

COCA PRODUCTION ON THE INCA FRONTIER: THE YUNGAS OF CHUQUIOMA

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Aspects of Inca economy can be clarified by examining documentation for specific productive regimes during the years immediately following the Spanish arrival. Administrative documents reflect the changes which had taken place due to the transformation of the political context in which these activities occurred as well as to the entrepreneurial activity of Spaniards. However, to the degree that production in place during the later years of the Inca empire had some continued rationale in the new economy, what developed was a natural evolution from the earlier period. In the case of coca production, the leaf continued to be grown in the same regions where the Incas had organized production, and by the same producers. Images of the Inca organization of coca production can be developed from administrative documentation.

The importance of coca to the Incas and to Andean people in general is well-known to scholars (Murra 1991b:565-566). The Incas organized coca production in various regions in the eastern Andean lowlands as well as in some Pacific coastal valleys (Espinoza Soriano 1963; Rostworowski 1988). One Spanish administrator noted that the Incas controlled access to coca, prohibiting its use among commoners and reserving it for those of noble birth and the army (Matienzo 1967 [1567]: Chapter 44, p. 163), but the ability of the Incas to restrict the use of such an important substance has been seriously questioned (Parker 1984). Indeed, coca is an important element in everyday life in Andean communities today (Allen 1988; *América Indígena* 1978; Pacini and Franquemont 1986; Instituto Indigenista Interamericano 1989), despite a long history of efforts to curtail its use (Romano 1982; Parkerson 1984; Lyon 1994b). While we may yet develop ethnohistorical approaches that trace patterns of consumption during the later Inca empire, the documentation we have lends itself more easily to recov-

ering aspects of the organization of production.

Because of the survival of documentation for the *yungas* of Chuquioma, a lowland region on the eastern Andean slopes near modern Cochabamba (Figures 1 and 2), tracing Inca organization of coca production in this area is a fruitful exercise. Coca production organized by the Incas continued after the Spanish entry into the region in 1538, and expanded markedly after the silver strike at Potosí in 1545, as demand for coca grew steadily. In these years, peoples who were providing their *encomenderos* with coca as tribute greatly increased the supply. Some of the documents on which this study is based, delivery records for the coca harvested by the tributaries of Sacaca during the years 1548-1552 are reproduced here from a lawsuit with their *encomendero* over the excessive tribute they paid in this period (see Document 2 in the Appendix). Even though limits to the amount an *encomendero* could collect were not set until the *tasa* (tax) of 1550, it was still possible to demonstrate that the Sacaca tributaries had paid an excessive amount of coca as tribute before limits were set.

Early documentation is scarce, but by the 1560s notarial records demonstrate that coca *chacras* (fields) were being bought and sold between Indians and Spaniards and between Spaniards and other Spaniards. A settlement of Spaniards at Chuquioma, a lowland valley northeast of Pocona (Figures 1 and 2) was noted (Meruvia 1991:204-207). By 1561, a church had been built (ANB, Escrituras Públicas 2, folio 10v). In the 1560s and 1570s, Spanish merchandise was taken there for resale (Meruvia 1991, p. 207). A will, made in 1573, by a freed slave who had been married in the church to a Huanca woman, records the coca *chacras* this pair owned and worked (ANB, EP24, folios 161-163v). Increases in production, the establishment of Spanish set-

tlements and trade, the entry of entrepreneurs who developed coca plantings alongside the existing fields, and the shipment of coca to markets at La Plata and Potosí all transformed the lowland production zone.

Still, alongside this entrepreneurial economic development, diverse highland peoples worked coca *chacras* in the *yungas* of Chuquioma following a productive organization established by the Incas. Under this regime, small groups of people (*camayos*) from highland provinces resided permanently in the lowlands, being joined periodically by larger groups of temporary workers from their province of origin (*mitayos*) who came down for harvest. Coca was gathered three to four times a year. The harvesters transported the coca on their backs out of the lowlands to a delivery point in the highlands, from which it was transported by animals to its destination. Although the ultimate destination of the coca had clearly changed since Inca times, the organization of production, at least to the delivery point, reflected Inca practice.

Inca practice, of course, may have incorporated earlier modes of organizing production. Not only the local substrate, but differences arising from the history of contact between the Incas and local populations, the goals of the individuals involved in restructuring productive activities at the provincial level, as well as locational factors, such as proximity to the frontier, may have affected the particular form of a productive regime. Using the documentation created in the early decades of Spanish presence to define earlier productive regimes is a complex ethnohistorical problem.

In the *yungas*, people from the highlands tended and harvested coca plantations through the middle of the 17th century. An administrative survey (*visita*) of Pocona in 1556 with information about the coca *chacras* worked by the people of Pocona was published in 1970 (Ramírez 1970), but has not generated much scholarly interest. For example, no effort has been made to use the *visita* as the basis for archaeological survey. The documents, though they contain excellent information about the

foreigners introduced into the region during the later Inca empire (*mitimas*, see Rowe 1982:105-107), do not mention the monumental archaeological site of Incallacta, very near to Pocona, and the central focus of archaeological attention up to the present (Ellefson 1967; Nordenskiöld 1915; Lee 1998). Here we have a classic case of noncorrespondence between archaeology and ethnohistory at the evidentiary level. A serious effort must be made to generate a spatial and physical analysis from the documents to guide archaeological approaches. Such analysis motivates this study.

In the years following the publication of the Pocona *visita*, a body of documentation containing important new information about the Inca organization of the nearby Cochabamba Valley has been found (Morales 1977; Wachtel 1982; AHMC, Expedientes Coloniales 17, folios 404-462v). Although the connection between Cochabamba and Pocona is made clear in the documents, a regional analysis, linking the two, has yet to be offered. This study frames the productive activities in Chuquioma within the context of the larger region.

An infusion of newly identified documentary material makes it possible to make an analysis of the Inca organization of production to the regional level (see Appendix). Besides the Pocona people, other groups paid a portion of their tribute in coca and were direct producers in the *yungas* of Chuquioma. These documents pertain to the coca tribute paid by the people of Sacaca in the Charcas highlands (Appendix, Documents 1 and 2), as well as Pocona (Document 3). After establishing who was involved in producing coca in Chuquioma, the focus of this article will shift to the Inca organization there. Coca production was only part of a major Inca project in the region. The documentation presented here is earlier than the *visitas* of Sonqo, in the *yungas* north of La Paz (1568-1570) (Golte 1970; Murra 1991a; Angelis 1995). Some organizational similarities have been noted here, but no systematic comparison is offered. Cusco is an obvious lacuna in our analysis (but see Lyon 1994a, 1994b, 1995). Developing regional

analyses for the Sonqo and Cusco cases promises to be a complex ethnohistorical undertaking indeed.

By expanding our ethnohistorical focus beyond a single region, we will avoid the temptation to consider a particular case as a model of Inca organization. Rather, regional analyses will eventually make meaningful generalization possible (Julien 1993). However, even now, after we have argued that we should proceed from the particular to the general, we must begin with generalization. Perhaps the only way we have of guiding our layered reading of the written sources is through the use of generalizations about Inca administration recorded by Spanish administrators of the period who knew a great deal about it, but described it in vague terms. Our entrée into the subject, then, is the report of Juan de Matienzo, who wrote about the Inca organization of coca production.

Matienzo's Report

Matienzo, a judge (*oidor*) of the Audiencia of Charcas, wrote a comprehensive report to suggest improvements to colonial administration (1967 [1567]): Having served since the founding of the Audiencia in 1561, he was familiar with the productive organization in the *yungas* of Chuquioma, the nearest coca-growing region to the seat of the Audiencia in La Plata. However, at the time he wrote his report, he had just returned from conducting the administrative review (*residencia*) of Dr. Gregorio González Cuenca who had completed his tenure as administrator (*corregidor*) of Cusco. A considerable portion of the documentation assembled by Matienzo, and by Cuenca in his own defense, had to do with coca production in the province of the Andes, in the *yungas* east of Cusco. Moreover, Matienzo had travelled into the lowlands as an official envoy to Titu Cusi, the Inca who resisted Spanish control from Vilcabamba. Matienzo was well-informed about coca production in Cusco and makes specific references to it in his report. Most of his statements, however, are generalizations based on what he knew from experience in both Charcas and Cusco.

Matienzo had learned about coca production under the Incas and explained which sectors of the colonial industry were derived from it:

Many caciques have *chacras* of coca in the Andes of Tono [east of Cusco], and also in this province [Charcas], but there is a difference, because all of them who had and have to give coca as tribute, had *chacras* of their own dating well into the past, and this is general in all the eastern tropical valleys. These fields do little harm because they are worked at the same time as the fields from which the *tasa* is paid, and the same was done under the Incas, because these *chacras* were not affected, and they have *camayos* who have been there for a long time who came from the territory of the caciques, and they have houses and the equipment they need for cultivation, and although they may have planted a few more fields, it does not matter, but the *chacras* planted by caciques who do not pay coca as tribute and never have are a source of great harm to the Indians who work them . . .¹

Clearly, fields had been cultivated for the *curacas* prior to the Spanish arrival. We can infer from Matienzo's statement that the fields cultivated to pay the tribute assessed by the Spaniards (*tasa*) were a separate category, and that these fields had also been cultivated for tribute in Inca times. Although Matienzo does not indicate the earlier beneficiary of the *tasa* fields in the above passage, elsewhere he notes that the *camayos* assigned to the *chacras* from which the *tasa* is paid were put there by the Incas (1967 [1567]:Chapter 50, pages 177-180). We can infer that the beneficiary of these *chacras* was designated by the Incas.

¹ Matienzo 1967 [1567]:Chapter 49, pages 176-177:

Muchos caciques tienen chacaras de coca en los Andes de Tono, y también en esta provincia, pero hay diferencia, porque todos los que tuvieron y tienen coca de tasa, tuvieron sus chacaras aparte antiquísimas, lo cual es general en todos los Andes, y éstas son de poco perjuicio, porque se benefician y coxen cuando las chacaras de la tasa, y lo mismo se hacía en tiempo del Inga, porque a sus chacaras no se tocaba en ninguna manera, y allende de esto tienen camayos antiguos de su misma tierra, y casas y aparejos para el beneficio; y aunque hayan plantado alguna más, no importa. Pero las chacaras que han puesto caciques que no tienen ni tuvieron coca de tasa, son de gran perjuicio para sus indios.

The regime Matienzo describes had no Spanish precedent. Two types of labor were involved, as noted above. *Camayos*, who Matienzo describes as "*yanaconas* who continually reside in the *chacras*", were assigned three principal tasks: they guarded the fields; they produced the mats needed for drying the coca and the material for packing it; and they packed coca for transport (1967 [1567]: Chapter 46, p. 170; Chapter 50, pp. 177-178). The individuals who served as *camayos* lived their entire lives in the zone where coca was produced, accompanied by their wives and families. When a *camayo* died, the office was inherited by a descendant or another person was designated from his territory of origin (Rowe 1982:96-97, 102-104). Each *camayo* had a *chacra* of coca, and with this coca, he was able to trade for maize, clothing, and other highland products. Some *camayos* also had *chacras* of maize in their territory of origin and arranged for their cultivation in exchange for coca (Matienzo 1967 [1567]: Chapter 50, pp. 177-180).

Mitayos, on the other hand, resided in the highland territory. They came to the *yungas* to pick coca leaf; to work the soil around the plants after harvest, leaving it clean; and to transport the coca, usually on their own backs, to a designated point in the highlands. Three harvests a year, one every four months, were possible (Matienzo 1967 [1567]: Chapter 45, p. 167). While the *camayos* were permanently assigned to their tasks, the *mitayos* may have served by turns, as the name *mitayo* indicates.² Because the task was done intermittently, the use of the term may refer not to the rotation of a particular group of laborers but to the periodicity of the task. Each harvest was called a *mita* (*ibid.*: Chapter 45, p. 167).

We know very little about differences in status that were attached to particular assignments, but we can posit that the *camayos* had higher status than the *mitayos*. The responsibilities of the *camayos* indicate a privileged position. Also, Matienzo noted that finding people willing to serve as *camayos* was not a problem; these individuals had some hopes of

becoming wealthy (Matienzo 1967 [1567]: Chapter 50, pp. 177-180). Although we cannot assume that the fields they worked for themselves had been assigned to them by the Incas, their situation may parallel that of *yanaconas* in Yucay who worked fields for the Incas, but also had parcels for their own use (Villanueva 1970:42-43). However, even if the assets they held were the same under both Inca and Spanish rule, demands on their time or their freedom of operation may have been substantially different. Still, we can probably conclude that they enjoyed a higher status than the people who served as harvest labor and initial porters.

Because we know what basic tasks were carried out by the two types of laborers, we can reconstruct in broad outline the round of activities associated with the coca harvest. Prior to harvest, the *camayos* had to gather the cane and other plant materials used in packing the coca. Where these materials were not readily at hand, the *camayos* planted *chacras* to supply them. When the *mitayos* arrived, they harvested the coca leaf. It was then laid out on mats for drying. While it dried, the *mitayos* worked the earth around the coca plants, leaving the soil free of debris. On occasion fields were not harvested; the leaf was left to fall, and the decayed leaf served as fertilizer. These fields produced higher yields afterward (Matienzo 1967 [1567]: Chapter 45, p. 168). When the coca was ready, the *camayos* packed it. Some type of weighing and counting procedure was carried out at this time. Then the coca was distributed to the *mitayos* for transport to the highlands.

Optimally, the coca was green and dry when packed; if it was left in the sun too long or got wet it turned brown and lost considerable value. Matienzo also noted that coca was transported to the highlands as soon as possible. In a cold climate, it could be kept for some time, although it was no longer considered fresh after a year (Matienzo 1967 [1567]: Chapter 45, p. 167). The rainy and often humid climate of the *yungas* may have resulted in delays in the drying of coca, postponing the departure of *mitayos*. Once packed, however,

² Mittani - caberle su vez de hazer algo (González Holguín 1952 [1608]:243).

transport of the coca probably took place immediately.

While Matienzo does not tell us much about the nature of the *yungas* settlements where coca cultivation occurred, we can extrapolate an image of this type of settlement from what he wrote and from the Chuquioma documents. Settlements in the *yungas* had small permanent populations, swollen at intervals by a relatively larger number of harvesters. The structures required to facilitate the activities at harvest would have been relatively modest. Because of the dependably inclement weather, some type of housing was probably provided. Huts (*buhíos*) are sometimes mentioned in notarial documents (ANB, EP 24, folio 276v). The drying of coca also had spatial requirements, and drying areas may have been at least partially roofed. Because coca appears to have been transported soon after it was packed, we can expect little in the way of storage facilities in the *yungas* where it was grown. Also, there is no evidence that animals were important in the transfer of coca from the fields, so there may have been no corrals or other constructions related to their presence.

Our image of these settlements derives from the documentation we have for the organization of coca production in the *yungas* of Chuquioma.

The *Yungas* of Chuquioma

Pocona is a modern town, located at 3100 meters above sea level (masl) about 125 km east-southeast of Cochabamba (Figures 1 and 2). The town was the center of a colonial parish, and it was the principal place of residence of the caciques who formed part of an *encomienda* award called Pocona. The town was on the main road from Cochabamba to the east. To reach the *yungas* of Chuquioma, a traveller would have continued along the same road to Totora, another colonial reduction, then on to Tiraque Chico before beginning the steep descent into the *yungas* (Figure 2)

Everywhere, the eastern slopes of the Andes drop sharply into the lowlands, but, according to Tadeo Haenke, who travelled the

courses of several rivers in the region in the late eighteenth century, nowhere is the drop as sharp as in the region northeast of Cochabamba:

The drop of this cordillera and its rivers to the plains is so short, so vertical and so precipitous, that ordinarily a descent along a straight line of 5 or 6 leagues [25 to 30 kilometers] covers almost the entire altitudinal distance, through a landscape of precipices and horrifying slopes; and in particular, this descent occurs over a shorter horizontal distance in the cordillera of the Yuracarées than anywhere else.³

He uses the term "cordillera of the Yuracarées" to refer the mountain chain that was also called the Serranía of Cocapata in the same period.

When Haenke visited the area, a number of missions had just been established among peoples known as Yuracarées. An itinerary of one of the early Franciscan expeditions into the region traces a course from the Franciscan College at Tarata, near Cochabamba, into the lowlands via Tiraque (not Tiraque Chico), down the San Mateo River, then along various rivers, including the Chimore and the Río Blanco, to the east of Chuquioma, before turning west and returning via Chuquioma and Tiraque Chico (Figure 2) (RAH, Mata Linares, 9/1666, folios 264-282v). The new missions were located in the lowlands below the valleys where coca was grown and were accessed from Tiraque (Viedma 1836:38-42).

References to Yuracarées and others are found in the documentation from the late sixteenth century onward. These peoples had not formed part of the Inca empire and remained beyond the control of an Andean state until the late eighteenth century when the Franciscans initiated their incorporation, in the missioni-

³ RAH, Mata Linares, 9/1667, folios 267v-268r:

La caída de esta cordillera, y de sus ríos asia a [*sic*] los planes de los Andes, es tan corta, tan empinada, y tan precipitada, que ordinariamente una bajada en distancia recta de 5 o 6 leguas, comprehende casi toda esta altura en un conjunto de precipicios y laderas horrosas; y en particular en la cordillera de Yuracarées [*sic* Yuracarées], es esta distancia mas corta que en ninguna parte.

zation effort noted above. From time to time there were hostilities between groups identified as Yuracarées and the residents of the upper valleys where coca was produced (AGI, Charcas 25, folio 1; AGI, Lima 166, folios 20v-26v.; Viedma 1836:43-54). The *yungas* of Chuquima were located on an active frontier during the last years of the Inca empire and the first century of the Spanish colonial era, the period of intensive coca production.

In the review which follows, information about coca producers from Pocona will be summarized; then, new material documenting the involvement of cultivators from Sacaca will be presented; afterward, the participation of other groups in the coca economy will be considered.

Pocona cultivators

The tributaries of Pocona paid the bulk of their tribute in coca. Estimates, made in 1548, of what was paid prior to the time the first *tasa* was set (1550) indicate that between 6,000 and 12,000 *cestos* (packages) per year went to the *encomendero* (Table 1).⁴ Here, the

⁴ In early documents referring to *encomiendas*, the awards are often identified only through the name of the *encomendero*. From the 1560s on, each *encomienda* had a proper name. I have traced the tenure of the awards and made the identifications in the table. Several of the identifications are not straightforward; both Francisco Pizarro and Vaca de Castro altered the composition of the awards. The names of Toledo's reductions can be located on a map drawn by Thierry Saignes (1986). The more important names appear on Figures 1 and 2.

Chayanta. In 1548, Hernando Pizarro held an award of the people subject to the cacique Yucura. In 1561, this grant could be described as half of Chayanta and Chichas. Hernando Pizarro's original award had been much larger. His brother Francisco had assigned him "Consara and Hurinsaya", and although we cannot be certain what that included, we know that Vaca de Castro reformed Hernando Pizarro's grant, regranting segments of it to other Spaniards. The three groups that had been subject to Consara, the principal *curaca* of Sacaca when the Spaniards first arrived in the area (Espinoza Soriano 1969:149), and that were transferred by Vaca de Castro, were all referred to as Charcas. Rodrigo Pantoja received a group in highland Charcas that was called half of Chayanta in later documents (Hampe Martínez 1979:82). Luis Perdomo received a group of *mitimas* who produced coca (Loredo 1958:166-168, 1940:52-53, 57-58, 60). The grant did not include

tributaries to pick the coca, according to one source (Loredo 1958:168). Perhaps the *mitayos* who came to pick the coca were part of the Chayanta grant. Gomez de Luna was also given a group of Charcas who produced coca by Vaca de Castro; they had also been subject to Consara (Loredo 1940:54). The two groups produced a combined total of 1150 *costales* (Loredo 1958:165, 172).

Sacaca. The first recorded holder of Sacaca was Luis Ribera. His award was described as "being in the province of Consara" (Loredo 1958:164). In 1548, prior to setting the first *tasa*, this group had been giving their *encomendero* 700 *costales* of coca (Loredo 1958:164-165, 1940:53).

Pocona/Pojo. The first known holder of this award was Pedro de Valdivia (see below, page 140), and it was probably awarded after the expedition to Charcas in 1538. Soon after, Valdivia resigned the award and it was regranted to Pedro Anzures (also called Peranzules, or other variants on this name), founder of the Villa de La Plata (1539), and his brother Gaspar Rodríguez. They also resigned the award and Vaca de Castro (1541-1544) gave it to Diego Centeno, Lope de Mendoza, and Dionisio de Bobadilla (Loredo 1958:154-155, 1940:52-53). Probably because it had been split between several *encomenderos*, it began to be treated as two separate *encomiendas* from the early 1550s onward: Pocona and Pojo (also called Poxo, Pocojo or Pocopoco in the documents) (Hampe Martínez 1979:84). Gómez de Alvarado held Pocona until his death, after which it was transferred to Francisco de Mendoza, the holder in 1556-1557 at the time of the suit (Ramírez Valverde 1970:300). Pojo was held by Pedro Fernández Paniagua and then by his son Gabriel Paniagua de Loaysa (Hampe Martínez 1979:84). The grant was referred to as Mizque from the 1570s onward (see Figure 1).

Cochabamba. We have no information about a Pizarro-era *encomendero* for either of the Cochabamba grants. If Consara was head of a *huno* which included what later became Chayanta, Sacaca and the two Cochabamba *encomiendas*, and this *huno* corresponded to the Hurinsaya division of a province, then Hernando Pizarro got this entire division when he received "Consara y Hurinsaya" (see above). In 1548, the two Cochabamba awards appear in the records for the first time. One was held by Alonso Camargo (Loredo 1958:162-163, 1940:61), and subsequently, by Polo de Ondegardo (Hampe Martínez 1979:83). At the time of the *visita general* of Toledo, it was reduced to the town of Santiago del Paso in the Cochabamba Valley (Miranda 1925:141). The other award was held by Rodrigo de Orellana (Loredo 1958:164, 1940:56, 61). It was reduced to Tiquipaya in the Cochabamba Valley during the *visita* (Miranda 1925:141).

Yamparaes, Gualparocas, Cochabilca. All of these groups were located in the vicinity of the city of La Plata. The history of tenure is difficult to reconstruct except in the case of Yamparaes: Pizarro awarded them to Diego de Rojas. Rojas also received the "yngas Gualparocas", a group of *orejones* (high-status Incas who wore earspools) subject to a *cacique* named

estimate is given for both Pocona and Pojo (later known as Mizque), because the two were accounted as a single unit in 1548, a fact that is significant in terms of earlier organization and will be considered again below. From the early 1550s, Pocona and Pojo were treated as distinct *encomiendas* rather than as a single unit of population. After the split, the tributaries of Pocona owed Gomez de Alvarado, who held the grant between 1550 and 1556, a total of 2,600 *cestos* per year (Ramírez Valverde 1970:300).⁵

Gualpa Roca. Vaca de Castro awarded this group to Hernan Núñez de Segura, but possession was disputed by Pablo de Meneses in 1548 (Loredo 1940:53, 56-57). Meneses held the award of Yamparaes at this time (Loredo 1958:169-170, 1940:53). The Yamparaes were reduced in Yotala and Quilaquila at the time of the *visita general*; the Yngas Gualparocas were reduced in Huata. Diego López de Zúñiga, deceased, had held the award of Cochabilca, according to one of the 1548 lists (Loredo 1958:169). They were *mitimas*, and resided in a town by the name of Cochabilca. The award had been diminished by Chiriguaná attacks. A reference to five households of "Condesuyos" of Cochavilca appears in a 1540 Pizarro *encomienda* award document (Del Río and Presta 1985:235; AGI, Justicia 1125, folio 14). Cochabilca reappears in a listing of 1561, split between two *encomenderos* who also share the grant of Lipas (Hampe Martínez 1979:83). It does not appear in the listings of the 1570s, although it may be listed under the name Condes Arabates; this group was resettled in a town called Arabate (Miranda 1975:30, 1925:138).

Tarabuco. This group was awarded by Francisco Pizarro to Francisco de Almendras; it was composed entirely of *mitimas* from Cusco and the Lake Titicaca region (Del Río and Presta 1985:224-233; Loredo 1958:170-171, 1940:56, 61). During the *visita general*, the people of this award were resettled in the towns of Tarabuco and Presto (Miranda 1925:134).

Moyosmoyos. The indications that two groups of Moyosmoyos provided tribute are problematic, because they are inconsistently reported even in 1548 when references to them appear in the documents (Loredo 1958:171, 176-177). They are untraceable after that. In only one of these awards was an estimate given for the amount of coca being produced (Christóbal Pizarro's grant).

The documents used to trace tenure, largely from a 1548 survey authorized by the Governor Pedro de la Gasca, include various references to people who could earn money to pay tribute by hiring themselves out in the coca fields, but only groups who had fields and *camayos* in the *yungas*, presumably since the time of the late Inca empire, are included.

⁵ The documentation we have for Pocona is from a *visita* initiated by Francisco de Mendoza, the *encomendero* of Pocona in 1556, to establish the value of

Pocona had coca *chacras* in the valleys of Chuquioma and Chamorro and took the produce from these fields to Tiraque (Ramírez Valverde 1970:304-305). This Tiraque is the Tiraque Chico that appears on modern maps, distinguishing it from another Tiraque which stood at the head of a pass into the lowlands farther west (Figure 2). Chamorro does not appear on modern maps, but it was accessed by the same pass as Chuquioma and may refer to the Chimore Valley. In notarial documents from the 1560s, the area of coca production extended from Chuquioma to the Río Blanco. The abandonment of the Chamorro fields was ordered at the time of the *visita general* (AHP, Cajas Reales 18, folio 49v). These fields were

his *encomienda*. Because he had been awarded an *encomienda* that paid tribute exclusively in coca, its value fluctuated more than awards where the tributaries paid all or a substantial part of their tribute in silver.

Here is the first reference to *cestos*. A definition of the *cesto* was given in 1597 by Balthasar Ramírez:

They have prepared *cestos* in which to pack [the coca], which are round, of 1 1/3 varas in length and 1/4 [vara] in width; each *cesto* weighs an *arroba* [about 11.5 kilos] ; 20 pounds are of coca and five of *cesto*; they make these *cestos* of narrow, hollow reeds called *pipo* and they make a meshwork with some stiff reeds called *pancho*; and they cover it with some thick wide leaves that they call *coxoro* . . .

Tienen aparejados *cestos* en que encestalla . los quales son redondos de vara y t(e)r(c)i)a de largo y vna quarta de ancho . pesa cada *cesto* vn arroba . las veinte libras son de coca y cinco del *cesto*. hazen estos *cestos* de vnas cañuelas delgadas . hendidas que llaman *pipo* y vanlas enredadondo con vnos bexucos que llaman *pancho* . y cubrenlas con vnas hojas muy anchas y gruesas que llaman *pancho* [tachado] *coxoro* . . . (Trimborn 1936:39)

The weight of the *cestos* was set by the Marqués de Cañete in his 1558 ordinances at 18 pounds of coca (see Murra 1991b:573).

In the documents reproduced with this article, the *quipocamayos* who presented their records in the 1579 lawsuit, noted that the *cestos* of coca in the 1548-51 period were very large and weighed double what *cestos* delivered at the time of writing weighed (Document 2, folio 370v). If so, they would have weighed about 23 kilos or 50 pounds.

farther away from Pocona than Chuquioma, perhaps downriver from the Río Blanco area.

Fifty *camayos* were in charge of the *chacras* in Chuquioma and Chamorro where the tribute coca was produced. Each *mita*, 200 *mitayos* were sent from the highlands to the *yungas* to harvest coca (Ramírez Valverde 1970:303-304, 306; AHP, Cajas Reales 18, folio 43r, see note 4). The group of *camayos* was divided in two. Each worked turns of three months: the 25 of the first turn were assigned to drying and packing the coca while the other 25 rested. During the time the *mitayos* were present, a total of 160 women and 8 to 10 children were required to cook for the *mitayos*. In the 1550s, these individuals also worked to earn a little money to maintain the *mitayos*, although the documents do not inform us about what they did (Ramírez Valverde 1970: 305-306).

The amount of coca owed as tribute was reduced in 1575, when a new *tasa* was set following the *visita general* conducted by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. Tribute was assessed in two commodities only: silver and coca. At that time Pocona was a Crown *encomienda*, and, perhaps for that reason, the document is more than a simple list of what was owed; it specifies how the people of Pocona were to pay. The 899 tributaries of Pocona, after the exemption of four *curacas*, were to provide the following:

One thousand five hundred [*cestos*] of coca each year by *mita*, five hundred *cestos* each of the three *mitas* that there are each year, green, dry and in good condition, viewed and inspected, packed and ready to be delivered, of the size and weight that has been customary until now in the payment of tribute, delivered to Tiraque [Chico] at the expense and risk [of the tributaries] using livestock that the community has and have to have in order to take the coca from the *chacras* to Tiraque. And they are not to bring it by carrying it themselves. In the coca 434 tributaries are to be occupied, including the *camayos* who reside where the *chacras* are, with 128 Indians serving in each of the three *mitas* that occur each year for a total of 384 Indians. The remaining fifty [of the total of 434] are to serve as the *camayos*.

Item. They are to give 2364 pesos of assayed and marked silver, half on the day of San Juan and half at Christmas, which are to be paid by

364 of the tributaries who are to occupy themselves in earning these pesos, at a rate of 6 pesos per Indian, and they are to put the silver in the community chest of the town of Pocona.

And the 97 Indians remaining of the total of 899 tributaries with the help of the older people who are not very incapacitated and the rest of the common people are to cultivate a community *chacra* of maize, potatoes, beans, and other foodstuffs that grow in their lands for the support of the Indians who cultivate and gather the coca. And anything left [shall be] for the hospitals and the poor of the *encomienda*.

And the Indians who have to pay *tasa* -- some in coca and some in silver and some in cultivating the community *chacra* -- shall be occupied in that one task and are not to be occupied in the others and vice versa -- and they are to be changed according to their turn from one year to the next to perform these [particular] services. .

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⁶ AHP, Cajas Reales, 18, folios 43r-43v.

... mil e quinientos *cestos* de coca en cada un año por sus *mitas*, quinientas cada *mita*, de tres que ay en el año, verde, enjuta y bien acondicionada, vistos y calados, encestada e de dar y rreçuir, del tamaño y peso que hasta aqui los an acostumbrado a dar y pagar de *tassa*, puestos en el asiento de Tiraque a su costa e rriesgo en el ganado de la comunidad que tienen y an de tener para traer la dicha coca de las dichas chacaras al dicho asiento de Tiraque, y no la an de traer ellos cargado; para el beneficio de la qual se an de ocupar, con los *camayos* que tienen en las dichas chacaras, quatroçientos e treinta e quatro yndios de los dichos tributarios, mudandose por sus *mitas*, de tres que ay en el año, çiento y veinte e ocho yndios cada *mita*, que son treçientos y ochenta e quatro los yndios que la an de beneficiar; y los çinquenta rrestantes a cumplimiento a los dichos quatroçientos y treinta e quatro an de servir de los dichos *camayos*.

Yten an de dar dos mil y treçientos y sesenta e quatro pesos de la plata ensayada e marcada, mitad por San Juan y mitad por Naudad, los quales an de pagar treçientos y sesenta y quatro yndios de los dichos tributarios que se an de ocupar en ganar los dichos pesos, que sale a rrazon de seis pesos de la dicha plata cada yndio; y los an de poner en la caja de la comunidad del dicho pueblo principal de Pocona.

Y los nouenta y siete yndios rrestantes, a cumplimiento de los dichos ochoçientos y nouenta y nueue yndios tributarios, se an de ocupar, con ayuda de los demas uiejos que no fueren muy ympedidos y demas gente del comun, en

The "Tiraque" in this document has been identified as Tiraque Chico on modern maps. It was the delivery point of the coca paid as tribute.

Even though in the above assessment some of the tribute was paid in silver, coca production occupied 60 percent of the tribute population. The worth of 1,500 *cestos* of coca, estimated at 12,300 pesos (Miranda 1975:28), accounted for more than 72 percent of the tribute income from Pocona. Of the 32 groups assessed in coca in the five colonial districts for which we have data (La Paz, La Plata, Cusco, Huamanga, and Arequipa), no group paid a higher percentage of their tribute in coca (Table 2), and only one group (Sonqo) paid a larger quantity each year (1615 *cestos*) (Miranda 1975).⁷ If we rely on tribute assessment as an indicator of economic specialization, Pocona was clearly specialized in the production of coca leaf.

Also evident from the *tasa* document cited above is the attempt to provide the people who worked in the coca with their accustomed diet. A group of 97 tributaries were to cultivate a community *chacra* of maize, potatoes, and beans and other foodstuffs for the support of both the *camayos* and the *mitayos*. The location of this *chacra* is not mentioned, but it was probably somewhere not far from Tiraque Chico at an elevation where the foodstuffs mentioned were commonly grown.

beneficiar vna chacara de comunidad de maiz, papas y frisoles y otras semillas que se dan en sus tierras, para el sustento de los yndios qucanos [así], beneficiar y coxer la dicha coca; y lo que rrestare, para los ospitales y pobres del dicho rrepartimiento.

Y los dichos yndios an de pagar de tassa los vnos la dicha coca y los otros la dicha plata e hazer la dicha chacara; y los que se ocuparen vn año en el uno no se an de ocupar en el otro ni por el contrario; y se an de mudar por sus mitas de año a año a haçer lo susodicho. . .

⁷ The *camayo/mitayo* organization, so clear for Pocona, is not evident in the Sonqo documentation. One possibility is that all of the people in the Sonqo award were *camayos* and that the *mitayos* had belonged to a group assigned to another *encomendero* when the award was divided in 1549 (see note 20).

Cultivating food in the highlands and transporting it to the lowlands was not a requisite for maintaining the community of people who worked in the coca. A sufficiently nutritious diet could have been obtained in the territory where coca was grown. Although we do not have information for the *yungas* of Chuquioma, a La Paz bishop noted what was locally grown in the *yungas* of La Paz at the beginning of the seventeenth century :

These people have no occupation other than cultivating this plant [coca] because the ruggedness of the mountains inhibits the cultivation of maize and wheat and so they depend for their support on it [coca] with which they purchase clothing and food. In this region are grown: bananas, guayabas, lúcumas, avocados, granadillas, papayas, and other local fruits, all without having to cultivate them, and roots that are no less delicious: yuca, sweet potatoes, potatoes, ahípa [jiquima], arracacha, yacon, and peanuts (like the pine-nuts in Castille).⁸

Food could be grown in the lowlands, but the people involved in coca production were highlanders and may have preferred their accustomed diet. Food may also have been imported to reduce labor expenditures in the lowlands to a minimum, given that terracing and frequent clearing of underbrush were required for cultivation. A larger permanent settlement may have been seen as unwise in view of the problematic relations between highlanders and lowlanders beyond the frontier.⁹

⁸ AGI, Charcas 138:

... Estos indios no tienen mas ocupacion que beneficiar esta planta [la coca] porque la fragosidad del monte les ympide la siembra de mays y trigo; y asi se balen para su sustento de ella con que compran ropa y comidas. Dan en estos paraxes platanos, guayabas, lucumas, paltas, granadillas, papayas y otras frutas de la tierra, todos de regalo, y rayeses que son de no menos gusto: yucas, camotes, patatas, axipaz, racheas, aricomas y mani (a manera de piñones de Castilla).

National Research Council (1989) gives fuller information on "axipaz" or ahípa (pp. 38-45), "rachea" or arracacha (pp. 46-55), and "aricoma" or yacon (pp. 114-123).

⁹ Gade has argued that the risk of contracting leishmaniasis, a protozoal disease carried by a sand fly, en-

The documents also contain information about the *chacras* that belonged to the *curacas*. Eleven *camayos* served particular *curacas* in the area of Chuquioma and Chamorro (Ramírez Valverde 1970:306). The *curacas* testified about the amounts of coca that were harvested for them in preceding years. Don Juan Xaraxuri, the principal *curaca* of Pocona, had received 10 *cestos* per *mita*, although the same fields had been known to produce 100 *cestos* in earlier years. Xaraxuri was identified as head of the Cotas, and resided in the town of Pocona itself. Another *curaca* of the Cotas, identified only as don Felipe, had houses in Chimboata, as well as in Pocona. He had a *chacra* that had produced 30 *cestos* each *mita*, although, in the *mita* preceding the interview, it had yielded only 10 *cestos* (*ibid.*:295-296). These *curacas* had fields in the valleys of Arepucho and Yunno as well (*ibid.*:307-308). Arepucho is in a valley west of Chuquioma (see Figure 2).

Part of the Pocona grant was composed of *mitimas*, people who had their origins in the Cusco region, in the Conde territory south of Cusco, and in the Lake Titicaca region. The principal *curaca* of the *mitimas*, don Hernando Turumaya, of the town of Pocona, had formerly received 30 *cestos* per *mita*. Three other *curacas*, all of whom belonged to the group of *mitimas*, also had coca *chacras*. One, don Francisco Collasuyo, received 10 *cestos* per *mita* from his fields; however, only 3 *cestos* had been harvested in the preceding *mita*. Another, identified as don Tomás, *curaca* of the Collas and resident in Chimboata, received 15 *cestos*. A third, don Francisco Vilcachagua of the *ayllo* Chinchasuyo, was receiving 3 *cestos* from fields that had formerly produced 7. Although this accounting may be somewhat incomplete, variability in access to coca among the different *curacas* is clearly evident (as is an overall drop in the amount of coca harvested).

The *curacas* also described their fields in Tiraque Chico. There, they had *chacras* of hot peppers and cotton, worked by a total of nine *camayos* distributed as follows: Two served

Xaraxuri, Two served Turumaya; Pedro Chirima, a Cota *curaca*, had one; Pedro Caya, a *curaca* of the *ayllo* (kin group) Inga, had two; and Tomás Caua, cacique of the *ayllo* Colla and perhaps the same don Tomás as mentioned above, had two. Although we might assume that these people were there principally to cultivate hot peppers and cotton, they were described as "*camayos* of the storage place for the coca". They may also have been involved in the storage and transfer of coca (Ramírez Valverde 1970:304).

Sacaca cultivators

Sacaca was the name of an *encomienda* that included some of the people of a larger group known as Charcas (see note 4). It was also the name of their principal town (Espinoza Soriano 1969:141, 148). The people of Sacaca had initiated a suit against their *encomendero*, don Alonso de Montemayor, for demanding excessive amounts of tribute. To substantiate their suit, they presented records for the years 1548 to 1552, two years before and two years after the first *tasa* was set (1550) (Documents 1 and 2, Appendix).¹⁰ The *tasa* assessed tribute in silver, coca, textiles, maize, tubers, camelids, fat, pigs, chickens, ducks, partridges, honey, wax, camelid hides, tack, salt, and service in the fields and household of the *encomendero* in La Plata.¹¹

Much of what Sacaca owed in tribute was obtained in the highlands, but coca, honey, and wax had a lowland origin. What they owed in coca was substantial:

Item. You will pay each *mita* that you harvest coca 250 *cestos* of coca of the size and measure that you paid and made at the time you were visited which was on the fifth of September in the year 1549 from the *chacras* that you said had

¹⁰ To document what they had paid in coca from 1548 to 1552, records separate from those kept in the highlands were introduced into the testimony. These records were in the hands of *quipocamayos* who resided in the *yungas* of Pocona.

¹¹ In the document livestock are termed *ovejas*, and could as easily refer to sheep as to camelids. Given later assessments of this same *encomienda* (Miranda 1975:25), the *ovejas* here are camelids, probably, llamas.

demic to the eastern lowlands where coca was grown, also inhibited permanent settlement (1979).

belonged to the Inca which are the *chacras* from which you are accustomed to pay [tribute in coca] and you will deliver them to the settlement of Tiraque. If the *encomendero* gives you livestock with which to transport it, you will deliver it to La Plata, Potosí or Porco. And for the trip both to and from [La Plata, Potosí or Porco], you, the *encomendero*, have to give the Indians the food that is necessary and three *cestos* of coca each *mita* which they will divide among themselves and neither you nor anyone else will occupy them in any other task in addition to carrying out the above. (Document 1, folios 4v-5).

Note that the *chacras* harvested for tribute were *chacras* that had belonged to the Inca.¹²

In the lawsuit against Montemayor, the officials (*quipocamayos*) who kept records of

¹² Although it is clear in the cases of Pocona and Sacaca that the tribute was paid from specific *chacras*, it is more difficult to identify these resources in the Sonqo documents. The tributaries reported that they paid their tribute from their own fields. When asked in 1568 whether they had community *chacras* "like the other Indians in the jurisdiction of La Paz who pay their tribute in coca, and like all the others in the jurisdiction of Cusco and La Plata," one witness said he did not know (Murra 1991a:269). A cover-up was suspected and investigated in 1570. Community *chacras* were found, but only a small amount of the tribute coca was still being supplied from this source, and furthermore, two of the four fields mentioned had been created within the preceding decade (*ibid.*:313-315, 327).

One witness did provide information about fields that had served this purpose in earlier years. Antonio Llula Estaca, principal *curaca* of Chacapa, testified that fields that had earlier served for the payment of tribute were no longer cultivated:

... because they no longer took the care they once did to clean the fields to avoid worm damage. And he said that the worm had gotten into the *chacararas* that they used to pick coca and that there are no good lands for building *chacararas* as good as those were ...

... porque no tienen el cuidado que entonces solian tener para limpiar las dichas *chacararas* para que el gusano no las come dijo que porque en las chacaras donde solian coger la coca se metio el gusano y no hay buenas tierras donde hacer otras *chacararas* tan buenas como las otras ... (Murra 1991a:279)

A *chacra* formerly cultivated for the Incas that had been taken over by a *curaca* was also identified (Murra 1991a:496-497).

the coca that was paid, named the 11 *chacras* that were worked to pay tribute (Table 3) (Document 2). They also stated that these *chacras* had belonged to Consara. In the absence of Cusco control, he appears to have commandeered fields that had previously been worked for the Incas. Even though *curacas* had individual holdings, what was harvested from these 11 fields would have been far larger than a *curaca's* share.

The Tiraque where coca was to be delivered is again Tiraque Chico. However, the delivery of coca at Tiraque, where the people of Pocona delivered their coca, was contested. Montemayor asserted that their traditional delivery point was Totora:

Don Alonso de Montemayor, in the petition he presented, made a report saying that the Indians of his *encomienda* had and had had the custom of putting the coca that they paid in tribute in the town of Totora which is two leagues [10 km] beyond Tiraque on the same road, where they had built their houses and settlements for the time when they arrived there; and they were harmed by the order that they deliver [the coca] to another town, and they would have to build their houses and settlements all over again. (Document 1, folio 9)

This settlement had to house approximately 150-200 *mitayos* who harvested the tribute coca and others who worked fields belonging to particular *curacas*, in addition to any resident personnel. If transport of the coca was the responsibility of others, then another 50-60 people and 100-125 llamas were present at times. The testimony indicates that the settlement included permanent constructions.¹³

¹³ A delivery point for the coca (a site like Tiraque or Totora, located in the highlands at a convenient point for transfer of the coca) can also be identified for Sonqo. The Sonqo documents date to a considerably later period (1568-70) than the Pocona material, and the point of delivery had changed several times. First Sonqo had delivered its coca to the storage houses at Tohone (or Toone), 3 leagues (15 km) from Chuquiabo (modern La Paz), near the shrine that marked the mountain pass of Canavire (*apacheta*) (Murra 1991a:77, 515); the coca of Chacapa went to Quichiciste, half a league (2.5 km) from Chacapa; and the coca of Challana to Chiqui, 2 leagues (10 km) from Challana (*ibid.*:134, 190, 263, 267, 269).

The *quipocamayos* provided the names of 11 *chacras*, but only the names Chuquioma and Laymetoro appear on modern maps (Figure 2). However, the two Laymetoros located in the highlands are not the Laymetoro of the documents. A number of references in notarial records clearly identify Laymetoro as a coca *chacra* in the valley of Chuquioma (ANB, Escrituras Públicas 24, folios 161-163v, 387v-388v).

Other aspects of the organization of coca production can be recovered through an analysis of the data provided by the *quipocamayos*. The time required to transport the coca from Chuquioma to Totorá was three days (Table 4). The distance between Chuquioma and Totorá is only 30 km, but the first 20 cover very steep and rugged terrain. Moreover, the people who harvested the coca had to transport it up this steep trail, carrying two *cestos* per person. From Totorá, it was carried by llamas and by "peons" to Potosí or La Plata (modern Sucre), the two final destinations recorded in the documents of 1548-1552. The term "peons" is used in the documents, and we shall use it here, but we can identify these laborers as *mitayos*. In Table 4, we can see the figures for each of the *mitas* in these years.

First, I want to call attention to the number of peons who transported the coca to Totorá. With the exception of the first two entries, the numbers support the declarations recorded in an accompanying testimonial to the effect that each peon carried two *cestos*. In the case of the first two entries, calculation indicates that some of the peons may have carried three *cestos*.

When the same coca was transferred to animals, fewer peons were required. The animals carried two *cestos*, the same number as the human carriers. Because the sum of animals and peons is in all cases approximately equal to the number of peons who brought the coca out of the *yungas* to Totorá, we can conclude that fewer humans were involved in the next stage of transport, but that they continued to serve as bearers. The figures reveal a proportion of approximately two llamas per human.

Now that we can document a difference between the number of peons who were required to transport the coca from the *yungas* to Totorá and the number involved in taking the same coca to its final destination, the question arises as to whether the people who brought the coca out were the same as those who continued onward with it: the task of harvesting coca may well have been a separate obligation from the service of long-distance transport.¹⁴ One indication that the two obligations were separate is that the transport of the coca to its final destination, aided by llamas, was not automatic: only when the *encomendero* provided the animals were the people of Sacaca required to take it farther than the point of delivery (Document 1, folio 5).

There is another inference we can make from the data in Table 4: the coca that was harvested in each *mita* was shipped as a single lot to its final destination. If 314 *cestos* were harvested, the records indicate that 314 *cestos* were shipped together to their final destination. We cannot infer that coca from one *mita* was shipped with coca from another, or that the lot was divided to be shipped to different destinations. Coca was customarily shipped within a brief period, consonant with what we know about its value when fresh. At least during the period covered by our documents, Totorá was not a site of long-term storage. Located at 2800 masl, it would not have been the best place to conserve coca leaf, if that had been a consideration.

These documents clearly establish the involvement of the people of Sacaca in coca production. However, in the Toledo assessment (1575), Sacaca was no longer required to pay tribute in coca.

Other cultivators

Besides Pocona and Sacaca, other groups from the Charcas highlands and eastern lowland valleys paid coca as tribute in the years before the *tasa* was set (Table 1; see note 4).

¹⁴ Patricia J. Lyon has noted that, in the coca-growing region of Paucartambo near Cusco, they were separate obligations.

While we cannot rule out the possibility that coca was produced in the lowland valleys east of La Plata, notarial documentation for the 1560s and the first half of the 1570s indicates that Chuquioma was the only actively producing coca region during this period. Sale of coca and coca *chacras* were frequently recorded. One of the transactions involves the sale of *chacras* by the Yamparaes community (ANB, Escrituras Públicas 24, folios 431-433). Moreover, Martín de Almendras, the *encomendero* of Tarabuco, collected tribute from his *encomienda* in the *yungas* of Chuquioma, as evident in the following statement by Gonzalo Martín, a witness in the suit against don Alonso de Montemayor:

To the fourth question, he answered that that which he knows about what he was asked is that, at the time referred to by the question, from 48 to 51, during this time this witness entered the *yungas* of Chuquioma several times with Martín de Almendras, a *vecino* [Spanish townsman] of La Plata, to collect his coca; and the Indians paid in coca, and if there was not enough coca, they paid at the rate of 4 pesos per *cesto* . . .¹⁵

The eastern lowland valleys were developing as centers of agricultural production to supply the adjacent mining centers. In the abundant documentation related to the transfer of lands in these valleys, there are many references to maize and fruit crops, but no references at all to coca.

A Spanish resident of Tiraque testified in 1556 that the coca of Pocona, Pojo, and "other *repartimientos*" was brought there (Document 3, folio 76r; cf. Ramírez Valverde 1970:301). Coca from different *encomiendas* was marketed in both Tiraque and Pocona at that time (Document 3, folios 76v, 77r). If the delivery point for the coca was in the Tiraque/Totora

area, the labor input was the same for all groups except for the travel of the *mitayos* from their province of origin.

The data summarized in Table 1 indicate notable differences in the quantities delivered by the various groups who paid coca to their *encomendero*. The production of Pocona/Pojo could be qualified as industrial in comparison with Sacaca or Chayanta, although the documents note a substantial drop from past levels in the quantities of coca supplied by Tarabuco and Cochabilca to their *encomenderos* in 1548.¹⁶

In the Toledo *tasa* of 1575, Pocona is the only group still assessed in coca. Just what brought about the end of coca production for tribute payment cannot be ascertained. Toledo may have simply required payment in silver from tributaries who continued to be active in coca production, expecting the sale of coca to supply the silver tribute. However, the sharp drop in production of coca after the boom years of 1548-1552 suggests that supplying coca as tribute had become problematic. Even before 1548, Pocona had been unable to produce coca at capacity. The problems appear to have been organizational. Pocona had suffered a serious population loss prior to the *visita* of 1556. Many of the *mitimas* returned to their places of origin during the time of the Gonzalo Pizarro rebellion (1544-48). One witness noted that the field sergeant of Pizarro, Francisco de Carvajal, had collected the people subject to a number of *curacas*, thereby depopulating Pocona (Ramírez Valverde 1970:297). At the time of Carvajal's arrival, about 1546, a principal *curaca* was also said to have taken a large number of people with him into the interior, bringing about the collapse of the coca enterprise (Loredo 1958:155-156). In 1556, the *caciques* of Pocona also attributed the drop in production to a lack of productivity in the fields and to a disease they called *carache* (Ramírez Valverde 1970:300).

¹⁵ AGI, Justicia 653, folio 418v:

. . . lo que saue de lo contenido en la pregunta es que, a la sazón que la pregunta dize de los quatro años de quarenta y ocho hasta çinquenta y vno, en el dicho tiempo, este testigo entró en los *yungas* de Chuquioma algunas vezes con Martín de Almendras, vezino de la Ciudad de La Plata, a cobrar coca suya, e que los yndios pagauanla en coca; y si les faltava coca, les pagauan a quatro pesos el sesto.

¹⁶ Cochavilca is referred to by the names of its *encomenderos*, Segura and Tapia, in Ramírez Valverde (1970:300; see Loredo 1958:170-171)

Still, in comparison with other groups who paid coca as tribute in 1548, the marked specialization of Pocona in coca production is evident, even years after Spanish entry into the enterprise. The Incas' organization of coca production in the Pocona area, indicated by the quantity of *mitima* settlers and industrial levels of production, survived some decades after Spanish involvement began.

Inca Organization

The documents that permit us to trace the involvement of various groups in coca production in Chuquioma, though comparatively early in date, reflect a territorial organization created by the breakup of Inca political units into *encomiendas*. To understand Inca organization, an effort has to be made to redefine earlier political units. There are notable lacunae in the evidence available for this task (see Note 4), but what has survived for the Charcas region does permit us to trace in broad outline the shape of Inca political organization.

As noted above, Pocona and Pojo were a single entity until the early 1550s, when the two began to be treated as distinct *encomiendas* (see note 4). The first Spaniard to receive Pocona/Pojo was Pedro de Valdivia. Valdivia had been part of the initial expedition of the Pizarro brothers (Gonzalo and Hernando) into highland Bolivia in 1538. He had also participated in the expedition of Pedro Anzures to found La Plata (modern Sucre) in 1539 (Esteve Barba 1966:28). We do not have the award document, but Valdivia wrote in a letter to his agents at court about having to give up this award before his expedition to Chile (Santiago de Chile 15 October 1550; Esteve Barba 1966:28-29, 42). Francisco Pizarro had given him in *encomienda*:

... the valley of La Canela, which, after I renounced it [to go to Chile] he regranted to Pedro Anzures and to his brother, Gaspar Rodríguez, and to Diego Centeno; and Vaca de Castro, when he governed the provinces of Peru, granted awards from this same territory to three conquerors, namely Diego Centeno, Lope de Mendoza and Dionisio de Bobadilla.¹⁷

Centeno, Mendoza, and Bobadilla held the grant in 1548, when it was still a single entity (Loredo 1958, p. 154). Pocona/Pojo included a substantial highland territory, but the grant was referred to as the "valley of La Canela" (Loredo 1940:52-53), a reference to Chuquioma.

Sacaca was also part of a larger territory. In 1598 don Juan Ayaviri Cuysara presented information collected by his father in 1583 that detailed the genealogy of the *caciques* of Sacaca. Cuysara's great-grandfather was Consara, who had been head of a *huno*, a unit of 10,000 households in Inca decimal accounting, that was divided into four separate *encomiendas*: Sacaca, Chayanta, Cochabamba (Santiago del Paso), and Cochabamba (San Miguel de Tiquipaya) (AGI, Charcas 45, folios 20-20v). The Inca project at Cochabamba has generated interest among ethnohistorians since the discovery of documents that identify the restructuring of productive activities in the valley by the Inca Huayna Capac to grow maize on an industrial scale (Morales 1977; Wachtel 1982). The people granted in *encomienda* in Cochabamba (the two grants identified above) were composed of *mitimas* with origins in various highland provinces in the Inca district of Collasuyo. The testimony of Cuysara allows us to identify a larger political unit within which the Inca maize project was embedded and to link Sacaca to it.

The Inca restructuring of Cochabamba affected the Pocona/Pojo area so our analysis should encompass the entire region. Native witnesses testified in an inquiry that took place in 1560 that Thupa Inca had taken some lands in the Cochabamba Valley for his own use. However, a large-scale reorganization of agricultural production had been effected in Cochabamba during the rule of his son,

¹⁷ Esteve Barba 1966:28:

... me dió en depósito y encomienda el valle todo llamado de la Canela, que despueés que yo le dejé le dió al capitan Peranzulez e a su hermano Gaspar Rodríguez e a Diego Centeno; e Vaca de Castro, quando gobernó aquellas provincias del Perú a S.M. dió en él de comer a tres conquistadores, que fué a los capitanes Diego Centeno, Lope de Mendoza e Dionisio de Bobadilla...

Huayna Capac. This Inca removed most of the inhabitants of the valley, identified as Chuyes (or Causis) and Cotas, and resettled them in the Pocona/Pojo area. The reason given was that these people were to serve as security against attacks by Chiriguaná at the eastern frontier. No mention was made of their involvement in coca production, but the witnesses admitted that they knew less about Thupa Inca's activities than about his son's "because they do not remember and it happened a long time ago" (AHMC, EC 17, folios 425-425v).

Information about the Chiriguaná "threat" has to be considered in terms of what was happening at the frontier at the time information was gathered. From the 1560s onward, the Spaniards had a heightened awareness of how difficult relations at the frontier could be, as the violence escalated and two wars were declared (in 1574 and 1584). While we can document a threat from beyond the frontier during the reign of Huayna Capac, there is no reason to extend this situation any further into the past (Del Río and Presta 1985; Julien 1995).

It is with this caveat in mind, that we should examine the testimony of a group of descendants of Thupa Inca Yupanqui, taken in Cusco in 1568. In a listing of military campaigns undertaken by their forebear, very likely recorded on a *quipu*, Thupa Inca's reorganization of the Pocona/Pojo area follows the Inca annexation of Charcas. Thupa Inca passes through Charcas and continues on South "to Chiriguanas" and Tucumán. Then Thupa Inca (or his captains) crosses the mountains to Chile. From Chile, he heads north to Tarapacá and then back over the mountains to Pocona:

... and they went to Pocona and made many fortresses in Pocona and in Sabaypata [Samaypata] which is in the Chiriguanas and in Cuzcotuiro and put many people from different places [in them] to serve as guards of the fortress and frontier where he left many orejones. At present their children and descendents reside in the said fortresses and frontier.¹⁸

In 1568, defense concerns were uppermost and may have inhibited the witnesses' recollection of their forebear's involvement in reorienting the region toward industrial-level coca production.

In a later inquiry, conducted in the 1570s, a collective interview of *curacas* and tributaries led to the copying of an earlier census of the lands that had been distributed under the Incas in the Cochabamba. One of the administrators involved in the inquiry, Francisco de Saavedra, summarized the distribution as follows:

And from [the census and] the testimony it appears that Thupa Inca annexed the valley and that the inhabitants he found there were Cotas and Cavis and Sisisipis [Sipesipes]. He removed them and sent the Cotas and Cavis to Pocona and Mizque [Pojo] where he gave them lands. The Sipesipes were given lands in the valley and some other Indians from this area [the Charcas highlands] were brought in to tend particular fields. Afterward, Huayna Capac made a general distribution of all of the lands that he assigned to himself in the valley and brought in 14,000 settlers of different nations to tend the fields. Some were permanent residents, others came from their own territories to work the lands of Huayna Capac...¹⁹

¹⁸ Rowe 1985:226:

... y así salieron a Pocona y hicieron muchas fortalezas en el mesmo Pocona y en Sabaypata que es en los Chiriguanas y en Cuzcotuiro y pusso en todas las fortale[ça]s muchos yndios de diuersas partes para guardasen la d[ic]ha fortaleça y frontera a donde dexo muchos yndios orejones y al presente estan poblados sus hijos y deçendientes en las d[ic]has ffortale[ça]s y fronteras.

¹⁹ AHMC, EC 17, f. 406:

E que por ella e por la dicha ynformaçion parece que Topa Ynga conquistó el dicho valle, y a los yndios naturales que en ella halló, que eran cotas e cavis y sipisipis, los sacó de su natural, y a los cotas y cavis los pasó a Pocona y Mizque y allí les dio tierras, y a los dichos de Sipi Sipi les señaló en el dicho valle tierras, e metió algunos yndios de esta provinçia para que le veneficiasen çiertas chácaras; y después, Guayna Capa hizo repartimiento general de todas las tierras de dicho valle para sí, y metió en el veneficio de las dichas sus chácaras catorze mil yndios de muchas nasçiones, y algunos eran perpetuos y

According to the witnesses, both Thupa Inca and his son shifted elements of local population from Cochabamba to the Pocona/Pojo area.

The Cochabamba documents, which provide us with a historical narrative about the activities of Huayna Capac in the Valley, only begin to describe the Inca restructuring of productive activity in the region. When we link Cochabamba to Pocona, the rough outline of a much larger project begins to emerge. This involved the industrial production of coca in the *yungas* of Chuquioma and maize in the Cochabamba Valley, as well as the maintenance of people at the frontier. Some years ago Mercedes del Río and Ana María Presta noted a correspondence between the origins of *mitimas* assigned to produce maize in the *chacra* of Colchacollo in Cochabamba and the origins of *mitimas* who were resettled in the town of Tarabuco at the time of the *visita* general (1985:232). Colchacollo was organized during the rule of Huayna Capac. This Inca also responded to an emergency situation at the frontier by sending *mitima* settlers into the region to act as a buffer against incursions from the east (Julien 1995). In part, at least, the organization of maize production was linked to security at the frontier.

We can detect another linkage. The *mitimas* of the *encomienda* of Tarabuco "had very good coca *chacras*" (Loredo 1958:171). Like other *mitimas* in the frontier region, and some groups from highland Charcas, they participated in the industrial production of coca leaf in the *yungas* of Chuquioma. The Inca project in the Cochabamba/Pocona region was a complex web of different groups related through productive activities in the lowlands and security measures at the frontier.

Certain aspects of the productive activities organized by the Incas may have been general (like the establishment of a delivery point for

otros venían de sus tierras al veneficio de las chacaras del dicho Ynga . . .

The citation refers to both Cotas and Cavis. The term Cavis may refer to the people also known as Chuyes (Urquidi 1970, cited in Ellefson 1978), although the terms are not linguistic equivalents.

coca), but the composition of a project like the Cochabamba/Pocona one may have been a unique historical development that obeyed a logic specific to the resources of the region while taking particular circumstances, like the external threat, into account. The documentation for Charcas, though incomplete, allows us to develop an ethnohistorical image of the complex restructuring of productive activities in lowland Charcas. Creating a similar image in the larger region surrounding the coca-producing valleys of Sonqo will be a major ethnohistorical undertaking.²⁰ In the *yungas*

²⁰ Sonqo was originally part of the *encomienda* of Gabriel de Rojas. Rojas arrived in Cusco with Francisco Pizarro and was present for the foundation of the Spanish city (Lohmann Villena 1986:163-167). He may have received the *encomienda* at that time. We know something about his *encomienda* from a description of it in 1548:

Gabriel de Rojas receives 50,000 pesos of income from his *encomienda*, because he has a great deal of coca and maize. He has the coca Indians 85 leagues [425 km] from the city, more or less. Near the city he has service Indians who have a great deal of maize and wheat. He received them from the Marqués [Francisco Pizarro]; I do not know if he got any from Vaca de Castro.

Al capitán Gabriel de Rojas le renta su repartimiento cinquenta mil pesos, por tener mucha coca i maiz, tiene los Indios de la coca ochenta i cinco leguas de esta ciudad poco mas o menos, tiene junto a esta ciudad Indios de servicio de mucho maiz i trigo; tienelos por titulo del Marques, no se si tiene algunos por Vaca de Castro. (Loredo 1941:115)

The coca referred to was from the *yungas* of La Paz, judging by the distance given. Rojas may not have received the entire award at one time.

The Rojas award headed the list of Cusco *encomiendas* because it was the most valuable *encomienda* in the region, more valuable even than the immense *encomienda* held by Hernando Pizarro, which was in third place. After Rojas' death, his *encomienda* was split so that the holders did not have *encomiendas* in two city districts. Pedro Portocarrero received at least part of the Cusco portion, referred to as Quiguare, from Governor Pedro de la Gasca in 1549 (AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 498c, folios 590v-592). Alonso de Alvarado appears to have received Sonqo, and maybe Oyune and Suri, from Gasca at the same time (Hampe Martínez 1979:85).

of La Paz, the Incas organized the extraction of gold. This region was part of an Incas province called Chuquiabo which encompassed territory in the highlands as well as the *yungas*. We can expect to find an equally complex web of ties between groups involved in primary production in the lowlands, and others involved in food supply, transport, delivery, storage, elaboration of the finished product, and perhaps, defense. By examining these regional networks, we stand to learn a great deal about Inca economy. The answer to the question of who benefited from the production of maize or coca may even become clear.

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Support for research in Spanish archives was provided by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. A particular debt is owed to the Archive of the Indies in Seville, where the three documents included in the appendix are held. It was a privilege and a pleasure to work with Archive staff. A preliminary version of this paper was presented in a symposium organized by Marius Ziolkowski at the CIELAC (Congreso Internacional de Estudios sobre Latino-América y el Caribe) conference in Warsaw (1992). Because the participants were archaeologists, the paper tried to define the spatial correlates of coca production. This orientation has been preserved to a great degree in the present version, despite having passed through two drafts since then. The paper was thoroughly rewritten for submission to *Andean Past*. It was rewritten again to respond to comments and counsel offered by Juan José Villarías, Patricia Jean Lyon and John Howland Rowe, as well as by anonymous reviewers. I particularly want to thank

Villarías for sharing his transcription of the Cochabamba documents with me. I also want to thank both Villarías and Lyon for sharing with me the insights they have gained from working on large bodies of primary source material for Cochabamba and Paucartambo, respectively. They know these regions a good deal better than I do.

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Abbreviations of archive names

- AGI Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
 AHMC Archivo Histórico de la Municipalidad de Cochabamba, Cochabamba, Bolivia.
 AHP Archivo Departamental de Potosí, Potosí, Bolivia.
 ANB Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, Bolivia.
 RAH Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Spain.

AGI, Charcas 25, ramo 6, número 45, 4 folios.

Carta de Diego Christoval Mesia, presidente de Charcas, a S.M., La Plata, 12 octubre 1692.

AGI, Charcas 45

Don Juan Ayaviri Cuysara, cacique principal del repartimiento de Sacaca y pueblo Sant Christoual de Panacache y su prouincia, alcalde mayor de los naturales de la prouincia de los Charcas y capitan de los tres naciones della, 1598. 86 folios.

AGI, Charcas 138

Relación de las cosas notables del obispado de nuestra señora de La Paz . . . , 1651, 34 folios.

AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 498c

Pedro Portocarrero con el Fiscal, 1579.

AGI, Justicia 428, número 2, ramo 2

Don Francisco de Mendoza sobre los reparos que se ofrecian para ponerle en posesion de la encomienda que tenia concedida sobre yndios en las provincias del Perú, 1557 [*sic*: 1556], 119 folios.

AGI, Justicia 653, número 2

El cacique principal e yndios del pueblo de Sacaca con los herederos de don Alonso de Montemayor sobre la demasia de tributos del tiempo que tubo dichos yndios en encomienda, 1579.

AGI, Justicia 1125, número 5

El capitan Cristoval Barba con el adelantado Juan Ortiz de Zárate ambos vecinos de la ciudad de La Plata sobre el derecho a yndios moyosmoyos, 1551.

AGI, Lima 166

Información de Francisco Rodríguez Peinado, Villa de Salinas [Mizque], 16 enero 1644.

AHMC, Expedientes Coloniales 17

Proceso de los indios carangas sobre las tierras de Colcapirhua, 1575. Transcription by Juan J. R. Villarias-Robles, folios 404-462v.

The link between Sonqo and the Quiguare of Cusco is early and may have been forged by the Incas. The second largest award in Cusco was made to Antonio Altamirano. It was worth 30,000 pesos. The most important part of it was 90 leagues (450 km) from Cusco (Loredo 1941:115), again in the area where La Paz was later founded. Like Rojas, Altamirano was also awarded Indians near Cusco, but this group cannot be identified at present. The ties between groups near Cusco, who were largely *orejones* or non-royal Incas, are significant, although substantiating this argument is beyond the scope of the present paper.

AHP, Cajas Reales 18

Libro donde se asientan las tasas de los yndios que estan en la corona real que mandó hazer el excelentísimo señor Don Francisco de Toledo Visorrey e Capitan General en estos reinos e provincias del Pirú . . . , 1575.

ANB, Escrituras Públicas 2

Gaspar López, 1562-1572.

ANB, Escrituras Públicas 24

Juan Bravo, 1572, 1573, 1575.

RAH, Colección Mata Linares, 9/1666

Diario de la entrada a las montañas havidadas de la nacion de Yndios Yuracarees que en el año 1796 hizo el R. P. fray Bernardo Ximenez Bejarano, prefecto de misiones del Colegio de San Josse de Tarata, con los padres fray Pedro Hernandez y fray Ylario Coche individuos de dicho colegio. Septiembre a noviembre de 1796. Real Academia de la Historia, folios 264-282v.

RAH, Colección Mata Linares, 9/1667

Informe de Tadeo Haenke a don Francisco de Viedma, Cochabamba, 16 febrero 1796. folios 267r-272v.

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Table 1. Tribute in coca paid in Charcas before 1548 (approximate).

<i>Region</i>	<i>Cestos</i>	<i>Group</i>
Serranía de Mojos	1500	Chayanta
or Cocapata	700	Sacaca
	450	Sacaca
	12000/6000	Pocona/Pojo
	100	Cochabamba (El Paso)
	50	Cochabamba (Tiquipaya)
	500	Caracara
	600	Yamparaes
	600	Tarabuco
	100	Gualparocas
	1000	Cochabilca
	150	Moyomoyos

Source: Loredó 1940; 1958:149-172.

Table 2. *Encomiendas* where more than 20% of total tribute was paid in coca in the Toledo assessment.

<i>Encomienda</i>	<i>Coca (Cestos)</i>	<i>Net Tributaries</i>	<i>Cestos per Trib.</i>	<i>Tribute in coca</i>
Pocona	1500	527	2.85	72.46%
Majes I	80	162	0.49	61.54%
Gualla	1140	190	6.00	50.29%
Copacopa	480	120	4.00	39.54%
Majes II	50	138	0.36	38.46%
Songo	1615	362	4.46	30.47%
Ayapata	288	72	4.00	23.68%
Tarabuco	480	90	5.33	23.19%
Ollachea	260	52	5.00	21.38%

Source: Miranda 1975.

Table 3. *Chacras* of coca worked by the people of Sacaca.

Payromani
 Chuquioma
 Laymitoro
 Sipsipampa
 otra chacra en Chuquioma donde agora estan
 poblados los españoles
 Cataquila
 Liquiliqui
 Apachita
 Tontoni
 Catani
 Charupampa

Source: AGI, Justicia 653, pieza 1, folio 370r.

Table 4. Tribute in coca paid by the people of Sacaca (1548-1551).

<i>Año</i>	<i>Mita</i>	<i>Cestos</i>	<i>Transport to Totora:</i>		<i>Transport to Final Destination:</i>	
			<i>Peons</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Peons</i>	<i>Llamas</i>
1548	1	314	150	3 days	57	100
	2	355	179	3 days	63	116
	3	377	189	3 days	63	126
<i>Total</i>		<i>1046</i>				
1549	1	292	146	3 days	46	100
	2	341	171	3 days	51	120
	3	363	182	3 days	72	110
<i>Total</i>		<i>996</i>				
1550	1	222	111	3 days	41	70
	2	274	136	3 days	54	82
	3	302	151	3 days	51	100
<i>Total</i>		<i>798</i>				
1551	1	203	102	3 days	31	70
	2	242	121	3 days	31	80
	3	262	131	3 days	41	90
<i>Total</i>		<i>707</i>				

Source: AGI, Justicia 653, pieza 1, folios 370r-372v.

Documentary Appendix

1. *A.G.I., Justicia 653, pieza 1, folios 4-9v. Tasa de Sacaca hecha por la audiencia, Los Reyes, 1 octubre 1550.*

Nos, don frai Geronimo de Loaisa, por la graçia de Dios y de la santa sede apostolica de Roma primero obispo y arçobispo desta Çibdad de Los Reyes y del consejo de Su Magestad, y el liçenciado Fernando de Santillan, oydor en la Avdiencia y Chançilleria Real que por mandado de Su Magestad rreside en esta dicha çibdad, y fray Domingo de Santo Thomas de la Horeden de los Predicadores, por el nombramiento y comision a nos dada por el muy yllustre señor el liçenciado Pedro Gasca del Consejo de Su Magestad de la Santa y General Ynquisiçion y su presydenete en estos Reynos y prouinçias del Piru para entender en hazer la tasa de los tributos que los rrepartimientos de los dichos rreinos han de dar a sus encomenderos, etc., a vos, el capitan don Alonso de Montemayor, vezino de la Villa de Plata, Prouinçia de los Charcas, y a vos, Ayabui y Achacacha, caçiques, y a los demas prinçipales e yndios vuestros sujetos que al presente soys y despues de vos subçedieren en el rrepartimiento de Sacaca questá encomendado en vos, el susodicho, y a cada vno y qualquier de vos, saued que en cunplimiyento de lo que Su Magestad tiene proueydo y mandado açerca de la tasa que se a de hazer de los tributos que los naturales destos dichos rreinos han de dar a sus encomenderos, assi para que los susodichos sepan lo que les han de pedir y les dar como para que los dichos naturales sean bien tratados y se conserven y aumenten, se nombraron visytadores que visytasen el dicho vuestro rrepartimiento, los quales, como sabeys, hizieron la visyta dél y la presentaron ante nos; y visto y comunicado con los visytadores y otras [f. 4v] personas que paresce que podian thener notiçia de la dispusyçion y posibilidad del dicho rrepartimiento e yndios, del por virtud del dicho nombramyento, tasamos y declaramos dever dar el dicho rrepartimiento, en tanto que Su Magestad o la persona que en su rreal nombre otra cosa açerca de la dicha tasa dispone y manda, los tributos que de yuso yran declarados por la forma y horden que se sigue.

Primeramente dareys vos, el dicho caçique e yndios del dicho rrepartimiento, al dicho vuestro encomendero en cada un año quatro mill y quinientos pesos, de valor cada vno de a quatroçientos y çinquenta maravedies, en oro o en plata, como vos los dichos yndios mas quisieredes y mejor pudierdes, cada quatro meses mil y quinientos pesos, puestos en la Villa de Plata en casa del encomendero.

Yten. Dareis cada mita, de las que cogeis la coca, dozientos y çinquenta cestos de coca, del tamaño y medida que los dauades y haziades al tiempo que os visitaron, que fue a çinco dias del mes de septiembre del año pasado de mil e quinientos y quarenta y nueve años, de las chacaras que diz que heran del Ynga, que son las chacaras de que las soleys dar; y los porneys en el asyento [f. 5] de Tiraque, y si el encomendero os diere ganado para en que llevallo, se la porneis en la Villa de Plata o Potosi o Porco; y a la yda y a la buelta vos, el dicho encomendero, aveis de dar a los dichos yndios la comida que fuere menester y cada mita tres çestos de coca que rrepartan entre sí; y no los ocupareys vos ni otra persona en otra cosa alguna más de en hazer lo dicho.

Yten. Dareys cada seys meses quinze vestidos de avasca, la mitad de hombre y la otra mitad de muger, que se entiende vn vestido manta y camiseta y anaco y liquida, la manta del yndio y el anaco de la yndia de dos baras en ancho y otras dos baras en largo y *otras dos baras en largo* [tachado], y la camiseta de bara y ochava en largo y en el ancho del rruedo dos baras menos ochaua, y la liquida de bara y terçia en largo y en el ancho de vna bara, puestos en casa del encomendero en la dicha Villa.

Yten. Dareys cada seys meses tres fraçadas, del tamaño que lo soleys dar, y quatro mantas para caualllos y otros quatro mandiles, todo de lana, puesto en casa del encomendero.

Yten. Dareys cada año seisçientas [f. 5v] fanegas de mayz, puestas en el asyento de Potosi o Porco o Villa de Plata, en vuestros propios ganados.

Yten. Dareys cada año ochenta fanegas de papas y chuño, puestas en vuestras tierras.

Yten. Dareis cada seys meses çinquenta ovejas, y dando machos, no se os pidan hembras porque puedan criar; y en cada vna Pasqua, de las tres del año, vna oueja y vn cordero, puesto en casa del encomendero.

Yten. Dareis cada seys meses tres arrovas de seuo y ocho cantarillos de manteca de oveja, del tamaño que los soleys dar, puesto en casa del encomendero.

Puercos

Yten. Dareys cada vn año, pasado este primer año que se cuente desde el dia questa tasa se notificare a vos, el dicho caçique, en adelante, veynte puercos de año y medio o dende arriba; y no los dando, dareys por cada *oveja* [tachaco] puerco vna oveja.

Yten. Dareys cada seys meses veynte y çinco gallinas, la mitad hembras, y çient patos y patas y setenta y çinco pares de perdizes, puestos en casa del encomendero.

Yten. Dareis cada semana treinta huevos y algund pescado, si lo oviere, en sus tierras, puesto en ellas mismas. [f. 6]

Yten. Dareis cada seys meeses [así] media arrova de miel y otra media de çera, puesto en casa del encomendero.

Yten. Dareys cada seis meses quinze pescueços de ovejas adovados, puestos en casa de vuestro encomendero.

Yten. Dareys cada seys meses seis cargas de sal, puestas en casa del encomendero, y assimesmo, tres cargas de sal, en vuestras tierras.

Yten. Dareys cada año de xaquimas con sus cabiestos y ... con sus latigos, y sueltas, de cada cosa destas diez, de cabuya o de lana, puesto en casa del encomendero.

Yten. Senbrareys, beneficiareys y cogereys en la Villa de Plata en las chacaras del encomendero dos fanegas de mayz y trigo, y en vuestras tierras ocho fanegas de mayz y trigo; y para el trigo vos, el encomendero, les aveys de dar la semilla para ello; y lo que se cogierre y proçediere destas dichas sementeras aveys de dar el mayz desgranado y el trigo ençerrado en espiga; y vos, el encomendero, lo aveys de trillar a vuestra costa y ayudaros ... a ello algunos de los dichos yndios; y todo lo que se cogiere y proçediere de la dicha sementera que hizierdes en la Villa lo aveys de poner en casa del encomendero; y lo que se cogiere de la sementera de vuestras [f. 6v] tierras *la aveys de poner en casa de el encomendero* [tachado] y lo que se cogiere de la sementera de vuestras tierras [así, repetido] lo dareys en ellas mismas; y si el dicho encomendero quisiere senbrar en vuestras tierras con bueyes, como sea syn perjuicio dellas, le dareys al tiempo del senbrar, para que ayuden al labrador y para rregar, doze yndios, y al tiempo del deseruar y coger, cada vez treynta yndios e yndias; y dandole los dichos yndios para que ayuden al labrador, como dicho es, en tal caso no aveys de senbrar las dichas ocho fanegas de mayz y trigo que os mandamos senbrar en vuestras tierras; y de todo lo que proçediere destas dichas sementeras, senbrandolas vos, los dichos yndios, o ayudandolas a senbrar, lo dareys puesto en vuestras tierras.

Yten. Dareys para seruicio gordinario [así, para *h*] de la casa del encomendero en la dicha Villa de Plata quinze yndios e yndias que se muden por sus mitas, de los quales sean las tres oficiales; y si el encomendero fuere a vuestras tierras, le dareys todo el tiempo que en ellas estuviere para que le siruan de seruicio hordinario ocho yndios e yndias de los dichos quinze que os mandamos dar en la Villa.

Yten. Dareys para guarda de los ganados o beneficio de guertas del encomendero, si los tuuiere, seys yndios, [f. 7] en vuestras tierras; y en la dicha Villa, otros dos para lo mesmo.

Yten. Si el encomendero quisiere llevar comida al asyento de las minas de Potosi o Porco o Villa de Plata en su ganado, le dareis vos, el dicho caçique e rrepartimiento, dos vezes en el año, cada vez treynta, yndios para que ayuden a cargar y descargar y guardar el dicho ganado; y vos, el dicho encomendero, ni otra persona no los ocupareys en otra cosa; y a la yda y a la buelta les aveis de dar la comida que fuere menester.

Y porque con menos cargo y escrupulo de conçiencia vos, el dicho encomendero, podays llevar los dichos tributos, os encargamos y mandamos que hagais doctrinar a los dichos naturales en las cosas de nuestra santa fe catholica y a thener y guardar ley natural y buen poliçia; y no auiendo clerigo o rreligioso que lo haga, porneys vn español de buena vida y exenplo que los doctrine en lo susodicho.

Y porque al clerigo o rreligioso que doctrinare a los dichos naturales es justo que se le provea de comoda sustentacion, en tanto que no ay diezmos de que se pueda sustentar, vos, el dicho caçique e yndios del dicho rrepartimiento, dareis para su sustentacion cada mes quatro hanegas de mayz y dos ouejas y cada [f. 7v] tres meses un puerco o una oveja en su lugar y una carga de sal y cada quatro meses vn cantarillo de manteca de ovejas y cada semana ocho aves, gallinas y patos y perdizes, y los dias de pescado, cada dia diez huevos y algund pescado, si lo ouiere, en vuestras tierras, y cada dia vn cantarillo de chicha y leña para quemar y yerua para su caualgadura; y el salario de dineros y otras cosas más, si fuere menester para la sustentacion del dicho clerigo o rreligioso, lo pagareis vos, el dicho encomendero, o la parte que os cupiere.

Por tanto, por el presente mandamos a vos, el dicho capitan don Alonso de Montemayor, y a vos, Ayavire y Achacata, caçiques, y a los demas principales e yndios vuestros sujetos, y a cada vno, qualquier de vos que al presente soys y despues de vos subçediere en la dicha encomienda y rrepartimiento, que guardeys y tengais la tasa de susocontentada, y quedeys en cada un año, que se cuente desde [e]l dia que os fuere notificada a vos, el dicho caçique, en adelante, por sus mitas los tributos y cosas en ella contenidas, so pena que si, pasado el dicho termino en que asy lo aveis de dar, dentro de veynte dias más, primeros siguientes, no los dierdes y pagardes y ouierdes dado y entregado al dicho vuestro encomendero, conforme a la dicha tasa, que le deys y pagueis los tributos y cosas que asy le deuierdes y rrestardes por dar y entregar de cada mita con el doblo y costas que sobrello se les siguieren y rrecreçieren; en la qual [f. 8] dicha pena vos condenamos y avimos por condenados en ellas, desde agora para entonces y de entonces para agora; y mandamos a la justiçia mayor y hordinaria de la dicha Villa de Plata hagan y manden hazer entrega y execucion en vuestras personas y bienes por el dicho principal y pena del doblo y costas conforme a derecho, y assimesmo, que vos, el dicho capitan don Alonso de Montemayor, y los que despues de vos subçedieren en la dicha encomienda, no podais rrecibir ni llevar ni rreçibais ni lleveis más por vos ni por interpuesta persona pública ni secretamente, direte ni yndirete, otra cosa alguna del dicho rrepartimiento, saluo lo *ayaye* [tachado] contenido en la dicha tassa sobre penas en la dicha prouision rreal de Su Magestad contenidas, que es que, por la primera vez que paresçiere que ayays rreçibido más, como dicho es, demas de boluer a los dichos yndios lo que asi les ouierdes llevado, pagueys de pena el quatro tanto del valor dello para la camara de Su Magestad, y por la segunda vez, rrestituyais assimesmo a los dichos yndios lo que asy les

ouierdes llevado y seais priuado de la dicha encomienda dellos y perdais otro qualquier derecho que tengais o podais tener a los dichos tributos, y mas, la mitad de todos vuestros bienes para la camara de Su Magestad; en las quales dichas penas yncurrais vos, el dicho encomendero, y qualquier persona que despues de vos subçediere en la dicha encomienda, si eçedierdes de lo en la dicha tassa contenido; y vos condenamos y avemos por condenados en ellas, desde agora para entonçes y de entonçes para agora, aplicados segun dicho es; y porque vos, el dicho encomendero, no pretendais ynorançia y sepais lo que aveys de rreçibir y los dichos caçiques e yndios lo que han de dar, mandamos que cada vno [f. 8v] de vos tenga en su poder este proveymiento de vn..., rreseruando, como rreseruamos en nos y en la persona que en nombre de Su Magestad lo ouiere de hazer, facultad de añadir o quitar en la dicha tassa todas las vezes que paresçiere deverse quitar o anadir en ella, conforme a lo que [e]l tienpo y posibilidad de los dichos caçiques e yndios pidiere y requiriere.

Fecho en Los Reyes, a primero de otubre de mil y quinientos e çinquenta años. Fray Gieronimo, archip[reste] de Los Reyes. El licenciado Hernando de Santillan. Fray Domingo de Santo Thomas. Por mandado de su Sacra Real Magestad y Mercedes, Pedro de Avendaño.

En la Çibdad de Los Reyes, a diez dias del mes de abril de mil y quinientos e çinquenta e vn años, el muy yllustre señor don Geronimo de Loayssa, primero arçobispo de esta dicha Çibdad, y los muy magnificos señores el licenciado Andres de Çianca, oydor en la Avdiencia y Chançilleria Real, que por mandado de Su Magestad rreside en esta dicha Çibdad, y frai Domingo de Santho Thomas de la Horden de los Predicadores, a quien está cometida la continuacion de la tasa de los tributos que los rrepartimientos destos dichos rreynos del Piru an de dar a sus encomenderos por el muy yllustre señor el liçenciado Pedro Gasca del Consejo de Su Magestad de la Santa y General Ynquisiçion y su presydenete en estos dichos rreynos, etc., dixerón que, por quanto, en la tassa que hizieron en primero de otubre del año pasado de mil y quinientos y çinquenta años de los tributos que los caçiques e yndios del rrepartimiento de Sacaca, que al presente está encomendado en don Alonso [f. 9] de Montemayor, vezino de la Villa de Plata, an de dar a su encomendero, mandaron que la segunda partida della, que diesén cada mita de las que cogiesen coca dozientos y çinquenta çestos de la medida y tamaño que los dauan en el tienpo que los visitaron, puestos en el pueblo de Tiraque, y por parte del dicho don Alonso de Montemayor, por su peticion que presentó, hizo rrelaçion, diziendo que los yndios del dicho rrepartimiento abian tenido y tenian por costumbre de poner la coca que dauan de tributo en el pueblo de Totora, que es dos leguas adelante de Tiraque en el mismo camino, donde tenian fechas sus casas y assientos para quando alli llegaron, y rrezibian agrauio en mandar que lo diesén en otro pueblo, e que seria nesçesarlos a hazer casas y asiento de nuebo, de que les seguiria daño; por tanto, que se proveyese y mandase que el dicho tributo de coca lo diesén puesto en el pueblo de Totora, lo que, visto por Su Señorío y Merçedes, y la ynformaçion que de personas particulares sobrello ouieron, dixerón que mandavan y mandaron que los caçiques prinçipales e yndios del dicho rrepartimiento de Sacaca, desde el dia queste auto se les notificare en adelante, pongan a su encomendero los dichos dozientos y çinquenta çestos, que por la segunda partida de la dicha tassa se les manda dar en cada vna mita de las que la cogieren, puestos en el dicho pueblo de Totora, y enbargante que la dicha partida diga en Tiraque; y que, con esta declaracion guarden la dicha partida, segund y como en ella se..., dexando como dexauan en... fuerca y vigor todo lo demas en la dicha tassaçion contenido como en ella se ... para que se guarde, so las penas en [f. 9v] ella contenidas; y lo firmaron de sus nombres. Frai Gieronimo, archep[reste] de Los Reyes. El liçenciado Çiança. Frai Domingo de Santo Thomas. Por mandado de Su Señorío y Merçedes, Pedro de Avendaño.

Y Francisco Lopez, [e]scriuano de Su Magestad y de camara en la Audiençia e Chançilleria Real desta Çivdad de Los Reyes, fize sacar este traslado del original questá en el ofiçio del secretario

Pedro de Auendaño, en diez e seis dias del mes de henero de mil e quinientos e sesenta e tres años. En testimonio de verdad, fize aqui mi signo. Francisco Lopez [firmado y rubricado].

2. *AGI, Justicia 653, pieza 1, folios 370-372v. Relación de los quipocamayos de lo que dieron a don Alonso de Montemayor.*

Relacion de los quipocamayos de las chacaras de coca de los quatro años que pagaron sin tasa a don Alonso de Montemayor, que fue encomendero del rrepartimiento de Sacaca desde el año de xlviii fasta el año de li, que fueron los quatro años que pagaron sin tasa, por fuerça y contra su voluntad, gran numero de çestos de coca y por ellos fueron vejados y molestados todo el rrepartimiento de Sacaca en los dichos quatro años por el dicho don Alonso de Montemayor; y todos los quipocamayos que rresidian en los dichos valles de los yungas declaran, conforme a sus quipos; y quando ponemos la demanda a los herederos del dicho don Alonso de Montemayor no se hallaron estos dichos quipocamayos por estar, como estauan lejos, y los otros quipocamayos no supieron dar rrazon por no tener los quipos y por no auer rresidido en los dichos valles de los yungas, como estos dichos quipocamayos.

Las chacaras que en aquel tiempo auia y eran de Consara, caçique prinçipal del rrepartimiento de Sacaca, porque en aquel tiempo era señor, y son estas que se siguen.

Payromani
Chuquioma
Laymitoro
Sipsipampa
otra chacara en Chuquioma donde agora estan poblados los españoles
Cataquila
Liquiliqui
Apachita
Tontoni
Catani
Charupampa

Y estas dichas onze characarar [sic: chacaras] de coca eran de Consara, señor de todos los charcas y del rrepartimiento de Sacaca

El Primero año de 48

En cada vn año se cojian tres vezes en el año de las dichas chacaras, de quatro a quatro meses, como es publico y notorio.

Y asi la primera mita cojieron de las dichas chacaras trezientos y catorze çestos de coca; y para sacar estos dichos çestos de coca al pueblo de [en blanco] [f. 370v] dieron por manado de su mayordomo, que a la sazón era Anton Gomez que siruio en las dichas chacaras de los yungas dos años, y sacaron ciento y çinquenta peones a dos cestos çestos [así, repetido] cada vno porque los çestos de aquel tiempo eran muy grandes y pesa dos de los del día de oy y tartaron [sic: tardaron] tres días en poner en el dicho pueblo de Totora; y desde el pueblo de Totora hizieron llevar los dichos çestos de coca a la Çiudad de La Plata con el ganado de los del dicho rrepartimiento de Sacaca; y parte dello lleuaron los yndios en esta manera: fueron çien carneros cargados, dos çestos cada vno, porque en aquel tiempo los cestos eran muy grandes, y más, fueron çinquenta y siete yndios, cargados cada vno a dos çestos; y los propios yndios cargaron con el dicho ganado hasta la Çiudad con vn criado del dicho don Alonso de Montemayor que se llamaua Quintero o Tintiro.

La segunda mita de los quatro meses cojieron de las dichas chacaras trezientos y çinquenta y cinco cestos de coca; y para sacar estos dichos cestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totora fueron çiento y setenta y nueve peones, a rrazon de a dos çestos de coca; y tardaron tres dias hasta el pueblo de Totora; y desde el dicho pueblo de Totora hizieron llevar los dichos cestos de coca a la Uilla de Potosi con çiento y dies y seis carneros de los yndios y sesenta y tres yndios, a rrazon de a dos cestos, como está rreferido arriba; y los dichos yndios cargaron y fueron con el dicho ganado hasta la Uilla de Potosi con el dicho Quintero, criado del dicho don Alonso de Montemayor.

La tercera mita de los quatro meses cojieron de las dichas chacaras trezientos y setenta y siete çestos de coca, que a la sazón era su criado Anton Gomez; y para sacar estos dichos çestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totora fueron çiento o ochenta y nueve peones y tardaron tres dias; [f. 371] y desde el pueblo de Totora hizieron llevar los dichos çestos de coca a la Çiudad de La Plata con el ganado de los yndios; y fueron çiento y veinte y seis carneros y sesenta y tres yndios cargados, y ellos propios cargaron con el dicho ganado; y fueron con Quintero criado del dicho don Alonso de Montemayor.

El segundo año de 49

En la primera mita de los quatro meses cojieron de las dichas chacaras de coca dozientos y noventa y dos cestos de coca; para sacar estos dichos cestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totora sacaron çiento y quarenta y seis yndios y tardaron tres dias; y desde el pueblo de Totora hizieron llevar los dichos çestos de coca a la Çiudad de La Plata con el dicho ganado de los yndios que fueron; [y fueron] çien carneros y quarenta y seis yndios cargados, y ellos propios cargaron el dicho ganado; [y fueron] con el criado llamado Quintero hasta la çiudad de La Plata.

En la segunda mita de los quatro meses coxieron de las dichas chacaras trezientos y quarenta y un cestos de coca; para sacar estos dichos cestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totora sacaron çiento y setenta y vn peones y tardaron tres dias; y desde el dicho pueblo de Totora hizieron llevar los dichos çestos de coca a la çiudad de La Plata con el ganado de los yndios que fueron; [y fueron] çiento y veinte carneros y çinquenta y vn yndios cargados, y ellos propios cargaron el dicho ganado; [y fueron] con Quintero, criado de don Alonso de Montemayor.

En la terçera mita de los quatro meses cojieron de las dichas chacaras trezientos y sesenta y tres çestos de coca, siendo su mayordomo el dicho Anton Gomez; para sacar estos dichos cestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totora sacaron çiento y ochenta y dos peones [f. 371v] y tardaron 3 dias en llegar al pueblo de Totora; y desde el dicho pueblo de Totora hizieron llevar los cestos de coca a la Villa de Potosi con el ganado de los yndios que fueron; [y fueron] çiento y diez carneros y setenta y dos yndios todos cargados, y ellos propios cargaron el dicho ganado; [y fueron] con Quintero, el criado del dicho don Alonso de Montemayor, hasta la Uilla de Potosi.

El terçero año de 50

En la primera mita de los quatro meses cojieron de las dichas chacaras de coca, siendo su mayordomo en ellas vn español llamado Neto o Nieto, dozientas y veinte y dos çestos de coca; para sacar estos dichos çestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totora, sacaron çiento y onze peones y tardaron tres dias; desde el dicho pueblo de Totora hizieron llevar los dichos çestos de coca a la villa de Potosi con el ganado de los yndios que fueron; [y fueron] setenta carneros y quarenta y vn yndios todos cargados, y ellos propios cargaron el dicho ganado; [y fueron] con los dichos çestos de coca con el dicho Quintero.

En la segunda mita de los quatro meses cojieron de las dichas chacaras dozientos y setenta y quatro cestos de coca y a la sazón era su mayordomo Neto o Nieto; para sacar estos cestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totora sacaron çiento y treynta y seis peones y tardaron tres dias; y

desde el dicho pueblo de Totoral hizieron lleuar los dichos çestos de coca a la çiuudad de La Plata con el ganado de los yndios que fueron; [y fueron] ochenta y dos carneros y çinquenta y quatro yndios cargados, y ellos propios cargaron el dicho ganado; [y fueron] con el dicho su criado llamado Quintero.

En la terçera mita de los quatro meses cojie- [f. 372] ron de las dichas chacaras trezientos y dos çestos de coca que su mayordomo era Neto; para sacar estos dichos çestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totorá sacaron çiento y çinquenta y vn peones y tardaron tres dias; y desde el dicho pueblo de Totorá hizieron lleuar los dichos çestos de coca a la çiuudad de La Plata con el ganado de los yndios que fueron; [y fueron] çient carneros y çinquenta y vn yndios, todos cargados, y ellos propios cargaron el dicho ganado; [y fueron] con el dicho Quintero, su mayordomo.

El quarto año de 51

En la primera mita de los quatro meses cojieron de las dichas chacaras dizientos y tres çestos de coca, siendo su mayordomo en los dichos valles de los yungas Pero Garcia; para sacar estos dichos cestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totorá sacaron çiento y dos peones y tardaron tres dias; y desde el dicho pueblo de Totorá hizieron lleuar los dichos çestos de coca a la Uilla de Potosi con el ganado de los yndios que fueron; [y fueron] setenta carneros y treynta y vn yndios cargados, y ellos propios cargaron el dicho ganado; [y fueron] con vn español, criado del dicho don Alonso de Montemayor, del qual no se les acuerda el nombre.

En la segunda mita de los quatro meses cojieron de las dichas chacaras dozientos y quarenta y dos cestos de coca, siendo su mayordomo Pero Garcia; para sacar estos dichos cestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totorá fueron çiento y veinte y vn peones y tardaron tres dias; y desde el dicho pueblo de Totorá hizieron lleuar los dichos çestos de coca a la Çiuudad de [f. 372v] La Plata con el ganado de los yndios que fueron; [y fueron] ochenta carneros y treinta y vn yndios, todos cargados, y ellos propios cargaron el dicho ganado; [y fueron] con vn español, criado del dicho don Alonso de Montemayor, del qual no se sabe su nombre.

En la tercera mita de los quatro meses cojieron de las dichas chacaras de coca dozientos y sesenta y dos cestos de coca, siendo su mayordomo Pero Garcia; para sacar estos dichos cestos de coca al dicho pueblo de Totorá sacaron çiento y treynta y vn peones y tardaron tres dias; y desde el dicho pueblo de Totorá hizieron lleuar los dichos cestos de coca a la Uilla de Potosi con el ganado de los yndios que fueron; [y fueron] noventa carneros y quarenta y vn yndios, todos cargados, y ellos propios cargaron el dicho ganado; [y fueron] con vn español, criado del dicho don Alonso de Montemayor que fue vn año entero, y no se sabe su nombre.

Todas las quales dichas partidas contenidas en esta declaraçion y quenta de los dichos quipocamayos entregaron al dicho don Alonso de Montemayor y a sus mayordomos, asi en la Villa de Potosi como en la Çiuudad de La Plata, como paresçen claramente que montan tres mil y quinientos y quarenta y siete çestos de coca, todos cestos muy grandes como se usauan en aquel tiempo, que eran muy mayores que la de agora; y en aquel tiempo valian los çestos de coca, puestas en esta uilla, a catorze pesos, y en Chuquisaca, a doze pesos. El licenciado Juan de Arevalo [firmado y rubricado]. Joan de Baños [firmado y rubricado]

3. AGI, Justicia 428, no. 2, folios 75-78. Información, Pocona, 16 de mayo de 1556.

En el pueblo de Pocona, termino e juridición de la Çiuudad de La Plata, sabado, diez y seis dias [f. 75v] del mes de mayo de mil e quinientos y çinquenta y seis años, Çipio Ferrara, en nonbre de don Francisco de Mendoça, presentó ante mí esta comision desta otra parte y me pidio cunpla lo en ella contenido, y en cunplimiento della, tome los testigos que presentare çerca del valor de la coca en el asiento de Tiraque; e por mi vista le dixe traxese los testigos de quien se entendia en

ello aprouechar e yo los tomaria. Testigos Pero Gomez de Caçeres e Juan de Leon. Escreui, Juan Leon, escriuano.

E despues de lo susodicho, en el dicho pueblo de Pocona el dicho dia, lunes, diez y ocho de mayo del dicho año, el dicho Çipio Ferrara, en el dicho nonbre, presentó por testigo en la dicha rrazon a Diego Lopez de Aguilera, que dixo rresidir vna legua de Tiraque, y a Gaspar de Collaços e a Diego Valera e a Pablos [sic] de Baluerde e a Niculas Ortiz, estantes en el dicho pueblo, de los quales e de cada vno dellos tomé e rresçibi juramento en forma de derecho por Dios e por Santa Maria y por las palabras de los santos evangelios; e por la señal de la cruz depusieron, sus manos derechas, so cargo del qual prometieron de dezir verdad de lo que supiesen e les fuese preguntado en este caso que son presentados por testigos; e lo que dixeron e depusieron por sí e sobre sí, secreta e apartadamente, es lo siguiente. [f. 76]

El dicho Diego Lopez de Aguilera, testigo, jurado en forma de derecho e preguntado por el tenor del dicho mandamiento, dixo que lo que sabe es que este testigo a que rreside [debe leer: este testigo rreside] e abita en el dicho asiento de Tiraque, contratando allí e viendo contratar en coca de los yungas que se trae a Tiraque, que es el deposito donde se trae la dicha coca a Pocona e a Poxo e a los demas rrepartimientos de quatro meses a esta parte, poco mas o menos; e que a bisto vender e se vende e compra cada çesto hordinariamente del dicho tienpo a esta parte a ocho pesos en corriente por menudo; e que no se vende por junto porque los encomenderos e por parte de los ofiçiales rreales se lleua a vender toda a la Çibdad de Potosi; e que, si por junto se oviese de bender, por ser en cantidad le paresçe a este testigo que se benderia a siete pesos e medio o a siete pesos y ducado en corriente, pero que no se uende por junto sino de la manera que dicho tiene, llebandose en carneros a la Çibdad de la Plata e a Potosi donde los ofiçiales rreales la suelen vender en almoneda e los encomenderos; e que ésta es la uerdad para el juramento que hizo; e firmólo. Diego Lopez de Aguilera.

[En el margen: Testigo] Gaspar de Collaços, estante al presente en este pueblo de Pocona, testigo presentado en [f. 76v] la dicha rrazon, aviendo jurado en forma de derecho e siendo preguntado por el tenor del dicho mandamiento, dixo que lo que sabe es que este testigo rreside en este pueblo de Pocona hordinariamente de seys años a esta parte, poco mas o menos, tratando en coca, comprandola e vendiendola aqui y en el asiento de Tiraque, que es de la coca de los yungas que los yndios deste rrepartimiento dan en tributo; e que la a visto vender, e vendi[en]dola e comprandola *aqui y en el asiento de Tiraque que es de la coca de los yungas que los yndios deste rrepartimiento dan en tributo e que la a visto vender e vendidola e comprandola* [así, repetido] este testigo, a diuersos preçios en Pocona y en Tiraque; y en el dicho asiento de Tiraque vale puesto allí en partidas a ocho pesos y medio cada çesto, y en este pueblo de Pocona, a ocho pesos en plata corriente; e que los encomenderos destes pueblos de Pocona e Poxo e Totorá lo hazen lleuar a la villa de Potosi a uenderlo por ser en cantidad e no auer quien lo compre por ser tanta; e a vezes se bende en la dicha Villa [de La Plata] e Potosi a menos, e pagandose los fletes a como se conçierta; e que como dicho tiene los ofiçiales rreales y encomenderos no lo venden aqui sino en la dicha Villa e asiento, como lo a visto acostunbrar del dicho tienpo a esta parte; e que esta es la verdad para el juramento que hizo; e firmólo. Gaspar Collaço. [f. 77]

[En el margen: Testigo] Pablo del Valuerde, yndio ladino, natural que dixo ser de Tangara, que es en los terminos de la prouinçia de Piura, y criado de Lorenço de Aldana, testigo presentado en la dicha rrazon, aviendo jurado en forma de derecho e seyendo [sic: siendo] preguntado por el tenor susodicho, dixo que lo que sabe es que al presente a bisto venderse y comprarse coca en este pueblo de Pocona y en el asiento de Tiraque de lo de los yungas donde este rrepartimiento lo suele dar e poner; y lo a visto comprar e vender por çestos a ocho pesos y medio en plata corriente, esto de çinco o seys meses a esta parte; y este testigo lo a comprado a este preçio; e por junto e partidas no lo a bisto vender porque por parte de los ofiçiales del rrey y los en-

comenderos destos pueblos lo hazen lleuar a vender a la Billa [de La Plata] e a Potosi e no lo venden aqui y esto se a acostunbrado e acostunbrado [así]; e que esta es la uerdad para el juramento que hizo, e firmólo. Pablo de Valuerde.

[En el margen: Testigo] Diego Valera, estante en este pueblo de Pocona al presente, testigo presentado en la dicha rrazon, aviendo jurado en forma de derecho e seyendo [sic: siendo] preguntado por el tenor susodicho, dixo que sabe e a bisto que en el asiento de Tiraque el preçio [f. 77v] hordinario venderse partidas de coca a presçio cada sesto de seys pesos ensayado de la que sale de los yungas de los valles de Chuquioma y Chamorro, esto de vn año a esta parte; y a este testigo se le dio para en quenta de çierto salario al mismo presçio, puesto en el dicho Tiraque, del tienpo que siruio en la administraçion de Pocona; e que sabe que la coca que desto a dado Pocona a los officiales rreales la an lleuado sienpre al asiento de Potosi a venderse por ser partidas en cantidad e por rrazon desto no hallar quien lo conpre, e lo mismo encomenderos de otros pueblos que dan de la dicha coca, porque este testigo lo a uisto; e que esta es la verdad para el juramento que fizo; e firmólo. Diego de Balera.

[En el margen: Testigo] Nicolas Ortiz, estante al presente en este pueblo de Pocona, testigo presentado en la dicha rrazon, aviendo jurado en forma de derecho e siendo preguntado por el tenor susodicho, dixo que este testigo a que rreside en el asiento de Tiraque, ado[nde] viene la coca de los yungas deste rrepartimiento de Pocona e otros por Su Magestad para rresçebirla y enbiarla a los ofiçiales rreales, esto de dos meses a esta parte; e que en el tienpo sabe e a bisto que se bende y compra la coca en el dicho Tiraque a presçio de ocho pesos e dos tomines [1 tomín = .125 pesos] e a ocho pesos [f. 78] y medio en corriente cada çesto, e que esto, algunos çestos particulares que a bisto vender, e que, si en cantidad fuese, le paresçe que baxaria en cada çesto vn peso y más porque la misma coca que del dicho asiento de Tiraque se lleua a Potosi, como es cantidad, la a bisto vender por los ofyçiales rreales en almoneda a siete pesos ensayados e a más, y esto por ser en cantidad; e aca no se abria quien en tanta comprase sy no fuese en gran baja e que no sabe ni a bisto que los dichos ofiçiales rreales la ayan vendido en el dicho Tiraque; e ansi es publico e notorio y ellos y los encomenderos de los pueblos desta comarca lo venden alli en la Billa la que no se venderia sino en baxa grande por ser en tanta cantidad, como es; e que esta es la uerdad para el juramento que hizo; e firmólo. Niculas Ortiz. Juan Leon, escriuano.

E de todo esto, en como pasó de pedimiento del dicho Çipio Ferrara, en el dicho nonbre, le di de lo susodicho testimonio como ante mí pasó; que es fecho e pasó en el dicho dia e mes e año susodichos. Testigos Pero Gomez de Caçeres e Juan de Leon, escriviente. Ante mí, Juan de Leon, escriuano

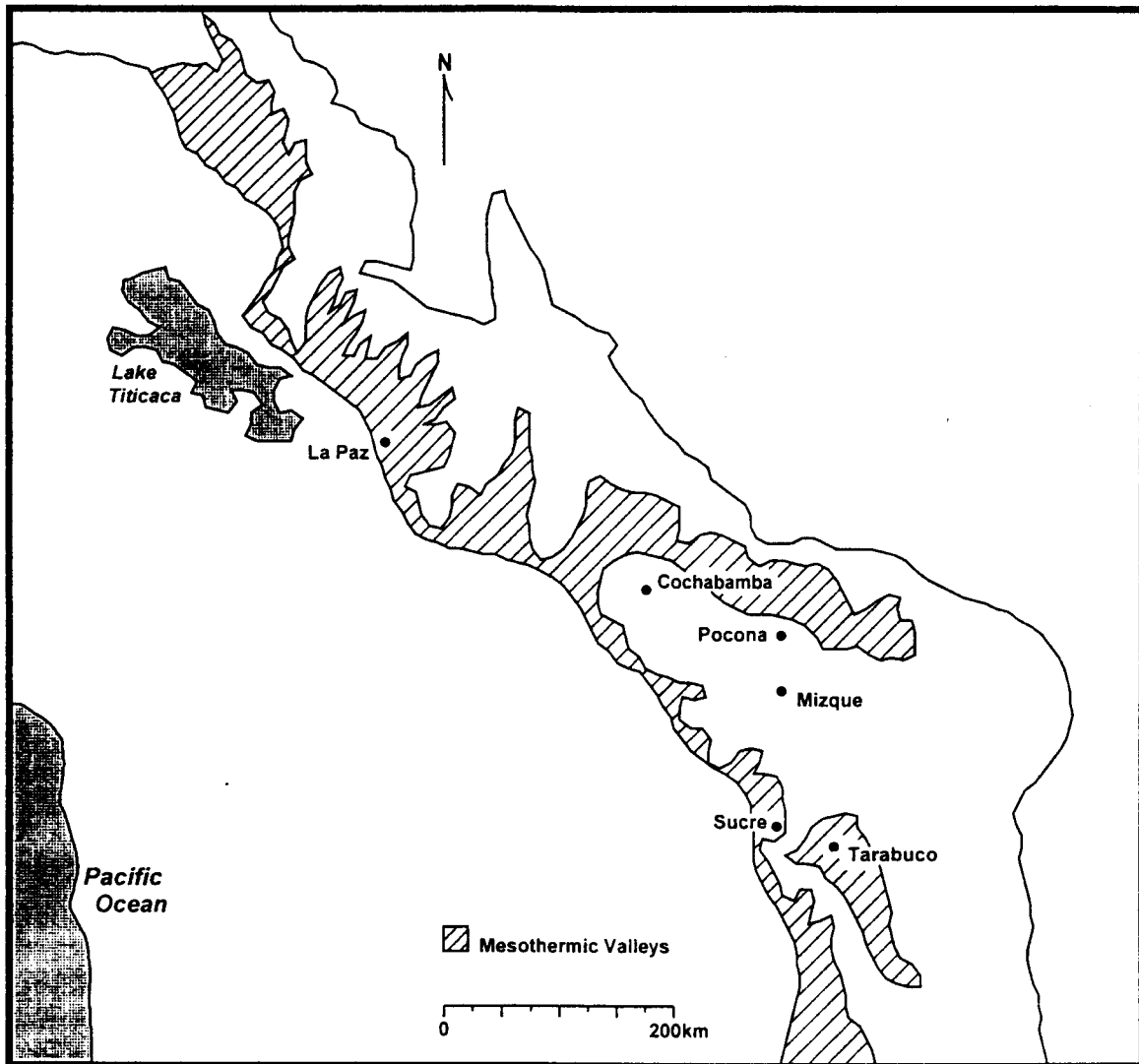


Figure 1. Mesothermic valleys east of the eastern Andes (after Saignes 1986). Note: solid line shown to the east of the valley region notes boundary between the foothills and the true lowlands.

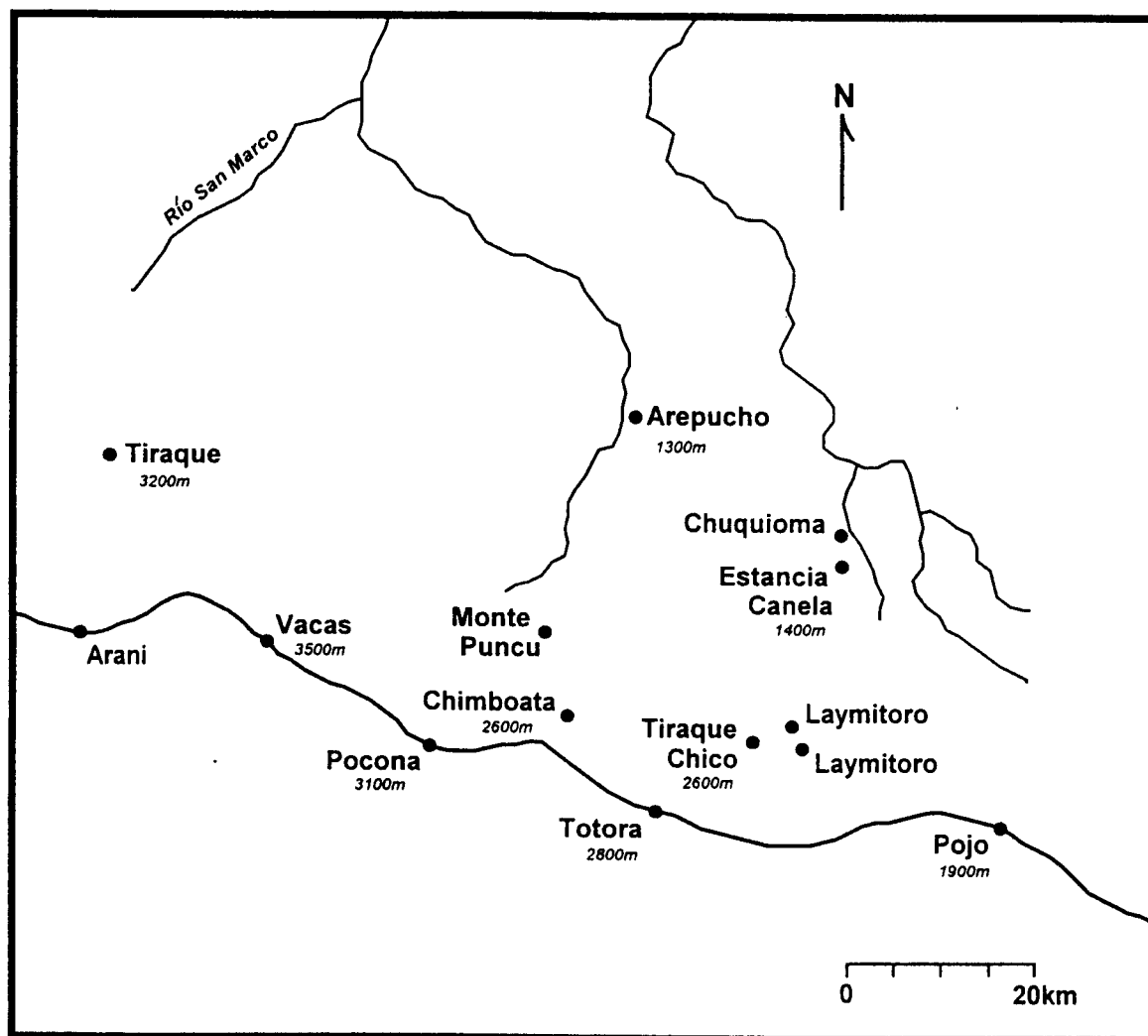


Figure 2. Pocona and the *Yungas* of Chuquioma. Note: The road shown approximates the course of the main road in the 16th century.