

A Concise History of **BOLIVIA**

Herbert S. Klein

SECOND EDITION



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A Concise History of Bolivia, Second Edition

Bolivia is an unusual high-altitude country created by imperial conquests and native adaptations, and it remains today the most Indian of the American republics, yet it fully participates in the world economy. It has also seen the most social and economic mobility of Indian and mestizo populations in Latin America. These are among the themes analyzed in this historical survey. In its first Spanish edition, Herbert S. Klein's *A Concise History of Bolivia* won immediate acceptance within Bolivia as the new standard history of this important nation. Surveying Bolivia's economic, social, cultural, and political evolution from the arrival of early man in the Andes to the present, this current version brings the history of this society up to the present day, covering the fundamental changes that have occurred since the National Revolution of 1952 and the return of democracy in 1982. These changes have included the introduction of universal education and the rise of the mestizos and Indian populations to political power for the first time in national history. Containing an updated bibliography, *A Concise History of Bolivia* remains an essential text for courses in Latin American history and politics. This second edition brings this story through the first administration of the first self-proclaimed Indian president in national history and the major changes that the government of Evo Morales has introduced in Bolivia's society, politics, and economy.

Herbert S. Klein is the author of 22 books and 163 articles in several languages on Latin America and comparative themes in social and economic history. Among these books are *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, Second Edition (2010) and four studies of slavery, the most recent of which are *Slavery and the Economy of São Paulo, 1750–1850* (co-author, 2003); *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (co-author, 2008), and *Slavery in Brazil* (co-author, 2009), as well as four books on Bolivian history. He has also published books on such diverse themes as *The American Finances of the Spanish Empire, 1680–1809* (1998), *A Population History of the United States* (2004), and *Hispanics in the United States Since 1980* (co-author, 2010).

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of Bolivia
Second Edition*

HERBERT S. KLEIN

Stanford University



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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In this fourth version of my history of Bolivia (two editions with Oxford University Press and two with Cambridge University Press) I have been faced with the usual problems of defining periods in contemporary history. As readers of the earlier editions will note, I have been constantly changing the post-1952 periodization. What constitutes key turning points is a continually changing perception among Bolivian historians and social scientists. Thus I have used the election of 2002 as the break between the last two chapters since national commentators have stressed its political significance in presaging the emergence of a new political system. It should be recognized that this periodization does not work for the social and economic trends that clearly straddle this divide, and that this breakdown will most likely be redefined in the future. I also recognize that I am making judgments about contemporary trends in the midst of some very profound changes that are occurring in Bolivian society and polity, and that future historians will see these changes from different perspectives. It is clear that some of these contemporary political, economic, and social changes will lead to unanticipated developments. Although some readers may feel that it is too early to evaluate what has been occurring in the last eight years, I would simply note that I have reached an age when I will not be around to see how this all turns out. But my fascination with Bolivia compelled me to undertake this latest version since I felt that I could offer some insights, even at this early stage in the process of change,

based on my reading of the past and my long experience with this country that has fascinated me for most of my academic career.

In the eight years since the last edition, a whole new generation of social scientists and research centers have emerged and have produced an important literature analyzing contemporary change. There has also been a subtle change in social definitions within Bolivian society in recent years, with a slow abandonment of the word “cholo,” which is now considered pejorative, to the more generic term of mestizo. I would stress that the Bolivian definition of mestizo differs considerably from the more general meaning of this term for most Latin Americans. In Bolivia the mestizo more closely identifies with his or her indigenous past than with the Western part of their culture and tends to maintain clothing and other symbols of identity even when adopting Spanish as their primary language. Equally the term “indígena” has become the standard to define all those who identify themselves as pertaining to an Amerindian group, even if they are mestizos. Although I have adopted this new terminology in the later chapters of this book, I have left the older terminology intact in the pre-1980 chapters since their contemporary meanings were then not current.

Unless otherwise indicated, all the current statistical information that I cite comes from Bolivian government sources, above all the National Census Bureau (INE); the Presidential Planning Commission (UDAPE); the Central Bank of Bolivia (BCB); and the relevant government ministries. For comparative Latin American statistical data I have relied on data provided by the UN and its Latin American research groups CEPAL and CELADE. In undertaking this new edition I have been greatly aided by the research assistance of José Alejandro Peres Cajias. As usual, my friends, colleagues, and former students listed in the earlier edition have continued to provide me with support and advice.

Menlo Park, California
June 2010

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The evolution of the peoples of Bolivia is one of the more complex and fascinating of human histories. It is the most Indian of the American republics whose monolingual speakers of Spanish remain a minority to the present day. The Amerindian languages of Quechua and Aymara still predominate, and even such pre-Incan languages as Uru are spoken. Thus, Bolivia is not simply a colonial replica of its last conqueror, but a complex amalgam of cultures and ethnicities that go back centuries. A society that has successfully adapted to one of the highest altitudes of human settlement on earth, the Bolivians have created a constantly changing and vital multiethnic society.

For the mass of Bolivians, their culture is a blending of pre-Columbian and post-Conquest norms and institutions. Spanish systems of government were grafted onto pre-Spanish kinship organizations, ecologically disperse settlements were converted into nucleated villages, and local and state religions were syncretized into a new folk Catholicism highly mixed with the symbols and myths of Mediterranean popular religion. Traditional exchange systems coexist with a highly developed market, and wheat is grown along with pre-Columbian staples such as quinoa and coca. In the Quechuan and Aymaran languages, Spanish loan words form an important part of the vocabulary, while among the popular urban classes, pre-Columbian belief systems can be found mixed with modern Western norms.

But this description of Bolivia as a dual society does not mean to imply that Bolivia is simply a laboratory of peasants developing

a new cultural idiom in a difficult environment. For Bolivia is, and has been since the sixteenth-century Spanish conquest, a capitalist Western class-organized society in which the Indians were for many centuries an exploited class of workers. The government, which extracted the surplus from the peasants and workers, was traditionally run for and by the “white” Spanish-speaking and Western-oriented elite. While, phenotypically, the Bolivian “whites” look much like their Indian ancestors, their economic, social, and cultural position has placed them squarely in the classic mold of a Western European society. Educated by Europeans to European norms, and even practicing a religion distinct from the folk Catholicism of the peasants, the “whites” ruled over and exploited the peasantry.

But the elite itself has slowly miscegenated, as in all such multi-racial societies, and over the centuries there has emerged a new biological grouping of mixed background. Thus, Bolivia, like most multiethnic societies in the Americas, has come to define race as a social rather than a genetic or even phenotypic term. The upper classes, speaking Spanish, wearing Western dress, and consuming non-indigenous foods, were the “whites,” or, as the peasants called them, the “*gente decente*.” The urban lower and middle classes, and the rural freehold farmers who wore European dress and spoke Spanish and one of the Amerindian languages, were the *mestizos* or, as they are called in Bolivia, *cholos*. The monolingual peasants speaking Indian languages and consuming traditional Andean foods were the “Indians.” Indians were denied access to power except as they abandoned their traditional norms and languages and integrated into the national society as *cholos* or whites. Thus, the more marginal, ambitious, or able of these peasants have constantly fed the white and cholo classes. Even among the traditional monolingual peasantry, there were internal divisions between rich and poor, hereditary high-status individuals and commoners, original members of the communities and later migrants. Although these dichotomies changed over time, and especially since the introduction of mass education and effective political democracy, Bolivia still contains many of the elements of a racist society, although with a far more powerful and aggressive cholo class than is found elsewhere in Amerindian America.

In its political evolution, Bolivia has been typical of such multiethnic societies in the long domination of one ethnic group and its fight to maintain its monopoly on power. In fact, there is considerable debate as to whether the Indian masses did better under the Crown than under the Republic. Much of local politics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries involved the white elite's attempts to organize themselves into a cohesive group capable of denying power to the cholos and Indians. The limited parliamentary republican regimes that they created were the exclusive preserve of the small elite of Spanish speakers. But, like most such systems in the Americas, the impact of modern economic change in the second half of the nineteenth century forced the disintegration of these closed political worlds, and the elite were forced to expand the political system to include the middle class and urban workers. But this process of partial inclusion and increasing democratization eventually broke down. At this point in its political evolution, Bolivia sharply diverged from the common Latin American pattern when a massive popular worker and middle-class revolutionary movement swept aside the entire preexistent political system in the National Revolution of 1952. The resulting social, economic, and political reforms, while they did not destroy the dual society, radically reduced the level of exploitation and even opened the door to an alternative means of acculturation to modern society without abandoning Amerindian culture and languages. Indians were finally given political power, along with their lands, and the basic export sector was nationalized. With its polity, economy, and society so drastically altered, Bolivia's evolution in the last several decades, while sharing the Latin American horrors of military rule, has nevertheless continued to evolve in a manner distinct from the rest of the hemisphere.

In its economic development, Bolivia also has shown itself to be a relatively unusual nation. In a spectrum of economies in the world, Bolivia stands somewhere at the extreme as an almost classic case of an open economy. Concentrating on mineral and primary exports from the sixteenth century until today, the Bolivian economy follows world market conditions to an unusual degree. International changes in supply and demand are immediately felt in a national

economy totally dependent on primary exports. Given the small size and extremely low density of the national population (the lowest in Latin America), a national industrial structure is virtually precluded from developing except under the most extreme conditions of world crisis or international integration. Bolivia thus differs from most of the developing world in its loyalty to the system of comparative advantage.

Despite this external dependency, Bolivia also has had an unusual degree of national control over its own resources, especially in the national period. Bolivian entrepreneurs made up of whites and cho-los dominated the mining industry and succeeded in passing their control to the nation without the massive intervention of foreign entrepreneurs until the last few decades. Bolivia has obviously not been immune to the machinations of its neighbors or of more distant world powers. Yet, the creative spirit of its peoples has enabled it to survive and to condition these external interventions in the context of its own needs and concerns.

For all its fascinating historical evolution and the rapid changes that have occurred in the contemporary period, Bolivia still remains a poor and relatively backward society and, in terms of human survival, one of the harshest regions in the Americas. Even today, its eight million nationals, despite significant improvements, still have among the highest death rates, lowest life expectancies, and lowest per capita wealth in the Western hemisphere. Yet, even here there have been profound transformations in the past couple of decades, which have finally brought public education to the entire population and reduced illiteracy to a low level even by Latin American standards.

Unique as it is in so many ways, Bolivia forms an intimate part of the common history of mankind, from its development as a multiethnic conquest society to its contemporary emergence as a nation that has undergone profound social and political change. It is this fascinating interaction of Western patterns and pre-Columbian traditions, of class organization and dual social systems, of poverty and exploitation and vigorous independence and social creativity, that I will attempt to explore in the pages that follow.

In undertaking this survey of Bolivian history, I have tried to distill some forty years of reading, research, and participant observation

on this subject. Although one not born into a culture will miss many of its nuances, I hope that my distance from the subject will compensate for potential distortions. Equally, as a member of an advanced industrial society, I have tried to remain as objective as possible without suspending my own moral or intellectual judgments or going to the extreme of being patronizing.

In my long education as a “Bolivianist,” which began in the late 1950s, I have had the advice, instruction, and constant support of a large number of scholars and friends. Bernardo Blanco-Gonzalez and Teresa Gisbert introduced me to the subject in formal courses, and Gunnar Mendoza and Alberto Crespo guided me in my researches when I arrived in Bolivia in 1959. Antonio Mitre, a long-term friend and former student, has constantly challenged my assumptions, and I am also indebted for guidance, criticism, and support to Silvia Rivera, Xavier Albó, Josep Barnadas, Philip Blair, Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, Tristan Platt, Terry Saignes, Karen Spalding, Enrique Tandeter, and Nathan Wachtel. As intellectual mentors and close friends, Marcello Carmagnani and Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz have been of inestimable value to me on this project. At various times this manuscript has been critically read by Stanley Engerman, Harriet Manelis Klein, Richard Wortman, and Maria Ligia Coelho Prado.

In undertaking the revisions from earlier versions of this work,¹ I have continued to receive the support and criticism of friends and scholars including Ricardo Godoy, Erwin Greishaber, and Eric Langer. I also would like to thank my former students Brooke Larson, Clara López Beltrán, Manuel Contreras, Mary Money, and Ann Zulawski for sharing their ideas and research with me. Manuel Contreras has been especially helpful to me in getting access to the latest social and economic data on Bolivia and critically examining my interpretations of this material. In turn, Clara López Beltrán has been my constant source of current information on the latest in historical studies. Finally, Judith Schiffner made this whole process of writing a wonderful experience.

¹ This work was initially published as *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society* by Oxford University Press, in 1982, and revised in 1992.

In this new age of electronic access to materials, Bolivian government agencies have been extraordinarily generous in providing vital data on their society and polity: this has included the Banco Central de Bolivia, the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, UDAPE, and the Bolivian National Congress as well as the United Nations and the World Bank, to which I am deeply grateful. I would like to thank as well the journal *Annales* for permission to reprint the map “Les señoríos aymaras” in T. Bouysee-Cassagne, “L’organisation de l’espace aymara: urco et uma,” *Annales, E.S.C.*, 33 (1978) 1059. Map 1-2 is adopted from E. Boyd Wennegren and Morris D. Whitaker, *The Status of Bolivian Agriculture* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 20 and reproduced with permission of Greenwood Publishing Group; and map. 1-3 is adopted from Rex A. Hudson and Dennis M. Hanratty, eds., *Bolivia: A Country Study* (Washington: Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, 1989), figure 3. Finally, I would note that I have adopted the most common current spellings of Aymara and Quechuan Indian terms used in the national literature, though recognizing that these are constantly changing, and I use the Spanish term *cacique* for Indian noble, which is the norm in the Bolivian literature, rather than *kuraka*, which is the quechuan term used in Peruvian studies.

Menlo Park, California
August 2001

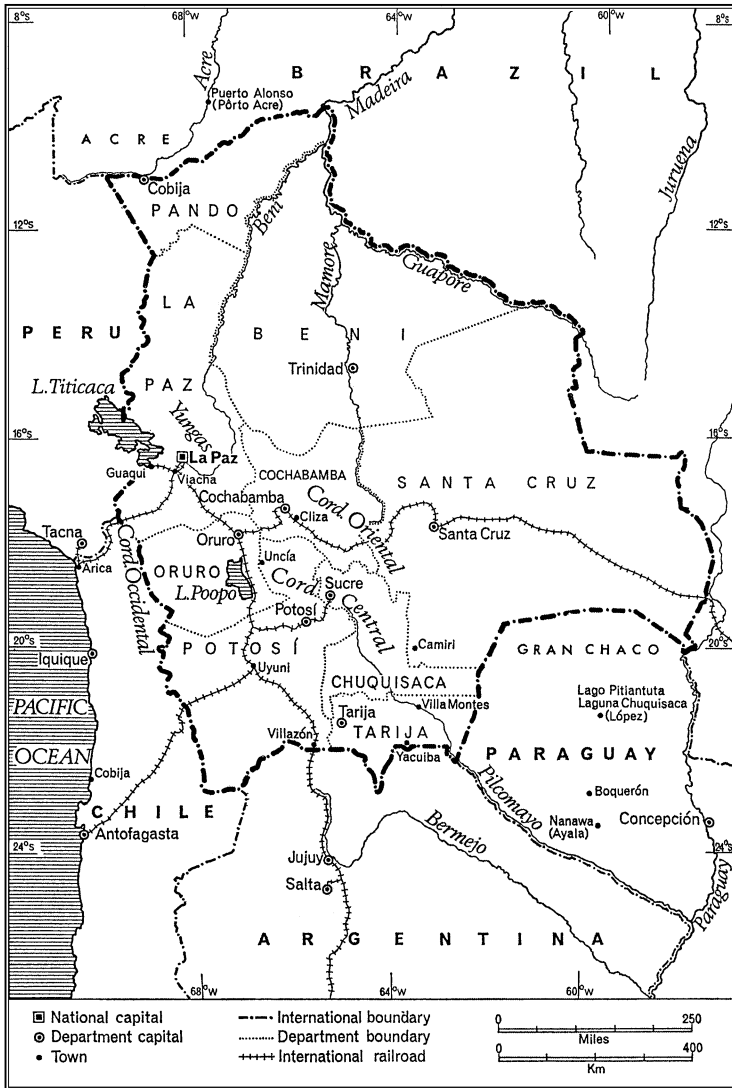
Chapter I

Geography and Pre-Columbian Civilization

Bolivian society evolved in a highly complex and unusual environment. Although situated in tropical latitudes, it was in fact an unusual high altitude society only comparable to those few similar societies found in the Himalayas. From the earliest human settlement to the present day, a good part of its people have lived at altitudes over five thousand feet above sea level, with the majority of the population and its most advanced cultures being found at twelve thousand feet or above. While not a totally prohibitive environment, the highlands have poorer soils and much colder and drier climates, and face constraints that do not hinder the lowlands. This ecology required the domestication of plants and animals unique to the highlands and even had a dramatic impact on human physiology, as highland populations were forced to adapt to the limited supply of oxygen and quite different degrees of air pressure.

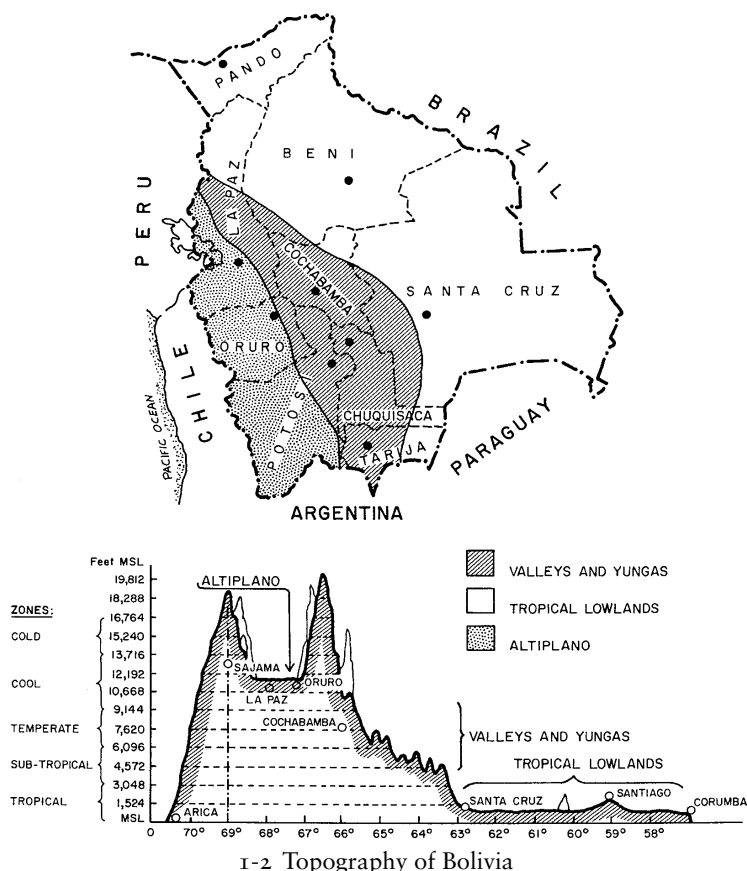
Although some two-thirds of Bolivia's territory consists of tropical and semitropical lowlands, from the Pacific coast deserts of the Atacama region (until this past century) in the west, to the vast stretches of eastern lowlands and flood plains forming parts of the Amazonian and Pilcomayo river basins in the east, humanity has been concentrated in the highlands from remotest times until today. But the highlands and their associated intramountain valleys (see Map 1-1) formed but a small part of the total Bolivian landscape.

While the lowlands may have offered better soils and the potential for a richer life, their inaccessibility until modern times rendered them useless to all but a small number of seminomadic hunters and



I-1 Map of Bolivia

gatherers isolated from significant contact with the major centers of advanced civilization. By contrast, the high plateau was well articulated with the dense populations and advanced culture areas of coastal and central Peru. Thus, despite its limitations in terms



1-2 Topography of Bolivia

of crops and life in general, the broad expanse of its arable lands, its potential as a major grazing zone, and its deposits of accessible minerals made the Bolivian highlands the logical center for human settlement.

The Bolivian highlands, known to the Spaniards as the *altiplano* (or high plateau), consisted of an enormous level tableland at an extremely high altitude (see Map 1-2). Beginning just north of Lake Titicaca, these highlands extend some five hundred miles to the south at an average altitude of some thirteen thousand feet. Created by an opening of the Southern Andes into two distinct mountain ranges at around nine degrees south of the Equator, the altiplano grows

from a width of a few miles at its beginning to approximately one hundred miles across in the central areas. A great elliptical sphere with the enormous lake at its top, the altiplano is the largest and most level plateau in the Andes, which in its turn is the most extensive mountain range in the world. Two-thirds of the approximately fifty thousand or so square miles that constitute the altiplano falls within the current borders of Bolivia.

The mountain ranges that define the altiplano contain quite different features. The western branch is known as the *Cordillera Occidental*, and is an extremely narrow and well-defined range averaging some 16,500 feet, rising at its highest point to over 21,000 feet. It contains few river valleys or habitable plateaus and forms a steep barrier blocking the high plateau from easy access to the sea and the desert of the Atacama coast. Although formed from volcanic activity and highly subject to erosion, it contains relatively few minerals worth exploiting. On its eastern slope touching on the altiplano, it has very arid soils and some enormous salt flats, those at Uyuni being greater in size than Lake Titicaca itself. Thus, the western Cordillera stands as a harsh barrier preventing easy access to the coast. At its northern and southern edges, however, the Cordillera breaks up into more accessible routes to the sea, encouraging Bolivia's integration with the coast in a more northern or southwestern direction. This western mountain range offers few attractions for human populations either within or near its borders and so defines the western half of the altiplano as the most sparsely settled area of the region.

Quite different is the eastern range of mountains known variously as the *Cordillera Real*, *Central*, or *Oriental*. Far broader and much more broken than the western Cordillera, the Royal Cordillera contains numerous fertile plains and river valleys at altitudes from fourteen thousand feet down to a few hundred feet above sea level. Because of its numerous valleys, it also provides easier access to the eastern foothills (known as the *montaña* region) and the lowland plains to the east.

The valleys and plains of the Cordillera Real are quite complex but can be roughly defined by altitude and extension. The higher altitude plains, defined as subpuna valleys, for the most part have a temperate environment and good ground water, although relatively

dry climate, and average about eighty-two hundred feet above sea level. They are usually long open plains with relatively easy accessibility from the higher altiplano; the most densely inhabited are the valleys of Cochabamba and Chuquisaca, the western part of Potosi, and the region of Tarija. These broad middle altitude valleys were major zones of pre- and post-Conquest production and settlement. Best exemplified by the Cochabamba Valley system, these valleys were the primary producers of maize in the pre-Columbian period and of wheat after the Spanish Conquest. They also were the major manufacturers of *chica*, the alcoholic beverage made from maize. Given the importance of all these crops, these subpuna valleys were in constant contact with the core highland populations. Here, too, would develop cattle production after the conquest, while the altiplano became the center of Spanish-introduced sheep.

Below the subpuna valleys or just off the altiplano itself were the steep river valleys in the central part of the Cordillera known generally as the *Yungas*. At anywhere from thirty-two hundred to eighty-two hundred feet in altitude, these valleys are characterized by high humidity because of the Amazonian winds and thus have intensive cultivation of tropical and semitropical crops. The most important of these Yungas are those located close to the altiplano city of La Paz and called the *Nor* and *Sud* (or North and South) Yungas, the regions of Larecaja, Muñecas, and Inquisivi. Historically, these valleys were the center of maize and coca production, two fundamental products in high demand on the altiplano and incapable of being cultivated there. They also were the zone of intensive citrus, fruit, and coffee production in the post-Conquest period, and thus were complementary to the highland centers. Another series of semitropical valleys were the more isolated ones to be found in the provinces of Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. Capable of producing the same crops as the Yungas valleys, they remained largely unsettled and inaccessible until the twentieth century.

Before reaching the flat plains of the Amazonian and Chaco lowlands, the eastern Cordillera turns into a series of small hills and mountains called the *montaña* area. Passing these one enters the open sea level plains. These are divided into two quite distinct zones. In the north are the *Llanos de* (or plains of) *Mojos*, sometimes called the Northern Humid *llanos* or those of the Beni. These tropical

savannas are usually heavily flooded in the December–April summer rainy season. In their center is the Rio Mamore, which forms part of the Amazonian basin system. To the south of the Mojos plains are the highlands of the *Macizo Chuquitano*, named after the old province of Chuquitos. At slightly higher elevation, this area shares much of the Mojos environment but is also a center of important hydrocarbon deposits. Then to the south are the dry plains or *llanos del Chaco*. Stretching from Santa Cruz south to the Brazilian, Argentine, and Paraguayan borders and beyond, these sandy dry *chaco* plains, which form the Pilcomayo river basin, are covered with scattered scrub forest and form a large part of the territory of the nation, yet contain only one-fifth of its population.

Because of inaccessibility and harsh seasonal variations, these lowlands were unexplored and unexploited until recent times. While some coca production and cattle-raising were developed in the colonial period along the eastern montana edge of the lowlands in those areas close to the cities of Santa Cruz and La Paz, it was only with the development of commercial production of wild rubber in the late nineteenth century that systematic exploitation began. Only the opening of rail and road transport in the twentieth century finally permitted the development of commercial agricultural production in sugar, cotton, soybeans, and coca and the exploitation of the region's oil and natural gas deposits. In turn, cattle-raising became centered on the northeastern plains regions of Mojos and Beni. Even with all these recent developments, these lowland regions still only contain a third of the national population.

Throughout the history of human settlement in Bolivia, the altiplano and its associated eastern valleys remained the primary zone of human activity, with the altiplano the core of the system. But, despite its centrality and the density of its population, the altiplano was not uniformly hospitable for human settlement over its entire area. The western half of the altiplano contained few minerals, largely infertile soils, and extraordinarily dry climate; the eastern half, however, had reasonably fertile soils, enormous mineral deposits, and a relatively more humid and warm climate resulting from the presence of Lake Titicaca. With its thirty-five hundred square miles, Lake Titicaca exerts an enormous influence over the local climate and provides humidity and relative warmth unavailable on the rest

of the altiplano. As a result, intensive agriculture and herding became essential occupations of the peoples surrounding the lake and provided the ecological support for the creation of an important food surplus. This in turn provided the incentive for the creation of more complex cultural systems. The settlement around the lake took place in a series of open plains defined by foothills, known as *cuenclas*, which stretch south to the great river valley that would become the city of La Paz, some fifty-six miles south of the lake. The cuenca on the shores of the lake and the one of Jesus de Machaca are the most valuable in terms of soils and humidity and are linked by the Desaguadero River. This in turn binds together the two lakes, Titicaca to the north and Poopó to the south, and also passes through the two southern cuencas of Oruro and Uyuni. The Oruro cuenca is moderately populated, while Uyuni – the driest zone in all Bolivia – is the center of salt flats and largely uninhabited.

It was on the altiplano that the domestication of the staple products of Andean civilization took place. In the Lake Titicaca region the potato was domesticated – a development that was to have a profound impact on the populations of Europe – as well as quinoa and a host of nutritional root crops. Frozen and dehydrated, these numerous roots have been fundamental staples in the Bolivian diet.

The altiplano also was the scene of the domestication of the American cameloids: the llama, alpaca, and vicuña. Beasts of burden, producers of wool, and sources of meat, fertilizer, and heat, these cameloids were to play a fundamental role in the Andean ecology and economy. From the remotest times, these animals were found in close contact with human populations on the altiplano, although it was during the epoch of the historic Aymara kingdoms that the domestication and use of these animals reached its fullest development. So important were their herds that in all their fortified settlements the pre-Incan Aymaras provided space for their animals as well as their people.

An excellent grazing zone of natural and artificial pastures, the altiplano also became the home of the European domesticated sheep after the Spanish Conquest. While usually incompatible with other grazing stock, sheep successfully integrated with the American cameloids, and the two today remain integral parts of the Amerindian herding economy. Thus, between the great herds and

the intensive root crop agriculture, the altiplano Indian populations were able to produce both sufficient foodstuffs and woollens for their own survival and replacement, as well as surpluses to exchange for fish, fruits, condiments, maize, and coca, which could not be produced in the highlands.

The altiplano also contains a wealth of mineral deposits that have been exploited from pre-Columbian times to the present and that mark this region as one of the great mineral zones of the world. The distribution of these minerals closely parallels the primary agricultural areas of the altiplano. Just as the best soils were in the eastern side of the altiplano, some 80 percent of Bolivia's vast mineral deposits are to be found in the same area. Concentrated in a zone that has been given the general name of the *faja estanífera* (or tin belt), most of Bolivia's minerals are found in the Cordillera Real and its associated plains and upper valleys, running from just northeast of Lake Titicaca, through the eastern Cordillera range, to the Argentine frontier in southern Bolivia. Going from north to south, the minerals belt is divided into several roughly defined areas. From southern Peru to about the level of Mururata is the oldest geological section, which contains all the gold deposits, taken mostly through placer mining since pre-Columbian times, as well as wolfram and other metals. From Mururata south to Oruro are more deposits of wolfram and the first important deposits of tin. But the major tin districts appear in the third zone heading south, in the region from Oruro through Potosí to the southern frontier. Known as the "poli-metal province" because of its unique association of tin with silver, this region is the heartland of Bolivia's mineral deposits and contains not only tin and silver in extraordinary abundance but also a host of rare metals, many of them unique to Bolivia, and minerals such as lead, bismuth, zinc, and antimony. The only major metal deposits located outside this zone are copper in the eastern altiplano, and the large nitrate and copper concentrations on the other side of the western Cordillera in the Atacama desert. The Cochabamba Valley contained a host of nonferrous metals. In the eastern foothills are large deposits of natural gas and petroleum and the only iron ore in the whole region. Thus, the only minerals or hydrocarbons Bolivia lacks are coal, bauxite, chrome, platinum, and precious stones. This extraordinary mineral heritage, while only

modestly exploited in pre-Columbian times, would become the basis for Bolivia's importance in the world economy once the region was discovered by Europe. Moreover, even during its more modest pre-sixteenth-century beginnings, the metallurgy of the highland populations was an important trade item between themselves and the high civilizations of the Peruvian coast, and it was in metallurgy and in their creation of a unique highland ecology adaptive to man's needs that the early Bolivian populations showed their greatest originality.

Given the extraordinary importance of minerals, root crops, and cameloid products in the Andean economy, the highlands remained the primary zone of exploitation for the peoples of pre-Conquest Bolivia, and thus set the pattern that would predominate down to the present day. But the utility of the altiplano environment, for all the creativity of its human populations, was limited. For this reason, the highland populations have constantly interacted with the valley and lowlands peoples to obtain basic complementary food products that they could not produce. This so-called vertical ecological integration, involving exchanges of products from sharply different ecological zones, has been a common feature of human life in this region from the beginning. From earliest known times, colonists from the altiplano were to be found in all the valleys to the east and also as far away as the Pacific coast on the west. Intense interregional trade became the hallmark for all the advanced cultures on the altiplano. Trading root crops, meat, and wools from their vast cameloid herds of llama, alpaca, and vicuña, the highland peoples obtained coca, maize, fish, fruits, and beans from the lowland areas and maintained a varied subsistence base. Through centuries of expansion, change, and finally European conquest, the highland peoples kept this vertical ecological integration intact, and fought all attempts to isolate the altiplano from its regional sources of trade. To this very day, in fact, vertical ecological integration is a dominant theme of social and economic organization in rural Bolivia.

In this, as in so much else, the area that would eventually make up the Bolivian nation shared much in common with the entire Andean region, of which it formed only the southern sector. In the central and southern highlands of what is today Peru, similar geographic settings created similar patterns of integration, especially in the region

immediately north of Lake Titicaca. Moreover, the entire Andean area would share a common cultural history.

The arrival of early man in the Andean area dates back at least twelve thousand years, although the remnants of their presence in the highlands have been less well preserved than along the Andean Pacific coastline. But both highland and coastal cultural areas in the period prior to 2500 B.C. shared a largely hunting and gathering subsistence with seminomadic settlements. Whereas in the coastal zone, human population concentrated on the resources of the sea, the highland peoples engaged in wild-animal hunting for subsistence. From the end of the last glacial period (c. 8000 B.C.), there began the slow development of domestication of plants and animals. Agriculture and herding finally became the predominant forms of subsistence only after some six thousand years of experimentation. By 4000 B.C., herding of Andean cameloids became a major highland activity; by 3200 B.C., pottery could be found in the region, and spun cotton cloth has been recovered from coastal burials dating from 2500 B.C.

By this latter date, the highlands of Peru were the scene of a major transformation to settled village agriculture. Permanent settlement, increased population density, and more complex social organization in terms of multicommunity governments became the norm. For the next thousand years, both the coast and highlands experienced this increasing tempo of settled agricultural life. More truly urban centers were formed, and the establishment of religious ceremonial centers marked the beginnings of non-food-producing specialists who provided services to the full-time agriculturists.

Although the process that moved village horticulturists to sacrifice some of their surplus to non-food-producing groups is not fully understood, the record from the Andes suggests that it was primarily technical and/or religious motivations that led to the formation of complex intercommunity governments. The existence of unfortified ceremonial centers isolated from agricultural settlements and the creation of complex irrigation systems across several valleys and around the major lakes seem to reinforce this interpretation.

The next major phase of Andean development involved the widespread use of metals, the development of metal technology being an important indication of the creation of increasingly larger

states and more dense populations. Copper dates at least from 2000 B.C. and in the highlands, copper pieces of the Wankarani culture from the region near Oruro date from 1200 to 1000 B.C.

Around 800 B.C., the development of the "Chavín" civilization, the best studied of the earliest advanced cultures in the area, brought changes throughout the Andean area. This culture, the core of which was in the central highlands and associated coastal valleys, saw the first massive spread of influence of one major culture over a very large area. It was a period marked by extensive use of textiles and gold, as well as the development of advanced pottery techniques and urbanization. Major ceremonial centers were built along the coast and highlands, and almost all of the valleys and plateaus were now fully and permanently settled. In all of these developments, the southern highlands of Bolivia, although sharing many of the traits found elsewhere, seemed to concentrate on metallurgy, of pure metals such as gold and silver, but refined alloys as well. Although Chavín culture did not reach as far south as Lake Titicaca, a coterminous and later culture known as Paracas did influence the southern coastal and highland areas, but the extent is still not fully known.

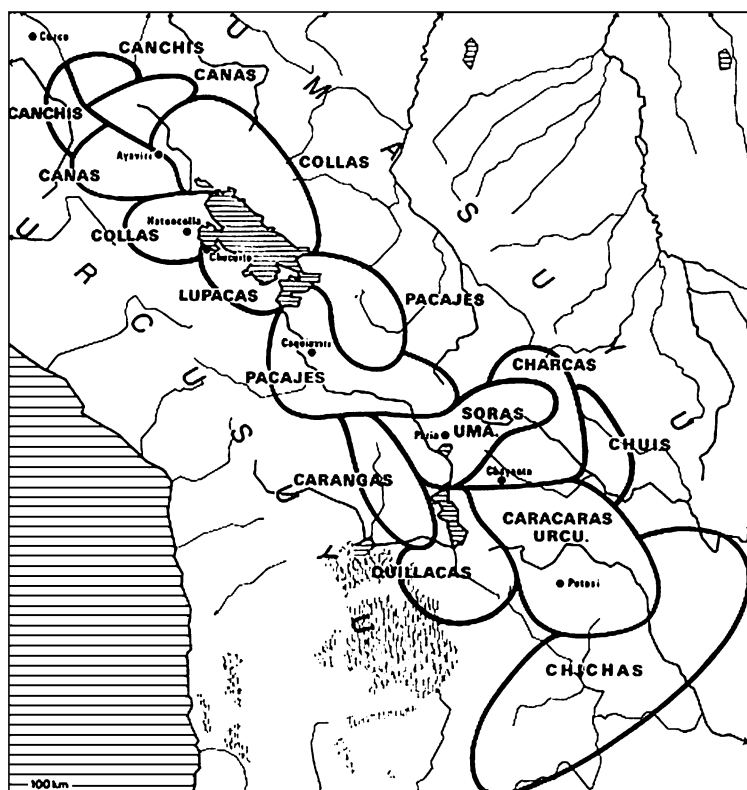
At about 100 B.C., the Chavín style disappeared from the Andean area and was replaced by vigorous local styles confined to a given valley or drainage area. On the coast appeared the Moche and Nazca cultures. In the highlands, Waru culture developed near Cuzco, and a major center appeared at the small town of Tiahuanaco just south of Lake Titicaca. These cultures saw the final introduction and domestication of all the known plants and animals and the full development of Peruvian technology. In the Bolivian highlands, the copper and tin alloy, bronze, was discovered. Although fully developed in the southern highlands, bronze was not universally adopted in the Andean area for use in war or agriculture and, unlike Eurasia, had little technological impact.

The growth of a viable and important center of culture at Tiahuanaco represented a major development in Bolivian history. Situated some thirty miles south of Lake Titicaca on the altiplano at an elevation of 13,120 feet, Tiahuanaco was an advanced religious settlement with pottery and metal objects from approximately A.D. 100 onward. It was only after A.D. 600, however, that its influence

began to spread beyond its local site. Its importance in Andean history was due to both its unusual location and its dominance within the entire southern Peruvian highland region from approximately the seventh century until the thirteenth century A.D. Because its distinctive art styles and designs influenced pottery throughout the highlands and most of the coastal areas, it initially was thought that the Tiahuanaco empire was established through conquest. But all the major Tiahuanaco cities so far discovered have been unfortified settlements with a religious style of architecture. Some scholars have assumed that Tiahuanaco influence was purely religious, and that such secular kingdoms as that of the Waru (A.D. 700–1100) in the region of Ayacucho were more important in spreading its influence. The continued discovery of new Tiahuanaco “religious” centers with their characteristic square, or rectangular platform surrounded by sandstone and basalt blocks (called a *Kalasadayas*), has suggested a possible third interpretation: that of Tiahuanaco religions and/or commercial colonies distributed among the highlands, valley, and coastal regions that spread the influence of Tiahuanaco culture through direct contact.

In the highlands, this period is associated with an intensification of agriculture and a major expansion of mountain terracing, floating gardens in Lake Titicaca, raised fields in highland flooded valleys, and complex irrigation works. It appears that Tiahuanaco civilization was associated with a major increase in the tempo of highland economic and social change. It has been suggested that the hydrologic engineering of the Tiahuanaco civilization was quite advanced even for the Andes, which may explain its rapid expansion after A.D. 1000, and the progressive drying of the climate after A.D. 1200 had a profound impact on its agricultural base and thus explains its rapid decline.

With the collapse of Tiahuanaco and the parallel breakdown of the Waru empire, there emerged in the Andean area over the next three centuries a number of regional states and empires. Among the most distinctive of these were the Chimú on the northern Peruvian coast, with their large urban center at Chan-Chan. In the highlands around Lake Titicaca, the most important groups were the Chanka federation just north of Cuzco, and the kingdoms of the Aymara speakers on the shores of Lake Titicaca and in the southern altiplano.



1-3 Aymara Kingdoms in the Fifteenth Century

The development of the Aymara kingdoms marks the beginning of the historic period of Bolivian history, that is, the period for which written records exist (see Map 1-3). It is the Aymara who dominated the central highlands of Bolivia from the end of the twelfth century until the arrival of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. From the oral traditions recorded in the Spanish and mestizo chronicles and from the archaeological record, it is clear that the Aymara kingdoms represent an important departure from the previous Tiahuanaco period. The concentration of towns along the lakeshore in open communities, the commonality of pottery styles and decoration, and the importance of terraced agriculture were now replaced by fortified

towns (or *pucara*) on hilltops well back from the lake, a much more intensive development of a cameloid herding culture, and a more localized religion as represented by the *chulpas*, or local burial and ceremonial houses, in all the communities.

The rather warlike and aggressive Aymara-speaking peoples seem to have carried the Peruvian penchant for moiety organization to an extreme. While it is currently assumed that there were at least seven major “nations” of Aymara speakers, it appears as if each nation was divided into two separate kingdoms. Thus, the Lupaca and the Colla, to mention just the largest of these nations, both had an *Urcusuyu* and *Umasuyu* government, each with its own separate “king” and each controlling different territories. Linguistic and geographic evidence suggests that the Urcusuyu division of any nation was primarily concentrated in the mountaintop fortified centers to the west and southwest of Lake Titicaca, with their colonies grouped along the Pacific coast, while the Umasuyu of any nation were in the eastern highlands and had most of their colonies in the eastern associated valleys and montaña region.

The Aymara “kingdoms” extended from just south of Cuzco into the northern highlands of present-day Bolivia. The core of the region was the highland settlements of the altiplano, and the moiety division of the “nations” ran more or less uniformly along a northwestern-southeastern axis intersecting Lake Titicaca. The most powerful states were those centered on the lake, and this can be considered the heartland of the Aymara peoples. Between them the Collas and the Lupaca controlled most of the Titicaca shore, and, with the Canas to the north, were considered the most important of the Aymara kingdoms.

Just as with the better-known Incan society, the pre-Hispanic Aymara kingdoms also were organized in a complex amalgam of corporate and class structures. There existed the *ayllus*, or kin groupings, with each ayllu divided into an upper (*hanansaya*) half and a lower (*urinsaya*) half, to which everyone belonged. But the nobility in any particular kingdom were associated with the *hanansaya ayllus*, and the commoners with the *urinsaya* part. Although ayllu membership was vital to all Indians, and its common rights to land suggest a communal corporate style structure, the Aymara also had regional chiefs, or *caciques*, who held land independently of

the ayllu and extracted free labor from the ayllu members they governed. In turn these caciques were served by assistants at the local ayllu level who were known as *jilakatas*, who seem to have been the moiety leaders.

Thus, among the “kings,” the regional nobles, and the local elders there existed a group of individuals with access to private property and with inheritable rights to land and labor independent of the basic ayllu structure. It is not known if these rights were ultimately dependent on royal favor or were truly personal, thus suggesting an incipient class structure. Also, there existed some groups of artisans and special workers who may not have pertained to any ayllu but depended directly on the nobility. In Incan times, these were called the *yanaconas*, and they appear to be either serfs or slaves.

Besides the complex sociopolitical and economic structures that existed in the core highland regions, both caciques and ayllus also had colonists working for them in different ecological zones. Called *mitimaq*, these highland colonists were the vital link binding the interregional and multicological economy that was so crucial in maintaining the core highland populations. Each ayllu and each nation and its nobility had colonists farming the temperate and semitropical valleys. In exchange for highland meats, potatoes, quinoa, and woolen products, these colonists paid with everything from fish and salt from the Pacific coast villages to corn, coca, and fruits from the Yungas and subpuna valleys. In these distant regions, many colonists coexisted with the local non-Aymara populations. Thus, many of the eastern escarpment valleys held a complex of institutions, communities, and properties, ranging from private estates of caciques and colony communities of altiplano ayllus to native ayllus of local groups. Thus, slave and free labor, dependent villages, and even independent nations coexisted in these valleys and lowlands.

This whole system of vertical integration of microecological systems (which has been likened to an archipelago), based on the production of different crops and bound into a nonmarket economy through elaborate systems of kinship, exchange, and labor obligations, was fundamental in maintaining a powerful and economically vital society on the altiplano. So extensive were these colony-core arrangements that even full-fledged gold and silver mining colonies were maintained by highland peoples in Carabaya and other eastern

valleys, making the Aymara the premier gold producers of the Andes as well as the leading herdsman. Such was the wealth of these kingdoms that, despite Inca and Spanish conquests, they were still considered to be unusually wealthy provinces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

But the Aymara were not alone on the altiplano. Along with these peoples there coexisted a large number of Uru and Puquina-speaking peoples known generically as Uru. Grouped like the Aymara into dual ayllus, the Uru were nevertheless denied access to lands and herds, although they lived among the Aymara. They had no broad-based political organizations and worked primarily as fishermen or as laborers for the Aymara. Whether they were a subjected and conquered peoples held in control by the Aymara is difficult to judge. The Puquina speech of the Uru represented one of the three major altiplano languages in pre-Conquest Peru, along with Quechua and Aymara. By the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Uru were a poor people living in small groupings among all the highland kingdoms, although they still retained scattered colonies along the Pacific coast and in the eastern valleys. Moreover, the cultural – if not political and economic – deference paid by the Aymara to the Urus seems to imply that the Uru may have preceded the Aymara and may have been remnants of an earlier and more advanced civilization. Some have even argued that they were the people of Tiahuanaco. Whatever the situation may have been, by the time of the Spaniards, the Uru, although still quite numerous, were all so poor that most of them escaped Spanish taxation.

Warlike, economically potent, and covering most of the altiplano and the regions to the east and west of it, the Aymara by the late fourteenth century were the dominant peoples within Bolivia and in an important section of southern Peru. But, given the growth of population and wealth throughout the Andes by this time, it was inevitable that a new imperial organization would again be attempted for the region. While many powerful states flourished on the Peruvian coast, the highland cultures had become the vital centers of expansionist states following the epoch of Tiahuanaco. By the late fifteenth century, the numerous Aymara kingdoms found themselves in direct competition with the emerging imperial state of a Quechua-speaking nation in the region of Cuzco north of the lake.

By the early decades of the fifteenth century, the various competing states in the central highlands had sorted themselves out into major groupings, and the Cuzco-Quechua speakers emerged as the most powerful of the new nations. By the middle decades of the century, the expansionist Quechuans, who came to be known as Incas from the name of their rulers, had spread into the northern highlands and were slowly penetrating south toward the Lake Titicaca district. In the 1460s, they were able to extend their influence over the Aymara kingdoms, which were incapable of uniting against the Inca threat because of traditional animosities among themselves. That weakness, despite the relative military power of the Aymara – who undoubtedly were the strongest possible contenders to Inca hegemony in the entire highland region – led to the gradual loss of independence for the Aymara kingdoms by the end of that decade.

The arrival of the Incas in the second half of the fifteenth century, surprisingly, changed little of the social, economic, and political organization of the Aymara kingdoms. Retaining the traditional rulers and contenting themselves with extracting surpluses through tribute payments, the Incas did little to disturb the fabric of Aymara life. This wealthy region was organized into its own province known as *Kollasuyo* (one of the four of the empire). Nevertheless, integration was not peaceful, and in 1470 there was a major revolt against the Incas in the lake kingdoms area. The result was that the remaining independent kingdoms were conquered and Quechua-speaking mitimaqs established in colonies in all of their areas, especially so in the valley of Cochabamba. In fact, this revolt and associated wars would determine the linguistic composition of Bolivia from the fifteenth century until today.

Among the Aymara, the Lupaqa and Collas retained the most autonomy; but even they were now integrated ever more tightly into the Inca empire, as roads, warehouses, fortresses, new urban centers, and military colonists spread throughout the Bolivian highlands and valleys. Like the three other sectors of the Inca empire, Kollasuyo was required to pay tribute, to send its sacred objects to Cuzco, and to allow its youthful nobles to be educated by the rulers of that city. That the Aymara of Kollasuyo retained their languages and autonomous social, economic, and even political structures to such an extent is a tribute to their wealth and power in the

pre-Incaic times as well as their sense of powerful ethnic identity. Even the Spanish Conquest, with its deliberate support for increased “Quechuanization,” could not wipe out the Aymara culture.

By the time that the Incas had completely dominated the Aymara kingdoms, their allies, and the smaller subpuna valley and Yungas groups within the highland cultural zone, they had already fully elaborated the basic outlines of their imperial organization. Yet, the principles of a coherent economic, social, and political system were still only being slowly implanted when – some eighty years later – the Spaniards ended the experiment in Inca organization. The early demise of the Inca state just as it was beginning to mature has made it extremely difficult to analyze the exact nature of Inca society in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

As officially recounted to the Spaniards, the Inca state was an authoritarian and benevolent organization based on rational principles of equality and justice. Prohibiting private property, the state distributed goods and services by taxing up to two-thirds of the produce of the Andean peasantry. The peasants in turn were organized hierarchically into decennial groups of tens, hundreds, and so on, and finally the empire itself was administered in four basically homogeneous regions by a state bureaucracy dependent totally on the Inca and associated by clan groupings with the rulers of the state. A state religion that stressed the civic virtues and was totally syncretic to all previous religions was the instrument that guaranteed the consensus of the popular masses.

Although the rulers of the empire may have perceived their society in quite coherent and rational terms, in fact the rapid and recent conquest of all types of peoples made for a relatively heterogeneous society. True, the road network was fully constructed and the incredibly large warehouse system was in place so that in fact the Incas could store surplus from any area for use throughout the empire during times of emergency as well as maintaining nonagricultural artisans and a professional army. But there did exist important elements of private property within this broader nonmarket system. Thus, nobles who had surrendered peacefully to the Incas retained their lands and their workers, just as distinguished Inca nobles were able to obtain private lands and the use of *yanaconas*, or landless servants of the state. Equally, the preexistent states retained many pre-Inca

forms of government, despite their incorporation into broader provinces in the Inca empire. The removal of religious objects to Cuzco and the forceful Quechuanization of the local elites did not change the dedication of the peasant masses to local religions or lead them to abandon their local languages. Moreover, as in the case of the Aymara, pre-Conquest arrangements of highland colonists and dependent peoples were left largely intact by the Incas, who did not seriously challenge the viability of the old social and political structures so long as they were not a threat to their own control.

Thus, the Inca empire retained a mosaic of political structures, religions, and languages and even had an important element of private property within its borders. Although not completely congruent with its perception of itself, the Inca empire was nevertheless a powerful and cohesive force and probably the most sophisticated state and economic structure elaborated by the peoples of pre-sixteenth-century America. It also performed some of the most amazing engineering and agricultural projects in America. From Ecuador to the southern Bolivian borders, a maze of roads was built that facilitated the easy access for man and animals from all parts of the empire to Cuzco. Thousands of acres of new agricultural lands were created through complex terracing of the steep Andean mountainsides, and vast compounds of warehouses were built to store enormous quantities of cloths and nonperishable foodstuffs for the entire population. The empire, thus, functioned as a major distributor of goods and services in a nonmarket manner and probably created a well-being and wealth among all the population unmatched from those times to the present. Finally, its extremely coherent economic and social organization provided an unusual measure of social and economic justice, as even the Spaniards recognized, for the Incas went to great lengths to alleviate onerous working conditions through carefully selected labor drafts, which were of a short term and fully insured by the state in terms of providing maintenance and compensation for the workers' families. Thus, the peasantry were called on for *mitas*, or forced draft labor in the mines, on engineering projects, in the armies, or on personal service for quite limited periods and were fully and effectively compensated for this work.

So efficient was this Inca organization that it proved to be a military power that none could oppose. It could mobilize large numbers

of troops, feed and supply them over long periods of time, and thus remained impervious to agricultural cycles. The Incas were able to wear out their opponents by their numbers, equipment, and persistence. In the period of less than a hundred years that the empire existed, it swept all before it, easily taking both coastal and highland societies – in fact, any state where a settled peasantry was the primary base. By the end, few states could resist the *Pax Incaica*, and many societies voluntarily joined the powerful new empire. It was, by the time the Spaniards arrived, one of the greatest experiments in human organization that the world had seen.

But there were limits to the Inca expansion, and these were defined more by social and economic organization than by military activity. Despite all their use of colonists and armies, the Incas proved incapable of subduing cultures that were not primarily based on peasant agriculture. This was especially evident in the region of Kollasuyo, the zone encompassing Bolivia. Here the Incas had been successful in the conquest of the Aymaras, their Uru dependents, and the smaller populations living in association with the highlanders – that is, the cultures of the subpuna valleys and the Yungas. Although evidently speaking languages distinct from Puquina, Aymara, and Quechua, these valley peoples were easily subsumed in the Inca state, and both during Inca times and in the post-Conquest Quechuanization programs, their languages were lost and replaced by Quechua. Clearly, the dominance of Quechua over Aymara as the major language in the entire Bolivian region has as much to do with the conversion of these local language groups to Quechua as with the placement of Quechua colonists in these formerly Aymara-dominated territories.

Outside this highland system stood an important human frontier in the montaña region and the lowland plains. Here a complex combination of hunters and gatherers, village agriculturalists, and even multivillage states existed, which prevented the highland peoples from expanding eastward. Although the Incas attempted the conquest of this region, they were unsuccessful, and the peoples of these areas blocked highland cultural penetration and domination. Generically called the Chiriguanos by the Spaniards in the post-Conquest era, the lowlands peoples consisted of a large number of different groups that ranged from the Siriono-type hunters and