

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY  
OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF  
THE AMERICAS

VOLUME III:

*South America*

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY  
OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF  
THE AMERICAS

VOLUME I: NORTH AMERICA  
Edited by Bruce G. Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn

---

VOLUME II: MESOAMERICA  
Edited by R. E. W. Adams and Murdo MacLeod

---

VOLUME III: SOUTH AMERICA  
Edited by Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz

---

**THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY  
OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF  
THE AMERICAS**

---

**VOLUME III  
SOUTH AMERICA  
PART 2**

---

*Edited by*

**Frank Salomon**  
*University of Wisconsin-  
Madison*

**Stuart B. Schwartz**  
*Yale University*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom  
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
 4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi - 110002, India  
 79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521630764](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521630764)

© Cambridge University Press 1999

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data*

South America / edited by Frank Salomon, Stuart B. Schwartz

p. cm. – (Cambridge history of the Native peoples of the Americas)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-33393-8

I. Indians of South America—History.

I. Salomon, Frank. II. Schwartz, Stuart B. III. Series.

E77.N62 1999

970.004'97-dc20

95-46096

CIP

ISBN 978-0-521-63076-4 Hardback

Volume I: North America ISBN 0 521 34440 9 hardback complete set

Volume I: North America, Part 1 ISBN 0 521 57392 0

Volume I: North America, Part 2 ISBN 0 521 57393 9

Volume II: Mesoamerica ISBN 0 521 65205 7 hardback complete set

Volume II: Mesoamerica, Part 1 ISBN 0 521 35165 0

Volume II: Mesoamerica, Part 2 ISBN 0 521 65204 9

Volume III: South America, Part 1 ISBN 0 521 63075 4

Volume III: South America, Part 2 ISBN 0 521 63076 2

Volume III: South America ISBN 0 521 33393 8 hardback complete set

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## CONTENTS

*List of Illustrations* *page ix*

### Part I

Introduction		I
	FRANK SALOMON AND STUART B. SCHWARTZ	
1	Testimonies: The Making and Reading of Native South American Historical Sources	19
	FRANK SALOMON ( <i>University of Wisconsin-Madison</i> )	
2	Ethnography in South America: The First Two Hundred Years	96
	SABINE MACCORMACK ( <i>University of Michigan</i> )	
3	The Earliest South American Lifeways	188
	THOMAS F. LYNCH ( <i>Brazos Valley Museum-Bryan and Texas A&amp;M University</i> )	
4	The Maritime, Highland, Forest Dynamic and the Origins of Complex Culture	264
	ANNA C. ROOSEVELT ( <i>American Museum of Natural History</i> )	
5	The Evolution of Andean Diversity: Regional Formations (500 B.C.E.–C.E. 600)	350
	IZUMI SHIMADA ( <i>Southern Illinois University</i> )	
6	Andean Urbanism and Statecraft (C.E. 550–1450)	518
	LUIS LUMBRERAS ( <i>Universitat de Barcelona</i> )	
7	Chiefdoms: The Prevalence and Persistence of “Señoríos Naturales” 1400 to European Conquest	577
	JUAN AND JUDITH VILLAMARÍN ( <i>University of Delaware</i> )	

vi	<i>Contents</i>	
8	Archaeology of the Caribbean Region LOUIS ALLAIRE ( <i>University of Manitoba</i> )	668
9	Prehistory of the Southern Cone MARIO A. RIVERA ( <i>Andes Archaeological Consultants</i> )	734
10	The Fourfold Domain: Inka Power and Its Social Foundations MARÍA ROSTWOROWSKI ( <i>Instituto de Estudios Peruanos</i> ) and CRAIG MORRIS ( <i>American Museum of Natural History</i> )	769
11	The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies: The Caribbean (1492–1580) NEIL L. WHITEHEAD ( <i>University of Wisconsin-Madison</i> )	864
12	The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies: Andean Area (1500–1580) KAREN SPALDING ( <i>University of Connecticut</i> )	904
13	The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies: Coastal Brazil in the Sixteenth Century JOHN M. MONTEIRO ( <i>Universidade Estadual de Campinas and Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento</i> )	973
	<i>Index to Part 1</i>	1025

### Part 2

14	The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies: The La Plata Basin (1535–1650) JUAN CARLOS GARAVAGLIA ( <i>École des Hautes Études en Science Sociale, Paris</i> )	I
15	The Colonial Condition in the Quechua-Aymara Heartland (1570–1780) THIERRY SAIGNES ( <i>Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine/Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique</i> )	59
16	Warfare, Reorganization, and Readaptation at the Margins of Spanish Rule: The Southern Margin (1573–1882) KRISTINE L. JONES ( <i>Bowdoin College</i> )	138
17	The Western Margins of Amazonia from the Early Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century ANNE CHRISTINE TAYLOR ( <i>Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique</i> )	188

*Contents*

vii

18	Warfare, Reorganization, and Readaptation at the Margins of Spanish Rule – The Chaco and Paraguay (1573–1882) JAMES SCHOFIELD SAEGER ( <i>Lehigh University</i> )	257
19	Destruction, Resistance, and Transformation – Southern, Coastal, and Northern Brazil (1580–1890) ROBIN M. WRIGHT ( <i>Universidade de Campinas</i> ) with the collaboration of MANUELA CARNEIRO DE CUNHA ( <i>University of Chicago</i> )	287
20	Native Peoples Confront Colonial Regimes in Northeastern South America (c. 1500–1900) NEIL L. WHITEHEAD ( <i>University of Wisconsin-Madison</i> )	382
21	New Peoples and New Kinds of People: Adaptation, Readjustment, and Ethnogenesis in South American Indigenous Societies (Colonial Era) STUART B. SCHWARTZ ( <i>Yale University</i> ) and FRANK SALOMON ( <i>University of Wisconsin-Madison</i> )	443
22	The “Republic of Indians” in Revolt (c. 1680–1790) LUIS MIGUEL GLAVE ( <i>Instituto de Estudios Peruanos</i> )	502
23	Andean Highland Peasants and the Trials of Nation Making during the Nineteenth Century BROOKE LARSON ( <i>State University of New York at Stony Brook</i> )	558
24	Indigenous Peoples and the Rise of Independent Nation-States in Lowland South America JONATHAN D. HILL ( <i>Southern Illinois University</i> )	704
25	Andean People in the Twentieth Century XAVIER ALBÓ ( <i>Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado, La Paz</i> )	765
26	Lowland Peoples of the Twentieth Century DAVID MAYBURY-LEWIS ( <i>Harvard University</i> )	872
	<i>Index to Part 2</i>	949

## ILLUSTRATIONS

## MAPS TO PART I

1.1	Locations where texts cited in Chapter I were collected	<i>page</i> 21
2.1	Early colonial theaters of writing about indigenous peoples	97
3.1	Early archaeological sites	195
4.1	Maritime and highland sites of the Central Andes region	269
4.2	Amazonia	309
5.1	Early Regional Development (ERD) cultures, 500 B.C.E.–C.E. 600	361
5.2	River valleys and maximum Mochica territory, ca. C.E. 500	386
6.1	Polities and confederations, ca. C.E. 550–1450	519
7.1	Colombia, Venezuela, and coastal Ecuador, ca. C.E. 1400–1550	596
7.2	Peoples of greater Amazonia, ca. C.E. 1400–1550	615
7.3	Northern, central, and southern Andes, C.E. 1400–1550	632
8.1	The Caribbean region: 3000–1500 B.C.E.	669
8.2	The Caribbean region: 1500 B.C.E.–C.E. 500	689
8.3	The Caribbean region: C.E. 500–1500	708
9.1	Archaeological regions of the Southern Cone	735
10.1	Archaeological sites of the Inka era, ca. C.E. 1500	770
10.2	Centers, routes and peripheries of the Inka state ca. C.E. 1530	784



11.1	The native and colonial Caribbean in the sixteenth century	865
12.1	Colonial cities and indigenous regions in the early Viceroyalty of Peru (ca. C.E. 1560)	905
13.1	Indigenous peoples in sixteenth-century Brazil	976

## FIGURES TO PART I

3.1	Late Pleistocene mammals: <i>Toxodon</i> , <i>Doedicurus</i> , <i>Megatherium</i> , <i>Macrauchenia</i> , <i>Smilodon</i> , and <i>Haplomastodon</i>	194
3.2	South American edentates found at La Moderna, Rio Grande do Sul, and rock art and cave sites of Bahia	203
3.3	Common game animals of the Archaic Stage	241
4.1	Stylized bird and snake images from a twined textile, La Galgada, Peru	281
4.2	Temple of the Idols, Aspero, Peru. (A) Plan map; (B) Isometric map	286
4.3	Archaic Temple of the Crossed Hands, Kotosh, Peru	291
4.4	Funerary gold work, Chongoyape, Peru. (A) Crown; (B) Earspools	304
4.5	Polychrome burial urn, Monte Carmelo mound group, Brazil	328
4.6	Camutins mound group, Brazil	331
4.7	Terra cotta sculpture of a woman, Santarem, Brazil	339
4.8	Map of mound site nucleus, Faldas de Sangay, Ecuador	340
5.1	Trade winds that largely control precipitation	364
5.2	Schematic drawing of three distinct cultivation and/or water management techniques	366
5.3	East-west transects through different parts of the Andes	372
5.4	Architectural plan of the temple of Chiripa	374
5.5	Architectural plan of the temple of Pukara	375
5.6	Mochica ceramic depiction of a llama carrying <i>Strombus</i> shell cargo	381
5.7	Roll-out drawing of paired combat from a Mochica Phase IV bottle	383
5.8	Detail of a Paracas Necropolis mantle executed in Block Color technique embroidery	391

*Illustrations* xi

5.9	An Ocucaje-style double spout bottle with post-fired resin-based paint decoration	397
5.10	Detail of a large, reconstructed Nasca Phase 3 drum with a highly complex polychrome decoration	399
5.11	Samples of Gallinazo-style unslipped vessels collected at the site of Paredones	404
5.12	Mochica Phase III “portrait” vessel	405
5.13	Ceramic representation of a major Mochica deity sometimes called <i>Ai-apaec</i>	407
5.14	Middle Cajamarca A style ceramic bowl with standing personage (warrior?) and cursive motifs	411
5.15	Recuay effigy vessel of a “warrior” accompanied by a llama	413
5.16	Vicús Vicús style effigy bottle representing a jaguar	415
5.17	Jama-Coaque style mold-made ceramic figurine	418
5.18	Bahía-style whistling ceramic bottle, with three chambers	420
5.19	Ten gold ornaments that together formed a necklace found in Tomb 3 at Sipán	426
5.20	Gilded copper anthropomorphic “feline,” from Tomb 3 at Sipán	429
5.21	Architectural plan of Chavín de Huántar	438
5.22	Monolith with carved “Lanzón” or “Smiling God” image, Old Temple, Chavín	439
5.23	Roll-out drawing of carving on the Tello Obelisk	442
5.24	Moche III stirrup spout bottle representing a warrior on a throne-like seat	451
5.25	Nasca 5 double spout bottle depicting Anthropomorphic Mythical Being	454
5.26	Nasca Phase 3 effigy bottle representing the mythical “killer whale”	455
5.27	Examples of Pukara motifs found on ceramic fragments from the site of Pukara	459
5.28	Inferred territorial extent of the Northern and Southern Mochica polities, Phases I–V	463
5.29	The site of Moche showing locations of major constructions and excavations	467
5.30	Graphic representations of (right) the model of task	

	differentiation and centralized pooling, and (left) the labor tax model	469
5.31	Adobe brick marks recorded at the Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna mounds	470
5.32	Mochica Phase V urban capital at Pampa Grande	472
5.33	The eastern and central sectors of Cahuachi, mid-section of the Nasca River drainage	475
5.34	Annual precipitation record for the central Andes, C.E. 500–650	491
10.1	Litter bearing Thupa Inka Yupanki and Mama Uqllu, from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, <i>Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno</i> [1613]	781
10.2	Principal accountant and treasurer of Tawantinsuyu, in charge of the <i>kipu</i> of the realm, from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, <i>Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno</i> [1613]	813
10.3	Sections of two rows of Inka storehouses, showing Thupa Inka Yupanki and an administrator with a <i>kipu</i> , from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, <i>Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno</i> [1613]	829
10.4	An Inka suspension bridge and the administrator or “governor” in charge of bridges, from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, <i>Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno</i> [1613]	837

## MAPS TO PART 2

14.1	Principal cities in the La Plata Basin	6
14.2	Jesuit missions in Paraguay until 1630	21
14.3	Jesuit missions in the Igazú Region in the seventeenth century	22
15.1	Towns and sites of the mid-colonial era	60
16.1	Sixteenth century: First encounters	142
16.2	Seventeenth century: The permanent war	155
16.3	Eighteenth century: Peace treaties, failed missions, and trade	158
16.4	Araucanian diaspora, 1779–1829	166
16.5	Republican military expansion, conquest, and “pacification,” 1870s–80s	170
16.6	Inter-tribal relations in the pampas, ca. 1840	171
16.7	Frontier expansion and <i>malones</i> : 1833–1870s	179

*Illustrations*

xiii

17.1	Contemporary indigenous peoples of Western Amazonia	192
17.2	Indigenous peoples of Western Amazonia in the sixteenth century	206
17.3	The northern <i>montaña</i> in early colonial times	212
17.4	The northern <i>montaña</i> in the late eighteenth century	224
18.1	Paraguay and the Chaco in the colonial era	259
19.1	Principal ethnic groups of Brazil, 1580–1890	288
20.1	Native peoples confront colonial regimes, 1500–1900	387
21.1	Colonial indigenous groups in ethnogenetic process	447
21.2	The West Indies: Island and <i>Tierra firme</i>	451
22.1	Rebellion in the Higlands region during the late-colonial period	504
22.2	Canas ethnic area in Peru during the late-colonial period	534
23.1	Topography of the Andean Highlands	561
24.1	The northern lowlands of South America	705
24.2	The southern lowlands of South America	707
25.1	Quechua areas	768
25.2	Cautín Province, Chile	817
25.3	Indigenous nationalities of Ecuador	831
25.4	Principal indigenous groups of Columbia	837
25.5	The Aymara world of today	841
26.1	Lowlands of South America	874

## FIGURES TO PART 2

23.1	<i>Sillero</i> and <i>cargoueros</i> of the Quindio Pass, c. 1827	574
23.2	Campsite of the <i>Comisión Corográfica</i> , ca. 1850	577
23.3	Harvesters of aniseed, ca. 1850	578
23.4	<i>Obraje</i> workers, ca. 1890	599
23.5	A Jesuite priest with Indian students, ca. 1890	603
23.6	Otavalen women	616
23.7	Indian water carrier of Cajamarca, ca. 1880	632
23.8	Market vendor of Puno, ca. 1880	635
23.9	Peruvian foot soldiers, his <i>rabona</i> , and a cavalryman	644
23.10	Quechua man in Cusco, ca. 1909	657
23.11	Indians and mestizos of the Quechua nation, ca. 1833	661

23.12	General Willka Condori and his troops, 1899	676
23.13	High ministers of Zárate Willka's government, 1899	678
23.14	<i>Cartes de visites</i> featuring Aymara "Indian types," ca. 1910	684