

The Economic Transformation of the Inca Heartland (Cuzco, Peru) in the Late Sixteenth Century

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In a single lifetime following the European invasion of the Andes in the 1530s, the region surrounding the Inca capital of Cuzco experienced profound economic transformations. The first Spanish eyewitnesses described the Inca heartland as a densely-settled region with a socially and ethnically diverse population that lived in farming and herding villages or served on country estates belonging to noble Inca families (e.g., Sancho de la Hoz 1962 [1534], ch. 17). Llama caravans transported provincial surpluses of maize, potatoes, and other crops to Cuzco or to local Inca storage facilities, and raw materials for producing fine craft goods flowed to the capital region. Inca rulers and their offspring used maize from productive valley-bottom terraces and coca leaf from plots on the nearby Amazonian slope to fuel festive events in Cuzco that reciprocated the service of local and provincial subjects. Inca nobles and the state religion did not monopolize the means of production in rural Cuzco, but they exercised variable degrees of control over a diverse

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array of productive environments and the labor of tributary and retainer populations.

From this view, Cuzco's rural economy was almost unrecognizable by the end of the sixteenth century. Although artifacts of the great estates of the 1530s remained and the idiom of Inca tributary practices persisted—in *yanacona* retainers, and rotational *mita* labor drawn from tributary populations—the former Inca heartland had been utterly overturned. Migration, war, and disease had transformed the region's ethnic constituency, altering the balance between local subsistence requirements and labor available for production of surplus. The Columbian exchange introduced new crops and herd animals, which became commodities alongside Andean maize and coca (Gade 1992). Surpluses flowed not to Cuzco, but to the booming mining center at Potosí—six hundred thousand head of European livestock in 1597, 680 metric tons of coca leaf in 1610, and unknown quantities of wheat and maize (Robins 2011: 42; Stern 1995: 73). Haciendas were proliferating in a climate of conflict with indigenous communities, as the growing Spanish republic expropriated indigenous community lands and imposed unsustainable labor demands.

The colonization of rural Cuzco unfolded over decades, punctuated by civil unrest and deadly epidemics that decimated the indigenous population and altered the composition of Europeans living in the region. As waves of Spaniards migrated to the former Inca heartland, they promoted their individual interests through Iberian municipal practices, while also exploiting native peoples using evolving colonial institutions. It took decades for royal officials to wrestle control from the original conquerors and to develop institutions for the long-term administration of “Indians” and “Spaniards” (e.g., Assadourian 1994; Varón Gabai 1997). Many scholars view the tenure of the viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581) as the first realization of Spanish colonial rule in the Andes, through the promulgation of new policies that resettled indigenous populations into ordered, European-style towns and established new policies on taxation and legal administration (e.g., Mumford 2012).

Despite the ambitions of the Toledan administrative program, early seventeenth-century writers already viewed them as a failure (e.g., Mumford 2012: 143–56; Wightman 1990: 15–25). To illustrate how they fell short of expectations, we will look a generation later, focusing on documents from the 1594–1595 *visita y composición de tierras*, an administrative visit that allocated community land to indigenous individuals and confirmed private property titles. We use detailed records from the *composiciones de tierras* in four colonial towns to the west of Cuzco (figure 1) to address long-term outcomes of Toledo's resettlement programs and tribute levies. The 1590s documents signal the inability of Toledan policies to create subject communities of Christianized Indians and expose how the erosion of indigenous control over the means of production instead transformed the indigenous population of the former imperial heartland into peasants.

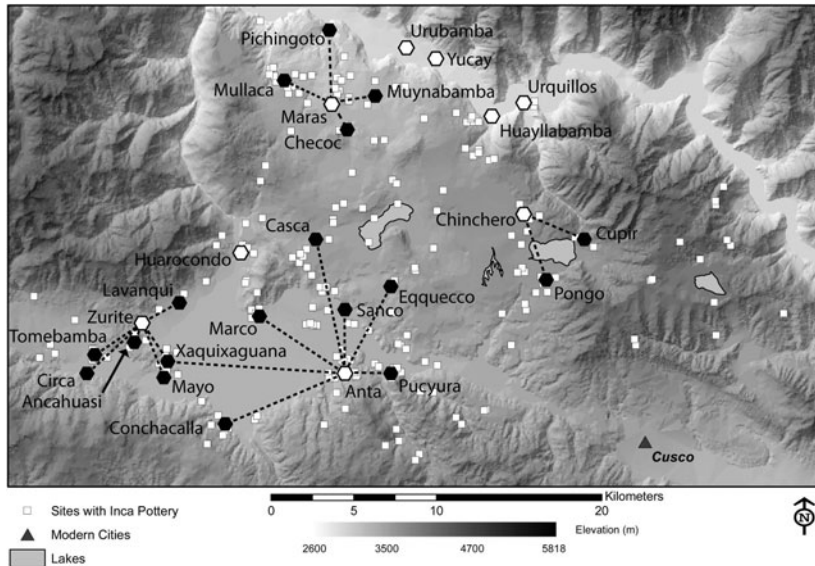


FIGURE 1. Map of the study region, showing Inca archaeological sites (small boxes), colonial *reducción* towns (white hexagons), and, where known, Inca-era communities reduced into those towns (black hexagons).

THE ADVENT OF ROYAL POWER IN RURAL CUZCO

For decades following the Pizarro expedition, royal officials were more or less absent in the Andean countryside. The *encomienda* system functioned with limited royal oversight in the early years, and attempts to curtail conquistador privileges provoked repeated rebellions during the 1540s and 1550s.¹ Royalist victories presented delicate opportunities for administrative consolidation. Crown officials rewarded loyalists with properties confiscated from defeated rebels, but subsequent attempts to inhibit the most egregious *encomienda* practices inspired further violent resistance. Royal authority in Spanish Peru grew conservatively, preserving as much of the existing order as was necessary to

¹ *Encomienda* grants made Spaniards the trustees of indigenous populations. In principle, Spaniards provided religious instruction in return for labor and material support. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the Spanish Crown curtailed the institution to fixed-term grants (usually two generations), often of a specified sum from the total revenues generated by a particular population. In late sixteenth-century Cuzco, these are frequently referred to as *repartimientos*, although the term can be applied to other classes of forced indigenous labor. Francisco de Toledo attempted to guarantee Spanish access to indigenous labor through the *mita*, an adaptation of Inca rotational labor practices whereby indigenous groups made a proportion of their population available for wage labor in mining, agriculture, textile mills, and other Spanish enterprises.

guarantee cooperation from most Europeans and Andean elites. Although royal officials began to collect population counts, identify tribute requirements (*tasa*), and conduct limited resettlement programs (*reducción*) among some Andean populations (e.g., Hampe 1979 [1561]; Rostworowski 1983–1984; Villanueva 1970 [1558]), such activities did not constitute a clearly articulated administrative strategy, and the scant known documentation suggests that they had limited impact before 1570 (e.g., Mumford 2012).² Early on, the Crown attempted to approximate Inca precedents, and the administrative efforts depended heavily on the participation of Andean administrators or record-keepers.³ The reliance by royal officials on Andean elites and an Inca *status quo ante* was consistent with legal proceedings at the level of the *cabildo* and *audiencia*.⁴ In Cuzco, Inca claims retained particular authority (e.g., Rostworowski 1962).

After years of weighing the justifications for royal administration and the methods that consolidation should pursue, Philip II sent his viceroy Francisco de Toledo to Peru in 1568 with a mandate to implement reforms that would increase royal authority, raise revenue, and facilitate missionary work among indigenous populations (see Merluzzi 2014). Toledo became convinced that native settlement practices were an impediment to this mission:

I came to have evidence that in no way could the Indians be catechized, indoctrinated, and taught, nor could they live in civil or Christian order so long as they should be living where they were, in the *punas* [high grasslands], gullies and canyons, and on the hills

² The Spanish *reducción* derives from the Latin *reducere*, “to lead back, accompany,” and its use reflects changing political, religious, and administrative attitudes toward “Indians” from the early period of colonization in the Caribbean to the Toledan reforms (Hanks 2010: 2, 187; see Mumford 2012: 1, 44–49). The connotation of *reducción*—to reassemble a wayward and scattered flock—should be considered in the broader context of the Counter-Reformation, and the language of resettlement in other times and places, such as the *congregaciones* in Guatemala, which use a similarly biblical herding metaphor (e.g., Lovell and Swezey 1990). Both of these terms relate to *policía* (urban and civil order, from the Latin *politia*), a civilization concept that eventually materialized as a gridded town with all of the requisite municipal and religious infrastructures. A 1575 letter from the viceroy Toledo (1899 [1575]: 32) reveals the intended cause and effect between resettlement, reform of indigenous minds and habits, and the establishment of a Catholic law and order: “. . . the natives should be reduced and congregated in towns where they can be instructed and occupied in good civil order, natural law, and evangelical doctrine” (*los naturales se reduzgan é congreguen á pueblos donde pueden ser enseñados é industriados en buena policía, ley natural é doctrina evangélica*).

³ A 1549 *visita* in Huánuco consulted Paucar Guaman, a *kuraka* of four thousand Inca-era households (Helmer 1955–1956), and the inspector questioned local *caciques* about Inca-era tribute requirements. The 1558 *reducción* of the Yucay Valley solicited *kipu* and oral accounts of the local population through *cacique* testimony (Villanueva 1970: 56). Around 1564, Polo de Ondegardo (1917: 155) described using older Inca men to identify precolonial boundary markers in Cuzco. See Herzog (2013) on the consequences of legal recognition of indigenous practices.

⁴ The *cabildo* was the town council, first for the citizens of Spanish towns, although *reducción* communities were intended to adopt this form of local governance as well (see Mumford 2012: 146–48). *Audiencias* dealt in higher-order administrative matters, and a major focus of Toledo’s new ordinances was relieving these bodies from troublesome local proceedings that could be moderated by lower-order royal officials.

and mountains, where they were divided and hidden, having fled the treatment and communication of the Spaniards that was loathsome to them. And because in [those places] they continued to preserve the adoration of their idols and rites and ceremonies of their ancestors ... the priests and monks could not enter to indoctrinate them... (Toledo 1867a [1582]: 13, authors' translation).

Highland Andean populations would not become good Christians without radical alteration to local cultures and communities. Toledo targeted indigenous elites as a threat to the new civil and moral order: "The government that the Indians had was the same and hardly more ordered than they had in the time of the Inca tyranny ... the *Curacas* [Inca administrators] and *Caciques principales* [indigenous leaders] had them so subjected that nothing they commanded them would not be taken as law" (ibid.: 16, authors' translation). Toledo viewed indigenous elites as tyrants who actively impeded the spread of Christianity and the rule of law.

His solution was the *visita general*, a five-year undertaking whereby inspectors collected indigenous population counts, levied new tribute demands, and resettled and reduced the population into nucleated towns to facilitate administration and evangelization.⁵ Unlike earlier proceedings, Toledo ordered that local *caciques* cooperate with the *visita*, but inspectors often bypassed their local knowledge regarding Inca precedents and indigenous records. For example, in the Yucay Valley the 1558 *reducción* relied solely on *cacique* testimony (Villanueva 1970), but in the 1571 Toledan *visita* the inspector Pedro Gutiérrez Flores announced to the *caciques* that he would record settlement data based on his own observations (Covey and Amado González 2008). Gutiérrez Flores ultimately copied population information tabulated two years earlier by the local priest (Covey, Childs, and Kippen 2011).

Toledo intended to detach indigenous Andean populations from their sacred and productive landscapes and from existing social and political hierarchies, thereby transforming them into Christian Indians. Establishing new Indian towns and imposing explicit tribute requirements (*tasas*) would reduce the number and privileges of indigenous title-holders and also create municipal authorities whose duties and salaries were more clearly specified. The *tasas* would check the power of *encomenderos* by funding local judges

⁵ There is an extensive bibliography on the Toledan *reducciones*, and many documents from the viceroy's ordinances and correspondence have been published (e.g., Toledo 1921a; Levillier 1940; see Málaga Medina 1974). Recent scholarship has focused on the administrative aims of the Spanish Crown (Merluzzi 2014), the implementation of resettlement in the Andean highlands (Mumford 2012), the collision of Spanish and Andean visions of social order (Gose 2008; Scott 2009), and the effects on life in indigenous communities (Wernke 2013; Zuloaga Rada 2012). Saito and colleagues (2014) offer a review of recent literature, which largely addresses former Inca provinces. Although this literature is valuable, we focus here on administrative documents specific to the Cuzco region, as well as primary texts, to address some processes particular to the transformation of rural life in the Inca capital region.

and *defensores de indios* and specifying the *encomendero*'s net income.⁶ Enumerating the indigenous population was essential to establish a sustainable tribute system and determine the amount of indigenous wage labor available for Spanish projects in cities, mines, and country estates (Toledo 1867a: 21–22).

Toledo addressed Inca sovereignty and administrative practices while designing the new colonial order (see Mumford 2012: 112–16). He collected testimonies regarding Inca administration in local contexts, and retained some practices expected to generate state resources or reduce administrative costs. For example, Toledo ordered that *caciques* continue the “ancient Inca” custom of public feasts that would feed poor Indians (1867c: 210 [1574, Ordenanza XIX]). Nevertheless, the viceroy was explicit that Inca-era conditions would no longer serve as the basis for tribute levies, and by extension, access to productive resources. Noting that indigenous populations had changed since Inca times, Toledo ordered that land repartitions and turns of labor service conform to current population counts (*ibid.*: 214–16 [1574, Ordenanzas XXIX–XXX]), and that lands be distributed equally between the social groups comprising each *repartimiento*, “even though the Indians of those *parcialidades* [moieties] and *ayllus* [coresidential groups] from whom they would have to take lands for other *ayllus* and *parcialidades* should state and allege that they hold those lands and have possessed them since the time of the Inca” (*ibid.*, authors’ translation).⁷ Couched in terms of fairness and concern for native population growth, this command asserted a new legal basis for indigenous landholding and facilitated the reduction of the broader landscape claimed by Andean social groups from Inca times and earlier. Rather than control the region across which its constituent population lived and labored, an *ayllu* or *parcialidad* would receive lands appropriate to its subsistence needs and *tasa* requirements, designated with new boundary markers. Lands were to be equally distributed among individuals, and the *corregidores* would conduct new population counts every three years to determine whether tributary groups (and their land needs) had grown or shrunk (*ibid.*: 216).

The moral authority of the Toledan *reducciones* depended on successfully removing indigenous subjects from the alleged tyranny of their local ecology, customs, and social hierarchies and integrating them into well-ordered

⁶ The inclusion of *tasa* funds for municipal officials buttressed the recent creation of *corregidores de indios*, appointed by the king or viceroy. Toledo promoted local legal oversight to unburden the *audiencias* from what he saw as an overly litigious indigenous population (1867a: 19–21). Toledo noted (*ibid.*: 18) that designating priestly salaries in the *tasa* would also prevent the clergy from abusing their congregants.

⁷ The *ayllu* was an indigenous group that cooperated to manage land tenure and subsistence activities. It could be kin-based or simply co-residential, and the use of the term is muddled by the *reducciones*, since many settlements that were constituted as villages became *ayllus* in new colonial towns. In this study, we use the term to describe social groups that were settled in *reducción* towns, but which did not always belong to the same *repartimientos* as their municipal neighbors for the purposes of taxation or wage labor demands.

Christian towns—an act of colonial ethnogenesis to establish them securely as subjects of the Spanish Crown. The fragmentary documentation of how the *reducciones* actually proceeded exposes the compromises (and corruption) underlying the implementation of royal claims over the Indian republic in the Peruvian Andes. Because the *reducciones* did not reconfigure *repartimiento* grants, Toledo's inspectors settled tributary populations inconsistently, often in multiethnic agglomerations that belonged to multiple *repartimientos* (Mumford 2012). In many cases *reducciones* were established in an existing community, and inspectors did not reallocate land among the new town's residents. Despite orders that individuals moving to new communities should be given good lands nearby (Toledo 1867c: 176–77 [1574, Ordenanza 37]), the original populations of many *reducción* towns retained the best local agricultural resources, and newcomers had to journey beyond those traditional holdings to their own ancestral fields and pastures.

Toledo acknowledged the ecological complexity of the Andean highlands and the need for land allocations and tribute levies to reflect local agrarian potential—of the *repartimientos*, rather than the new *reducción* towns. The *tasas* imposed annual demands of tribute in kind that were roughly tailored to local landscapes. To the west of Cuzco, the Toledan *tasas* specified three tribute crops—maize, wheat, and potatoes—to be paid in different proportions, with potatoes paid in their dried form (*chuño*) in one case (table 1). Although the *tasas* treated maize, wheat, and dried potatoes as commodities of equivalent market value, the land, water, and labor resources required for production varied by location. Groups already farming irrigated Inca maize terraces could cultivate their tribute in kind with little modification to existing local subsistence practices, whereas the production of wheat involved a riskier conversion of farmland or pastures, and new labor schedules. To generate tributary surpluses, the intensification of tuber cultivation might require alterations to crop rotations, fallow cycles, and reciprocal labor networks.

As Toledo sought to reorganize rural space into more legible subject towns with reduced subsistence resources, he also addressed Spanish Peru's need for labor. The new ordinances scrutinized existing labor relationships, promoting rural landscapes where tributary Indian communities would provide wage labor needed for Spanish projects. The viceroy prohibited people of African heritage from living in indigenous communities in rural Cuzco (1867b: 92 [1572, Título XXII]), and ordered that unauthorized retainers—those beyond what was “appropriate for ordinary service”—be removed from the houses and estates of *encomenderos* and property owners and placed in *reducciones* as tributaries (ibid.: 109 [1572, Título XXIX]).⁸ Noting that some Spaniards

⁸ After the 1570s, individuals of African descent still labored in rural Cuzco, and some were owners of herding stations. The persistence of so-called *yanacunas* suggests that the viceroy's orders did not eliminate retainer labor, either.

TABLE 1.
Toledan Tasas from Repartimientos in the Xaquixaguana and Yucay Valleys of Rural Cuzco

Repartimiento	Trib.	Silver	Maize	Income (Pesos)			Total	Payments (Pesos)			<i>Encom.</i>
				Wheat	Potato	Birds		Priest	Legal	<i>Cac.</i>	
Yucay	708	2816	675	0	0	29	3520	602	443	125	1646
Alpasondor	26	100	12.5	9	0	1	125	48	16	6	52
Maras	240	829	171	171	0	13.5	1185	188	150	60	331.5
Canco y sujetos	615	2440	270	270	40	30	3050	610	383	120	1325
Puquiura	231	916	85.5	85.5	25	33	1145	246	144	30	496
Pomahuanca y Ancaguaci	348	1376	120	150	40	34	1720	348	217	70	741
Cupirpongo y sus sujetos	264	1286	30	60	160	12	1179	204	165	80	468

Notes: Data are taken without correction from Cook 1975. Tributaries (Trib.) are married men aged 18–50. For Cupirpongo, the “Potato” category includes 150 pesos of dried potatoes (*chuño*). Costs comprise *doctrina* (Priest), representation by *justicias* and *defensores de indios* (Legal), and incomes for *caciques* (*Cac.*). The *encomendero* (*Encom.*) received the remainder, less the one-fifth paid to the Crown.

cheated Indians of their wages, Toledo ordered that indigenous laborers be paid annually in Cuzco, respecting a 1571 *cabildo* wage scale that designated daily and annual pay for different labor categories (ibid.: 109–11 [1572 Título XXIX]). Wage labor was to come primarily from tributary communities, but the designation of compensation and material support for minors and the elderly indicates that the viceroy intended for all indigenous people to be available to work for Spaniards in their houses, gardens, fields, and pastures. Toledo acknowledged that his new ordinances could make it harder for Spaniards to coerce indigenous laborers, so he ordered local officials to compel all unoccupied Indians to hire themselves to Spaniards. Tributary communities to the west of Cuzco were not subject to mining service at Potosí, but were ordered to perform rotational labor in Cuzco and to provide one-seventh of their heads of household for wage labor on neighboring Spanish estates, and more workers at harvest time.

COMPOSICIONES DE TIERRAS IN RURAL CUZCO

The implementation of Toledo's new ordinances fell far short of their rhetoric and detail. Study of the documents produced a generation later—specifically the *composiciones de tierras* of rural Cuzco—reveals the extent of the failure to create new Christian Indian towns operating in tandem with Spanish Peru. In 1591, Philip II issued a royal *cédula* ordering that his viceroy, García Hurtado de Mendoza, oversee the legal repartition of lands in Peru (Torres Saldamando 1879). This proceeding built on a 1589 *cédula* stating that only royal officials could grant titles to lands in the Americas, a declaration that negated earlier titles from municipal authorities and other officials (Amado González 1998: 198). By claiming the exclusive power to grant land titles, the king established himself as the sole authority who could determine whether lands were vacant and whether claimants made a compelling case for ownership.

The viceroy appointed Alonso Maldonado de Torres, an *oidor* of Lima's royal *audiencia*, as presiding judge in Cuzco, and he in turn named inspectors (*visitadores*) to oversee the inspection of private properties and to visit *reducción* towns in 1594–1595 (ibid.: 198–99). For private lands, Maldonado de Torres issued an act “in which he ordered that all of those who have lands, coca plots, herding facilities, and other possessions in the vicinity of this city, and in the towns and valleys of the *corregimientos* of its district, should show the titles that they have in order to be able to possess them.”⁹ Landowners seeking title presented petitions or testimony describing the size, location, and boundaries of their land, and information about its purchase. Once Maldonado de Torres confirmed the title, an inspector visited the plot and an official

⁹ AGI Escribanía 506A 1625 [1594] f. 45v: “en que mando que todos los q tienen tierras chacras de coca estancias y otras posesiones en terminos desta çiudad y en los pueblos y ualles de los corregimientos de su distrito exsiuiesen los titulos que para las poder poseher tienen.”

measurer (*medidor*) delimited the lands and confirmed boundary markers (e.g., AGN, Derecho Indígena, L.13, C.302 [1594]).

For indigenous lands, inspectors received commissions to visit *reducción* towns, where they presented a second act from Maldonado de Torres, “in which he declared all the lands ... to belong to His Majesty and to his Royal Crown, that in effect they are such for being the king and natural lord of these Kingdoms. And in it, he told them and made them understand, that His Majesty, as king and so powerful and pious a lord, commanded that they be given and have distributed to them lands for their sustenance, to pay the tax and tribute that they owe, and for other things that were appropriate.”¹⁰ The inspector then determined the location and size of lands pertaining to different *ayllus* and measured out lands deemed appropriate for their subsistence and *tasa* needs. After the distribution of land to individuals in the *ayllu*, the inspector identified “surplus” lands that the Crown could sell or grant to private individuals (e.g., AGN, Títulos de Propiedad, L.2, C.40 [1595]). Following the auction of surplus lands, administrators frequently returned some portion of unsold lands to the indigenous group that had formerly possessed them, so that “extra” lands remained in the royal domain where they could be alienated from indigenous subjects in future proceedings.

The *composiciones de tierras* emphasized two aspects of Spanish sovereignty. In the “republic of Spaniards,” confirmation of titles reinforced the royal claim to have the exclusive authority to expropriate resources from the Indian domain, to make them available to “Spanish” subjects. By the 1590s, royal officials confronted a complicated tangle of land transfers and transactions set in motion by decades of municipal land allocation and local sales and swaps.¹¹ Although it is possible that this process put an end to some illegal land occupation and that Maldonado de Torres rejected some dubious claims, it appears that most *composiciones* involving Spaniards were limited to collecting fees for the royal confirmation of existing property claims, rather than more extensive royal land redistribution.

¹⁰ Títulos de Zurite [1595] f. 1v: “declaró todas las tierras de este dho Valle ser y pertenecer a su Magestad y a su Real Corona; como en efecto le son por ser REY y Señor natural de estos Reynos: y en el les dixo y dio a entender, que su Magestad, como REY y Señor tan Poderoso, y piadoso, mandaba se les diesen y repartiesen tierras p^a su sustenta, y pagar la taza, y tributo que deben, y para las demas cosas que hubieron menester.”

¹¹ In 1594, Pedro de Orúe’s heirs petitioned the Crown for recognition of several plots near Maras, including fields the Cuzco *cabildo* granted to Orué in the 1550s after confirming them as “vacant” Inca lands. Orué’s heirs also presented titles for lands purchased from the royal treasurer García de Melo (who purchased them from Cuzco’s *cabildo* in the 1550s); from a widow who inherited a herding *estancia* that Francisco Pizarro granted to an early conquistador; and from Inca nobles who sold their Xaquixaguana Valley lands. The record of the subsequent measurement of plots suggests that most, if not all, of these requests were granted (AGI Escribanía 506A, 1625 [1594–1595, f. 45–53]).

Although the *composiciones de tierras* in the “republic of Indians” cited the same sovereign claim of absolute authority over land, they granted lands in the royal domain to indigenous groups based on their status as tribute-paying subjects. The Toledan reforms had already adopted this stance in the 1570s as a way of rejecting the Inca *status quo ante*, although Toledo’s failure to overhaul indigenous land tenure ensured the continued relevance of Inca-era boundaries in rural Cuzco. By requiring royal titles for all lands, Philip II claimed the moral authority to oversee a hoped-for recovery of the Indian population, as well as the management of Spanish encroachment on indigenous landscapes. Beneath this lofty rhetoric lay the economic reality of the proceeding: royal officials designated large quantities of indigenous lands vacant and sold them to Spaniards to raise much-needed revenue, stimulating the demand for indigenous labor on private estates built from the ancestral holdings of tributary *ayllus*.

ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL DIVERSITY IN FOUR *REDUCCIÓN* TOWNS

Detailed land distribution records associated with the *composiciones de tierras* in Cuzco *reducción* towns expose the failure of Toledo’s stated aims to reduce the power of local elites and ancestral land claims; to create new tributary towns that were egalitarian, Christian, and subject to the Crown; and to enmesh the indigenous and Spanish spheres in more symbiotic and sustainable ways.¹² Our sample focuses on groups living in four *reducción* towns in the Xaquixaguana and Yucay Valleys to the west of Cuzco. Although the documents are not completely preserved, we transcribed and studied all available and legible parts for *ayllus* in Anta, Zurite, Yucay, and Maras (table 2). Our study evaluates lands allocated to 748 individuals from at least nine *ayllus*, including over 1928 *topos* and 29 *papacanchas* covering 2229 parcels.¹³

The *reducción* towns congregated different *repartimientos* that organized themselves to meet the challenges of producing surpluses through hydraulic agriculture, cyclical dry-farmed horticulture, and mixed agropastoralism. The *ayllus* for which we have records represent the cosmopolitan constituency of

¹² Donato Amado Gonzáles identified these documents as part of a broader regional study of archaeological sites, place names, and archival records. Records from the communities in our study, and for other groups, are often maintained by municipal officials or in private archives, and their content remains sensitive because of their legal implications.

¹³ *Composiciones* measured in units based on the Castilian rod (*vara*), and these varied by locale. Indigenous lands were typically measured as *topos*, which were 93 x 38 *varas* (~0.25 ha.) in the Xaquixaguana Valley (AGN, Derecho Indígena L.13, C.302 [1594, f. 68–73]), but 100 x 60 *varas* (~0.42 ha.) in the Yucay Valley (Archivo de Urubamba, L.1, C.3 [1595, f. 4v]). Private property was usually measured in *fanegadas* (288 x 144 *varas*, about 2.9 ha.) (e.g., AGI Escribania 506A, 1625 [1594, f. 84v]; cf. Rostworowski 1978). Individual grants smaller than a *topo* were sometimes measured in *papacanchas* (literally, “potato enclosures”), but these do not appear to be standard units determined by colonial *medidores*.

TABLE 2.
Ayllus Discussed in Composición de Tierras Documents

Town	Groups Documented	Description
Anta	Ayllu Eqquecco	Nearly complete account of Ayllu Eqquecco repartition (201 individuals)
Zurite	Ayllu Tomebamba y Curamba, Ayllu Cuzco Collanas, Ayllu Circa, Ayllu Suriti, Ayllu Mayo	Individual distribution data for Ayllus Suriti and Mayo; description of locations and boundary markers for other <i>ayllus</i> .
Maras	Ayllu Muynapampa, Ayllu Checoc y Saño, Ayllu Pichingoto	Individual repartition data from a subset of <i>ayllus</i> in the town
Yucay	Ayllu Yngas Cuzco, Ayllu Guaraca, Incas	Sixty-nine individuals from an unknown <i>ayllu</i> ; also <i>yanaconas</i> and reserved Incas

Sources: Anta: Títulos de Eqquecco; Zurite: Títulos de Zurite; Maras: Visita de Maras; Yucay: Archivo de Urubamba, L.1, C. 3, 1595–1865.

the Inca imperial heartland.¹⁴ Spanish officials allocated and reassigned these groups multiple times, and at the time of the *composiciones* many *ayllus* in the study area were part of the *repartimientos* of Beatriz Coya, the great-granddaughter of the Inca Huayna Capac, whose Xaquixaguana and Yucay Valley holdings included more than 1300 tributaries.¹⁵ Other groups living in the same *reducción* towns were assigned to smaller *repartimientos* held by

¹⁴ See Covey 2014 for a brief overview of the region in Inca times. Some *reducción* towns in the area had a Cuzco Ayllu comprising Inca people from the capital, and sometimes non-local retainers attached to their households. Several local communities (e.g., Anta, Eqquecco) claimed honorary ethnic Inca status in recognition of their role as lower-order imperial administrators and provincial colonists. Other pre-*reducción* communities appear to have been non-Inca, some of them representing resettled provincial labor colonists and retainers.

¹⁵ Although earlier viceroys had held out Huayna Capac's lands and retainers as an inducement to gain noble Inca cooperation (Covey and Elson 2007), Toledo indirectly used it to reward Martín García de Loyola for his part in capturing Tupac Amaru, the last Inca ruler in exile. Toledo offered Loyola the hand of Beatriz Coya, the heiress to what remained of Huayna Capac's estates, and the couple engaged in legal battles in the years that followed to recoup land and labor that they argued was rightfully theirs (Covey and Amado González 2008). In 1573, Toledo described Beatriz Coya's Cuzco *repartimientos* as comprising 2006 tributaries in the Yucay, Xaquixaguana, and Pisac valleys (1921b: 217). Documents from 1582–1583 provide Toledan tributary counts: 708 tributaries in Yucay, 366 at Caquia Xaquixaguana, and 615 at "Sanco y sus sujetos" (Cook 1975). There were also 450 tributaries at Pisac (Enríquez 1921 [1583]: 167), where nine communities serving Beatriz were reduced (Covey and Amado González 2008: 313–14 [1572, f. 444]), although she is not explicitly named in association with that grant. In 1614, Philip III granted a noble title to the estate (the Marquesado de Oropesa) to Ana María Lorenza de Loyola Coya, the daughter of Beatriz Coya and Martín García de Loyola, who had been raised at court and married Juan Enríquez de Borja.

Spaniards and Inca nobles. Amidst the tributary populations were indigenous people who were exempt from tribute due to their status either as Inca nobles or retainers (*yanakuna*) serving colonial elites directly.¹⁶

Nuestra Señora del Valle de Anta

In 1572, Francisco de Toledo ordered the resettlement of Beatriz Coya's *repartimiento*. In the Xaquixaguana Valley, the existing town Anta became a new *reducción* called Nuestra Señora del Valle whose original population of honorary Incas was joined by the nearby communities of Cazca, Cuzco, Eqquecco, and Tambo (Covey and Amado González 2008 [1572, f. 443–44]).¹⁷ Sanco, which also served Beatriz Coya (Cook 1975), was reduced into Anta, as were the Inca towns of Conchacalla and Marco. The only group from Anta for which we have information on the *composiciones* is Ayllu Eqquecco.

Anta is situated near valley-bottom lands suitable for maize cultivation, but the people of Ayllu Eqquecco originally came from 4 kilometers to the northeast, in the ecotone with *suni* uplands (3500–3700 meters above sea level) used for cultivating tubers and European grains. In the *composiciones*, individuals in Ayllu Eqquecco received maize plots as well as lands for potatoes and grains and at least one fruit grove parcel. The *ayllu* corporately received title to various parcels for subsistence farming, including 8 *topos* of maize lands and 70 *fanegadas* for potatoes, barley, and legumes. A *fanegada* was designated for *tasa* payment and to provide for town officials.

San Nicolás de Zurite

Located on the western side of the Xaquixaguana Valley, some of the population of Zurite was in Beatriz Coya's *repartimiento*, along with the communities of Pomaguanca, Lavanqui, Chiguan Quiliscaches, Huarcocondo, and Lacrama. These settlements were reduced into San Nicolás de Zurite in 1572, along with populations from places named Mayo, Circa, Ancahuasi, Tomebamba, and Curamba.¹⁸ Zurite was home to Inca people from Cuzco, as well as retainers (*yanakuna*), who were exempt from tribute (AGN, Derecho Indígena, L.7,

¹⁶ We distinguish here between Inca retainers (*yanakuna*) who were transplanted from their natal communities and became perpetual members of royal Inca households, and the *yanaconas* who lived outside of tributary communities and labored for colonial elites, who often provided them with farmland for their subsistence, and other material support. As we will discuss, such retainer relationships were popular in areas once organized as royal Inca estates, but also in new areas of intensive herding.

¹⁷ In 1583 (Enríquez 1921: 167), the *repartimiento* of "Sanco y sus sujetos" was "reduced into three towns called Nuestra Señora del Valle [Anta], San Martín de los Quiliscaches [Huarcocondo], and San Nicolás de Zurite" (*rreduzidos en tres pueblos llamados nuestra señora del Valle san martin de los quilliscaches san nicolas de sorite*). It is reasonable to associate the Toledan *tasa* with Xaquixaguana Valley communities serving Beatriz Coya.

¹⁸ Ayllu Mayo and Ayllu Circa were honorary Inca communities in Miguel Ángel Felipón's *encomienda* (AGN, Derecho Indígena, L.3, C.38 [1595]; ARC Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, L.2, C.23 [1595]), who received the award for service against the English Navy (AGI Lima 209,

C.95, 1637 [1606, f. 3]).¹⁹ Productive valley-bottom lands, including an extensive complex of irrigated terraces suitable for maize agriculture, at Pomaguanca, lie within the borders of the *reducción* town, as do areas of higher elevation grain and tuber lands (3350–3780 meters above sea level) and high pasture lands.

The surviving *composición* documents describe lands of several *ayllus*, with some general ecological classification (maize, wheat, or potato lands). Ayllu Mayu received 340 *topos* for subsistence farming as well as 15 *topos* at Peccoquaycco for collective tribute needs. Ayllu Tumibamba had 50.5 *topos* for its members as well as 12 *topos* of wheat lands for paying the *tasa*. Ayllu Cuzco Collanas, which seems to have been exempt from tribute, held 520 *topos* of subsistence lands. The Zurite document records individual repartition of lands to this *ayllu*, as well as the allotments for Ayllu Zurite.

San Francisco de Maras

Maras is situated at 3200–3500 meters above sea level on a rolling plain just to the south of the Yucay Valley, an area today used for European cereals and herding because of its relatively dry conditions. The warm gullies that punctuate the plateau are favorable for maize agriculture in areas where irrigation water is available. The early colonial population of San Francisco de Maras included Inca retainers taken from several provinces, as well as local communities (Covey and Amado González 2008; Quave 2012). Although the document is incomplete, we registered individual repartition data for ninety-five individuals from three *ayllus* in Maras—Pichingoto, Checoc y Saño, and Muynapampa. In 1595, these *ayllus* were part of the *repartimiento* of Beatriz Coya and her husband Martín García de Loyola (Covey and Amado González 2008; Visita de Maras 1595, f. 3), whereas the remaining Maras *ayllus* (Maras, Mullacas) served in other *repartimientos*.²⁰ The Maras repartition distinguishes between wheat and maize lands, with most individuals receiving an allotment of maize lands and twice that amount in wheat lands. Additionally, there were dispersed grants of corrals and fruit groves.

Santiago de Oropesa (Yucay)

Founded by the Inca Huayna Capac about a century before the *composiciones*, Yucay lies at the floor of the Urubamba Valley (2850 meters above sea level)

Número 17 [1592]). Tomebamba and Curamba appear to have had at least some members who were Inca retainers.

¹⁹ By the 1580s, some of the population ordered to settle in Zurite lived in another *reducción* town, San Martín de Huarcocondo, with the former communities of Huarcocondo, Quilescache, and Lavanqui (AGN, Títulos de Propiedad, L.18, C.359, 1647 [1588, f. 36v ff.]; cf. Julien 2012: 158). The repartimiento of Alpasondor was also reduced into Huarcocondo.

²⁰ Pedro de la Gasca granted income from Maras to Pedro de Orúe (AGI Escribanía 506A 1625 [1619, f. 69v–70]), who also acquired an additional encomienda through his marriage to Felipa de Guevara (AGI, Lima 199, N.37 [n.d.], f. 1v.; AGN, Superior Gobierno, L.1, C.10, 1586 [1574, f. 20–20v]; Enríquez 1921 [1583]: 166; Cook 1975: 157).

surrounded by highly productive maize lands. A fragmentary copy of the 1595 repartition associated with the *composiciones* provides information about allotments to 179 individuals. Because many pages of the extant document are missing, it is impossible to affiliate individuals with *ayllus* in most cases, but records of some members of Ayllu Guaraca and Ayllu Yngas Cuzco are identifiable. Despite its incompleteness, the document offers perspectives on lands granted to Inca people and the retainers of early colonial elites.²¹ Populations in Yucay comprised a diverse collection of tributaries in Beatriz Coya's *repartimiento*, as well as tribute-exempt individuals: people of noble Inca status (Ayllu Yngas Reservados) and *yanakuna* settled in the valley by Inca nobles and early colonial elites. Records of individual land allotments show the prevalence of maize lands, although some members of Ayllu Guaraca also received plots classified as suitable for wheat.

PATTERNS OF INDIVIDUAL LAND ALLOTMENTS

Zurite's community land distribution commenced on 9 January 1595 with a description of the existing pattern of landholding: 1.5 *topos* of maize land and 2 *topos* of wheat land per tributary, excluding lands for the sustenance of the poor, orphans, and widows (Títulos de Zurite f. 1v–2). This was accepted as the basis for the new distribution, with certain people to be given more lands than the typical allotment: "...giving preference in greater quantity for the best lands, and the closest to the town, to the *caciques principales* and *segundas personas* and *ayllo curacas* and other overseers, and women who had been married to *caciques*; and to the tributary Indians, likewise favoring with greater quantity those who have a large number of children."²² Unmarried individuals in the town (single men, orphans, and the elderly) were to receive lands appropriate to their state. Although these instructions vary slightly for the different *ayllus* of Zurite, we can consider them as generally consistent with distribution priorities for other communities in our sample.

Distributions of individual allotment sizes in each *reducción* town (figure 2) confirm the three-tiered allocation practice described in the Zurite document, although there are local variations that deserve additional discussion. Allotments from Anta and Zurite *ayllus* indicate two modes that suggest default distributions for tributary households (4 *topos*) and unmarried

²¹ Although Huayna Capac's great-granddaughter Beatriz Coya inherited the *repartimientos* of the Yucay and Xaquixaguana valleys, there were hundreds of households in and around Yucay claiming tributary exemption as retainers of Andean (Inca and Cañari) and Spanish elites (e.g., Covey and Amado González 2008; Covey and Elson 2007). Legal disputes in the 1570s and 1580s revolved around the reassignment of "*yanaconas*" to the service of the Spanish Crown instead of the *repartimiento* of Beatriz Coya.

²² Ibid. f. 2: "...en mas cantidad prefiriendo a los Casiques principales, y Segundas personas, y Ayllo Curacas y demas mandones, y mugeres que hayan sido de Casiques en las mejores tierras, y mas cercanas al dho Pueblo; y a los Yndios tributarios, así mismo prefiriendo en mas cantidad a los que tienen hijos en cantidad."

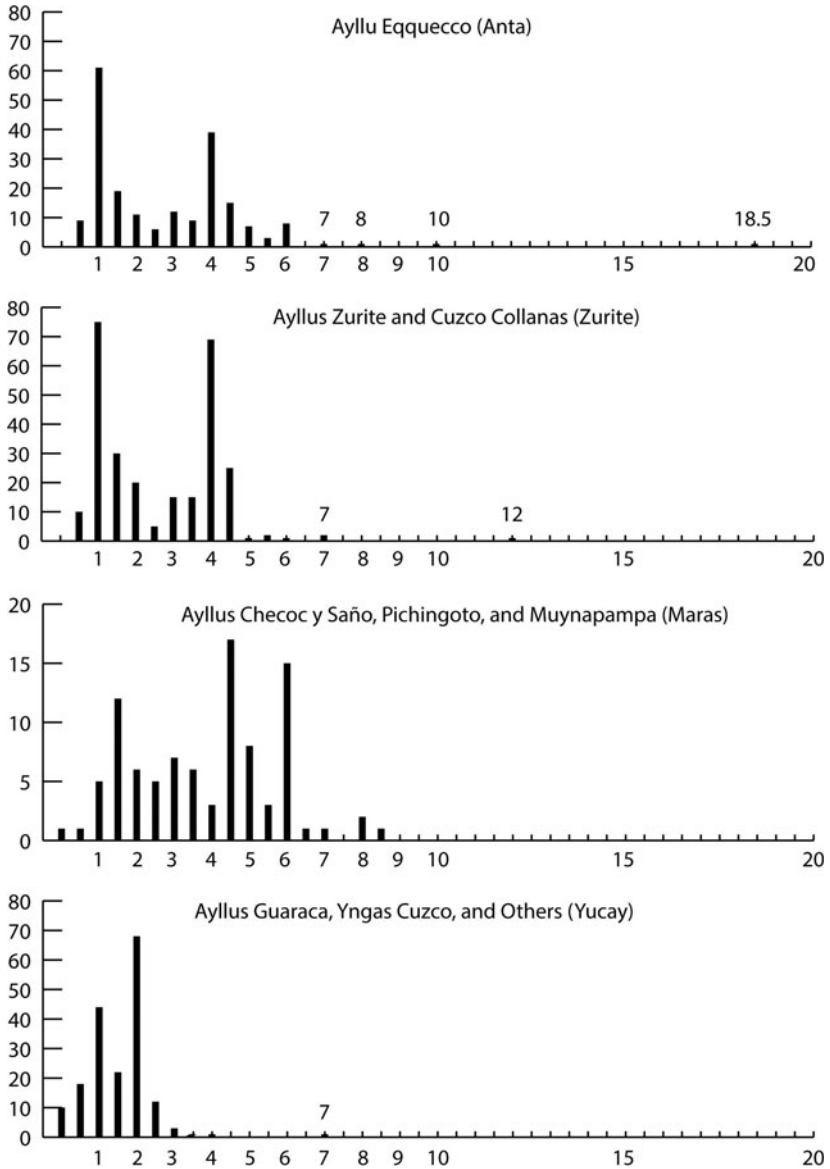


FIGURE 2. Individual land distributions in *topos* for the *ayllus* in our study. Different sized grants went to individuals, tributary households, and local elites.

individuals (1 *topo*), as well as a small number of outliers that represent *ayllu* elites. The Maras distribution follows the same general pattern, but with slightly larger modal sizes and less-pronounced outliers. The Yucay distribution pattern is a more compressed distribution pattern with average allotments of fewer *topos*.²³ Differences in land allocation at the level of the *reducción* town make it possible to discuss some of the variability in land distribution to individuals and *ayllu* groups.

Ecology and Land Distributions to Tributary Households

Colonial administration focused on the tributary household, represented by a married man aged eighteen to fifty. The *composiciones de tierras* explicitly link service to land access, and most of the land distributed in our sample of communities went to tributary households. In our study, the Maras and Yucay repartitions clearly identify tributary status, and tributary men in these towns received different amounts of land, even though they all served in the same *repartimiento*. In Maras, seventy-six men of tributary status received 322 *topos* of land, an average of 4.23 *topos* per household. The ninety-nine tributary men from Yucay received fewer *topos* than the households of Maras (1.79 *topos* per household; a total of 177 *topos* and 11 *papacanchas*). Even when the Yucay Valley *topo* is converted to the measure of the Xaquixaguana Valley, the mean size (3.04 *topos*) is substantially smaller than that of Maras tributaries. This difference can be attributed to ecology. In 193 places where land use for a Yucay plot was listed, all references were to maize cultivation (159 *topos*). By contrast, there were 413 plots in Maras with crop information; maize (214 plots, 119 *topos*) constituted just over half of the distributed plots, but wheat lands (199 plots, 219 *topos*) accounted for nearly two-thirds of the productive area handed out. Lands designated for wheat cultivation were less productive, and grants of larger plots were assigned to tributaries in areas amenable to cereal cultivation.

The distribution of *Ayllu* Eququecco's transitional uplands indicates an allotment pattern that is distinct from places with large areas of maize and wheat lands. Average plot sizes were smaller in the Eququecco distribution than in other towns, and landholders held more plots.²⁴ Men in Eququecco received lands in an average of seven different locations, whereas men in Yucay typically received plots in two places. The dispersed allocation of small plots in Eququecco suggests more diverse horticultural practice across

²³ Converting the Yucay Valley *topos* (100 x 60 *varas*) to the measure of the Xaquixaguana Valley (93 x 38 *varas*), the mean plot size (2.67 *topos*) is comparable to other communities.

²⁴ Eququecco's Hanansaya landholders had an average plot size of 0.51 *topos*, and the Hurinsaya average was 0.52. Averages for Maras (0.68 *topos*), *Ayllu* Zurite (0.70 *topos*), Yucay (0.78 *topos*) and *Ayllu* Cuzco Collanas (Zurite) (0.90 *topos*) were substantially larger.

TABLE 3:
Percentages of Male and Female Landholders and Overall Amount of Land Granted to Women

GROUP	Women (%)	Men (%)	Women's <i>Topos</i> (%)
Ayllu Zurite (Zurite) (n = 101)	40 (39.6%)	61 (60.4%)	51 (19.9%)
Ayllu Cuzco Collanas (Zurite) (n = 170)	62 (36.5%)	108 (63.5%)	76 (16.7%)
Eququecco Hanansaya (n = 120)	57 (47.5%)	63 (52.5%)	75.75 (23.8%)
Eququecco Hurinsaya (n = 83)	26 (31.3%)	57 (68.7%)	32.75 (12.7%)
Maras (All) (n = 93)	14 (15.1%)	79 (84.9%)	26.5 (7.1%)
Yucay (All) (n = 181)	30 (16.6%)	151 (83.4%)	19.25 (6.8%)

Note: Fragmentary and illegible items were excluded.

local microclimates, and its seasonal management would require more elaborate labor networks that might be difficult for outsiders to administer.

Gender and Landholding

The administrative rhetoric regarding tributary status as the basis for indigenous landholding promotes a gendered vision of landholding that only partially accords with the documented practices in the *composiciones*. Women were not counted as tributaries, but our sample records 229 women receiving land (table 3), revealing significant variability in gendered land distribution within and between communities. The proportion of female landholders was 15–17 percent among Yucay tributaries, but it represents nearly 50 percent for the Hanansaya moiety of Eququecco Ayllu in Anta, suggesting that differences in social status and local ecology might have influenced women's access to land. On average, women received fewer plots and smaller land allotments than men in the same social group, and they did not directly control more than a quarter of the distributed land in any of our study groups.

The distribution of female-held land has a single modal size (1 *topo*) that indicates that most women did not receive lands as the heads of tributary households, but rather as individuals seen to have more modest needs than tributaries (figure 3). The documents from Zurite help to explain this pattern. Of 102 women receiving lands in Ayllu Zurite and Ayllu Cuzco Collanas, one hundred were registered as “elderly,” and sixty-two of these women received a single *topo* of land. (There were thirty-seven elderly men in the same *ayllus*, and they received an average of 1.5 *topos* of land.) It is likely that most women receiving land in other communities were also widows who were granted small plots for their own sustenance. As with other non-tributary individuals, these women represent vulnerable labor units with limited access

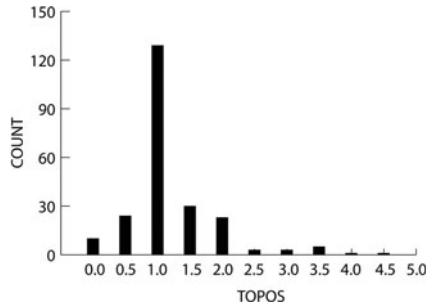


FIGURE 3. Indigenous women's landholding in our study communities indicates the allocation of small grants, primarily to widows.

to low-diversity land holdings—the one hundred older women in Zurite received a total of 167 plots of land.

There is a small number of women whose access to land does not fit this pattern. In Zurite, the two women who were granted land and not listed among the elderly were Juana Azarpay and Leonor Tacuri, both from Ayllu Zurite. Although Leonor Tacuri's identity is not known, Juana Azarpay was the wife of a local Inca lord, don García Saire Topa (Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 20193 [c. 1626, f. 362]), one of several examples of women who received land because of elite status. In Maras, Inés Guayna Chimbo received 2 *topos* of wheat land, and is described as the wife of Francisco Cayo, a noble Inca. In Yucay, there were four women from the tribute-exempt Incas who received lands as wives or daughters of Inca nobles. As will be discussed below, there were other women receiving lands in the *composiciones* who used the title *doña*, as well as indigenous women who were private landowners in the areas surrounding the communities in our sample.

In addition to women of noble status, a few women in our study might have received allotments because they were married to Spaniards or were widows of tributary men who had children in their care. A woman in Maras named Beatriz Huypa received a half-*topo* of maize land and three corrals for herself and her children (*para ella y sus hijos*), although the ethnicity of her husband, Francisco García Serrano, is not obvious, and it is not certain that she was a widow. Without further documentation, it is unclear exactly why a small number of women received lands in excess of a few *topos*. Regardless of status, only seven women received more than 3 *topos* of land in the *composiciones*, whereas 254 men were granted at least that much land.

Landholding by other Non-Tributary Individuals

Other non-tributary individuals participated in the *composiciones* as landholders. Disability excused some men from tributary service, but did not necessarily

prevent them from receiving land. Two men described as “blind” (*ciego*) and “crippled” (*lisiado*) received allotments of 0.25 and 0.5 *topos*, respectively. A man described as a mentally challenged (*tonto*) orphan received 0.75 *topos* of maize lands in Yucay. These grant sizes are too small to be expected to sustain an individual living alone; they might represent a modest augmentation for households caring for disabled men. Significantly, women are not represented among the disabled. Orphans represent another category of non-tributary individuals receiving lands. Eighteen orphans (fourteen male, four female) received lands in Yucay and Maras, with allotments comparable to the size granted to elderly individuals. These individuals were presumably younger than eighteen and unmarried, and thus probably affiliated with tributary households.

In addition to people unable to serve as tributaries, the *composiciones* document distribution of lands to a few individuals who were not subject to tributary service in the communities in our study. The documents from Maras and Yucay identify a small number of retainers (*yanakuna*) not described as tributaries, as well as a migrant (*forastero*) who married into a Yucay *ayllu* and was not described as a tributary. These omissions might not be significant, and other men described as retainers and migrants are also listed as tributaries. In addition to these men, two women of mixed heritage received lands—a *mestiza* orphan received a *topo* of land in Yucay, and a *mulata* received 2 *topos* in Zurite.

Elite Allocations

One goal of Toledo’s *reducciones* was to decrease the number of indigenous elites and replace them with municipal officials serving in the newly founded colonial towns. Toledo ordered that the number of local *caciques* be reduced, and that they be paid determined salaries from the *tasa* so that they would not be able to exploit their subordinates (Mendoza y Luna 1921: 158 [1607–1615]). Surviving *tasa* documents designate a *cacique* for roughly every hundred tributaries, establishing a baseline for comparison with 1590s land allocations.²⁵ Our documents identify 405 men of tributary status across the groups in our sample, and if Toledan standards were maintained, we would expect to find a very small number of *caciques*. In fact, ten men are named as *caciques*, including five identified as *cacique principal*. Contemporaneous documents pertaining to nearby groups also mention a number of *caciques*

²⁵ Yucay: 4 *caciques* for 708 tributaries (Cook 1975: 137–38); Sanco: 5 *caciques* for 615 tributaries (ibid., 156); Pomaguañca/Ancaguaci: 4 *caciques* for 348 tributaries (ibid., 156); Puquiura: 2 *caciques* for 231 tributaries (ibid., 157); Maras: 2 *caciques* for 240 tributaries (ibid., 157–58); Cupirpongo: 2 *caciques* for 264 tributaries (ibid. 162); Alpasondor: 1 *cacique* for 137 tributaries (ibid., 204).

that deviates from the Toledan ordinances.²⁶ Although the salaries of these *caciques* are unknown, they received more land than their neighbors—an average of more than 10 *topos* for each of the five *caciques principales* in our study communities.

In addition to men identified as *repartimiento* officials (*caciques*), lands were allocated to forty-five men and women using the honorific “don” and “doña,” and these individuals generally received allotments larger than the average of their *ayllus* (table 4).²⁷ In many cases, this status was linked to Inca identity. Our documents suggest that these titles were unevenly distributed within *reducción* towns. For example, only the *cacique* of Ayllu Guaraca in Yucay was called “don,” whereas Ayllu Yngas Cuzco had five men of that status and the reserved Inca group had two men and six women. In Zurite, Ayllu Cuzco Collanas had more individuals of this status than Ayllu Zurite. In Ayllu Eququecco, the upper (Hanansaya) moiety had more men with noble titles (n = 9) than the lower Hurinsaya moiety (n = 2).

The use of “don” and “doña” was common in tributary populations, as well as among the landholding neighbors of these groups. Our distribution records frequently identify the owners of plots bordering those being allocated, making it possible to identify an additional forty-three men and women called “don” and “doña.” A few of these can be identified as leaders of neighboring *ayllus*, but there were also indigenous elites who were private landholders of fields bordering their tributary neighbors. These included descendants of the Inca royal line who held *repartimientos* and owned lands in the area, such as Carlos Inca and Beatriz Coya. There were also minor Inca nobles and local elites who claimed lands as ancestral grants from the Inca (e.g., AGN, Derecho Indígena, L.7, C.95 [1637]).

AGRARIAN RESOURCES AFTER THE FIRST *COMPOSICIONES DE TIERRAS*

The *composición* documents from rural *ayllus* offer us unprecedented details of their internal organization, which in turn inform us about the social and ecological variation found among *ayllus* that belonged to the same *repartimientos* and *reducciones*. The procedures for conducting the land distributions and the

²⁶ A 1590 boundary-placement proceeding names *caciques principales* from Ayarmaca (don Alonso Cusitaman) and Huarocondo (don Sebastián Huamantica and another man) (Títulos de Eququecco [1590, f. 9–9v.]). Don Mateo Atauche was *cacique principal* of Checoc in 1592, and don Juan Usca Paucar was *cacique principal* of Maras in 1592 (ARC, Educandas L.2). The *reducción* of Cupirpongo (Chincheru) had four *caciques principales*—don García Poma Capa, don García de Vella, don Phelipe Caurac, and don Alonso Cusiguaman—in 1594 (Títulos de Cuper f. 51). Don Fernando Pizarro, don Martín Pizarro, and don Diego Supno were *caciques principales* of Ayllu Mayo in 1595 (AGN, Títulos de Propiedad, L.18, C.359 [1647], f. 32), and Don Martín Ataopoma was the *segunda persona* of Miguel Angel Felipón’s Zurite *repartimiento* that year (ARC, Corregimiento Causas Ordinarias, L.2, C.23, 1595).

²⁷ In the case of Ayllu Zurite, the two men using the “don” title were older than tributary age, and received a smaller land allotment than did most tributary households.

TABLE 4.
Use of the Honorifics “Don” and “Doña” and Average Land Allotments

AYLLU	LANDHOLDERS	“DONS” AND “DOÑAS”	AVERAGE TOPOS	AYLLU AVERAGE
Cuzco Collanas (Zurite)	170	12	5.1	2.7
Zurite (Zurite)	102	3	2.0	2.5
Yngas Cuzco (Yucay)*	44	5	2.4	1.5
Guaraca (Yucay)*	52	1	2.8	1.9
Yngas Reservado (Yucay)*	13	8	1.3	1.1
Unknown/Other (Yucay)*	70	2	4.6	1.4
Muynabamba (Maras)*	29	4	6.1	4.9
Checoc y Saño (Maras)	45	0	N/A	3.4
Pichingoto (Maras)	23	0	N/A	3.5
Eqquecco (Anta)	203	11	6.5	2.8

*Incomplete documentation; averages are calculated based on recorded sample.

actual patterns of individual allotments indicate that central aims of the Toledan administrative consolidation were no longer relevant, and that royal officials continued to accept compromises while pursuing their own agendas a generation later. The documents from our study detail the expropriation of indigenous lands, the responses of *ayllus* whose resources were threatened, as well as the broader context of *ayllu* resources in the rural economy of Cuzco at the end of the sixteenth century.

Disposition of “Excess” Indigenous Lands

The process of designating boundary markers, measuring the lands belonging to a particular place, and allocating them to qualifying individuals made indigenous landscapes more legible to colonial administrators, who identified surplus lands that could be sold at auction. Indigenous distribution records represent “surpluses” as scraps of the least productive land formerly held by an *ayllu*, but there is evidence that large parcels of land, sometimes high-quality irrigated fields, were delimited, measured, and put up for sale.²⁸ The continuing

²⁸ Surplus lands declared from the area of our study in 1595–1596 include 8 *fanegadas* of dry-farmed wheat land near Huarcocondo (ARC, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias. L.8, C.8 [1626]), 170 *topos* of potato and pasture land near Pucyura (ARC, Corregimiento Causas Ordinarias, L.25, C.6 [1689–1690]), 20 *fanegadas* of irrigated lands at Huayoccarí (near Yucay) (Archivo de Urubamba. L.1, C.7. [1595–1865]), 50 *fanegadas* of wheat lands near Maras (AGI Escribania

relevance of the *ayllu*, and its internal elites, can be seen in short- and long-term responses to royal attempts to confiscate land.

After royal land sales, many groups received a follow-up allotment of unsold lands to augment community holdings. For example, the day after the distribution of Ayllu Eqquecco's lands, the royal commissioner increased the *ayllu*'s community lands by granting 8 *topos* of maize lands and an additional 70 *fanegadas* of upland fields for growing maize, barley, and other crops (Tierras de Ayllu Eqquecco, f. 88v–89v). This restitution occurred after the sale of “surplus” *ayllu* lands, restoring a larger area than had been distributed to *ayllu* members a day earlier. In Zurite, the allotment of Ayllu Cuzco's lands occurred in February 1595, and was followed on 22 May by the return of 520 *topos* of high grassland and potato fields (Títulos de Zurite f. 43v–44).

Spanish lands were being titled and measured at the same time as many indigenous ones, and some indigenous leaders engaged actively in the proceedings pertaining to Spanish lands that bordered their own. When a Spaniard named Francisco Hernández presented titles for 13 *fanegadas* near the lands of Tomebamba Ayllu in Zurite, the *caciques* attended the measurement proceeding, protested that Hernández occupied excess lands illegally, and petitioned to receive the “surpluses” from the measurement (AGN, Derecho Indígena, L.13, C.302 [1594, f. 69v]). Successful short-term responses to local land expropriations required *ayllu* representatives to attend distribution proceedings, to confirm or challenge measurements and boundary placement, and to concede or fight the classification of lands as unoccupied and available for sale.

In the years following the *composiciones*, *ayllu* leaders also participated in formal legal challenges to local distributions. In principle, legal complaints were to go through Spanish officials whose salaries were paid as part of a *repartimiento*'s tribute. This was the case in 1597, when Antonio de Neyra, the *procurador de naturales* (representative of natives), presented a petition on behalf of Ayllu Anta for the return of lands that were “usurped” in the *composiciones* (ARC, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias L.2, C.30 [1597]). Neyra claimed that his party had possessed the lands since ancestral times, that they used the lands to pay tribute, and that they were among the best and most fertile in the area. The natives of Anta claimed that they had been granted arid, rocky, and sterile lands in the *composiciones* and requested the restitution of a plot of unknown size. Although *ayllu* leaders must have participated in the development of the case, Neyra's petition names only the *ayllu*, its *reducción* town (Anta), and the *encomienda* to which it belonged.

506A, 1625 [1610, f. 4]), and 12.5 *fanegadas* of lands formerly belonging to Ayllu Sanco in Anta (AGN, Títulos de Propiedad, L.2, C.40 [1595, f. 2v]).

TABLE 5.
Lands Claimed by the Orué Family in 1594

PLACE	DESCRIPTION
Tiobamba and Chungarbamba	100 <i>fanegadas</i> once belonging to Tupa Inca Yupanqui
Caquia and Quillilibamba	Pasture lands once belonging to Tupa Inca Yupanqui
Ytorobamba and Mapanache and Guamantiana	70–80 <i>fanegadas</i>
Tiobamba and Muynabamba	120 <i>fanegadas</i> of wheat lands, once belonging to Tupa Inca Yupanqui
Guanuquia (Xaquixaguana Valley)	Lands bought from elites from Sanco

Source: AGI Escribanía 506A [1594 f. 46].

Estate Building and the Composiciones

It is important to compare the social and ecological variations in indigenous land allocation with Spanish landholdings and labor practices in the same area. There is a stark contrast between the distribution of land to tributary *ayllus* and the holdings of private non-indigenous landowners. For example, the largest indigenous allotment recorded in our Maras documents was 8.5 *topos* to Hernando Paucar Tito, the *cacique principal* of Ayllu Muynabamba, an area that represents less than one *fanegada*. In 1594, the family of Pedro de Orué presented titles to more than 300 *fanegadas* of wheat and maize land in the Maras area and the Xaquixaguana Valley, as well as pastures of unknown size (table 5). When these were measured, the royal official reconfirmed 271 *fanegadas*. At that time, the family noted that the *composiciones* of indigenous groups in Maras had designated 31.5 *fanegadas* as vacant and surplus, parts of which the Orué family proceeded to purchase. The Orué family was not the only large landholder in the Maras area—in 1594, the Jesuits declared that they owned 100 *fanegadas* of wheat lands located a half-league from Maras, and a Spaniard named Alonso Osorio claimed another 200 *fanegadas* (AGN, Superior Gobierno, L.2, C.35 [1617, f. 1, 3]).

Pedro de Orué received his grants of indigenous labor almost fifty years before the *composiciones*, and had been actively acquiring lands near Maras since the 1550s so as to have productive resources where his tributaries could labor for him. Newer arrivals to Cuzco were also interested in building their estates by annexing vacant lands or purchasing property from Inca nobles willing to sell. For example, in 1594 the tailor Francisco Hernández declared his ownership of more than 20 *topos* of lands in the Xaquixaguana

and Yucay valleys, which he had purchased from indigenous elites (AGN, Derecho Indígena, L.13, C.302 [1594]).²⁹ During this proceeding, the tailor requested additional lands for his *yanaconas* to cultivate, suggesting that a Spaniard of even relatively modest means had attracted indigenous labor to his growing estate.

Indigenous elites also engaged in the protection and augmentation of personal landholdings. For example, after certain lands of Ayllu Circa (Zurite) were made available for sale, the *principal* of the *ayllu* presented an offer to purchase 2 to 3 *fanegadas* of unirrigated lands for barley and potato cultivation (ARC, Colegio de Educandas, Becerro 1, 1562–1724 [1595, f. 30]). A relative of this man made a second, higher bid for the land, and the two were permitted to split the purchase. This sort of economic intervention should not be viewed as a philanthropic act, although estate building by *ayllu* elites might have contributed to economic stability of the group over time. In nearby Calca, a *cacique* named don Fernando Ylla Topa Ynga found himself defending private lands, and he petitioned the viceroy in 1595 to complain that the Spaniard who conducted the *visita* of his personal lands had confiscated 3 *fanegadas* of maize lands.³⁰ Even though he was part of a Spanish *repartimiento*, this Inca man claimed private ownership of lands that were almost three times as extensive as what was allotted to the Inca *cacique principal* in Yucay.

Commodity Production and Indigenous Labor in Rural Cuzco

The unequal distribution of land across rural Cuzco raises questions about the role of indigenous labor on private lands and the significance of wage labor for paying the *tasas* and building communities. By the end of the sixteenth century, Cuzco produced large quantities of livestock, wheat, maize, and coca leaf. Herding involved year-round work that was considered less rigorous than agriculture, and *yanaconas* frequently provided this labor on remote herding stations owned by Spaniards and Andean elites. Maize cultivation was highly productive in valley-bottom areas where Inca canals and terraces were maintained, and in well-documented areas such as the Yucay Valley, retainer labor was common in intensive farming practices (e.g., Covey and Elson 2007).

²⁹ In the Xaquixaguana Valley at Tomebamba, Hernández bought 13 *topos* of maize lands from don Gonzalo Sayre Topa and doña Isabel Yuyo for 130 pesos (f. 65v–66). He allegedly purchased 5 *topos* in the same area from doña Catalina Siuichuc, the widow of don Francisco Llaquimicta, and these were in litigation with the natives of Tomebamba (f. 66). He purchased 2 *topos* of valley-bottom land in the Yucay Valley at Cochaguasi from don Joan Pasca Topa Inga and his wife Catalina Tapo, and a *topo* nearby from don Alonso Tauinpaua (f. 66–66v). He claimed another small plot in the Xaquixaguana Valley and corrals at Lluscacaca (f. 66v–67). The measurement of the *composición* confirmed the Xaquixaguana plots of 13 *fanegadas* and 5 *topos*, as well as a herding *estancia* of 3 *topos* bordering the lands of Tomebamba (f. 69v–73).

³⁰ ARC, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias L.2, C.22 [1595]. The inspector, Antonio Rodríguez, allegedly took most of the lands for himself, but he also allocated some for other Inca elites in the area, including a relative of his wife.

Although some *yanaconas* were reduced into tributary communities, retainer labor remained important at the time of the *composiciones de tierras*.

By contrast, wheat cultivation took place in areas previously used for dry farming or herding, and it required large amounts of seasonal labor, particularly for harvesting and processing the crop. The alienation of indigenous lands helped to build large estates that required significant quantities of temporary labor at times that were not necessarily compatible with the labor schedules of the tributary groups ordered to provide it. In our study region, Maras offers the clearest example of the contradictions posed by Spanish demands for land and labor. Beginning in the 1550s, Spaniards conducted several proceedings to determine the availability of vacant lands around the town, and in 1586, a Spaniard living in the area testified that there were unused Inca lands in the area, as well as sufficient lands for every tributary to have 6 *topos* for wheat and 3 *topos* for maize and potatoes.³¹ While alleging that the indigenous population was too small to require all lands for subsistence and tribute, the large estate holders in the area also claimed that the same population could provide seasonal labor to work those lands for wheat production. For example, in 1594, the Jesuits requested ten additional workers from Maras to harvest their 100 *fanegadas* of wheat land, claiming that the town had thirteen unassigned workers from its *séptima parte* (AGN, Superior Gobierno, L.2, C.35 [1617, f. 1]).³²

In Maras, demands for seasonal indigenous labor appear to have increased following the Toledan *reducción* and the ordinances regarding wage labor. The *caciques* of several groups living in Maras in 1575 cited the Toledan ordinance in a complaint over excessive service on the lands of the Augustinian order (ARC, Archivo de Colegio de Educandas L.2, 1568–1722). Fifteen years later, the heirs of Pedro de Orué sought the aid of the Cuzco *corregidor* to force the Indians of Maras to provide them the customary thirty workers for the harvest, which they had not sent that year (ARC, Archivo de Colegio de Educandas L.2, 1568–1722). Sancho de Orué and Pablo de Orué claimed to have 1,000 *fanegadas* of wheat, maize, and barley to harvest, and raised the fear of what the loss of such a crop might do to the republic. The viceroy ordered in 1590 that the Orué lands be worked by ordinary rotational laborers (*mita*), with nearby towns providing twenty-five workers throughout the year and eighty at the time of the harvest (AGN, Superior Gobierno, L.2, C.34 [1613, f. 1]). There is reason to conclude that the *composiciones de tierras*

³¹ AGN, Superior Gobierno, L.1, C.10 [1586, f. 3v–4]. Such allotments are larger than those distributed to the *caciques* in *ayllus* Pichingoto, Checoc, and Muynabamba in 1595.

³² Alonso Osorio requested workers for his 200 *fanegadas* in the same document, and in 1594 Bernardo Pérez del Campo requested thirty workers from Maras to harvest 169 *fanegadas* in the Yucay Valley (AGN, Superior Gobierno, L.2, C.16, 1594–1683, f. 23–23v). The Orué family made similar claims for wage labor in 1597 and 1598 (AGN, Superior Gobierno, L.2, C.28 [1610, f. 3v–6]).

accelerated the transformation of the means of production in towns like Maras—in 1602 there were more than a dozen Spaniards who claimed *mita* labor from Maras to maintain their lands.³³

Although indigenous municipal officials participated in the administrative chain that brought estate labor demands to the *ayllu* living in Maras, wage labor was extracted from the *ayllu*, and thus from a *repartimiento*, which often did not correspond exactly to the *reducción* town or its hierarchy of municipal indigenous offices (e.g., AGN, Superior Gobierno, L.2, C.16, 1594–1683). *Caciques* remained important actors in the legal and informal resistance to such demands. After the *composiciones de tierras* eroded community lands in Maras, local *caciques* requested a population recount in 1597, complaining that there were no longer enough tributaries to pay the *tasa* and supply private labor demands from the one-seventh levy (AGN, Superior Gobierno, L.2, C.35 [1617, f. 27]; Wightman 1990: 18–19). While pursuing relief through legal petitions, *caciques* sometimes chose not to cooperate with labor demands, and there are records of some being jailed for noncompliance.

A final category of indigenous labor represented in small numbers in our 1590s communities was the migrant (*forastero*) who had left a tributary community to take up residence elsewhere. As noted above, three married *forasteros* received lands in the distribution of *Ayllu Yngas Cuzco*. The near absence of such migrants contrasts starkly with the indigenous population a century after the first *composición*. In 1689–1690, there were more *forasteros* than tributaries living in the jurisdictions of Anta and Zurite, and sizable migrant populations in Maras and Yucay (Villanueva Urteaga 1982). Given the apparent imbalance between the local tributary population and growing labor demands of private estates, it is not surprising to see migrant laborers attaching themselves to the nearly sixty *haciendas* found near the four towns in our study at the end of the seventeenth century.

CONCLUSIONS

Scholars have long recognized the inability of the Toledan administrative intensification to achieve sustained growth in both the Indian and Spanish republics in colonial Peru. By looking at communities in rural Cuzco a generation after the *reducciones*, this study has addressed how Toledo's master plan failed in its organization and implementation, considering how the economic transformation of the former Inca heartland contributed to disruptive realignments of the agrarian means of production. Rather than creating new communities of Christian Indians, Toledo made the cosmopolitan peoples of the Inca heartland

³³ AGN, Derecho Indígena, L.4, C.44 [1602]. These include five sons of Pedro de Orué, men who married Orué's daughters (Juan de Bonilla, Pedro de Mariaca), and others who appear to be new arrivals, perhaps following the sale of indigenous lands in the preceding decade.

into peasants whose labor was drawn into different arrangements to support the commodity production of coca, maize, wheat, and livestock. Retainers and migrants attached themselves to *haciendas* and *estancias*, whereas tributary communities were pressed for wage labor in ways that interfered with their economic self-sufficiency. The *composiciones de tierras* show that the processes establishing a *latifundia/minifundia* land distribution were well underway by the 1590s. The first sale of “surplus” indigenous lands not only expanded private landholding at the expense of community-held indigenous resources, but also set the stage for future expropriation by returning different quantities of unsold lands to *ayllus*. Even if indigenous populations did not continue to decline, the Crown could claim that indigenous people were known to hold far more land than was necessary for their subsistence and tributary requirements. The *composiciones* were repeated several times throughout the seventeenth century, helping to consolidate the processes of land tenure and labor organization that were already emerging in the 1590s.

As the colonial economic system reduced Incas to peasants, it is important to note that the *ayllus* in our study towns experienced different degrees of success in protecting and managing their communal lands, and in holding prominent positions in the municipal politics of the *reducción* towns. A century after the first *composición de tierras*, there were *ayllus* like Eququecco that continued to represent themselves as distinct social groups, which were in a process of transitioning back to de facto autonomy on their ancestral lands. By contrast, the *ayllus* Checoc y Sañu, Pichingoto, and Muynapampa no longer existed in Maras, having been consolidated into a single *ayllu* called Loyolas (signifying their service in the Marquesado de Oropesa). There are many possibilities as to why some *ayllus* maintained their identity and resources, and in some cases absorbed the remnants of others. Population size, integrity of subsistence resources, and strength of internal leadership are all factors that should be considered through more intensive work with the documents in our sample. The diverse trajectories of Cuzco’s indigenous populations challenge the presumptive claims regarding the implementation of Spanish colonial rule, and they also raise additional questions regarding the representation of indigenous communities in ethnohistory and ethnography.

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Abstract: This paper uses documents generated by the 1594–1595 *composiciones de tierras* in Cuzco, Peru, to discuss the economic transformation of the former heartland of the Inca Empire and the impact of Spanish administrative policies implemented in the early 1570s. The diverse social and environmental landscapes of rural areas lying to the west of Cuzco provide a range of local case studies that reveal how settlement and tribute policies of the viceroy Francisco de Toledo failed to produce sustainable colonial towns of Christian Indians. Detailed records of indigenous land repartition in the area show gender- and status-based patterns of individual allocations, as well as ecological differences in landholding between communities. The local records indicate the continuing importance of Inca-era community identities and local leadership for maintaining possession of community lands. By contrast, documents related to the *composiciones* among private landowners reveal vast inequalities in land access, as well as the rapid growth in the demand for indigenous labor to produce important agrarian commodities. We argue that Spanish administrative policies accelerated the transformation of the means of production in rural Cuzco, creating peasants instead of Christian Indian subjects.

Key words: land tenure, colonial Peru, Toledan reforms, *composiciones de tierras*, ecology, Cuzco, labor, peasants, gender, status