make it stand out in the Latin American context. Bolivia is not only an Andean country, as it is often portrayed. But as in other Andean countries, the spinal column of Bolivian territory is its spectacular cordillera ranges and a high plateau—or altiplano—that since the earliest phases of human settlement has been the main seat of political power in the area. This is the setting for the contemporary departments of La Paz, Oruro, and much of Potosí. Offsetting this highland Andean space, the vast lowland Amazon basin has been the site of limited colonization in the departments of Beni and Pando. Santa Cruz too was long a frontier area, yet it has seen impressive population and economic growth since the mid-twentieth century. Mediating between highlands and lowlands is a zone of fertile and ecologically diverse intermontane valleys, known by the Aymara and Quechua loanword *yungas*. Cochabamba has been a breadbasket for the highlands since the time of Inka colonization in the fifteenth century, as well as a nexus for interregional circulation. The temperate valleys of Potosí and Chuquisaca have also always been closely bound up with the Andean axis. Tarija spans out from similar valley terrain into the southeastern plains of the Chaco, bordering on Paraguay, and to the Andean district of northern Argentina. Bolivia's coastal swath on the Pacific was annexed by Chile during the War of the Pacific (1879–82), making it and Paraguay the only landlocked countries in Latin America today. The highly uneven mountain and valley terrain along with the large swaths of scantily settled lowland territory have posed great obstacles to national and economic integration until the present.

These conditions have also shaped the increasingly sharp regionalist identities and political tensions in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. If the ethnic or racial split between Indians and *q'aras* (an Aymara term commonly applied to non-Indians) has led some observers to speak of "two Boliv-



Map of Bolivia.

ias," this phrase has also been used to describe the regionalist divide between highlanders and lowlanders. In this quasi-racial folk classification, Collas (taken from the Inka term for people living in Qollasuyu, the southern Andean quadrant of Inka state territory) and Cambas (originally a term for lowland Indians and mestizo peasants that was recast to refer to all people born in the Santa Cruz region) are seen as distinct peoples. As Santa Cruz came to rival La Paz, its residents voiced increasing criticism of state centralization, and regional elites even threatened secession. After the recent discovery of major reserves of natural gas in the area, the departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, Beni, and Pando formed a bloc known as the Media Luna (because of the area's crescent-moon shape on the map), which pushed successfully for greater decentralization of power and regional autonomy. During the first decade of the twenty-first century, fierce regionalist battles over economic resources and development policy raised the prospect of civil war.

In the twentieth century, Bolivia ranked among the poorest countries in the Western hemisphere, its discouraging economic indicators for income, standard of living, health, and education rivaling those of Haiti. Despite the familiar image of poverty, the bitter irony is that Bolivia has always possessed abundant reserves of natural resources highly valued in international markets. The Rich Mountain at Potosí was once the Spanish Crown's greatest treasure, and at the height of the silver fever, the city burgeoned into one of the most populous and thriving in the world. During World War II, Bolivian tin provided 49 percent of world supply, and the mining magnate Simon Patiño was reputed to be one of the world's wealthiest men. With the collapse of the tin market in the 1980s, Potosí no longer exported anything other than its own impoverished mining and agricultural laborers, who migrated to the cities and lowlands of Bolivia or abroad in search of low-wage jobs. Potosí ended up the poorest region in the poorest country on the continent. This riches-to-rags story is a prime example of what dependency theorists saw as the "development of underdevelopment," an effect of the colonial and neocolonial integration of peripheral regions into expanding global markets since the sixteenth century. In *Open Veins of Latin America* (1971), Eduardo Galeano wrote, "Condemned to nostalgia, tortured by poverty and cold, Potosí remains an open wound in the colonial system in America: a still audible 'J'accuse.'"[13]

After 1952, when the first social revolution in postwar Latin America brought the MNR to power, Bolivia experimented with state capitalism to maintain sovereign control over natural resources and foment national economic development. This period brought a reduction in social inequality and, even at the height of corrupt military rule, significant state revenues, yet no structural solution to poverty. In 1985, at a time of rampant inflation and plunging prices for tin, the MNR reversed course dramatically. Bolivia was one of the first countries in which a civilian government applied an orthodox model of shock treatment, and thereafter sought to end state management and open the country to direct foreign investment through economic restructuring. After the initial success with monetary stabilization, this internationally touted neoliberal experiment failed to deliver on promises of economic reactivation and employment. With inequality and disenchantment growing, the "Water War" in Cochabamba in 2000, a revolt against the privatization of the local water supply, and the "Gas War" centered in El Alto in 2003, an uprising against multinational control of the country's natural gas reserves, opened a new phase in Bolivian history. These insurgent movements after 2000 put Bolivia at the forefront of popular efforts around Latin America to move away from the reigning neoliberal economic model.

After 2003, there were more positive economic signs. The growth rate ticked upward, due especially to high international commodity prices, while poverty and inequality rates declined, thanks to redistributive policies under

the MAS government. Nonetheless, some observers questioned the sustainability of this progress, given that the country had gone through numerous boom-and-bust cycles historically and remained dependent on global commodity markets. Analysts and civil society groups also drew attention to the social and environmental costs of the extractive industry driving the boom and to entrenched levels of poverty and income disparities that could only be overcome through structural change, including shifts in the model of economic accumulation, environmental and fiscal policy, and the property regime.

Perhaps no foreign stereotype is harder to shake than the idea of Bolivia's chronic political instability. Converting all changes of government, whether constitutional or not, into "coups," the CIA World Factbook erroneously asserted, "Bolivia, named after independence fighter Simón Bolívar, broke away from Spanish rule in 1825; much of its subsequent history has consisted of a series of nearly 200 coups and countercoups."[14] Yet state institutions have been weak arguably since the colonial period and certainly throughout the republican era. Mariano Melgarejo (1864–71) symbolizes the long line of *caudillos bárbaros* (barbarous strongmen) and de facto authoritarian rulers since the nineteenth century. According to legend, the capricious tyrant Melgarejo even named his horse a general and then obliged the foreign diplomatic corps to pay honors to the newly inducted military authority. Nonetheless, the state has at times enjoyed widespread legitimacy, most notably in the revolutionary period after 1952. The cliché thus affords a measure of truth, although it provides no way to understand the durability of certain pacts between social forces and the state or its stewards, the lasting achievements of the revolution of 1952, or those of the nearly forty years of post-authoritarian civilian government.

A common historical pattern in the Southern Cone countries has been the rise of consolidated "populist" and social-democratic governments in the mid-twentieth century, followed by authoritarian regimes in the latter part of the century, followed by democratization processes and civilian governments enjoying substantial popular legitimacy by the 1990s. In contrast, in the northern Andes, there were more commonly oligarchic liberal or conservative governments that blocked populist and social-democratic reform projects through the mid-twentieth century, and did not subsequently experience dictatorship, yet which devolved into states with scant popular legitimacy facing serious crisis by the late 1990s. Bolivia is anomalous in that it features both patterns. Like the Southern Cone countries, it experienced a process of national-popular reform (culminating in the 1952 revolution), only to be followed by recurrent authoritarian regimes (from the 1960s to early 1980s) and a return to democracy thereafter. Still, midcentury reform processes were only partially successful, and military rule involved a limited scale of violence, while democratization in the 1980s and 1990s remained relatively for-

mal. Like Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela to the north, the state has enjoyed only superficial legitimacy and ultimately remained vulnerable to social unrest. Bolivia's major political transformation from the neoliberal government of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada to the left-leaning nationalist government of Evo Morales in the twenty-first century again exposed the weakness of the state. Yet it also revealed how new efforts to negotiate a political community with broad-based legitimacy drew on a potent collective memory of earlier national-popular moments. While the MAS government faced opposition from its inception in 2006, it nonetheless had unexpected durability. In September 2015, Morales broke the record for the longest continuous term in office of any Bolivian leader.

The Bolivia Reader introduces the country to those who are unfamiliar with its history and geography, its politics and culture. At the same time, it seeks to demystify, to challenge stereotypes, to afford a deeper insight into the country's singularity and complexity. For those who wish to extend their knowledge, it indicates paths for further exploration. The purpose is to understand the land called "Bolivia" more on its own terms, with the sharp internal differences that entails. The aim is to hear Bolivian voices, expressed in diverse, sometimes clashing idioms.

The *Reader* takes a historical approach, tracing major processes from Andean antiquity through Inka and Spanish conquest, nearly three centuries of colonial rule, nearly two hundred years of the Bolivian republic, up until our own charged historical present. The book is also organized thematically, with its different parts focusing either on issues of territory and economy or on politics and culture. Parts I and II—on early societies and conquests—look at these issues prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Parts III and IV—on the fortunes and misfortunes of Spanish colonialism—examine these issues from the sixteenth century to the early nineteenth. Parts V and VI—on the trials of sovereignty—cover the issues approximately from 1825 to 1920. Parts VII, VIII, and IX—on nationalism and revolution—cover the period from 1920 to 1985. Parts X, XI, and XII—on new visions and new divisions—ranges from 1985 up to our own time.

The volume privileges primary sources, which give readers the opportunity to engage directly with materials produced in the historical period in question. The sources selected include classic works essential for any basic familiarity with Bolivia, as well as unfamiliar items that provide fresh perspectives. Almost all are here available in translation for the first time. The sources employed include myth, popular song, poetry, fiction, theater, photography and visual art, maps, chronicles and travelers' accounts, journalism, testimony and memoir, legal, administrative, and diplomatic documents, political discourse, historiography, ethnography, theology, and social theory.

Indigenous intellectuals in the Andean Oral History Workshop cite the Aymara phrase "Qhip nayr uñtasis sarnaqapxañani" [We need to walk in the present with the past before our eyes and the future behind our back], alluding to the past as a key point of reference as we move into an unknown future.[15] Similarly, the Bolivian political theorist René Zavaleta Mercado once remarked, "The project of the future is made from pieces of the past." He stressed the importance of learning lessons from the revolution of 1952 to see what was to be done in his own time, two decades later. We might imagine those pieces of the past in different ways—say, as the missing parts to an unfinished puzzle or the building blocks for an entirely new construction. Yet Zavaleta seems to have had in mind a more jagged image. He referred to the revolution of 1952 as a "mirror of fire," and hence his pieces (*pedazos*) would be closer to the shards of a shattered mirror.[16] There are numerous examples in *The Bolivia Reader* of historical actors drawing on their notions of the past to frame their actions and future aims. The primary sources in this volume are themselves pieces from the past that we may take up for our own purposes, as fragments in whose reflection we can see ourselves and envision the future behind our backs.

Notes

1. Resolución del XXIX Encuentro Extraordinario de Corregidores del Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro Sécure Autónomo de los Pueblos Indígenas Moxeño, Yuracaré y Chimán, Comunidad de San Miguelito, 18 May 2010.

2. Mattia Cabitza, "Una carretera aleja a Evo Morales de los indígenas del Tipnis," BBC Mundo, Bolivia, 18 August 2011, http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2011/08/110818_bolivia_tipnis_carretera_cch.shtml.

3. Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, "The Best Choice for Bolivia," *Washington Post*, 13 November 2003. For Morales's comments after winning the election, see "Anti-US Leftist Clinches Bolivia Election," *Reuters*, 18 December 2005.

4. For his 2006 address, see Evo Morales Ayma, *Discurso inaugural del Presidente Evo Morales Ayma (22 de enero de 2006: Palacio Legislativo) Texto bilingue: Aymara—Castellano* (La Paz: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Cultos, 2006).

5. For Urriolagoitia's statement, see "Junta Rule Called Temporary," *New York Times*, 17 May 1951, 15.

6. For Lechín's speech, see *El Diario*, 9 April 1952, special edition.

7. Cited in Carlos Montenegro, *Nacionalismo y coloniaje, su expresión histórica en la prensa de Bolivia* (La Paz: Ediciones Autonomía, 1943), 241.

8. José María Arguedas, "La ciudad de La Paz" (1951), in José María Arguedas, *Señores e indios: Acerca de la cultura quechua*, ed. with a prologue by Angel Rama (Lima: Calicanto, 1976), 59.

9. Eduardo Galeano, "The Country That Wants to Exist," *Progressive*, 30 November 2003. First published in *Página/12* (Buenos Aires), 19 October 2003.

10. Deanna Swaney, *Bolivia: A Lonely Planet Survival Kit*, 3rd ed. (Hawthorn, Australia: Lonely Planet Press, 1996), 193, 267, 272, 348.

11. Oficina Nacional de Inmigración, Estadística y Propaganda Geográfica, *Censo general de la población de la República de Bolivia según el empadronamiento de 1 de Septiembre de 1900*, vol. 2 (Cochabamba: Editorial Canelas SA, 1973), 36.
12. New demographic data since 2012 are up for interpretation, as the introduction to part XI notes.
13. Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (1971; repr. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 31.
14. See "The World Factbook," Central Intelligence Agency website, last updated 17 July 2017, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bl.html.
15. Aymara saying popularized by Andean Oral History Workshop (THOA).
16. René Zavaleta Mercado, "Reflexiones sobre abril," *El Diario*, 11 April 1971.

I

First Peoples and the Making of Andean and Amazonian Space

The seventeenth-century chronicler Father Bernabé Cobo summed up the myths of origin among Andean peoples from Quito in the north to Qollasuyu in the south: "Each nation claims for itself the honor of having been the first people and says that everyone else came from them." He noted, "Using their imagination, each nation told their story in a different way." He added that each saw humanity originating in its own territory: "Each nation wished to place creation somewhere within its own lands."[1] Such myths thus encapsulated not only native peoples' notion of their beginnings, but their vision of the space they had inhabited since the dawn of remembered time.

In many origin stories, both in the Andes and the Amazon, the lineage founders and culture heroes were the first to demonstrate their peoples' collective knowledge and technology. Thus, the mythical Guaraní twins from the southeastern lowlands displayed the hunting and warfare skills so valued by their descendants. These primordial ancestors were also seen to have shaped the features of highland and lowland landscapes. Hence, as the transgendered figure of Tunupa journeyed down the aquatic axis of the southern Andes, he drifted across Lake Titicaca, opened up the Desaguadero River, and later her breast milk filled the white expanse of the Uyuni salt lake.

For scholars, the origins of human settlement in the Andean region date back at least 11,000 years. As the glacial period came to an end, people moved into the high-mountain regions and began to domesticate crops and camelids and to convert the challenging environmental conditions of the Andes into the staging ground for flourishing societies. The environmental variations within a relatively limited geographical transect could be dramatic: from the altiplano (or high plateau, at an average elevation over 12,000 feet above sea level), the eastern cordillera (with peaks reaching to 21,000 feet) dropped steeply down into the subtropical Yungas valleys to the east and then into the lush foothills that spilled into the Amazon basin, while the equally imposing western cordillera slid into the coastal desert along the Pacific. Key among the Andean adaptations to the extreme topographical and

climatic conditions was the "vertical integration" of dispersed settlements that obtained access to diverse resources at different elevations. As the ethnohistorian John V. Murra and the Bolivian scholar Ramiro Condarco Morales independently showed, native polities accumulated impressive surpluses of wealth and redistributed them efficiently among large populations using Andean strategies for discontinuous territorial control, complementary production zones, and nonmarket forms of exchange up and down the vertical architecture of the cordillera.

The first great civilization in the southern Andean territory that is today Bolivia was Tiwanaku, which grew from a small polity just south of Lake Titicaca more than 1,500 years ago into a metropolis and ceremonial center sustaining a population of perhaps 125,000 residents and a greater hinterland of a quarter million people. Farmers used raised-field (*sukakollo*) agriculture, ingeniously suited to the altiplano's extreme temperature fluctuations, for crop yields far superior to those obtained by peasant agriculturalists today.[2] Tiwanaku's vast political, religious, and trading system reached from the lake district down into the valleys of Cochabamba and the tropical lowlands to the east, and to the desert valleys and oases along the Pacific coast to the west, in what is today Chile and Peru.

After Tiwanaku declined sometime around 1100 of the current era, there proliferated a multiplicity of ethnic federations or chieftainships that sparred over territory and called on the support of the lightning gods of war, metals, and prosperity. From among them, the Inka people based in Cuzco arose to establish a vast new polity spanning from what is today southern Colombia in the north down to northern Argentina and central Chile in the south, making it the largest territorial state in the world at the time. Like other regional ethnic federations in the southern Andes, the Inka claimed descent from the earlier civilizational matrix at Tiwanaku and Lake Titicaca. In the imperial version of their origin myth, the Inka asserted that their ancestors had first emerged in the lake district before subsequently migrating north to Cuzco.

The Inka state—known as the Land of the Four Quarters, or Tawantinsuyu—expanded during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries into the domain it named Qollasuyu, the southern quadrant of Tawantinsuyu, which included contemporary Bolivian territory. The Inka drew on older Andean strategies for relocating populations and modifying landscapes for production, and southern Andean space and economy were profoundly transformed by their massive colonization efforts. The colonists (known as *mitimaes* to the Spanish) came from different regions in Tawantinsuyu and fulfilled different functions: military, administrative, agricultural, and artisanal.[3] Under the Inka Wayna Qhapaq, for example, state management turned the fertile valleys of Cochabamba into the granary of Qollasuyu.

Scholars estimate that early human settlement in Bolivia's eastern lowlands likewise goes back more than 11,000 years. There followed successive

waves of migration by mobile peoples that occupied the territory from the humid tropical savanna feeding into the Mamoré River basin, a tributary of the Amazon, down to the dry plains and scrub forests of the Chaco region, in the Pilcomayo River basin, a tributary of the Paraguay River in the south. For example, the Guaraní, a warrior culture from one of the three principal language families in South America, followed river routes as they sought out new territory, sometimes expressed in their mythic search for the "land of no evil." When they reached the Chaco, they fused with the already established Chané people, the southernmost extension of the diaspora of Arawak-speakers who had migrated across the Amazon basin from the Caribbean. They subsequently received the name of Chiriguanos, though today they prefer to be known simply as Guaraní.

As the origin myths express in their own imaginative terms, the ancestors did in fact fashion the human geography of the tropics. In the late twentieth century, geographers and archaeologists have significantly recast our understanding of lowland indigenous societies prior to the conquest. Though these societies were long viewed as simple nomadic groups, new research demonstrates that resourceful human domestication of diverse Amazonian environments gave rise to larger and more prosperous populations—as in Mojos, or in the Baure territory and along the Guaporé River described by the Jesuit Francisco Javier Eder in the eighteenth century—with complex political organization and impressive scientific and technological achievements, especially in the taming of the wetlands. From these and other developments in the region emerged legends about cities of splendor and wealth deep in the Amazonian interior—El Dorado or Paititi—that fired the imagination of Spanish conquistadors. Yet the effects of European invasion and disease contributed to the collapse of the large and complex societies that had inhabited the Amazonian lowlands and that left the impressive remains recently rediscovered by contemporary scientists.

Notes

1. Father Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, ed. and trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 11, 12, 18.

2. For example, canals between the elevated platforms of topsoil captured the intense energy of the highland sunlight to heat the water surrounding the raised fields, thereby forming a warm and humid microclimate that protected the crops from damage when temperatures dropped in the chilly evenings.

3. The Quechua term was *mitmaqkuna*.

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Myth of Inka Origin at Lake Titicaca

Bernabé Cobo

In the Andean highlands, there were as many different origin myths as there were native peoples. Each ethnic group sought to establish its importance through such stories, by claiming to be the first people to appear in the world. Many accounts told of primordial ancestors emerging from local points in the landscape, such as caves and springs. Yet Lake Titicaca and the area around Tiwanaku acquired an exceptional prestige for people not only in the Collao region but more broadly in the southern Andes.[1] *Given the power and civilizational achievement of Tiwanaku society, many peoples considered the lake to be the "navel of the world" and a site of tremendous spiritual and political power.*

The Inka themselves sought to lay claim to the symbolic prestige of the lake region. As they grew from being simply one more local ethnic federation into an expansive imperial force in the southern Andes, they likewise revised their myth of origin: a modest tale of having emerged from a cave in the Cuzco area became one in which their ancestors first appeared through divine intervention on an island on Lake Titicaca and thereafter migrated to Cuzco.

Bernabé Cobo (1582–1657) was a Jesuit chronicler and natural historian who drew on earlier Spanish accounts and his own research to write a monumental treatment of the New World. He first served at a mission in the lakeside town of Juli and traveled throughout the Charcas district, then later held university positions in Peru and Mexico. While his rendering of Andean society and religion prior to the conquest was not sympathetic, he assumed that the similarities between Andean beliefs and his own—such as those concerning the Creator God, the flood, and the original human couple—showed that Indians had a crude intuition of what he took to be Christian truth.

The whole basis of any religion and divine worship hinges on a knowledge of the first cause, whether it be the true cause or some false or imaginary one, from which men believe that they originated and on which they depend for their preservation, and it also hinges on an understanding of the final state that awaits them after this life. . . . All of the Indian nations of this Kingdom of Peru agreed that man's beginning was followed by a Universal Flood in which everyone perished except a very few who were saved by the Creator's

divine providence in order for them to repopulate the world. On this point they are very confused because they do not distinguish the creation of the world from its restoration after the Flood had passed. Some place Creation before the Flood, but the majority confuse Creation with the Flood and the restoration that came afterward. Thus they trace man's beginning to those who were saved from the waters of the Flood. With regard to who those people may have been and where they escaped from that great inundation, they tell a thousand absurd stories. Each nation claims for itself the honor of having been the first people and says that everyone else came from them.

. . . Without mentioning the Flood, some say that there was a Creator of the Universe who created the sky and the earth with the diverse nations of men that inhabit it. They say that after having put all the things he created in order and making sure that each one had its own proper place, he went from Tiaguanaco up to heaven.[2] Others deny that this happened at Tiaguanaco, and they say that the Creator stationed himself in a high place and from there he made man and the other living creatures. However, there are as many opinions about where this place may be as there are provinces and nations in this kingdom. In fact each nation wished to place creation somewhere within its own lands. The inhabitants of Collao are divided into two opposing views. Some hold that creation happened in Tiaguanaco; others place it on the Island of Titicaca, which is located on the great Lake Chucuito [Titicaca]. Actually, both places fall within the Diocese of Chuquiabo.[3]

. . . The other fables that they have on this subject place the origin of man at about the time of the Flood. On the subject of the Flood these Indians had ample information. However, the only explanation that they give for the Flood is that it was caused by the will of Viracocha.[4] In addition, they were convinced that since the world was brought to an end by water at that time, it would certainly come to an end again due to one of these three causes: hunger, pestilence, or fire. With respect to the Flood, there are considerable discrepancies about the exact place where the waters first receded and man began to populate and about who restored the human race. But since they are so much in the dark and deluded on this matter, lacking any other basis than the one they give for other matters pertaining to their religion, each one makes up whatever happens to suit his fancy. Some hold that when the waters started to recede, the first land that appeared was the Island of Titicaca. They state that the Sun hid there while the Flood lasted and that as the Flood got over, the Sun was seen there before it was seen anyplace else. Other nations indicate that these things happened in other places, and each one imagines all sorts of foolishness. Almost all of them agree that all the people and all things created perished in the Flood because the water covered the highest peaks in the world. Therefore, nothing remained alive except one man and one woman who got into a drum that floated on the water without sinking. As the water decreased, the drum came down at Tiaguanaco.

Others say that after the Flood, in which everyone perished, in Tiaguanaco the Creator used clay to form all the nations that there are in this land; he painted each one with the clothing to be used by that nation, and he also gave each nation the language they were to speak, the songs they were to sing, as well as the foods, seeds, and vegetables with which they were to sustain themselves. This done, the Creator ordered them to go down beneath the earth, each nation by itself, so that they could emerge from there at the places where he ordered them to do so. Some of them were to come out of caves, others out of hills, springs, lakes, tree trunks, and others from still other different places. Thus, each province started to worship their place [of origin] as a major *guaca* because their lineage had originated there.[5] In addition, they held their earliest ancestors to be gods, and they put images of them in the places mentioned above. Thus, each nation dressed in the clothing that they painted on their *guaca*. In addition, they say that after having begot their offspring, those same men in the same places as before changed into a variety of things, some into falcons, condors, and other birds and animals. For this reason, each nation's *guacas* and idols were shaped like different objects, birds, or animals.

Other nations believed that in the waters of the Flood everyone perished, except for some people who were able to escape by going into caves, up trees, or on top of hills. Only a few escaped, and they repopulated the world. Since they were saved in those places, each place was designated a shrine. Moreover, they put idols of stone, silver, and other metals there to commemorate those who escaped, and each idol was given the name of the one whom they boasted about being their ancestor. They adored these idols like their parents and protectors, and each nation offered sacrifices to them of the things they used.

Notes

1. The Collao district extends from the northern part of the lake down into what is today the region of La Paz.
2. Tiaguanaco is an older spelling of Tiwanaku.
3. Chuquiabo is the native term for La Paz, also sometimes called Chuquiago.
4. Viracocha was a creator deity worshiped by the Inka and other Andean peoples.
5. *Guaca*, also spelled *huaca* or *wak'a*, refers to a sacred object, place, shrine, or embodied spirit in the Andean landscape.

The Myth of Tunupa

Oral Tradition

Tunupa is among the oldest gods of the people of the southern Andean and Qollasuyu region and is associated with the creative and destructive forces of fire and volcanoes, thunder and lightning. In the classic version of Tunupa's story, an elderly male figure travels from the north to the south of Lake Titicaca. He is imprisoned, then cast away on a raft on the lake. As his raft drifts, it opens up the Desaguadero River, on which it then floats farther south, giving distinct features to the Andean landscape.

The version recounted here, based on Ramiro Molina Rivero's contemporary ethnographic research among indigenous people on the southern altiplano, reverses Tunupa's gender and generational identity. In the southern reaches of the Desaguadero River, Tunupa becomes a beautiful young woman, associated with the Uyuni salt lake, who is caught up in fraught relations with the masculine sacred forces of the surrounding volcanoes. After fleeing from her abusive marriage with a jealous old mallku *(native lord) incarnated in the Asanaques mountain, she travels with her children, along the way shaping the Andean landscape of the region and defining the historical territory of the Quillacas, Asanaques, Aullagas, Uruquillas, and Sevaruyos-Aracapis federations. Her activities represent Andean women's daily domestic routines, which involve food storage, preparing and cooking* quinoa, *and feeding and caring for children.*[1] *The surrounding mountains, imagined as fierce young warriors and powerful chiefs, attempt to conquer Tunupa for themselves, but they fail. Today, the mythic heroine Tunupa has taken the shape of a graceful volcano overlooking the Uyuni salt flat.*

It is said that one day Asanaques married Tunupa, and they had several children. Asanaques was an old man with a white beard and was the head *mallku* of the region. Tunupa was a beautiful young woman who wore twelve brightly colored *polleras* and twelve petticoats.[2]

Old Asanaques was very jealous of the beautiful Tunupa, and he caused the young woman great suffering. And so one day, after much suffering, she decided to flee to the coast. At the time, Tunupa and Asanaques had a fight, and Asanaques began to hit her. Tunupa cried for help, and her sister Chullasi, who lived on the other side of the lake near Orinoca, came to her defense. In order to defend her sister Tunupa, Chullasi flung a stone with a

slingshot at Asanaques's head, wounding the *mallku* forever. It is for this reason that the *mallku* is found to be leaning toward where the sun rises, and the stone that wounded him, called Pacukahuna, can still be found in the pampas near the road.

Tunupa took advantage of Asanaques's injury to leave him, leaving behind her children Wilacollo, Huatascollo, Huari, and Sevaruyo (Fat Mountain). In her journey to the coast, Tunupa peed in the pampas of Aguas Calientes, where today one can still find thermal bath springs. Then, flying through the pampas on a condor, Tunupa decided to rest and made a bonfire to cook, thus forming the mountains of Santa Bárbara and San Juan Mallku, where the current town of Quillacas would later be founded. Heading west the next day, after crossing the Márquez River, she left behind one of her sandals, now known as the small hill Sato. She decided to rest on the other side of the river, making her temporary residence in the locality of the mountain Pedro Santos Willka, at whose feet the town of Pampa Aullagas is located. Heading south near Tambillo, Tunupa excavated the earth to construct a bowl to hull the quinoa for the rest of her journey.

Continuing southward, in a town called Jayu Cota, she dug up the earth again, this time to leave her milk for her youngest son, who was following her. This place is now a salt flat of reddish color. Farther on, she left behind a child with chicken pox, calling him Salvino, the name of a mountain that has many holes in it. She continued her journey until arriving at the Uyuni salt lake, where she lost sight of Asanaques. In this region, she met two handsome young men—Cora Cora and Achacollo [Big Mountain]—whom she befriended and who convinced her to stay in the area.

The two young men soon fell in love with Tunupa. Her beauty also attracted the attention of well-known and powerful *mallkus* such as Tata Sabaya and Aconcagua. Some say that Sabaya sent his army to conquer and steal Tunupa but failed in his attempt. Meanwhile, the two young men had begun fighting each other for Tunupa, and a war broke out. With a large catapult, Cora Cora wounded Achacollo's heart, causing great bleeding. For this reason, today that mountain appears completely dry. But Achacollo also struck a blow to Cora Cora, wounding him in the bladder and opening many holes. This mountain today has several streams coming from its interior. Thus, both of them died for Tunupa's love, and from that point on, Tunupa stayed in the region.

Translated by Jean Friedman-Rudovsky

Notes

1. Quinoa (*Chenopodium* spp.) is a high-protein crop, native to the Andes.
2. Polleras are full, pleated long skirts worn by indigenous women.

Guaraní Creation Myth

Oral Tradition

The cyclical creator myth of the Two Twins is, along with various others, common among diverse Guaraní groups. The Guaranís' religion is based much more on words than on rituals, so much so that some of the first missionaries came to consider them "atheists." The myth of the Two Twins was discovered only at the beginning of the twentieth century and, since then, it has been recorded in many parts of Tupi Guaraní territory, ranging from the Atlantic coast to the Bolivian cordillera. This version was compiled by Víctor René Villavicencio Matienzo in 1989.

The twins are seen as the mythic heroes who gave a distinctive Guaraní identity to the natural world as well as to the social and cultural order. Wandering far and wide, they mastered the hunting techniques needed to survive and developed the Guaraní warrior ethos. Their relationship with the dangerous and powerful tiger family is both intimate and charged with conflict. They come to know death through the loss of their mother, and sustain an ongoing search to encounter their lost father.

I

Our elders told us these things: It was said before that a woman named Inámbu lived in an old ranch. She was very beautiful. Her mother and father were proud of her because she was so beautiful. Every day at sunset her mother washed and combed her beautiful hair in a *pauro* [spring] that flowed behind their house.

One day her parents thought it was time for their daughter to marry, and they prepared a feast. All the young pretenders were invited to the party. All kinds of birds and animals were invited to the party. Among the animals were Tatú Tumpa [armadillo god], Aguara Tumpa [fox god], Ñandú Tumpa [rhea god], Ururuti [great bird], and others as well.[1] That afternoon, because it was getting dark, Inámbu put on a beautiful *tipoi* [dress]. Her hair was worn in a braid. Then her parents instructed the girl to serve the *kangui* [fermented corn beer or *chicha*] so that the youth could better appreciate her beauty. The party improved as night fell. At the end, some became drunk. The *oka* [open-air gathering space] was full of joy. It had become a party, what we call *arête*

[annual corn-harvest feast, when all drink *chicha* and dance in a circle].[2] It was said that people from all over always went to the *arête*.

But Inámbu did not like the party very much and went inside the house again. Then her parents told her that she could not do that, because one must not bore the guests. In that way, they managed to convince Inámbu to return to the *oka*, and she sat there looking around.

All the youths were secretly aware of Inámbu. In one corner of the *oka* were Tatú Tumpa and Aguara Tumpa. The two wanted to know and befriend Inámbu. Tatú Tumpa told Aguara Tumpa that he would be with Inámbu and could woo her. Aguara Tumpa refused to believe him. Finally, the two made a bet. Tatú Tumpa burrowed a hole in the ground until he reached where Inámbu was sitting. Tatú Tumpa got along well with her.

Then Tatú Tumpa came back through the same hole to where Aguara Tumpa was. Aguara Tumpa wanted to do what his companion had done. Aguara Tumpa tried to enter the hole, but because it was a small hole, he got stuck. In the end, Tatú Tumpa had to pull him out by his tail.

After the party, they say, Tatú Tumpa started to visit Inámbu in the evening. Inámbu used to go to the *pauro* behind her house at that time, and that is where Tatú Tumpa visited her. And she would remain for some time behind the house.

Inámbu's mother became suspicious and spoke to her daughter. She said, "With whom are you behind the house in the evening?" Inámbu replied, "Mother, I'm with nobody." The mother did not trust her daughter. Then she said to her daughter, "Surely you are meeting with some man." The girl denied that she was with any man.

One afternoon, while Inámbu's mother bathed her daughter, she looked at the girl's nipples and saw that they were black. Then the mother asked her daughter, "With whom are you going out in the afternoons?" She replied, "With nobody." Again, the mother said, "You are lying to me. You are with a man." At that very moment, the girl's stomach began to grow. Then the mother was scared and became angry with the girl.

When her father found out, he felt sad and told his daughter about all his efforts to provide her with everything she had. Inámbu became the shame of her family. Her parents accused her of making them look bad in front of their community, and said that they would be subject to the comments of their neighbors. In the end, they hit Inámbu and threw her out of the house. And they said, "Now go and find the father of those children."

II

The woman came out crying from her home where she had lived until then. She came out and began to walk through the mountains alone with no one to

help her. While she was walking, her children spoke to her from her womb. They said to her, "Why are you crying, mother? What happened to you?" Upon hearing them, she became happy. So the children showed her from the womb the way to reach their father, Tatú Tumpa. These children already knew everything by then.

As the mother walked, the children played and sang. When their mother passed a place where there were flowers, they told her to pick some and put them on her chest. They passed through many places with flowers, so the children were ceaselessly asking for more flowers, until their mother was tired and said, "I do not know where to put one more flower. Why do you ask me for flowers? Can you not see I'm tired of carrying flowers?" From that moment, the children, who were twins, did not speak again to their mother.

The mother wanted to talk to her children, but they were silent and did not speak again. The poor, tired woman lost hope and said that it was useless to live. So the mother began to wander through the woods until she found the trail of the tiger. She came upon an old tigress who told Inámbu that those who walked on that path were only seeking death. Those going down that road had no hope because they died there.

The old tigress invited her to her house to eat something. In the old tigress's house, the tigress gave the mother something to eat and told her to leave soon because at any moment her own children, the tigers, would arrive. For now, it would be better to hide the woman because it was time for the tigers to arrive. Then the tigress hid the woman in the loft of the house to keep her safe.

III

When the tigers arrived, they did not bring anything to eat. They were hungry. One of them lay on the floor and suddenly a drop of the woman's breast milk fell on him. He wondered where the drop came from. The old tigress said it was nothing. But her son insisted and looked into the loft and found the woman. All the tigers said, "We're going to eat her." Thus, they killed the woman together. The old tigress grabbed the belly and began to eat and found two twins. Her children told her to eat them, but she replied that she would eat them later. Instead, the old tigress hid the twins in a pitcher. Thus, the old tigress raised the twins.

The twins grew up fast. And one day the twins asked the tigress to make them bows. The tigress made some bows with *songo* arrows, especially to kill birds. But the tigress warned the twins that they could only go to the West and never to the East. Thus, the twins went to wander in the mountains. They took their arrows, and just by pointing them to the trunk of a tree, they caused all the birds in it to die. They soon brought many doves for the tigress to eat.

When her children arrived, they saw that there was plenty of food and asked their mother how she had obtained so much food. The old tigress replied that she had prepared some traps and that she had hunted with them. And this happened many times, until finally the children asked their mother about the origin of the dead birds.

IV

She decided to tell them the truth, asking them not to be angry. Then she presented the twins to them and told the tigers, "These are your little brothers." The tigers were stunned to learn that the twins were the ones who hunted so much and so well. The tigers accepted the twins and told their mother, "How beautiful our brothers are. They can teach us how to hunt."

The twins agreed to teach the tigers how to hunt. Soon they were going to hunt to the West. The twins could catch everything that was on a trunk that had been hit by one of their arrows. By contrast, no matter how hard they tried to kill a bird, the tigers could not. Thus, the months passed and the twins and the tigers were killing many birds.

V

One day the twins, who were growing up, wondered: "Why does the old tigress not want us to go to the East?" And after talking it over, they went to the East, where they found a tree full of birds. Everything was beautiful. They took their arrows and pointed them at the tree. Almost all the birds fell, except the talkative parrot, the *ayuro* that stayed and started talking to the twins.

The *ayuro* told them the whole story about their mother and how the tigers had killed their mother and, even worse, how the woman's children, the twins, had helped the tigers to ruin the mountain. They had killed the birds without regret. Thus, the *ayuro* could not understand what evil the birds had done to the twins that would cause them to kill so many.

After the twins received the *arakuaa* [advice, wisdom] from that bird, they planned to kill the tigers. When they went back home, the children were sad, and the old tigress and her sons noticed that something had happened to the twins.

However, the twins took the tigers to a place where there was a river and started to cross. One of the twins had built a raft to cross the river. And the tigers that were following them entered the river thinking that it was shallow. While the twins crossed the river on the raft, the tigers tried to cross by swimming, but the current was strong and took them to the deepest part where almost all the tigers drowned.

VI

One of the tigers that had two heads noticed that the twins wanted to kill the tigers and escaped. The twins started to follow the tiger. In that area lived a woman with a large skirt. She was seated, and the tiger came and hid under her skirt. After that the twins arrived and asked the woman if she had seen a tiger with two heads. The woman said she had not seen any tiger. The twins went on. When they were a little bit farther, they heard the cries of a woman asking for help because the tiger was eating her. The twins returned quickly and found the woman seated. They asked her what had happened, and she said nothing happened, there was no tiger. This happened three times. In the end, the twins said that if she screamed for help, they would not return and did not care if the tiger ate her. And they left. They say this woman is the moon. When the tiger eats the moon, an eclipse happens.

It is said that the twins are still walking around the world searching for the tiger, to kill him, and looking for their father. It is said that the twins have reached as far as the sky in their search.

Translated by Adriana Salcedo

Notes

1. Guaraní spirituality encompasses the natural world. *Tumpas* are tutelary spirits that represent and protect the essence of wildlife species.
2. *Arête* is now associated with Carnival.

Verticality and Complementarity

John V. Murra

The Andean mountains were long considered colossal physical barriers, their altitude and rugged landscape being seen as serious obstacles to human development. Nevertheless, Andean civilizations creatively converted these apparently adverse topographical and climatic conditions into advantages that ultimately permitted the development of large populations and prosperous local and regional economies. A fundamental contribution of Andean studies has been to analyze and explain both political and environmental-management systems in a region marked by geographical and ecological extremes. Key strategies deployed by Andean civilizations and peoples were the occupation and use of different altitudinal ecological zones and varying microclimates. Two scholars independently developed a conceptual framework to understand these Andean systems: Ramiro Condarco Morales, from Bolivia, and John V. Murra, who was born in the Ukraine but taught in the United States. The following passage by Murra explains how adaptation to the heights and the cold, along with the mastery of crop cycles, allowed Andean populations in the highlands to flourish. It also reflects his concept of the "vertical archipelago," a spatial strategy of highland groups to access dispersed lands at lower elevations in other ethnic territories.

The Conquest of the Heights

There is no doubt concerning the early and greatest achievement of Andean man: the systematic knowledge and use of the altiplano, a unique achievement in the history of agriculture. Mountain settlements exist on other continents, for example in Tibet and the Himalayas, where there are populations that permanently occupy ecological zones at 4,000 meters above sea level. On studying their precolonial history, we realize that in Asia human settlement at such heights is much more recent than in the Andes. The population which manages to maintain itself there—such as the Sherpas, known above all as guides for mountaineers who wish to climb the snow peaks of the region—is very scarce. In a notable contrast, the most populated zone of the Andes was precisely the altiplano around Lake Titicaca and the Charcas region to its south. Here the high densities of population are ancient, although we

cannot yet assign dates for this demographic achievement with the desirable precision.

Many agronomists and other experts have difficulty in understanding why such densities of population were located at altitude and persist there to this day. As Mauricio Mamani observes, in the eyes of the city dweller the altiplano appears inhospitable. . . . The explanation, not so evident at a first glance, begins by reminding us that before the Industrial Revolution, in agrarian societies, a large population was always a sign that the ethnic group or the chiefdom had achieved a high level of productivity. The long tale of modern history, which reveals how this capacity was lost over the centuries of Spanish colonialism and the creole republic, is the tragedy of the Andean world. What remains of the earlier knowledge of the environment, together with the technical and management methods which to this day allow us to benefit from the altiplano, are pale reflections of what they were.

The free Aymara people of the past possessed an intimate knowledge of the altiplano's natural resources, its climates and diverse calendars (both state and ethnic or local), its fauna and flora. Although their ethnoclassifications carefully distinguish the wild from the cultivated, they used both all year round. They knew that the maximum altitude limit of any cultigen varied according to the cyclical variations in climate, as has been shown by the Peruvian agronomist and archaeologist Augusto Cárdich. In addition, modern botany, which no longer excludes the study of cultivated plants, indicates that throughout Aymara history there were continual efforts to increase the maximum altitude at which tubers,[1] plants of the lupin family such as *tarwi*, or high-altitude grains such as quinoa (*jupha* in Aymara) and *qañawa* could be harvested.

There is ample evidence of experiments that produced hybrid varieties which, although bitter-tasting, elevated the "roof" of edible cultivars beyond 4,000 meters above sea level. At such a height, cultivators reached their *tinku* [meeting, encounter, joining together, in Quechua] with Andean herding—the result of the domestication of native camelids—using the immense pastures of the *puna* [ecological level above 4,000 meters]. Today, when llamas and alpacas are at risk of disappearing, it is difficult for us to conceive the size and extension of the herds before 1532.[2] Speaking of the animal wealth of an Aymara ethnic group during the first decades after the European invasion, a Spanish provincial governor claimed to have "heard of an Indian who is not a chief, but an important man who is don Juan Alanoca of Chucuito, who owns more than 50,000 head of livestock." [. . .] In the census of "rich Indians" carried out in the region only seven years later, no individual appears any more with such a quantity of camelids; this time, the maximum declared was 1,700 head. It is, however, probable that the criteria used by the governor and by the herders to determine what was meant by "owning" diverged a great deal.

What does seem certain is that the first European arrivals were amazed by

the quantity of camelids they encountered in Aymara territory. "The herds that the natives of this province own is the main property in it . . ." stated the already mentioned Melchior de Alarcón, who in 1567 had already lived illegally for more than a decade in the region, at times acting as a notary but mainly as a merchant. This control of llamas as beasts of burden and alpacas as wool producers, combined with that of hundreds of varieties of tubers and high-altitude grains, begins to offer us a first explanation of the high population density.

The Conquest of the Cold

The second achievement of the free Aymaras of the past was to domesticate and make use of the cold. In other latitudes, for example in the Arctic, people endure it and can survive; in the Andes they took one more step, which allowed them to transform the cold into a positive, creative factor. Andean hands took advantage of the strong climatic contrast that takes place every day on the altiplano, between tropical heat in the daytime and winter cold at night. Although the Aymara lived, and most of them still live today, in fully tropical latitudes, at night the height of their territory seems to deny this. There are populated zones on the altiplano where frost may be present two hundred and fifty or more nights a year. In a manner without precedents in the world of high altitudes, Andean people learned that cold could be a benefit and not just something to put up with.

The secret consisted in discovering that any animal or vegetable tissue, exposed to the frequent switch between tropical sun and freezing darkness, could be transformed into nutritive food products which could be stored for years without rotting. This occurred both at the household and at the state level.

Ch'uñu is the generic name that many people give to processed tubers, although each plant is transformed into various foodstuffs, each with its own use, form of preparation, and a separate name. *Ch'uñu* cannot be made outside the *puna* zone. *Ch'arkhi* is the equivalent in animal products; it can be made from fish, bird, or animal flesh. In recent centuries, the process has been extended to the flesh of animal species imported from Europe.[3]

In centuries of greater liberty, the varieties of these conserved products and the uses for which they were destined were more important than they are today. They not only compensated for damages due to droughts and other natural or human disasters, but also constituted reserves available both to local ethnic groups and to the state. They filled thousands of storehouses constructed in such a way and in such places that they took advantages of minute differences in exposure to the sun, to the wind, or to humidity. Those which were constructed by the state or by regional lords along the roads could provide food for porters and armies, for the drovers of llama caravans

that linked diverse territories and geographical zones, for the priests of diverse cults on their way to provincial sanctuaries. Incidentally, they are the only explanation for the feats of [conquistador Diego de] Almagro and the other plunderers of Chile and Tucumán (now the north of Argentina), who, in the first years of the Spanish invasion, crossed thousands of kilometers of uninhabited territories without a halt. Since initiating the study of Andean history, we have learned to read the "reports of services" of the Aymara lords (the Charka, the Qhara Qhara, the Karanka, the Killaka) who accompanied the adventurers and taught them that they could rely on the storehouses all along the royal highway.

The intimate knowledge of such varied environments and the mastery of the cold were the first two steps that Andean people took on their way to civilization. The dates when these achievements took place have not been determined. Archaeologists affirm that thousands of years have passed since the domestication of camelids; it is probable—they say—that different populations achieved it more than once, in different places and times. As for plants, in the Huamanga region there is evidence of domestication more than ten thousand years before the present; tubers, the basic food source, are difficult to recover archaeologically, and we do not yet have a firm date, but no one doubts that they have been used intensively for millennia.

Highlands and Lowlands

The possible continuities between Andean tubers and rainforest agriculture, which at first glance appear so distant, were suggested many years ago by the man who organized Peruvian archaeology, Julio C. Tello, and the geographer Carl Sauer; they have been recently reiterated by Donald Lathrap. All along the cordillera of the Andes, the rainforest (or Antisuyu, in Quechua) has been and is the source of contacts between riverbank dwellers, some of them from distant lands, even from Mesoamerica. The fact that the majority of the Andean alimentary and agricultural complex is autochthonous does not imply the absence of foreign influences, some early and formative, others late and exotic.

The Aymara knew the *yunka* [semitropical valleys] and the tropical forest; the lack of wood on the altiplano prompted journeys to the east [toward the Amazonian lowlands]. The Pacific Ocean and its riches, to the west, were less than ten days' walk away. Hence, we find in the Aymara agricultural and ceremonial complex pan-American plants, such as corn; it was not an important source of calories, but its use as a sumptuary good, for the military, and for hospitality in the form of *chicha* [corn beer] was universal. The climatic conditions of the altiplano are not favorable for corn, but if we locate it in its own Andean ethnocategory, where it is classified along with fruits, flowers, leaves, and other garden plants, we recognize its importance. Even in the

twentieth century, some inhabitants of the Titicaca region walked dozens of kilometers to procure in Amantani tiny cobs of reddish corn, of great ceremonial value, which ripened on some islands in Lake Titicaca, at 3,800 meters above sea level, where the lake water creates a milder climate.

The multiplicity of cultivated plants is impressive not only for their number, but also for their adaptation to a varied geography. Some species, such as quinoa or potatoes, appear in hundreds of varieties, selected to ripen at different altitudes, although *puna* potatoes are always preferred for seed; other cultivars are specialized in very particular pockets and microclimates. Nobody knows how many plants were cultivated before the invasion; some think the total was more than a hundred species. If we add to this the ample use of dozens of fresh and sea water *yuyu* [aquatic weeds, in Quechua], collected without being cultivated, we have a notable pre-European nutritional and productive repertory.

Beyond such efficiency in mixed farming, characteristic of all the Andean region, in the classic Aymara territory there was a third dimension, indispensable to understand its high population and great productivity. Apart from possessing a particular knowledge of each plant and its adaptive possibilities, from very early on the Andean hunter-gatherers and later the farmers have organized their occupation of space in such a way that each ethnic group guarantees its regular access to several natural environments.

Traveling from one mountain to another, rising and descending, within a few hours or at most in a few days, one could enter zones with very different climates and agricultural possibilities, which also happens in the Pyrenees, the Himalayas, or any other mountainous zone. What was specifically Andean was the efforts of the Aymaras (and also of many Quechuas) to accumulate in the hands of one and the same ethnic group all the resources and settlements that its young people and eventually its soldiers could defend. The Aymara kingdom or chiefdom of the Lupaqa (Chucuito), whose political and demographic center was located on the southwest shore of Lake Titicaca, controlled settlements very distant from this core, both in the humid *yunka* of the Amazonian slopes and in the arid *yunka* of the Pacific coast.

This geographic reach of the Lupaqa is the best known of all the Aymara chiefdoms. It should not be supposed that other chiefdoms of this language group, such as the Pakaxa, the Wisijsa, or the Charka, followed an identical pattern of settlement. For example, it is probable that not all of them had settlements on both sides of the mountain chain. Even among the Lupaqa, the subdivision of the Pomaata (Pumäta) did not have access to coca fields on the eastern slopes.

The agrarian calendar of tubers allowed the free Aymara to take advantage of the multitude of climates that were nearby. Given that the cycles of other crops (coca, hot peppers, fruit, corn) and gathered resources (guano, fish, *yuyu*) follow rhythms different from those of high-altitude tubers, there

is plenty of "free" time, used by the peasants to travel away—moving higher up or lower down—without risking the harvest of their basic foodstuffs.[4] The German scholar Jürgen Golte has described such cyclical alternations between one and another zone in the present day; before the European invasion, when the population was much greater and the chiefdoms controlled territories much further from the centers of power, the peripheral settlements could be permanent and not seasonal.

This was the case of Nina Chuqi and Maman Willka, the two lords of the Karanka. They had their "tilled lands" and most of their subjects around Turco, on the altiplano in what is now Bolivia. Others of their people controlled various hamlets on the *puna*, where they pastured their camelids. Lower down than Turco, in territories which today are part of Chile, Nina Chuqi and Maman Willka had subjects living in valleys which produced corn; in the *"yungas* [*yunka*] of the sea," such as Sabasta or Codpa, they had gardens of fruit and coca. Finally, at the mouth of the Lluta River, where the city of Arica is today, the Karanka settled "their" fisherfolk.

Measuring the distances between Turco and its peripheral settlements, we see that the territory of one ethnic group could cover hundreds of kilometers. What is specific to this Andean and Aymara pattern of population is its "spotted" [*salpicado*] character, as the sixteenth-century colonial documents call it: the occupation of the space between Turco and Arica was not exclusively Karanka. Other Aymara groups, for example the Pakaxa and the Lupaqa, also had settlements in the same valleys of Lluta, Azapa, or Camarones. Each ethnic group controlled its "islands" of people and resources that were intercalated with those of its neighbors, forming an "archipelago" on dry land.

Moreover, there is reason to believe that in some cases they could share the same settlement. Tensions and struggle for local hegemonies on the periphery may appear inevitable to a twentieth-century observer, but in many parts of the Andean region there is evidence of multiethnic occupation. In a well-documented case, the valley oasis of Codpa (today in Chilean territory), we know that more than five ethnic groups from the mountains had permanent colonies settled there. The historical and archaeological verification of this complementarity is urgent so as to understand how the highland chiefdoms shared access to distant resources, hot pepper and coca gardens, guano deposits, or forests.

Ecological complementarity goes beyond the efficient use of the altiplano or the mastery of the cold, mentioned above; it also involves an economic, political, and ideological organization. Although many details of how such systems functioned still evade us, it is already obvious that each ethnic unit, as it accumulated access to diverse products, experiments, and agrarian technologies, was able to diversify the risks implicit in each of the Andean environments. Beyond such a defensive purpose, we can also perceive opportunities that would allow for the massive storage of a multiplicity of re-

sources, and eventually the emergence of dense populations and chiefdoms or kingdoms such as those which the Inka and the Europeans encountered on the altiplano.

We do not yet know when this ecological complementarity arose. Transhumance, the oscillatory up-and-down movement, according to the seasons, which archaeologists have registered very early on in Andean history, may well have been a simple and preliminary stage in the process. It is probable that the use of resources in several climatic zones on the part of a sole society, via permanently settled colonies, was achieved before the Inka.

Translated by Alison Spedding

Notes

1. Principally potatoes were grown, but also other species, such as *oca*, *isaño*, and *papalisa*, virtually unknown outside the Andes. Potatoes include both the "sweet" varieties from which the potatoes cultivated in Europe and the rest of the world derive (which can be cooked and eaten as they come from the field) and the "bitter" varieties, which can be cooked and eaten only after being freeze-dried.
2. The disappearance of camelids may have seemed probable in the 1970s or even later, but since the 1990s herds have grown due to biodiversity conservation efforts and increased demand for llama and alpaca products, especially wool and meat.
3. The Andean word *ch'arkhi* was apparently loaned into English as "jerky."
4. *Guano* refers to the accumulated dung of sea-bird colonies on the Pacific coast, a superb organic fertilizer, as well as to the dung of camelids and other domestic ruminants.

Peopling the Empire

Pedro Cieza de León

Andean space was profoundly transformed by the waves of colonization organized by successive Inka sovereigns. Inka state coordination involved intensive grain production and the redistribution of surpluses, new territorial administration, and the massive movement of people, known as mitmaqkuna *in Quechua or* mitimaes *in Spanish, to colonize new areas. These colonizing groups came from different regions and fulfilled diverse functions—political, military, agricultural, and artisanal—in the Tawantinsuyu realm.*

Known as the "prince of Peruvian chroniclers," Pedro Cieza de León (1520–54) visited the Upper Peruvian district of Charcas in 1549. He travelled through the Lake Titicaca region and on to Potosí, taking down testimony about the provinces from older Spanish conquistadors. He supplemented his information by interviewing Inka nobles in Cuzco and was generally sympathetic to Inka perspectives, as this extract from his chronicle suggests. His general account of mitimaes *applies well to the southern Andes, and he includes specific examples of lowland frontier colonization taken from the territory of Qollasuyu.*

How the Mitimaes Were Established, and of the Different Kinds of Them, and How They Were Highly Esteemed by the Incas

In this chapter I wish to describe that which appertains to those Indians called *mitimaes*, for many things are related concerning them in Peru, and they were honored and privileged by the Incas, being next in rank to the *Orejones* (nobility), while in the History which they entitle *Of the Indies*, it is written by the author that they were slaves of Huayna Capac.[1] Into this error all those writers fall who depend upon the relations of others, without having such knowledge of the land concerning which they write, as to be able to affirm the truth.

In most if not in all parts of the provinces of Peru there were and still are these *mitimaes*, and we understand that there were three classes of them. The system was greatly conducive to the maintenance, welfare, and peopling of the empire. In considering how and in what manner these *mitimaes* were stationed, and the nature of their services, my readers will appreciate the way in

which the Incas understood how best to order and regulate the government of so many regions and provinces.

Mitimaes is the name of those who are transported from one land to another. The first kind of *mitimaes*, as instituted by the Incas, were those who were moved to other countries, after a new province had been conquered. A certain number of the conquered people were ordered to people another land of the same climate and conditions as their original country. If it was cold, they were sent to a cold region, if warm, to a warm one, where they were given lands and houses such as those they had left. This was done that order might be secured, and that the natives might quickly understand how they must serve and behave themselves, and learn all that the older vassals understood concerning their duties, to be peaceful and quiet, not hasty to take up arms. At the same time, an equal number of settlers was taken from a part which had been peaceful and civilized for a long time, and sent into the newly conquered province, and among the recently subjugated people. There they were expected to instruct their neighbors in the ways of peace and civilization and in this way, both by the emigration of some and the arrival of others, all was made secure under the royal governors and lieutenants.

The Incas knew how much all people feel the removal from their country and their home associations, and in order that they might take such banishment with good will, they did honor to those who were selected as emigrants, gave bracelets of gold and silver to many of them, and clothes of cloth and feathers to the women. They were also privileged in many other ways. Among the colonists there were spies, who took note of the conversations and schemes of the natives, and supplied the information to the governors, who sent it to Cuzco without delay, to be submitted to the Inca. In this way all was made secure, for the natives feared the *mitimaes*, while the *mitimaes* suspected the natives, and all learnt to serve and to obey quietly. If there were turmoils or disturbances, they were severely punished. Among the Incas there were some who were revengeful, and who punished without moderation and with great cruelty.

The *mitimaes* were employed to take charge of the flocks of the Inca and of the Sun, others to make cloth, others as workers in silver, and others as quarrymen and laborers. Some also were sculptors and gravers of images; in short, they were required to do such service as was most useful, and in the performance of which they were most skillful. Orders were also given that *mitimaes* should go into the forests of the Andes to sow maize and to cultivate coca and fruit-trees. In this way the people of the regions where it was too cold to grow these things were supplied with them.

The second class of *mitimaes* were those who formed garrisons under captains, some of whom were *Orejones*, on the frontiers, in forests east of the Andes. For the Indians, such as the Chunchos, Moxos, Chiriguanos, and others whose lands were on the slopes eastward of the Andes, are wild and

very warlike.[2] Many of them eat human flesh; and they certainly came forth to make war and destroy the villages and fields of their neighbors, carrying off those they could capture as prisoners. To guard against this evil, there were garrisons in many parts, in which there were some *Orejones*. In order that the burden of war might not fall upon one tribe, and that they might not be able quickly to concert a rising or rebellion, it was arranged that the *mitimaes* should be taken from provinces that were conveniently situated, to serve as soldiers in these garrisons; whose duty it was to hold and defend the forts, called *pucaras*, if it should be necessary. Provisions were supplied to the soldiers of the maize and other food which the neighboring districts paid as tribute. The recompense for their service consisted in orders that were given, on certain occasions, to bestow upon them woollen clothing, feathers, or bracelets of gold and silver, after they had shewn themselves to be valiant. They were also presented with women from among the great number that were kept, in each province, for the service of the Inca [monarch], and as most of these were beautiful they were highly valued. Besides this, the soldiers were given other things of little value, which the governors of provinces were required to provide, for they had authority over the captains whom these *mitimaes* were obliged to obey.

Besides the frontiers already mentioned, they maintained these garrisons in the borders of Chachapoyas and Bracamoros, and in Quito, and Caranque, which is beyond Quito to the northward, next to the province called Popayan, and in other parts where it was necessary, as well in Chili, as in the coast valleys and the mountains.

The other manner of stationing *mitimaes* was more strange. The system of planting captains and garrisons on the frontiers, although done on a large scale, is no new thing, for there are not wanting other governments who have adopted a similar policy. But the other manner of colonising was different. In the course of the conquests made by the Incas, either in the mountains, or plains, or valleys, where a district appeared to be suitable for cultivation, with a good climate and fertile soil, which was still desert and uninhabited, orders were at once given that as many colonists as would be sufficient to people it should be brought from a neighboring province with a similar climate. The land was then divided amongst them, and they were provided with flocks and all the provisions they needed, until they had time to reap their own harvests. These colonists worked so well, and the king required their labors to be proceeded with so diligently, that in a short time the new district was peopled and cultivated, insomuch that it caused great content to behold it. In this way many valleys on the coast and ravines on the mountains were peopled, both such as had been personally examined by the Incas [monarchs], and such as they knew of from report. No tribute was required from the new settlers for some years; and they were provided with women, provi-

sions, and *coca*, that they might, with more goodwill, be induced to establish themselves in their new homes.

In this way there were very few cultivable lands that remained desert in the time of the Incas, but all were peopled, as is well known to the first Christians who entered the country. Assuredly, it causes no small grief to reflect that these Incas, being gentiles and idolaters, should have established such good order in the government and maintenance of such vast provinces, while we, being Christians, have destroyed so many kingdoms. For wherever the Christians have passed, discovering and conquering, nothing appears but destruction.[3]

Notes

1. Cieza is referring here to the Spanish chronicler Francisco López de Gómara.
2. Cieza refers here to ethnic groups in the eastern and southeastern lowlands of what is today Bolivia. Chunchos is a generic Inka term for eastern lowlanders, considered to be savage. Moxos refers to Indians in the region today known as the Beni. Chiriguanos refers to the indigenous people who today call themselves Guaraní.
3. Cieza's somber final note about the devastating effects of the Spanish conquest shows the influence of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas.

Workers in the Fields of the Inka

Mitimaes *of Cochabamba*

The valley of Cochabamba was perhaps the richest agricultural region in the highland Andes before the Spanish conquest. One of the most revealing sources for understanding Inka systems of territorial control and demographic relocation comes from a legal dispute in 1556 between the caciques and Indians of the Paria region in Oruro and their rivals from the Sipesipe region in Cochabamba, both of whom claimed lands in the valley. The documents show in intricate detail the profound transformations wrought by the Inka rulers Tupac Yupanqui (1471–93) and especially Wayna Qhapaq (or Guayna Capac, 1493–1527), the last great Inka ruler before the Spanish conquest. Wayna Qhapaq relocated local residents to the eastern frontiers in order to devote the lands in the central valley of Cochabamba to large-scale, intensive production of corn. Five primary grain farms (called chácaras *in these extracts), such as Yllaurco and Colchacollo, were allotted to 14,000 colonists "of many nations," such as the Collas, Soras, Quillacas, Carangas, Charcas, Qaraqaras, and Chichas. Most would have been seasonal corvée workers performing their labor turns, or* mita, *under the supervision of their own lords, here termed* caciques, *but also under the general authority of two Inka governors. Each* chácara *was divided into quarters, and each quarter subdivided into strips of land, called* suyos *in Quechua. Almost all the impressive surpluses were claimed by the state and exported by llama caravan for redistribution, with a small share preserved for the local field hands. The* tambo, *or way station, in Paria was the key storage site and transportation link on the royal road to Cuzco. Witnesses noted that many* mitimaes *took flight and sought refuge back in their altiplano homelands during the tumultuous time of Spanish conquest in Cochabamba.*

[The Indians in the Illaurco fields] were asked to declare their *suyos* [strips of land] and *chácaras* [fields]. They said the Inca Guayna Capac had distributed them[,] . . . and they said all the corn that was harvested in this chácara of Yllaurco and in the bordering suyos was taken to Paria and from there to Cuzco under Guayna Capac's orders.

Asked where the Indians who cultivated these chácaras and suyos came from, [they said] they came from their lands to cultivate because of their *mitas*, and they knew there were some *mitimaes* who lived in Chujlla who were put there by the Inca, and Carangas and Soras in Tacata; and that at present,

there are four of the Soras[,] . . . and as for the Carangas in Chujlla, [there are] as many as forty Indians with their women, sons, and girls.

Asked if there was more land in this valley that the Inca took for himself in order to distribute, they said that right at the border of the chácara of Yllaurco, the chácara called Colchacollo they know belongs to Guayna Capac and that he distributed it to Carangas Indians and others in this way.

The aforementioned chácara was divided in half by the Inca, who split it across the middle and made four quarters of it. One toward the Moxos mountain range, . . . and the other next to it. He did the same above, in the half of the chácara [allotted] to the Soras in the following way:

He entrusted and assigned the first [suyo], for the benefit of the captains of Guayna Capac, to Colla Indians called Capalancas, Indians native to Paucarcolla who came from their land to cultivate this suyo by mandate of the Inca, and who they say returned to their lands at the time that the Spaniards arrived.

The second [suyo] to the Lupaca Indians of Chucuito who came to cultivate his lands, and who returned to their lands at the time that the Spaniards entered this valley.

The third to Pacajes Indians of Callapa who came from their lands to cultivate the suyo and returned to them at the time the Spaniards entered in this valley.

The fourth to Indians of Pocopoco, Collas of Chuquicache, who they say left for their lands and that only one remains, who is called Alonso and is very old and who was present together with this respondent.

The fifth suyo to Colla Indians of Tiaguanaco who like the others came from their lands as the others did to cultivate this suyo and only two young men are left of them and the rest all went to their lands.

The sixth—there are Colla Indians of Caquiavire in another suyo who came from their land to cultivate and there are only one or two of them who live in Michoma.

The seventh and eighth were to be sown for the Indians who cultivated these plots so as to sustain them.

The ninth to the Sora Indians of Sipesipe.

The tenth to the said Indians of Sipesipe.

The eleventh to the Casaya Indians of Paria.

The twelfth to the Sora Indians of the said district [*repartimiento*] of Paria.

The thirteenth to the section [*parcialidad*] called Chio of the Soras district of Tapacarí.

The fourteenth to the section of Malconaca, Sora Indians of Tapacarí.

The fifteenth to the section of Machocavano of Caracollo, Sora Indians.

The sixteenth suyo to the section of the Araycabana of Caracoles with which the said suyo comes to an end. . . .

In the chácara of Colquepirua, jurisdiction of the city of Oropeza in the Cochabamba valley, on the 26th day of the month of February of 1574: His lordship Francisco de Saavedra Ulloa, inspector general to whom is assigned the inquiry about the lands that in this valley of Cochabamba were given out by the Incas, who were lords of this kingdom, to the Caranga and Quillaca caciques and Indians, together with lord Diego Núñez Bacán, Inspector General, before me, Joan de Arratia, visiting scribe, said that in compliance with what he was commanded, they had made inquiries and obtained information about the said lands. In addition to this information, all the caciques and Indians who assembled for the inquiry had together declared the distribution of lands that the Incas made in a registry that accompanies the said inquiry. . . . Thereby, it appears that Tupa Inca conquered the valley and removed from their birthplace the Indian natives whom he found in it who were Cotas and Cavis and Sipesipes. He transferred the Cotas and Cavis to Pocona and Mizque and gave them lands there, and assigned lands to the mentioned Sipesipes in the valley and put some Indians of this province to cultivate certain fields that he had there. Later Guayna Capac made a general distribution of all the lands of this valley for himself and had fourteen thousand Indians from many nations cultivate the fields.

Translated by Adriana Salcedo

Settlement and Landscape Transformation in the Amazonian Lowlands

Francisco Javier Eder

The account of the native Baure people penned by the Jesuit missionary Francisco Javier Eder (1727–72) expressed a conventional scorn for the presumed indolence of the natives with whom he met. Yet Eder was also impressed by the evidence he saw of their capacity for ingenuity, organization, and industry. The extensive linear causeways (which he deemed "bridges") and adjacent canals were huge environmental engineering efforts that allowed the transportation of goods and people despite the challenges of seasonal flooding. Eder marveled that the massive and numerous earthworks and palisades for military defenses of settlements were on a scale comparable to that of Europe.

But by time of his writing, Eder was a witness to the abandonment of the large-scale constructions, which would have required substantial maintenance from large populations under centralized political authority. The Baure myth recounted by Eder perhaps suggests the inquiries into the natural world undertaken by an earlier indigenous civilization in the region, as well as conflicts between the laboring population and its governors.

Of the Ancient Works of the Indians

BUILDING OF BRIDGES

There is no better place to know the extent of every person's capacity for reasoning than when a sudden danger or need arises: only this could sometimes persuade the Indians to resort to their intelligence, shaking off that innate negligence that is stuck to the marrow of their bones. The reader should recall . . . where I have talked about the floods: there he would have seen that all the savanna is covered by water for most of the year, so that one can only cross it by canoe from one island to another. Since most of these peoples do not have canoes, due to their laziness or ignorance of how to make them, but they still find it necessary or enjoyable to visit their close friends from time to time (mainly to drink), they built a kind of bridge with soil excavated from both sides, which remained above any floodwaters; its width was sufficient

Research in Bolivia's eastern lowlands in recent decades has contributed to breakthroughs in Amazonian archaeology. Studies suggest the existence of sophisticated hydraulic, agricultural, and transportation systems that transformed landscapes and were capable of supporting large-scale, prosperous, and urbanizing societies prior to the arrival of Europeans. In collaboration with the archaeologist Clark Erickson, the agronomy students Julio Arce and Juan Carlos Rea designed experiments at the Beni Biological Station Biosphere Reserve to understand raised-field technology, which is of pre-Columbian origin, and its potential for sustainable agriculture. Courtesy of Clark Erickson, photographer.

to allow two of our carriages to travel together. With these bridges they also managed to store the first rains of the year in the ditches left by the excavated soil and in the summer, when the savannahs are dry and almost burned, to retain a sufficient amount of water there to transport their corn and other necessities via those channels. The Baure made great use of these bridges, which can be found everywhere, although nowadays these are rarely used both because of the abundance of canoes and because bridges fell out of use and broke with the passage of so much time.

FORTIFICATION OF CHANNELS

They also had a kind of fortification against the ethnic group called the Guarayo: the latter, who to this day have refused to submit to the yoke of the faith and are accustomed to eating human flesh, during unending wars looted other populations of the pagan Baure, with the sole purpose of capturing the largest number of Indians, especially youth whom—once taken to their lands—they would gradually sacrifice. They offered the head and the

hands to their chiefs; the rest was eaten by the people. They kept the skulls as drinking cups.

Having terrorized the entire region, the Guarayo got the Baure to promise to deliver a certain number of boys and girls every year: but not even then were [the Baure] safe from [the Guarayos'] frequent and unexpected attacks. Thus, in order to solve their problems in another way, [the Baure] decided to surround their islands with trenches (that exist to this day and that demonstrate the large population that must have been there at that time). I visited islands whose circumference reached three miles and that were surrounded by two or three trenches. These trenches are so wide and deep that they can be compared with those of Europe. They piled up the soil by excavating the walls of the trenches, forming a wall with a very steep incline that was difficult for men to climb. In this way, they made it harder for the enemy to assault them.

SOME OTHER WORKS

I came across two or three savannas at higher elevations than the others and that for that reason were not flooded during certain years, nor could they therefore be navigated freely with canoes: they were adapted for navigation by excavating their lands.

In ancient times they also had wells, mainly when the river was far away. Indians often told me many things which I would not dare to classify as true or as fantastic, and therefore I do not bring them up here. One of them is what they tell about one of their *arama* [chiefs] who, wishing to find out where the sun, moon, and stars are and what matter they are made of, as well as what the bowels of the earth contain, ordered that the land be excavated and that simultaneously trees be gathered to build a tower; the diggers could not proceed due to the boiling waters, while those who were busy cutting and piling trees, overwhelmed by the effort of the labor, allegedly killed the *arama*, who was responsible for the work. Whoever wants to believe it, let him believe it!

Translated by Adriana Salcedo

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II

States and Conquests in the Andes

The southern Andean myth of the rise of the sun narrates a new historical time associated with the emergence and spread of powerful political overlords and expansive "state" polities, both Inka and Spanish. In this account, the rising sun broadcast the light of civilization throughout the Andean world after a time of darkness associated with a primordial society, prior to the Inka, which today we can recognize as a reference to Aymara-dominated political federations. That spreading light was also imagined as a devastating fire, in a vivid image of political conquest by one people who acquired supremacy over others. Different Andean peoples in fact engaged with conquerors and state formation in different ways, and their particular historical experiences with the Inka state would shape how they subsequently related to Spanish domination.

Prior to the Inka, the Tiwanaku state religious cult drew from earlier Andean models to convey its power, as is evident from its use of the ancient iconography of a staff-bearing deity (see the Door of the Sun photograph in this part II introduction).[1] Many of its impressive features—including solar worship, architectural style, vertical ecological organization, use of *mitimae* settlers—would later be replicated by the Inka who sought to claim the spiritual and political prestige associated with Tiwanaku.

After Tiwanaku's downfall, there ensued a period known to archaeologists as the "late intermediate" period—that is, in between the Tiwanaku and Inka state phases—from around 1000 to 1450 CE. Later Andean peoples remembered it as the "time of the warring people" (*awkaruna timpu* in Quechua). These "warriors" comprised regional federations, numbering around a dozen in what are today Bolivia's Andean highlands and valleys, that vied for regional power without any one among them exercising hegemony. When the Inka ethnic group began to expand out of the Cuzco basin and to conquer southern Andean territory, the groups it subdued in the name of its solar deity would later be associated with the Chullpas—mythic peoples, linked to the abandoned tombs that still dot the altiplano, who were destroyed with the emergence of the sun.

The Aymara-speaking federations that succumbed to Inka advances were

The Door of the Sun is a monumental icon of spiritual power at the center of the sacred capital of Tiwanaku, which reached its height around the tenth century of the current era. It features a deity whose head emits solar rays and who brandishes staffs of authority in both hands. The deity is accompanied by a suite of condors bearing their own staffs. Courtesy of Pedro Querejazu, photographer.

incorporated as the district of Qollasuyu within the vast Inka territory of Tawantinsuyu. Within Qollasuyu, there were two internally diverse macroprovinces, arranged according to a north-south division, each of which had undergone a distinctive conquest experience. The federations in what became the macroprovince of Collao—from Lake Titicaca down through what is today the La Paz region—put up stiff resistance, but were vanquished by the Inka's superior military force. Those federations further south in the macroprovince of Charcas—encompassing what is today Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Potosí—were more willing to negotiate accords that secured for them privileges and benefits under the Inka. Their lords later claimed, for example, that the Inka rewarded them with exemption from *mitimae* service. Inka state administration also preserved an earlier Aymara political-territorial division between the highland zones of Urqusuyu and the lower valley zones of Umasuyu. This west-east division carried with it various symbolic associations according primacy to the Urqusuyu groups—seen as masculine, wild, mountain peoples—over the Umasuyu groups—seen as feminine, domesticated, water peoples.

Within the broader boundaries of Collao or Charcas, Urqusuyu or Umasuyu, there were individual provinces, some of which were new Inka administrative units and some of which were based on older ethnic federations.[2]

Within each province, there was a capital as well as subordinate component groups. This nested hierarchy, preserving internal dualism at each level of segmentation, continued down to the microcommunity level of the *ayllus*. According to the ideal principles of Inka statecraft, each province held 10,000 or even 20,000 vassals, and each unit had its own governing lord. But the distinctive circumstances of local organization and the political processes of conquest led in fact to more complex realities on the ground.

At the time of Spanish conquest in 1538, Andean peoples in Qollasuyu put up fierce initial resistance. Yet the Spaniards astutely played different ethnic federations against each other, and alliances with Indian allies—such as Paullu Inka who accompanied Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro from Cuzco into the southern Andes with five thousand Pukina-speaking warriors from Hatun Qulla, an ethnic territory north of Lake Titicaca—proved crucial to Spanish success. In the aftermath of military defeat, some indigenous lords, especially those in the southern region of Charcas, sought to renew the strategy of a pact with the ruling state power that they had previously worked out under the Inka. In exchange for delivering various forms of tribute—which included turning over to the Spaniards a portion of the great Porco silver mine, formerly reserved for the Inka Wayna Qhapaq—the lords expected special standing and benefits. By the time Peruvian viceroy Francisco de Toledo was consolidating Spanish colonial government in the region, in the 1570s, the lords had drawn the frustrating conclusion that the new authorities were not upholding their end of the bargain. Nonetheless, the long-standing political pattern would continue to play out in the new postconquest Spanish context: in the southern region of Potosí, communities often attempted to enter into pacts with the state in order to stake their claims; in the northern region of La Paz, they were inclined toward more open contestation and conflict.

On the margins of the Andean highlands and highland valleys, other, smaller ethnic groups in the lowland valleys sometimes allied with the powerful Andean federations to fend off lowland groups perceived as fierce and uncivilized. For example, under Inka auspices, the Qaraqara and Charka federations fought alongside "bow-and-arrow Indians" against the Guaraní, dubbed Chiriguanos by the highlanders in the sixteenth century.[3] In the early colonial period, Spanish authorities continued to use Andean warriors to subdue the fearsome Chiriguanos, who carried out regular raids against Spanish settlements in the borderlands of Santa Cruz, Chuquisaca, and Tarija. In the nineteenth century as well, the Bolivian government sought to extend its territorial control in the borderland regions by defeating unsubdued lowland indigenous groups. The Guaraní in the Chaco region were not finally defeated until the Massacre of Kuruyuki in 1892. Thus, during periods of Inka, Spanish, or Bolivian rule, the highland-based state made recurrent efforts to expand its presence in the lowlands, and the conquest of native groups who resisted those efforts was an ongoing process on the frontier.

Notes

1. The staff-god motif seems to have its roots in the Chavín cult in northern Peru in the Early Horizon period (800–200 BCE).
2. These provinces were known as *señoríos* (chieftainships) and sometimes *naciones* (nations) in Spanish, or *wamanis* in Aymara and Quechua. The high-ranking lords and governors were known as *kurakas* in Quechua, *mallkus* in Aymara, and as *caciques* by the Spaniards, the latter term borrowed from the Taino people in the Caribbean and applied throughout Spanish America.
3. The "bow-and-arrow Indians" were the Chicha, Chui, and Yampara peoples.

Conquest by the Inka

Pedro Cieza de León

For more than a century, Inka territory spread far beyond its home base in Cuzco, reaching north and south along the mountain chain of the Andes. As Pedro Cieza de León's chronicle attests, the Inka combined military might with symbolic and material enticements to win over the regional Aymara federations in Qollasuyu. To local authorities, they offered gifts of gold and finely woven tunics. They gave Inka brides to Aymara lords, thereby sealing through kinship new political alliances. Local religious worship was respected while also absorbing it within the overarching Inka cult of the sun. Local populations stood to benefit from a negotiated pact with the new ruling power, since Inka largesse could mean new livestock, enhanced irrigation, or agricultural improvement. Such Inka strategies provided a degree of imperial stability that violence alone could not have secured, and were the object of admiration for some of the Spaniards who arrived in a new phase of conquest.

Which Treats of the Order Maintained by the Incas, and How in Many Places They Made the Waste Places Fertile, by the Arrangements They Made for That Purpose

One of the things for which one feels envious of these lords is their knowledge of the way to conquer the wild lands and to bring them, by good management, into the condition in which they were found by the Spaniards when they discovered this new kingdom. I often remember, when in some wild and barren province outside these kingdoms, hearing the Spaniards themselves say, "I am certain that if the Incas had been here the state of things would be different," so that the advantage they were to us was well known. For under their rule the people lived and multiplied, and barren lands were made fertile and abundant, in such manner and by such admirable means as I will describe.

They always arranged matters, in the commencement of their negotiations, so that things should be pleasantly and not harshly ordered. Afterwards, some Incas inflicted severe punishments in many parts; but formerly, it is asserted on all sides, that they induced people to submit by great benevolence and friendliness. They marched from Cuzco with their army and

warlike materials, until they were near the region they intended to conquer. Then they collected very complete information touching the power of the enemy, and whence help was likely to reach them, and by what road. This being known, the most effective steps were taken to prevent the succor from arriving, either by large bribes given to the allies, or by forcible resistance. At the same time forts were ordered to be constructed on heights or ridges, consisting of circles with high walls, one inside the other and each with a door. Thus if the outer one was lost, the defenders could retire into the next, and the next, until refuge was taken in the highest. They sent chosen men to examine the land, to see the roads, and learn by what means they were defended, as well as the places whence the enemy received supplies. When the road that should be taken and the necessary measures were decided upon, the Inca sent special messengers to the enemy to say that he desired to have them as allies and relations, so that, with joyful hearts and willing minds they ought to come forth to receive him in their province, and give him obedience as in the other provinces; and that they might do this of their own accord he sent presents to the native chiefs.

By this wise policy he entered into the possession of many lands without war. In that case, he gave orders to his soldiers that they should do no harm or injury, nor commit any robbery or act of violence; and if there were not sufficient provisions in the province, he ordered that it should be sent from other parts. For he desired that his sway should not appear heavy to those who had newly come under it, so as to know and hate him at the same time. If any newly conquered province had no flocks, he ordered that so many thousand heads should be sent there, to be well looked after, so as to multiply and supply wool to clothe the people; and none were to be killed for eating until the lapse of a certain number of years. If, on the other hand, they had flocks, but needed some other thing, a similar course was pursued to supply the want. If the people lived in caves or thickets, they were led, by kind words, to build houses and towns on the more level parts of the mountains; and when they were ignorant as regards the tilling of their land, they were instructed, and the method of making channels to irrigate their fields was taught to them.

In all things the system was so well regulated that when one of the Incas entered into a new province by friendly agreement, in a very short time it looked like another place, the natives yielding obedience and consenting that the royal governors and *mitimaes* should remain with them. In many others, which were conquered by force of arms, the order was that little harm should be done to the property and houses of the vanquished; for the lord said, "These will soon be our people, as much as the others." For this reason the war was made with as little injury as possible, although great battles were often fought, where the inhabitants desired to retain their ancient liberty and their religion and customs, and not to adopt new ways. But during such wars the Incas always had the mastery, and when the enemies were vanquished,

they were not destroyed; on the contrary, orders were given to release the captives and restore the spoils, and allow them to retain their estates. For the Inca desired to show them that they should not be so mad as to revolt against his royal person and reject his friendship; rather they should wish to be his friends, as were those in the other provinces. In saying this to them, he gave them beautiful women, pieces of rich cloth, and some gold.

With these gifts and kind words, he secured the good-will of all, in such sort that those who had fled into the wildernesses returned, without fear, to their houses, and all cast aside their weapons; while those who saw the Inca most frequently, looked upon themselves as most fortunate.

All were ordered to worship the Sun as their god. Their own customs and religious usages were not prohibited, but they were enjoined to conform to the laws and customs that were in force at Cuzco, and all were required to use the general language of the empire.

Having established a governor, with garrisons of soldiers, the army then advanced, and if the new provinces were large, it was presently ordered that a temple of the Sun should be built, and women collected for its service, and that a palace should be erected for the lord. Tribute was collected, care being taken that too much was not exacted, and that no injustice was done in anything; but that the new subjects were made acquainted with the imperial policy, with the art of building, of clothing themselves, and of living together in towns. And if they needed anything, care was taken to supply it and to teach them how to sow and to cultivate their lands. So thoroughly was this policy carried into effect, that we know of many places where there were no flocks originally, but where there has been abundance since they were subjugated by the Incas; and others where formerly there was no maize, but where now they have large crops. In many provinces they went about like savages, badly clothed, and barefooted, until they came under the sway of the Incas; and from that time they have worn shirts and mantles, both men and women, so that they always hold the change in their memories. In the Collao, and in other parts, the lord gave orders that *mitimaes* should go to the mountains of the Andes[1] to sow maize and coca, fruits and edible roots, for each town the quantity that was required. These colonists, with their wives, always lived in the places where the crops were sown and harvested, and the produce was brought from those parts, so that the want of it was never felt. And no town, however small, was without these *mitimaes* in the valleys.

Note

1. That is to say, that colonists were sent from the cold and lofty plateau of the Collao to the warm and deep valleys of the Andes, where maize and coca can be cultivated. There was thus an exchange of products between the cold and the more genial regions. [Note in original.]

"Our Natives Were Well Governed"

Mallkus *of the Qaraqara-Charka Federations*

In the aftermath of the Spanish conquest, the hereditary lords, or mallkus, *of the Aymara-speaking Qaraqara-Charka federations appealed to the Spanish Crown to recognize their claims to special benefits and privileges, arguing that they had enjoyed favor under the Inka and that the Spanish monarch should grant them similar standing. Drawing on Andean and Iberian references, they proclaimed a model for the proper ties of reciprocity between an imperial state and its loyal vassals, and smoothed over the differences between the former Andean overlord and the new Spanish one.*

The lords made their case in 1582, after the crucial period (1569–81) in which Viceroy Francisco de Toledo was laying the institutional foundations for colonial society in the Andes. Though Toledo had to negotiate with native lords, for example to consolidate the mita *(forced labor draft), he sought, with some success, to undercut their influence over the indigenous population. The lords nevertheless fought back and in this case maneuvered in the Spanish court to defend their presumed traditional rights.*

The voluminous Charcas Memorial, excerpted here, is a highly political document, and in numerous details, it simplifies the more complex arrangements of government at the local level, in order to make them more easily understandable to the authorities back in Spain.[1] *Nonetheless, in its extensive historical accounting, the document provides an illuminating outline of the relations between the Aymara kingdoms and the Inka prior to the arrival of the Pizarros and Almagros, as well as of the political contest thereafter.*

We four nations are the Charcas and Caracaras and Chuis and the Chichas, different in our costumes and customs; we were soldiers since the time of the Incas Yupanqui [Pachakuti], Tupa Inca and Guayna Capac, and Guascar, and when the Spanish entered this land they found us in possession of it.[2] And so these four nations, as is universally known, were soldiers from the time of the aforementioned Incas, exempt from direct and indirect taxes, and from all other taxes and personal services, such as herding and pasturing, and doing labor-services by turn [*mita*] in the court of the great city of Cusco, and being quarrymen, weavers of quality [*cumbi*] and standard cloth, workers

in the fields, stonemasons and quarrymen, people accustomed to transport mountains from one place to another with their bare hands, as previous generations did in the time of the Incas, as is universally known, and many other things;[3] and we were not dancers or clowns, accustomed to sing songs before the Incas in honor of their victories, as when we four nations triumphed and were victorious against the Chachapoyas, Cayambis, Cañaris, Quitos, and Quillayçingas, who are natives of Guayaquil and Popayán.[4] And if we the said four nations made some featherwork, clothing, and other things such as weapons, it was only for ourselves, and with the permission of the said Incas. And we enjoyed this privilege so that all the people of our four nations should go to war in splendid attire, when they went to conquer the tyrants of the Chachapoyas, and those of the other nations mentioned above, and the same too when they were at the frontiers and in the fortresses built against the Chiriguanos.[5] This is why these four nations were all exempted by the said lord Incas from all direct and indirect taxes and tributes, as is universally known.

In our province of the Charcas, before the Incas and after them, there used to be great natural lords of 10,000 vassals, and others of 8,000, and others of 6,000, and the said lords and knights were superior to the other chiefs and lords in each nation. And so one was for the Charcas, and another for the Caracaras, and another for the Chuis, and another for the Chichas, each different in nation, customs, and costume. And so each of these lords used to have eight deputies, and ten of a thousand Indians, and four principals of each *ayllu* of five hundred and one hundred Indians, and four heads in each *ayllu*, each in his nation of Anansaya and Urinsaya.[6] And according to this order the Incas governed. And all of us were lords of our subjects and natives, and our natives were well governed. And these were the customs found by the Spaniards and by His Majesty. And now in this General Visitation which has been carried out by order of don Francisco de Toledo, previous viceroy of these kingdoms, we have been deprived of all the authority and lordship that we held over our subjects and vassals, as though we were not their natural lords, just as the dukes, counts, and marquises are in Spain; and this means we have received great deprivation and damage. Wherefore we beg Your Majesty very generously to do us the favor of ordering us to be compensated, for thus we will receive benefit and grace, by issuing your royal provisions and privileges, conceded by the Catholic kings of Spain to the knights and gentlemen of the kingdoms of Spain.

Translated by Tristan Platt

Notes

1. For example, contrary to the testimony in the second part of this selection, there was not always one lord per territorial unit, nor the idealized decimal number of tribute-paying vassals in their jurisdiction. The document was written with the help of a member of the Audiencia of Charcas, the Spanish court of law based in today's city of Sucre, who sympathized with the cause of the Indian population.
2. The reference is to the Inka sovereigns who ruled successively in the Andes prior to the Spanish.
3. The lords overstated their claim not to have performed labor services, as other documentation shows that Qaraqara-Charka *mitimaes* contributed to the Inka's corn production in Cochabamba.
4. The lords were boasting of their role in the Inka conquests of other ethnic federations in what is today northern Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia.
5. The Chachapoyas and other enemies were here described as "tyrants" in order to defend the legitimacy of the Inka rulers with whom the Qaraqara-Charka lords were allied. The military services performed by the Qaraqara-Charka nations included defensive campaigns against the invasions of the Guaraní warriors on the southeastern borderlands of Inka territory.
6. The division of each community into Anansaya and Urinsaya (in Quechua) moieties was a form of social, symbolic, and territorial dualism that was generalized in the southern Andes under Inka state administration.

The Myth of the Chullpas and the Emergence of the Sun

Oral Tradition

The following story about the cataclysmic transition from an older time of darkness to a new solar age relates in mythic form the historical emergence of the state and its solar religious cult. It tells of the defeat and demise of earlier peoples, which are conflated symbolically as "Chullpas," and can be read as a myth of conquest corresponding to the political expansion of the Inka in the southern Andes in the fifteenth century.

*The material remains of these earlier societies are evident, as the story notes, in the pre-Inka tombs (*chullpares*) scattered about the altiplano. The small pockets of Uru peoples are also considered "remnants of the Chullpas" by the surrounding Aymara groups, whose ancestors reconstituted themselves under Inka state auspices. The Uru Chipaya, Uru Morato, and Iruitu groups are small communities that still populate the aquatic axis from Lake Titicaca down to Lake Poopó. They are distinguished from Aymara communities by their distinctive Uru Chipaya language as well as by forms of dress and their reliance on riverine and lacustrine resources. For their Aymara neighbors, the Urus are primitive peoples—associated with shadowy, watery realms of the Chullpa ancestors—from the time prior to the emergence of Andean civilization.*

The myth is found in many communities that once formed part of Qollasuyu. This version is a synopsis by the anthropologist Tristan Platt, based on his fieldwork in the modern Quechua-speaking community of Macha, in northern Potosí.[1]

In the old days [*ñawpa pacha*], there was the "unquiet time" [*inkyitu tyimpu*] of the Chullpas, who lived under the Moon. At this time, humans changed shapes with animals or birds. [To this day, an animal or bird, seen suddenly at dusk, may give people a fright, and they may ask, "Was that a Chullpa?"]

There was a Chullpa couple called Mariano and María [condor and frog]; there were only these two names. They ate lots of quinoa and *cañahua* [a crop related to quinoa] and *qalapurqa* [gruel cooked with three hot stones, still eaten today]. Their animals and plants were wild varieties of the ones we know today: their chicken was the tinamou [*p'isaqa*], their dog the fox [*atuq*], their cat the puma, their llama the vicuña; their potatoes and quinoa were